Congress by R.G. Bhradeness 1887 24pl, M87

174 17 A The Rivery Title Uz, the Brogness of Folilical Selection in India 1886.

V2, L:51. M8

14 18. The Star in the fact of the Bengal National Rengal National Rengal.
1884
V2, L:51. 262

12 19 Sie M.E. Grant Diffs.
View about Inden by.
Industrial Nacroit 1883
V2, L. M8

Rare: Y:411:5(Z):231:115 Bc 18831

## SOME OF THE RESULTS

OF THE



## BOMBAY ABKARI ACT.

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE INDUSTRIAL PRESS.

1836.

# Statistics of Criminal Justice

IN THE

## BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MINUTE OF THE HON, MR. FITZJAMES STEPHEN ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA.

M. G. RANADE, M.A., LLB.,
POMBAY UNIVERSITY, AND SCHOOL DESCRIPTION OF STREET, AND SCHOOL DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL DESCRIPTION OF STREET, AND SCHOOL DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL DESC

DOMDAY:

PRINTED AT THE TIMES OF INDIA EXCHANGE PRESS

1874.

#### SOME OF THE RESULTS

OF THE

### BOMBAY ABKARI ACT.



It is time that the Secretary of State for India, and the greateal public knew something more than they do at present, about the effects of the liquor laws obtaining in a very important portion of Her Majesty's dominions in the East, viz:—the Presidency of Bombay containing a population of over 16 millions of souls.

The present liquor laws, or as they are locally styled, the Aboati system of Bombay, date from the beginning of the year 1873, 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 unenviable position of the liquor-distiller and liquor-seller of the country. A large addition has been made to the liquor revenue, by the adoption of means which have had the effect of destroying a considerable amount of private property, of depriving a very large and poor population of a portion of their daily food, and of throwing out of employment a numerous class of people salied the Bhandaris or Toddy-drawers, throughout the province where palm trees grow. These consequences, thought originally intended, might certainly have been anticipated

The main and the most objectionable feature of the present system, has been the treation of large monopolics for the franufacture and sale of liquor. These monopolics are called farms, and the monopolists, liquor-farmers. L. the system may be described thus—Every year the Col. cor of a District, advertises for tenders for the exclusive privates of distining and selling liquor, within his District. The tendered has to guarantee to the Government a minimum sum to be paid during the year, say £ 10,000. This sum he has to were up, by prining a certain daty per gallon (now varying 1931) Re. 1.8 via Rs. 3 (3 to 6 shillings) per gallon 25° U P., on the liquoi sold by him. If the duty on the quantity sold the short of the guaranteed amount, the farmer bas to make 7000 the deficiency; if on the other hand, more liquor is sold than .. covered by the guaranteed amount, the farmer has to pay duty on the exclass.

In order to secure the liquor revenue under this system, and also to protect the farmer, there is a large establishment maintained, and an elaborate machinery of checks and counter checks, devised, and restrictions imposed upon the manufacture removal and possession of liquor and toddy, such as have not been known in India before, and I believe never excelled, if at the equalled, in any other part of the world. The liquor is distinct

the liquor produced, which is at all times open to the inspection of the Government officials. The distilled liquor is kept in the joint custody of the farmer and the Government, and is not issued except under the supervision of Government. So that when the year is out, the Government exactly knows how much liquor was made, and sold, and makes its arrangements with the next year's farmer, on the footing of the knowledge thus obtained. This, practically, comes to allowing the farmer so much 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 devising this ingenuous system, the Abkari Department has become to all intents and purposes, the liquor-distiller of the country, employing the liquor-farmer merely as its agent working 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 excise duty, in one form or another, absorbs 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 system. The minimum guarantee, of which I have spoken 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 years ago, of whole villages

making up their minds not to drink liquor. When the farmer hears of this, he sends for the headmen, and tries to pursuade them to give up the resolve. This does not always succeed. When the villagers are firm, and stick to their tries somehow the farmer receives information of illicit distriction going on in the village, and on search being made it turns at that a substantial man in the village is found having uter that a substantial man in the village is found having uter the local Magistrate. These proceedings act like a marm throughout the village, and the resolve not to drink there vanishes into thin air, and the village liquor-shop is once to busy as ever.

Another result, a very common one, is that when the larger finds, about the end of the term of his farm, that he is not soll as much liquor, as he is entitled to have for the gua and oil amount, he issues the balance from the distillery, and and a second at what price it will fetch. In the month of July 1886, haver was sold at Bassein at 12 annas per gallon (2 annas per hor 'e.) when the Government duty alone, was something like R. 2, let alone the cost of manufacture. The result was, that about him as much liquor was sold during one month, as was sold during the previous six months; the poor people drinking of the cheap liquor to their hearts' content, day after day, until the new ! arer came in, when of course the prices rose to what they were I shale. Now, under a system which does not concern itself with the minutiae of the liquor-trade, but taxes each gallon of liquor taken out of the distillery, at a uniform rate, such a loose and demoralizing practice would be impossible.

There are many other evil results of this close monopoly, 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 matter 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 families in these proverbially hard times.

Before farming was introduced, Surat liquor was famous throughout the Bombay Presidency for its superior quality, and used 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 to compete with under a system of close monopoly, does not care to incur the trouble and expense to produce liquor of a superior quality, knowing, that unfortunate people who are accordingly to drink must buy his liquor, be it good or bad.

The system of liquor-farming does not obtain in the city of Dombay. There are about 400 separate licenses granted. The fees payable for the licenses, had up to the year 1878, been fixed by Government from time to time, and were not revised except at long intervals. Most of the licenses had been held he reditarily, from generation to generation, and had been regarded as family property, and there are instances in which they had

been bequeathed under will. In 1879, however, a radical change was made in this system, whereby, the right to hold the licenses, was put up to public auction. The competition thus created, of course, increased the license fees. Some of the old licensees were thrown out, and others had to take up their licenses at rates which left very little p ofit. But what could the poor men do? They would naturally cling to their old angestral business as long as it afforded them the berest subsistence. Besides the auction sales there were various restrictions imposed upon the licensees, such, as keeping accounts of all liquor brought and sold in the shops, labelling of bottles, &c. These annoyances were unbearable, and it must be said to Lord Reay's credit, that he lost no time, after his atrival, to appoint a Commission to inquire into and report on these grievances. The Commissioners held ar exhaustive inquiry which resulted in a mass of the most important evidence being taken. The evidence showed a widespread discontentment at the Abkari administration, and a wholesale disregard of the rights of private property, in order to obtain a large liquor revenue. The Commissioners in their report recognized the existence of many well-founded grievances, and recommended a reduction of taxation on toddy trees, and condemned the system of annual auction sales of licenses. Lord Reay's Government issued a Resolution on this report, slightly reducing the taxation on toddy trees, and directing that auctionsales should cease in fature. But the cup of the licensees trouble was not yet filled up, and on the recommendation of their old friend the Abkari Commissioner, the Government again withdrew their resolution so farlas to direct one more auction sale to be beld, which was accordingly held in July last, and resulted in an increase of Rs. 45,000, over the last year's revenue. This increase as in past years, was brought about, partly, by increased bids from people, who without the least bona fide intention of purchasing 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 have 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) 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, and 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 hinderance in the way of a proper development of the

liquor-revenue. So that, when in 1879, a system of liquorfarms was devised, it became necessary to bring toddy under proper control. And it was done in this way. In many parts of the Presidency, the right of drawing and selling toddy was taken away from the owners of toddy trees, and given to the liquor-farmer; and at the same time the tree tax was raised so that while it varied from I anna to 8 annas before, it now varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 16 per Tree: The result of these arbitrary proceedings, was, that hundreds of thousands of trees were at once, given up, and are still lying fallow, bringing nothing to the owner (except in the case of cocca-nut palms) and uselessly encumbering the land. By one streke of the pen the Abkari Department deprived thousands of Her Majesty's subjects, of the usufruff of their property, destroyed a large quantity of food supply of the poorer people, threw a large class of toddy-drawers out of employ, and what was worse indirectly compelled those who were satisfied with a mild beverage like toddy, to drink spirituous liquor to-satisfy their craving. It is not difficult to understand why the liquor-farmer did not draw toddy of which he was so anxious to get the monopoly. Toddy trees lie all over the country, and it would not pay the farmer at all to employ an establishment to tap the trees scattered over wide areas. But while he knew he could not tap the trees, he knew 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, upon the quantity of toddy available; and hence the necessity of restricting the supply of toldy to stimulate the sale of liquor.

The only justification which is, and can possibly be alleged or a heavy liquor tax on toddy-trees, is that otherwise people would secretly distil liquor from toddy. Whether such a fear was justifiable, is itself a question; but supposing it to be in many 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 very strong measure indeed, to have introduced such a sweeping and 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 donopoly granted, so that the owner could not draw toddy, the Government of Bombay, curiously enough, refused for some years, to remit the old tree-tax (called buddene) and compelled people who could not pay it on account of the trees not yielding anything, to give up the trees which were thenceforward entered 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 Taluka 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. while this will do some measure of justice to people in the

only made toddy very dear, but, as might have been expected led to extensive adulteration, which in an article of food like toddy, is a serious matter. Besides, the only way of weaning th poor classes from spirituous drinks, is to render toddy a free as possible. But the loud wails of the people (of s people, too, unaccustomed to any unnecessary agitation) bave as yet, made only a faint echo in the Secretarist. This is perhaps, not quite unnatural, seeing that members of Government, anxious though they are to do justice to the people, cannot be experted from their habits of life and mode of thought, fully to sympathize with them. This is the or may in which one can reasonably account for the app reat unwillingness of Lord Reay's Government, to undo t whole of the mischief, so far as toddy is concerned. I when there is such a cry from all quarters, it surely behove Government, to take a little more trouble to see, if after a there may not be substantial grievance in what may, at first sigh appear to them to be as , phreasonable demand involving possibly, some sacrifice of revenue.

MANEKSHAH J. TALEYARKHAN.

## DEDICATION

OT

## The Honble H. F. St. George Tucker,

#### MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

Sir,

Three years ago I ventured, with your permission, to dedicate 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 points the views which I have expressed will be found to accord with your opinions. As an humble effort to descuss a subject in which you have always taken the deepest interest, I hope it will meet with your approval.

THE AUTHOR.

#### PREFACE.

THE 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 connection with the administration of civil justice, the result of which inquiry has already been embodied in the author's pamphlet on the statistics 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.

Some 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 justice in India, a copy of which minute was sent to the author for his opinion. It is owing to this circumstance of its origin that this concluding portion is, not so impersonal in its character as the rest of the work. These observations contain a resume of the whole inquiry, and they could not conveniently be separated from the body of the pamphlet.

### STATISTICS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

#### Chapter L.

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

THE Hon'ble Mr. FitzJames Stephen's minute on the Administration of Justice in India, 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 eminent 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 safe, and there is a constant effort to justify the system. by reason of its presumed adaptability to ensure a theoretical ideal, which is not altogether very 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 circulating 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 subjects discussed therein. It may assist those students and publicists, who wish to arrive at an independent opinion on these points, if Mr. Stephen's speculative conclusions 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 scrutinized. More than two years ago.

the statistics of the werking 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 brief survey of the statistics of the work done by the courts of criminal 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 position than otherwise to return to the official minute, and discuss the policy and the assumed necessity of the particular reforms suggested therein. Without such a guarantee for correctness, the discussion partakes greatly of the indefiniteness of a speculative controversy, where opposite opinions are taken up and cherished more as matters of feeling than of judgment, 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 High Court of Bombay. Throughout these districts, one uniform system has obtained for the last forty or fifty years; and their general condition 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 summed up together in large averages. It is, in the first instance, essential to know what is the 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 island of Bombay, there are in all 500 officers 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; 17 district magistrates; and 464 assistant, deputy, 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, municipal, police, and revenue officers. Their revenue and executive duties are their principal charge, and the criminal 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 is nearly equally divided between their civil and criminal work. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, for they serve to explain the apparent discrepancy between the large number of persons charged with the work of criminal 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	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1671
Tetal number of offences tried	80,075	27,243	36,509	35,827	36,873	39,848	45,847	49,480
Of trials held	27,233	<b>27,24</b> 3	35,886	32,271	83,831	36,573	42,505	46,488
Of persons tried			<b>67,</b> 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 thrown upon them, the increase in the number of trials held being seventy-five per 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 does 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	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871
Number of cases	15,187	11,930	11,380	15,944	18,100	19,931	18,780
Number of persons appre	<b>25,</b> 163	18,459	<b>17,6</b> 20	25,793	27 426	31,917	28,949

With regard to these figures for Bombay, it is to be noted that the three Police magistrates of the island act also as Justices of the Peace, and besides their criminal work proper, exercise a large number of miscellaneous jurisdictions under special Acts of Police and Conservancy, which for the most part have no counterpart, except in a few of the larger towns, in the work discharged by magistrates in the 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 number of persons brought up before the criminal Judges, will be seen from the following table:—

	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871
Cases disposed of by magistrates	48,43%	47,207	52,867	57,984	65,778	68,460
Persons brought up before magistrates .	86,354	82,337	93,808	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 single year, and that, on an average, a civil suit takes up as much time and trouble as a criminal case, the fact, that nearly five times the number of criminal Judges should get through only half the amount of work done by the civil

courts, must excite surprise in the most casual observer. One obvious explanation of this anomaly is that the magistrates, being burdened with revenue and miscellaneous executive duties, work half time, or at intervals. The department of Civil Justice has been long since organized on an independent basis, and the civil Judges, having no other duties to distract their attention, work full time all the year round. The bearing of this consideration upon the organization of criminal courts will be seen more fully in the sequel of these observations.

Having thus opened up the large subject of the working of the crimical courts of all grades in this Presidency, it is next proposed to discuss the nature and classification of the 65,000 criminal cases which represent the amount of the work done in 1870 by the criminal courts of the first instance. It need hardly be remarked in this place that mere numbers, however accurate, can give no adequate conception of the actual character of the work done by the criminal courts. Taking the figures for the Mofussil courts for the last five years, it will be seen that the presumably serious offences against person or against property form but a very small portion of the total number of criminal cases tried. The following statement furnishes the necessary figures:—

	1867	1868	1×69	18 +
Total number of offences tried	85 827	86,878	89,548	45,117
Simple hurt, assault, and criminal force	8,621	11,728 7,989 14,854	12,749 5,779 15,030	14.5 R.5 19,120
Deduct	88 155	84,051	36,549	42,9 17
Serious offences against body and against property	2,672	2,823	3,29 <del>9</del>	2,54"

These latter figures represent the whole of the presumably heinous class of offences, including under that term all cases in which, if the magistrates find true bills, the accused parties are committed to stand their true before the session courts. The number of these presumably heinous class of offences has remained pretty constant, notwithstanding the thormous increase in the simple and miscellaneous class of offences.

The corresponding figures for the island of Bombay, including the cases disposed of by the Police magistrates under their miscellancous jurisdictions, tell a similar tale, as will be seen from the following statement:—

Cases disposed of by Magistrates.

	1866	1867	1868	1869	1879
Felonies or heinous crimes  Misdemeanours or minor crimes  Miscellaneous or quast-criminal offences  Conservancy cases	448 4,191 6,418 983	208 4 038 6,030 1,148	590 5 699 6 752 3,084	56-0 5 971 5,963 5,642	8 6 7 6,9 1 6,67

In considering these figures, it must be borne in mind that the Police magistrates of Bombay do not exercise their jurisdiction under the Code of 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 crimes which the Bombay police returns show. This analysis of the criminal returns will serve to show that, out of a total of 65,000 cases, about 3,600 cases, at the outside, are of a character which the law regards as serious offences, and which require exceptional ability in the judicial officers who are called upon to adjudicate them. This distinction between 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 courts of small causes. and suits regarding immoveable property, for which the law provides an claborate machinery of a first and second appeal. Probably enough has 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, under which term is included the entire magistracy of the Presidency. It will have been seen that in the year 1870, out of a total 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 prima 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 reports do not afford 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:—

	No of cases de- cided in 1870.	No. of persons tried.
17 District magistrates Magistrates with full or 1st class powers Sub-magistrates, 2nd class Sub-magistrates, 3rd class	6,878 15,285	568 11,245 29,498 40,380
	41,884	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 officers in their position could afford time to dispose of only 300 cases in a year, or hardly two cases each in a month, this is a virtual abandonment of one of their most important functions. The abandonment may, by reason of their other duties, be forced upon those magnistrates; but, whether forced or voluntary, it is a circumstance the full significance of which must never be misunderstood. The district magnistrate of the large district of Ahmednuggur decided only two cases in 1870, that of Sattara decided five cases only, while the district magnistrate of Khandeish, Rutnagherry, and Dharwar disposed of one case each permonth.

Mr. Stephen's laborious pleading for the retention, on political grounds, of their present criminal functions by the chief executive officers of the districts, loss sall 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 the muclicherished privilege of their criminal jurisdiction from the higher revenua and executive officers. The present multiplication of functions only results in a waste of powers and lax supervision in all departments. The district collectors will not, if consulted on this point, consent to any arrangement by which they will be confined to their revenue duties exclusively; 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 system under British rule, the officer in charge of a district or portion of a district is the centre of all authority; he is Judge, magistrate, 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 Codes 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 civil justice, and entrusting the higher functionaries in charge of the work of civil justice with the cognizance 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 functions, judicia! and executive, as far as it has already been accomplished. There is no consistency, however, in the policy which provides a separate 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 illustrated 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 subordinate 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 criminal 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 clothes them with these duties; that (4) this immense waste of power in the lower magistracy. and this virtual abandonment of functions by the highest magistrates, are cogent reasons 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 a distinction of jurisdictions; 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.

## THE 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 statistics 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 strikes the most casual student of these statistics, is the large percentage of cases in which resort to the criminal court is merely had for dunning or intimidation purposes, in which the charge is hastily made and as easily withdrawn by private settlement, or results in the acquittal and discharge of the accused. The following statement regarding the mofussil magistrates' courts will place the matter properly before the reader:—

		1867				
Total number of persons tried						
Of persons convicted						
Of persons discharged	80,697	81,220	<b>3</b> 6,194	41,235	47,478	52,489
, 1		,	•	1	1	•

These figures suggest two observations. First, that about 60 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 grounds 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 must 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 becomes 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 establish this point beyond cavil. While the number of convictions exceed the discharges during 1866 and 1867, the proportion is absolutely reversed for the last four years, and the disparity between

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 administration 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, the system of criminal justice is partly based upon the English municipal law:—

	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871
Number of persons apprehended. Persons convicted Persons released	18,577	18,459 12,154 6,830	17,620 10,847 7,252	25,998 14,214 11,768	27,426 14,762 14,609	16,488	15,812

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:—

•	1868	1869	1870	1871
Persons discharged	11,768	12,609	15,437	13,487
Persons acquitted Charge withdrawn	4,144 7,624	2,999 9,610	2,468 12,918	2,374 11,113
Total	11,768	12,609	15,886	1 13,487

These figures show that the large number of discharges consists for the most part of persons who are brought up 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 exercise 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. Unfortunately the administration reports

afford but little help in clearing up this point. With regard to the tables 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 town and island of Bombay, however, give the necessary details; and though, for reasons stated before, the comparison is not quite apposite, yet as the condition and circumstances of the native population there, and in the mofussil, are pretty much alike, these may usefully be impressed into present service, carefully confining the attention 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 sees fit:—

Town of Bombay, 1870.	Number of persons brought to trial.	Number convicted.	Number discharg- ed.	Number acquitted.
1. Theft under and above Rs. 50 2. Dishonestly receiving stolen property 3. Cheating 4. Forgery 5. Kidnapping and abduction 6. False evidence 7. Rape 8. Criminal breach of trust 9. Criminal misappropriation of property 10. Defamation 11. Criminal trespass 12. Assanit 13. Criminal intimidation 14. Using insulting words to provoke breach of the peace 15. Mischief  Total	69 194 81 71 60 8 250 16 58 212 6,320 15	1,407 31 46 2 3 1 84 3 104 1,846 1 84 34	160 8 74 18 84 64  123 9 48 89 8,877 7 275 86	282 41 73 18 34 12 3 74 5 10 47 1,097 7 84

In preparing the foregoing statement, it will be seen that care has been taken to select the most common and 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 figures are equally true of the mofussil courts, whose proportion of acquittals exceeds that of the Bombay police courts. The latest administration report for 1871 shows much the same details of this proportion of convictions to acquittals. The proportion of convictions to the numbers tried varies from 29 per cent. 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 88,000 or more persons apprehended were put to all the annoyance of a criminal prosecution for no fault of theirs, and the criminal Judge had thus, at least twice as often as not, to discharge the function of protector of those who were wrongly accused, in place of his proper duty of punishing the wrong-doer. This is a state of things which reflects but little credit upon 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 Roman 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 ascertained figures of the working of the civil courts, it will be seen that, while the proportion of presumably honest to false civil claims is as 9 to 1, the likelihood of a presumably honest to a dishonest criminal charge is nearly 1 to 2,—a discrepancy of results which certainly reflects no credit upon 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 mofussil courts dispose of finally about 95 per cent, of the cases which come up before them; and that, with regard to the remaining 5 or 6 per cent. of the cases which form the proportion of presumably heinous 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 prima facie case made out. The following statement gives the necessary figures on this point for the years 1867, 1870, and 1871; the figures for the intermediate three years, oddly enough, are not given in the administration reports:—

Total number of cases in which preliminary enquiries were held.  Total number of persons accused Cases committed Number of persons committed Cases discharged	5,827	45,847	49,480
	1,628	1 649	1,592
	8,432	8 275	3,683
	1,026	1 014	1 019°
	2,063	1,829	2,092
	603	685	573
	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 Judges does not show any corresponding increase. In fact, comparing the three years, it appears that, while the work of the lower magistracy has increased by nearly 40 per cent., there is a complete stand-still so far as the work of the courts of session is conceined. These figures also lend a strong confirmation to the observations made before as regards the enormous abuse of the machinery of the criminal courts by private persons for illegitimate purposes of their own. Out of a total of 1,650 cases in which preliminary inquiries were held in 1870 by the magistrates, they found that, in nearly 40 per cent, of the cases, the charge was not supported

by any presurably honest evidence, and accordingly discharged the accused. Looking to the number of persons discharged, 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 trials held before the superior courts, a further deduction of another 50 per cent. of persons acquitted 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, disfigures 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 heinous 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 unfortunate state of things, which detracts so considerably from the usefulness of the existing system of criminal law and procedure. The students of Mr. Stephen's 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 the lessons 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 system, which not only permits such an anomaly to exist, but actually fosters its growth year after year. The disparity of results is so scandalous that one would fain tone down a shade or two of its startling character, but the most superficial student of these statistics will not fail to see that the case, as borne out by the published results of criminal administration, is much worse 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 establish this fact beyond all dispute. Contrasting the statistics 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 134,000 civil suits disposed of by the mofussil courts, the honesty of the claim of the plaintiff was presumably established by the verdict of the court in his favour in no less than 121,000 suits, while his claim was presumably shown to be not founded in right in 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, only 35,300 persons were convicted; the rest were either acquitted or discharged. The proportion of acquittals and discharges, which was 42 per cent. in the years

1866 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 courts 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 them with or without 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 Presidency furnish little or no information upon this point 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 police 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 the arrests :-

Names of districts.	Number of arrests.				Number con- victed.		Percentage of convictions to arrest.	
	1869.	1870.	1869.	1874	1869.	1870.	1869.	1870.
1. Poona and Sholapore 2. Ahm-dungqur 3. Rutmagherry 4. Satara 5. Reigaum and Kulladghee 6. Dharwar 7. Canara	9 626 7,780 5,698 5,615 6,087 2,887 2,771	12,715 6,751 5,923 6,673 7,446 4,069 2,695	9,551 7,129 4,594 6,150 4,725 2,957 2,799	11,288 4,646 5,832 6,418 6,042 8,719 2,513	4,141 8 731 1,492 2,726 2,012 1,361 1,298	5,824 1,958 1,717 2,578 2,526 1,328 976		42 28 39 37 33 84 38
Total	10,461	46,342	87,906	40 598	16,756	16,397	41	85

The figures here presented merit the most careful study. It will be seen 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 number 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-thirds of the whole number of persons arrested were subjected to the annoyance and the disrepute involved in the process of apprehension by the police by a downright abuse of the State's coercive machinery. Such a state of things loudly calls for the exercise of the 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 innocent people's moneys drained out of their hard-earned incomes in rescuing themselves from the merciless grasp of the police and their false accusers, the anxiety and 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 earnestness which Englishmen alone know how 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 follows contains a summary of the results of six years' working of the criminal courts in the Madras Presidency:—

Madras.	Number of persons tried by Magis <sup>1</sup> trates.	Number convicted.	Number dis- charsed and acquitted.	Percentage of constitutions to number tried.
1864	176,694	109,688	69 402	60
1+65	175.219	118,877	\$8,88\$	1 66
1866	188,854	184,378	61,424	69
1867	178,485	116.808	\$6,683	67
1868	172 954	118,796	61,457	64
1869	182,227	122,163	63,188	65

The proportion of convictions is nearly two-thirds of the persons tried, which indicates a much more healthy state of things in the so-called 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 those who were released. In the North-West Provinces, out of a total of 97,644 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 discharged 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 acquittals and discharges being 60 per cent., while the convictions are about 40 per cent.

It is hoped enough has been said on this unfortunate peculiarity of the criminal statistics 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 too serious 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. joined 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 convenient resource : but on principle 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 reforms 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 ETHNICAL 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 several districts of this Presidency are full of instruction on this head; and the contrast they present is of a sort which has a claim upon the student's attention, on grounds of more permanent interest than mere antiquarian curiosity. The "regulation" districts of the Presidency divide themselves naturally upon the principle of distinctive races, languages, and prevailing religions, into the provinces of Guzerath, Maharashtra, and the Canarose-speaking districts, 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 strength of judicial officers who acted as magistrates and session and assistant session Judges in each of these large divisions, will be seen from the following statement :--

No. of District.	Names of Divisions.	Population. Police.		Magistrates and Judges.	
4	Guzerath, excluding Panch Mahala, 10,000 square miles Maharashtra, 54,646 square miles.	21 lakhs.	Armed. Unarmed. 1,096 1,904 8,000 8,464 8,907 7,371 1,561 1,219	84 Magistrates, 6 Judges, 288 Magistrates, 11 Judges,	
4	Carnatic, 20,350 square miles.	or 27] lakha		98 Magistrates, 4 Judges.	

These figures represent the state of our police and judicial establishments in 1870-71. One thing is quite clear upon 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 magistrates who guard its safety and enforce obedience 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 only considerations which one must take into account in coming to a definite judgment upon 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 only 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:—

Population.	Names of Divisions.	Total number of offences tried.				
	Names of Divisions.	1867	r 1868	1869	1870	
634 lakhs	Maharashtra	*22,881 5,646 7,290	22,454 5,939 8,480	22,961 6,326 10,561	27 062 6,554 12,231	
Population.	Names of Divisions.	Total number of persons tried.				
r opulation,	TAMES OF DIVISIONS.	1867	1868	1869	1870	
63 lakhs	Maharashtra	42 131 8,818 13,757	42,468 9,654 15,894	44,635 10,471 20,362	58 544 12,274 20,141	

It may be noticed 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 Canarese-speaking districts is only 60 per cent. of the numbers corresponding for Guzerath. There has been an increase of work all over in the criminal courts of the Presidency during these four years, 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 Maharashira, and from 3 to 41 per 1,000 in the Canarese 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 statistics of the comparative lawlessness of habits in the people of the different 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 force, for the past four years. These two classes of offences, it is to be noted, make up between themselves more than 60 per cent. of the aggregate number of offences committed during the year:—.

Population,	Names of Divisions.	Simple theft and theft of cattle.			
		1867	1868	1869	1870
	Maharashtra	7,491 1,549 1,837	8,217 1,838 1,673	8,646 1,888 2,236	10,279 2 415 2,145
	<u>.</u> 1	Simple assault. burt, and cr			
Population.	Names of Divisions.	Dimbio a			SPHININA:
Population.	Names of Divisions.	1867			1870

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 cases of assault 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 has risen from 8 to 10 cases per 10,000 in Guzerat. As between the several districts, Tanna, Colaba, and Nassick are noted as the most notorious for the drunken habits of the people, and they accordingly bear the 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:—

	Maharash- tra, 633 lakhs.	Carnatic, 27g lakhs.	Guzerath, 21 d lakhs.
Murder, culpable homicide, and attempt to murder Miscarriage, rape, and unnatural offence Kidnapping Adultery Griavous hurt Total	88 21 19 128	47 11 6 6 78 148	78 22 21 25 115 256

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. Takingthe 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 prevailing 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, taking Maharashtra 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.	Guzerath.
Dacoity Highway robbery Aggravated theft House-breaking Receiving stolen property,	48 127 245	4 69 16 800 -	15 47 28 127 300
Total	820	509	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 offences against property, the Canarese-speaking districts do not seem to be as well-favoured 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 Maharashtra 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 favourite home of the two most heinous offences against 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 1868, 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 numbers there appear to be much larger than one would otherwise expect them to be. The other offence, that of false testimony, is also steadily on the increase throughout the Presidency, as will be seen from the following statement:—

	Maharashtra.		Guzerath.		Carnatic.				
	1868	1869	1870	1868	1869	1870	1868	1869	1870
Periury	116	132	148	27	29	66	50	76	69

The offence is generally on the increase, chiefly in consequence of the difficulty which criminal courts find in convicting the perjurer of the offence he is charged with. These figures indicate a growing evil of the times; and so long as a power of summarily 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 PUNISHMENT.

Before bringing 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 consummation of the work of justice. In this direction, the administration 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	186 <b>8</b>	1869	1870
Death Transportation for life Transportation for terms of years Imprisonment Fine and imprisonment Whipping Total	89 198 7,624 25,762 400	40 73 49 7,131 2 355 22,488 852 852	62 94 20 9,996 2,333 22,098 426 35,029	49 80 8 8 328 2,680 24,564 436

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 imprisonment, 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 punished by any amount of fine; the sentence must

be chiefly a deterrent one, in the shape of the infliction of a temporary restraint to the body of the offender, or of a disgrace which will make him less self-complacent. The same remark holds true with regard to all serious 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 outweigh the uncertain chance of escaping with impunity. 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 transportation or imprisonment for terms of years, disables the offender from molesting society by his transgressions, 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 a great 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 offences against decency, offences of simple hurt, assault, intimidation, disobedience of lawful orders, offences bordering on torts, 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 criminal force, with the entire range of the miscellaneous or quasi-civil offences, under a third head, as being properly punished with fine, or imprisonment in default of fine. This classified statement is somewhat to the following effect:—

	Number of offences committed.					
	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	
Murder, culpable homicide, attempt to murder, dacoity, rape, and causing miscarriage Grievous and aggravated hurt, kidnapping, rob- bery, highway robbery, theft, extortion, house-	158	285	345	<b>3</b> 61	145	
breaking, receiving stolen property, perjury, and forgery  Simple assault, criminal force, and miscellaneous	9.911	10,954	10,192	11,294	11,458	
offences	21,758	24,734	25,119	27,920	33 960	

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 punished save 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 number 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 less heinous offences find their counterpart and correspondence in the statistics of the convictions. The number of persons imprisoned is no doubt 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 so poor that the magistrates 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 shorter 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	1867	1868	1869	1870
Number remaining in confinement at the beginning of the year	6,403 15,612	5,661 14,690	6,105 14,132	5,815 12,219	6,428 12,857
Total	22,015	20,351	20,237	18,034	19,285
Transported beyond seas	42	210 38 11,332	106 43 11,352	155 49 10,917	92 56 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 is increasing every year, the number of offenders sentenced to imprisonment is steadily declining, while the number of releases remains 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 fairly assumed to run through all the other classes of offences which are punished by fine alone, or by death or transportation. The proportion of the two sexes in the criminal classes of the population will be seen from the following details:—

	1886	1867		1869	1870
Persons received in prison during the year	14 H26	18,758	13,5#1	12,219 11,518 706	12,448

This shows that the relative proportion of the female sex in the criminal population averages about five or six per cent. of the male classes of offenders. Seeing that Hindoo and Mahomedan women cannot plead coverture and incapacity for the committal of misdemeanours, this fact speaks volumes for the comparative purity and innocence of native homes, and is one indirect compensatory benefit flowing from the social restraint which prevents the promiscuous mingling of the two sexes.

The decadence in the number of sentences of imprisonment, contemporaneously with an enormous development of the miscellaneous total of offences, is not a very hopeful feature of these criminal statistics. Upon the whole, the results of the administration of criminal justice are not of a sort on which one can look with much satisfaction. So far as progress has been made with this inquiry, the results of the working of the criminal 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, amounting almost to impunity, held out to the weak-minded or evil-minded prosecutor to lose all sense of self-dependence, and drag his every little sorrow and fictitious wrong before the courts,—these are all indications of a system out of gear, and going from bad to worse. These remarks form a fitting conclusion to this review of the working of the primary criminal courts.

# Chapter V.

# STATISTICS RELATING TO THE WORKING OF THE COURTS OF SESSION.

HAVING in former chapters taken a cursory view of all the more salient features regarding the administration of original criminal justice in the courts of the first instance, the next subject of inquiry relates 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 assistant session Judges. The courts of session have an original criminal jurisdiction in cases committed for trial by the first-class magistrates, and the senior portion of these Judges exercise also large appellate powers. For the present, these observations will be confined chiefly to their original criminal jurisdiction.

This part of the subject cannot be better commenced than by quoting certain observations made in a preceding chapter regarding the results of the preliminary 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 before them; and with regard to the remaining 5 or 6 per cent, of cases which form the proportion of presumably heinous offences, their functions are confined to the work of holding the preliminary inquiry, and, if there is a sufficient primâ facis case made out, of commutting the accused to the session courts." The following statement furnishes the necessary information on this point for the years 1867 and 1870:—

		1867	1870
2. 3. 4. 5.	Total number of trials held by magistrates.  Total number of persons tried  Total number of cases in which preliminary inquiries were held  Total number of cases committed  Total number of accused in cases committed  Total number of accused in cases committed  Total number of accused in cases committed  Total number of accused discharged	64,700 1,628 8,432 1,026 2,063	42,505 82,959 1,649 3,275 1,614 1,829 1,446
	and the second s		

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 stood as follows.—

	1867	1868	1869	1870 ·
Number of cases committed	1,926	923	1,124	1,014
	2,063	1,722	2,050	1,823

These figures show that, while the courts of first instance have every year increased work thrown on their hands, there is no corresponding increase in the work of the courts of the higher grade; there is, on the other hand, a tendency in the opposite direction. With regard to these figures regarding preliminary inquiries, it may be permitted to make a passing remark in this place, that the 17 district magistrates committed between them only 33 cases, involving 42 persons, to the session courts in the year 1870. This statement, however, does not accurately express the full force of these figures. These 33 cases were committed to the session courts by the district magistrates of seven districts only. The district magistrates of Surat, Broach, Khandeish, Ahmednuggur, Ratnagherry, and Sattars had absolutely no work under this head of their jurisdiction. When this fact is taken into consideration along with an observation made before regarding the number of cases finally disposed of by the district magistrates, viz., about 300 cases during the course of the year, few will be disposed to contest the correctness of the conclusion that the district magistrates have virtually ceased to exercise any portion of their powers of original criminal jurisdiction, and, as a consequence, that the time has come when this abnegation of functions, whether forced by pressure of work, or the result of voluntary indifference, should be recognized as a fact, and the district collectors be permanently relieved of their magisterial duties. There is no gain in holding up the terrors of a sceptre .which is never wielded, and which is listlessly allowed to rust in idle or over-worked hands.

To return from this digression, the session courts, 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 beinous offences 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	1866	1867	1868	1869	1570
Number of cases tried Number of persons tried Number convicted	1,997	1,098 1,998 1,005	822 1,594 809	1,051 1,164	928 1,772 926	1,194 9,050 1,042	1 mg 1 mg 1 mg

These figures fully bear out the observation, so repeatedly enforced upon the reader's attention before as almost to wear out his patience, that the quantity and quality of the work done by the higher grade of criminal courts have remained almost 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 at these figures.

Moreover, it may be safely assumed that about 1,000 cases, involving double that number of persons, are annually tried before the session courts, and, as the result of these trials, about 50 per cent of the number of accused persons are acquitted. This large percentage of acquittals, be it remembered, results after the cases have been once sifted, and true bills returned regarding them, by the committing magistrates.

These magistrates themselves commit only 60 per cent of the cases in which they hold preliminary inquiries and it is in these 60 per cent of sifted cases that marly half the number of the accused are invariably acquitted from year to year by the session courts. In other words, adding the results together, in nearly 80 per cent., or four-fifths of the number of the presumably hemous class of offences, the magistrates and the session Judges together find it necessary, after formal and often-times lengthy investigation, to acquit and discharge the accused persons. With regard to the offences within the jurisdiction of the magistrates, a similar proportion of discharges and acquittals was shown to be true. Altogether, it may be held as established that this abnormal proportion holds equally good with regard to the homous as well as the simpler class of offences.

It follows, therefore, that, quite independently of the distinctive character of the offences or of the persons who try them, this abnormal disparity between convictions and acquittals obtains throughout the statistics of the administration of criminal justice. This certainly is a matter for grave 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 has 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 acquittals were not available, and the inferences on this head were obnoxious to adverse criticism on that ground. With regard to the work of these higher courts, however, no such confusion exists. The character of the offences is a guarantee that no magistrate will take upon himself, to permit private settlement and compounding of crime. In offences which do not admit of compromise, the outrageous proportion of 80 per cent. of acquittals betrays a disparity of results, the startling enormity of which only long habit blinds the habitual observer from perceiving, and indicates either listless and inexcusable indifference on the part of the administrators. or some other radical defect which is absolutely appalling to contemplate. Where can be the merit of a system in which three-fourths of the number of personstried are bothered out of their existence, and exposed to the annoyance, obloquy, and loss of time and money involved in a criminal prosecution and trial by the court of session, for the mere fun or mischief of the thing? This is too serious a subject to be lightly passed over, and as the evil is peculiar to this Presidency, and even here is of very recent and

progressive growth it demands the most strenuous efforts on the part of the authorities to provide a palliative for it.

Those who have attentively studied the figures summarized before with regard to the working of the courts of session in this Presidency, will not fail to see that the present proportion between convictions and acquittals does not indicate a state of things upon which one can look with quiet satisfaction. It will not do to accept these results as inevitable under the existing conditions of the population of this Presidency. For, side by side with these results of mofussil administration, the statistics of the working of the High Court on its original side present a contrast which is at once agreeable and suggestive. In the town and island of Bombay, a different criminal procedure obtains, and the committing magistrates are exclusively criminal Judges, and are not distracted with any other executive or revenue duties. The following statement furnishes the necessary figures for six years:—

	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
Number of persons tried at the criminal settings of the High Court, Bombay. Number of persons convicted	213 171	176 134 42	168 124 44	197 133 64	149 101 49	175 1:5 - 40

It will be seen from these figures that the number of persons convicted is on an average 75 per cent. of the entire number of persons committed, being 25 per cent. more than the proportion which obtains in the mofusual districts. All the associations in connection with the working of the High Court, and of the proverbial leniency of English criminal law, would have led one to anticipate a contrary result,—one eminently favourable to the mofussil courts, in respect of the promptitude and certainty, of their meting out punishment to convicted crime. The fault lies 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 sufficiently account for this most unexpected result. The law administered is the same both in Bombay and the mofussil; the native population is made up of nearly the same elements in both places; the Judges, who preside over the session courts; 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 yet, from year to year, the number of convictions, within the local limits of the Presidency High Court, is 25 per cent. larger than the proportion which

obtains in the mofussil. The only distinctive circumstance that can be pointed out relates to the qualifications of the committing magistrates, and the nature and extent of the discretion exercised by them in re urning true bills in those cases where they hold the preliminary inquiries. However that may be, this contrast opens up a whole vista of reflections, which the careful student of our administrative statistics may do well to follow up to their legitimate conclusions. It will be at least conceded that the example of the High Court shows that there is a considerable scope for improvement in the constitution of the mofussil criminal courts, and that there is no fatal necessity about this frightful abuse and miscarriage of justice, which people must needs accept as inevitable, or with resigned indifference.

It may be noted in this place that the criminal duties of the sersion and assistant session Judges take up more than a third of their available satingdays in the year. The number of days that the session courts sat during four years, 1867-70, averaged about 1,300 days, which gives 60 days for each Judge. The Judges of some of the larger districts were required to devote nearly two-thirds of their available sitting-days in the year to their criminal work. The Ahmedabad session court sat 205 days in 1870, the session courts of Tanna and Khandeish sat 175 days each, and the session court of Poona sat for 153 days in the same year; more than half the available working-time of these highly-paid officers is thus frittered away in the disposal of cases where conviction alternates with acquittal. The waste of time and talents of judicial officers is, however, dwarfed by the miserable lot of the witnesses who are required to attend the sessions from considerable distances to a great extent at their own expense. The following statement gives the necessary details:—

	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870 •
Number of witnesses summoned to attend the session courts  Distance in miles travelled by the witnesses	7,322	8,929	9 258 249,223	11,376 <b>2</b> 76,98 <b>7</b>	10,740 <b>2</b> 82,27 <b>0</b>

<sup>·</sup> While, therefore, the number of persons tried and of persons convicted have remained absolutely steady, or show a slight decline, the number of witnesses 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 sufferers from the tyranny of the present judicial 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 said on this part of the subject to leave no excuse for indifference in those who are charged with the responsible administration of the State. The system is evidently

loose somewhere, and needs a thorough hauling-up to the utter demolition of all established traditions.

There is only one more point of interest in connection with the working of the courts of session. Allusion is here made to the results of the experimental introduction of trial by jury in the mofussil. Although trial by the Punchayat is an indigenous institution of the land, the rulers of British India have shown such a jealousy of the exercise of the slightest independent activity on the part of the people, that the introduction of trial by jury, though in some sense countenanced by Mr. Elphinstone's regulations of 1827, has been regarded in many quarters with most unworthy suspicions, and has been clogged with all manner of obstructions and safeguards, which detract greatly from its educational and judicial value. Trial by jury was first introduced as an experiment in the district of Poons about the year 1867. The following statement furnishes the details of the results of the working of this experimental measure from 1867 down to the close of 1872:—

	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	Total.
Number of accused persons who were tried by jury	. 88 . 38	63 49 23	62 33 29	39 18 25	54 28 26	38 17 21	323 -1/2 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 difference, it is in favour of convictions. It has been shown at length before that this same proportion holds good as regards the working of the courts of session all over the Presidency. So far, therefore, as any apprehensions may be entertained that, by leaving questions of fact to the jury, the strictness of the administration of justice will be discredited by the vagaries of irresponsible jurors, it will be seen that, in its practical working, the system betrays no such tendency. The jurors are quite as ready to convict, if not more so, as the Judges sitting with the assessors.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Lloyd, who was Session 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 also that it may be held to be successful." In the first year of its introduction, in 50 out of 66 cases the verdict of the jury was concurred in by the Judge. In the other 7 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 justify the continuance of the experiment." The administration report of the next year, 1868-69, furnishes an equally favourable testimony as to the success of this institution. It seems some

high official had complained that the administration of justice had been brought into discredit by the system of trial by jury, regarding which, it was alleged, popular opinion was anything but favourable. A return of cuminal trials of the session court of Poona was accordingly called for, from which it appeared that, out of 101 cases tried since January 1867, the Judge approved of the finding 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 whom the Judge would have convicted. The return, therefore, showed that the jury were quite as ready to convict 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 provision which directs in such cases a reference to the High Court, whose verdict is to be final. Under these circumstances, it must be admitted that the time is come for the gradual abolition of the imbecile system of trial by assessors. and the concession of this old indigenous privilege to the people of this country. The imbecile system, as it may well be called, of assessors serves no possible end. Its requisitions upon the time of private individuals are equally exacting, while the power it allows, and the responsibility it enforces upon their attention and conscience, are nil. As a general 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 system. Add to these the immense educational value of the july 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 provided by law, there is no further excuse left for continuing any longer the anomalous, half-and-half, and therefore thoroughly useless, compromise of trial by assessors, who determine nothing, in whom independence is too often deemed to be impertinence, and who, therefore, sit stolidly and listlessly to render the bodily service of attendance 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 five men (Panch) is the voice of God himself. The unanimous verdict of five jurors impartially chosen has this potent effect upon the mind of the people, and they accept it accordingly. No such 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 its success are guaranteed by the results of past experience: and the prospective advantages which such a change promises to secure in the best interests of the people, are enough to outweigh all minor difficulties attendant upon its first introduction.

## Chapter VI.

# STATISTICS BEGARDING THE WORKING OF THE CRIMINAL COURTS OF APPEAL.

The observations contained in the preceding five chapters touch upon nearly all the chief points of permanent interest in connection with the working of the original criminal courts. Besides these courts of original jurisdiction, there is a corresponding chain of courts of appeal intended to keep in check and regulate the working of the courts of first instance. The system of appeal in criminal matters differs for the better in one essential respect from the complex arrangement of the civil appellate courts. The law allows one appeal only as a matter of right, and this appeal is general, and not partial. From the decisions of the subordinate magistrates of the second and third classes, one appeal lies to the magistrate of the district, or person clothed with these powers; and from the magistrates of the first class, one appeal lies to the court of session; and from the court of session, one appeal lies to the High Court. This last appeal, in cases tried by jury, relates to matters of law only. This simplification will be admitted to be a great advantage, and it certainly obviates all the delay and the vexation and needless expense involved in the system of double and partial appeals allowed by the law in civil litigation. It may be noted, however, that there is room for improvement in the direction of relieving the district magistrates of the labour of appellate work at present cast on their shoulders, and the transference of these duties to the courts of session. This is a reform suggested by the signs of the times. Enough has been said in the preceding observations on the general incompetence, grounded on incompatibility of duties, of district collectors to discharge effectively purely judicial work; and it is not necessary to go over the same ground again. The virtual abandonment of their judicial functions by the district magistrates of whole districts, is a fact which can no longer be 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 least, are travelling in the districts, and the hardships and uncertainty which the unfortunate prisoners, punished in one part of the country, find in following these itinerants on their tours with their applications for relief, together with the perfect impossibility of providing for the attendance of professional advisers in these out-of-the-way places, are all serious drawbacks, and they imperatively demand that these appellate powers should be transferred to a permanent court, which is entrusted with purely judicial duties, like the court of session.

Another important feature in which the system of appeal in criminal 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 review 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, joined 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 impossible to institute any useful comparison between the relative efficiency of these two orders of courts.

The following statement summarizes the available 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 number of trials Total number of appeals disposed of Number of reversals Number of confirmations Number of sentences altered	85,586	82,771	39,831	86,573	42,505	46,298
	2,018	1,919	2,241	2,758	8,146	2,979
	387	473	501	599	624	599
	1,482	1,308	1,550	1,958	2,233	2,119
	179	188	185	201	269	262

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 sentences 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:—

	1869	1870	1871
Number of civil cases disposed of Number of civil appeals disposed of Number of criminal trials Number of criminal appeals disposed of	4,364 36,573	8,861	8 92 <b>6</b> 46,288

It will appear from this statement that, while the number of civil appeals disposed of was only 3 per cent. of the entire number of suits disposed of, the proportion of appeals in criminal cases is nearly double, being more than 7 per cent. on the total number of trials held, and this in spite of the bar which the law places against appeals from all sentences inflicting a certain minimum of punishments. This fact is partly accounted for by the circumstance that all criminal trials partake of the character of a contest, which character cannot 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 session, and superintending generally the administration of justice in all the subordinate courts, the administration reports give but little information beyond what may be gleaned from the following very imperfect statement:—

	1865	1866	1867	1808	1809	1970	1871
Cases received for confirmation	128	47 130	47 121	41 194	50 241	47 256	6.4 146
returns	184	75	138	117	176	154	105
Cases received for the orders of the High Court	70	142	202	215	215	212	130

These figures show constant fluctuations, but on the whole they do not indicate any serious increase in the work of the High Court as a court of final resort in criminal matters. The reports do not furnish any details as regards the character of the adjudications, and, in the absence of this information, the bare figures with their fluctuations have no significance 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 cases.

These observations find their fitting close in this place.

The bearing of the larger conclusions which are impressed upon the attention of the thoughtful 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 observations in answer to a call from the authorities to submit a review upon the Hou'ble Mr. FitzJames Stephen's minute on the administration of justice in British India. It finds its proper place here as the concluding chapter to these observations.

## Chapter VII.

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE HONOURABLE MR. FITZJAMES STEPHEN'S MINUTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH 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 presume to hold independent views of his own on the subject. The writer is a graduate of the Bombay University, and has passed the Advocate's examination of the High Court. He has seen eight years' service,—first as Karbhari at Akulcote, exercising original civil jurisdiction, and 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; thirdly, 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 Poons, invested for some months past with jurisdiction to decide appeals. He has had in this way the rare good fortune of having made practical acquaintance with the difficulties 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 regulation systems of rule. He may also claim to have made a special study of judicial statistics, having published a pamphlet on the subject of civil statistics about two years ago. Having said thus much regarding the writer's qualifications, it need hardly be remarked that these observations will be confined strictly to the system of administering justice which obtains 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 indeed a sort of digression, and a lengthy one too, in which the existing systems of civil and criminal procedure 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 land. Except so far, therefore, as the system of procedure bears upon the question of the organization 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 observations.

The first question discussed in the minute relates to the present state of our judicial organization. In this connection, the distinction between the regulation and non-regulation systems is all-pervading, separating the several provinces of India, vix., the older provinces where executive and judicial functions are entrusted to different officers, from those recent acquisitions in which all these functions are concentrated in the hands of one and the same officer. So far as this Presidency is concerned, this question has been definitively settled by the old Regulations of 1827; and the principle of division of functions has obtained such a firm footing on this side of India, that in our non-regulation province of Sind, and even in those native States which, by reason of the minority or incapacity of their chiefs, are under the direct administration of our Political officers, the judicial and executive functions are, for the most part, entrusted to different officers.

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

Mr. Stephen's account of the present organization and strength of judicial officers in this Presidency is incomplete in one important respect He takes no account of the large number of subordinate magistrate who discharge, under the district collector-magistrate, revenue, executive, and judicial functions all over the country. The evil results of the concentration of executive and judicial powers in the same hands mostly make themselves felt by reason of the administration of criminal justice being entrusted to these subordinate revenue officers. Their number, as stated in the latest administration report, comes up to the large total of 355 officers; and this portion of the judicial service cannot safely be kept out of view, because, between themselves, they dispose of nearly 80 per cent. of the entire criminal work of the Presidency. The work disposed of by the magistrates of various grades in the regulation districts of this Presidency will be seen from the following statement:—

Magistrates of different grades.	Number of cases tried.	Number of per- sons tried.		
17 District Magistrates	299	\$79		
Full-power Assistant and Deputy Magistrates	6,878	11,215		
. Total	7,177	11,538		
Subordinate Magistrates of the 2nd and 3rd class	84,157	69,878		
Grand Total	41,334	81,701		

It will be seen from these figures that the subordinate 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 remaining one-fifth between themselves. The significance of these figures will be understood more fully in the sequel of these observations; at present it will be sufficient to have pointed out this most important omission in Mr. Stephen's sketch of the existing organization in this Presidency. Another omission, 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 complete for the purposes of the present enquiry. As a general result, it may be stated that the separation of judicial and executive duties has been completely carried out in the department of civil justice in the courts of original, appellate, and special appeal jurisdictions. In the department of criminal justice. however, the 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 magistrates, have, besides their criminal work, both revenue and excentive functions to perform, which constitute their principal charge, and the successful discharge of which duties becomes the great object of their ambition.

To proceed next to the consideration of the second question discussed in the minute, namely, whether it is desirable to separate judicial and executive functions where, under the existing system, they are united. Though it is rather too broadly worded, this question has, as Mr. Stephen has treated it, reference chiefly to the non-regulation provinces of the Punjab and the Central Provinces. Mr. Stephen states his deliberate opinion that the present system of the concentration of functions which obtains in those provinces should be abolished. As observed before, this question has been settled 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 advocated 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, while the principle of the separation of functions has been long recognized on this side of India, it has been only partially carried out in the department of criminal justice, so far as the courts of first instance are concerned. Executive and judicial functions clash with one another, and cannot be usefully united in the same hands, for the simple reason that the character of the work required of a judicial officer is adapted to, and developes, a different order of active and passive faculties from those which are called into exercise in the efficient discharge

of executive functions. Judicial work, moreover, is in door work, which must be done at stated times, punctually observed. Executive work is for the most part out-door work, which, to be done well, must be done at all times. The work of a Judge comes to him instead of his going to it, and he must proceed by fixed rules, unconcerned for the most part about particular The executive officer has to take the initiative in all manner of things, and he must watch the execution and carrying out of his measures with a direct view to their particular consequences. judicial and executive temper of mind being thus opposed to one another, one general result is that the predominant habit absolutely smothers the other. Independently of these considerations, which cannot be worded more appropriately than in Mr. Stephen's own terse way, there is one special reason which makes it highly inadvisable, in provinces where the British rule has become a long-established order of things, to unite all the functions of sovereign power in the same hands. The disparity between the power represented by the governing classes, and the capacity on the part of the subject millions to influence the exercise of this power for good, and to check its evils or abuses, is so great that, in the interests of a good and progressively liberal Government, it is essential that the two functions 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 purposes of a formally guaranteed constitution to conserve the rights of the subject population; and the education they give in the habits of constitutional obedience to the law, as distinguished from abject submission to the individual will of the officer declaring and executing the law, is of a sort which can never be too highly esteemed. The old native model in which civil, military, revenue, police, and judicial functions were united in one and the same hands, each petty officer representing the full absolute sovercign within his own domain, has brought the nation into its present plight of helpless dependence. In the case of native rulers, common sympathy and the restraints of religion afforded some guarantees against the worst evils of this absolutism. As both these checks ar wanting under the British rule, the perfect independence of the courts of justice is the only security provided by the constitution; and this perfect independence can never be secured so long as the department of crimina justice is constituted on its present footing. All these considerations render it necessary that, to the utmost extent practicable, the separation of executive and judicial functions should be complete, not only in the non-regulation provinces, but also in the regulation districts in those departments where at present they are united.

This leads naturally to the question discussed in the third chapter of the minute, whether, under the conditions of British rule in India, the

separation between the judicial and executive officers should be absented 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 various grades is a necessary or desirable departure from the general principle recognized in this Presidency with regard to all civil courts and the higher grades of criminal courts. Mr. Stephen quotes a passage from the reply of the Bombay Government, in which the system 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 years, 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 some 470 officers, who are, each in his jurisdiction, in charge also of the revenue and executive administration. It will be convenient to discuss the main question under two heads,-(1) with reference to the members of the covenanted civil service, who are rather exceptionally placed in this respect; and (2) with reference 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 be 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 the rest are their assistants in subordinate charge of portions of the districts. The number of deputy magistrates and subordinate magistrates is about 388, or nearly five times the number of the civilian magistrates.

With regard to the first class, Mr. Stephen states that there is a consensus of opinions on the following points:—(1) That it is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British 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 revenue and general executive department is an indispensable preliminary to judicial employment, as it secures the necessary experience of the people, their ways, character, and language. Partly in deference to the authority of

those whose ephdons on this point are digested in the minute, and partly from the fact that justice in this country has to be administered consistently with, and in subordination to, the paramount political consideration of the maintenance of British rule in India (involving in this single limitation the necessity that justice must be administered by foreigners, in a foreign language, in the absence of all checks which public opinion and the sense of the profession impose), 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, the most distinctive and easily recognized mark of sovereign power, and any diminution of their authority in this respect would break down the notion 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 advanced beyond the stage in which the considerations suggested in the previous 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 duties so wholly absorb their available time, that practically they have of their own accord held in abeyance the exercise of their magisterial powers, conscious of their inability to do Throughout the year 1870, the 17 district justice to these duties. magistrates in this Presidency disposed of 300 cases between themselves, or hardly two cases a month each. During the same time, these same officers committed only 33 cases to the session courts for trial. The district magistrates of Surat, Broach, Ahmednuggur, Khandeish, Rutnagherry and Sattara did absolutely no work under this head of their jurisdiction. These facts show beyond doubt that there has been a virtual abandonment of their judicial functions forced upon these over-worked officers by 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 abstains from exercising his judicial functions. There is no use of retracing our steps; the district collectors have ceased to be working factors in the judicial organization, and the time has come when this fact should be recognized, and some arrangement adopted by which the district collector will be formally permitted to delegate his magisterial charge to one of his senior assistants, who should be entrusted with exclusively judicial work. As regards the younger civilians, there can be no doubt that there is much force in the consideration suggested 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 desired 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 required 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 permanently 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 of 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 administer justice in a foreign language. They do not furnish 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 consideration, except perhaps of financial economy 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 per cent. of the entire number of criminal cases. If the work done by the 33 deputy 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 these 380 officers. Nearly all these officers are in charge 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 of the treasury in the mamlutdar's absence; he is also sub-registrar, and sub-magistrate. Besides these duties, the mamlutdar disposes of cases under Act V. of 1864. The mainlutdar has further to see that the accounts of the village and of the talooka are properly kept, that the ryots have their receipt-books punctually written up, that the cultivation returns are properly made out, that the boundary marks are kept in proper repair. The mainlutdar must afford legitimate help to European travellers; he must call on gentlemen who come to his 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 sale of stolen forest produce, as also of the right of occupancy of waste numbers under the survey rules. They enter in the accounts the names of the heirs of deceased holders of khalsat or summarily-settled inam lands. They certify to the execution of powers-of-attorney and life-certificates. They 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 as members 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 revenue officers are of a sort which unfit them for judicial work. What holds true of the mambatdars holds true, with more or less accuracy, of the head karkoons next in rank to them, and of the deputy collectors over their heads. No wonder these men perform their judicial functions indifferently and in an off-hand That these functions 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 magistrates, and contrasting their results, the disparity that appears is of a sort which should silence the most obstinate advocate of the present order of things. In the department of civil justice, about 90 judicial officers dispose 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 cases 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 officers deciding, 42,500 cases, out of which about 7,000 cases only relate to really heinous offences. While the proportion of rightful to false claims is more than 10 to 1 in the department of civil justice, the proportion of false to true complaints is reversed in the criminal courts, more 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 incredulous that the criminal courts of first instance are not in safe hands, and that reform is needed in their organization. No reform can effect the slightest change for the better which is not based upon as radical a separation of executive and criminal duties as that which has obtained so long in the department of civil justice. As has been shown before, the work devolved upon the subordinate revenue officers is sufficient to employ all their available time and energy, and in their case no political considerations counsel the maintenance of the present system of uniting heterogeneous, and in some sense conflicting, functions. The waste of powers involved in the present arrangement is simply fughtful to contemplate, the weakening of responsibilities, the encouragement given to frivolous complaints, the demoralization of the people caused by this frequent recourse to the police courts, and the mefficiency generally of the work done, are all of a sort which demand a radical change in the direction indicated before. A great deal of this inefficiency is, no doubt, due to the indifferent manner in which the native subordinate magistrates are selected for their posts, and the entire absence of any special 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 observations.

As a summary of the whole of this portion of the discussion, it may be safely stated that the union of executive and criminal functions in the hands of the native subordinate service is condemned on all grounds, and the principle of separation must be carried out as fully in the criminal, as it has long been carried out in the civil, department. Looking at the matter from a common-sense point of view, there is really no intelligible reason, except of financial economy or police convenience, why such a distinction should be made between civil and criminal 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 discuss the question of the nature and extent of judicial training which should be provided for those who aspire to preside over our civil and criminal courts. At present, the native subordinate Judges as a class are selected after a hard competition, which tests the liberal 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 class, 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 subordinate Judges without ever having decided an original case himself. No special test is imposed to ascertain his mastery of the native character and languages beyond what all civilians pass through in the first years of their probation, or of his attainments in the knowledge of the English, Hindu, and Mahomedan Laws. Of course, in the course of years the assistant Judge grows into the experienced district Judge, and makes up for past deficiences as he best can. In the department of criminal justice, the young assistant magistrates learn their business 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 magistrates are, however, sadly neglected in this branch of the service. For the most part, the manulatdars rise from the ranks, and possess little or no judicial training beyond 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 aspirants for magisterial duties.

This is a fair description of the present state of things in this Presidency. The administration of law is becoming daily more and more a matter of special 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 must be fully faced. The native magistrates should be at least on a level with their brothers, the native subordinate Judges. In fact, 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 persons.

Mr. Stephen is lavish in his praise of the small body of Indian codified law. On this point, the writer of these observations has always cherished a feeling that this self-glorification was based considerably on a misconception of the service to which codified law can be turned 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 study or actual practice, enable the student or practitioner to dispense with the great text-books on the subject, or to see his way clearly through all difficulties without the help of judicial decisions. In this respect the latest example is the best. Mr. Stephen's Indian Evidence Act is a masterly specimen of the strength and weakness of codified law. authoritative declarations of the great principles of English Common Law on the subject, its sections can certainly not be equalled in accuracy or exhaustiveness, but it is quite a delusion to suppose that the student will know all he wants to know on the subject by confining himself to the text of the Act. The Act by itself is simply unintelligible, and must be studied in all its amplification in the writings of the great text-writers. The same must be said, in terms 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. 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 experience 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 make law 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-General and Legal Remembrancers and Government Prosecutors upon civilian barristers, who will thus, by dint 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 disposal 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 work required of him. As regards the second suggestion, 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 European and native, who may be qualified for it. The recommendation has been made from time to time by the ablest Indian statesmen; and the anomaly of the present arrangement; based on fancied reasons of State policy, cannot be permitted to last fong without being questioned.

Mr. Stephen, at the close of his observations in this chapter, has expressed his opinion that, while it is every way desirable to open the judicial service in all its grades to native ambition, it is not at all a necessary consequence that the native Judge should be paid at the same rate as his English compeer, for the scale of salaries paid to the English officers is largely based on other considerations than remuneration for work done. This was too particular a remark, and should have found no place in the minute. 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 indigenous sons of the soil. Secondly.—Even in the restricted sense of the word, it includes whole races whose mode of life and standard of living is as expensive as those of Europeans, who have 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 educated. Mr. Daphtare serving in Burmah, or Mr. Tagore in North Canara, or Mr. Jaykar at Aden, have to submit to all the hardships of life of which their European compeers make so much capital. Thirdly.—There is impropriety in paying men like Mr. Dwarkanath Mittra or Mr. Shambhoonath Pandit at the rates of salary received by the European Judges, when it is remembered that both these able men made more money at the Bar than they ever got as Judges. Fourthly.-The whole moral advantage of such nominations of native officers to posts 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 matter 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 understand that this unequal struggle for place and power maintained by the ambitious class of natives, resulting in the gradual encroachment of the privileges of the ruling class, is not entirely sordid in its character; it, in fact embodies the principles of the old Roman struggle between the patriciaus 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, Mr. Stephen, and those who advocate his views, forget what the responsibilities and demands of social position are which a native in high place is called upon to meet. Society is still patriarchial with us, and the number of poor relations who learn to be dependent upon the kindness of a well-to-do native has absolutely no counterpart in English domestic economy. These considerations ought always to have due weight allowed to them whenever proposals of a reactionary tendency 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 civil and criminal procedure. It has been already stated, at the commencement of these observations, that all the particular suggestions made in this chapter relating to criminal procedure have been embodied in the new Act, and the entire 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 municipal laws by the great liberty it allows to parties cast in one court to renew their fight in a court of appeal. A judgment once given by a competent Judge who hears and records evidence on both sides, ought, as a rule to be final for all purposes. If the Judge turns out to be incompetent or corrupt, he may be removed from his post, and due care taken to select the most competent men for the post vacated. Parties 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 Judge's decision should not be equally final, simply because he is a wellqualified, and in most cases a perfectly fair and impartial, Judge, which cannot be oftentimes said with truth about private judges or referees. The present system of procedure seems to suspect that no man's honesty or competence can be accepted as certain, and provides, both in civil and criminal matters, an absolute right of appeal both on questions of fact and law. As if this was not enough, the same spirit of jealousy 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 nobody 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 gives a proportion of nearly 3 per cent. Out of the 128,000 cases disposed 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 confirmed, the only 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 confirmations reduces the proportion of cases in which there was a presumably legitimate occasion for appeal 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 these lower appellate courts reverse the 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 present 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, together with 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 not counter-balanced in the long run by the gain to the rightful parties who succeed in the remaining 20 per cent. of successful appeals. What holds true of civil suits is equally true of criminal cases. Out of 42,500 trials held in 1870, there were only 3,000 appeals, and in these 7 per cent. of appeals, more than two-thirds resulted in the confirmation of the sentences passed. The uselessness of keeping up the costly machinery of a double system of appellate courts will be thus plain to the most ardent admirer of the present arrangements. The benefits, if any, must be of a very questionable kind, seeing that the appellate courts 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., that the first appeal is always an appeal from a well-informed to an ill-informed tribunal-from a Judge of considerable standing and experience, versed in native languages and perfectly acquainted with native character, and hearing and recording the story as told by the witnesses 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 court gave due credit to the testimony of the witnesses. As if this was not enough, there is a further degree of absurdity in store. The verdict of this ill-informed Judge, judging of facts from the record before him, is declared to be final on points of fact, although from his judgment on points of law an appeal is allowed to the High Court. The system of complex checks, as it is at present devised and worked, simply therefore defeats itself, and works injustice and demoralization to an extent indescribable in words. Notwithstanding these acknowledged evils, Mr. Stephen would retain one stage of appeal as a matter of course for the indirect service rendered in checking official indifference and abuse, and proposes only to do away with the present system of double and 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. Stephen, touched upon most of the questions discussed in these last chapters. 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 Small Cause Courts in the Mofusul, this right of appeal has been taken away from the litigant classes in the larger towns, and there is no earthly reason why the more simple disputes which make up the litigation of the rural classes should need this protection, 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 opinions 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 final disposition more liberally accorded to the inferior courts, coincide 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 civil courts in this Presidency.

The last question 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 economy and increased employment of the natives. On this part of the subject also, the writer can do nothing better than refer to his chapter of suggestions for reform in the constitution of the district and subordinate courts. The general direction of the reform suggested therein points to the re-construction of the courts in every zills on the model of the Presidency High Court, and the Presidency Small Cause Courts and the police courts. This would require,—(1) that the subordinate civil courts should be turned into small cause courts, their jurisdiction of cland suits, and suits involving status and questions of involved accounts, being transferred to the central zills court; (2) that this central zills court should consist of four or five Judges, including two anothers of the civil

service and three uncovenanted Judges, sitting together or in division benches, and disposing of the whole of the heavy litigation in the original stage, for which work these Judges will find ample time by reason of their being relieved from all appeal work; (3) no appeal should he 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 should lie from the district court to the High Court, (5) on the criminal side, the subordinate civil Judges. being relieved of their heavy civil work, should dispose of all cases 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 burdened with no other revenue or executive work; (7) these latter officers should also commit persons charged with the more beingus offences to the sessions of the district High Courts, where the district Judge, with one native magistrate, should dispose of the heavy cases. This is, in brief, the scheme which coincides in the main with the liews stated by Mr. Stephen in this portion of his minute. Mr. Justice Phear and Mr. Justice Jackson seem to hold precisely the same views upon this subject. Mr. Stephen's scheme relates only to the re-construction of the district courts, but it is impossible to construct the district courts on a proper footing without taking into account the subordinate relation of the inferior courts under their supervision. Under the plan proposed in these observations, the present anomalous character of the criminal courts will cease, and they will take their place in the graduated series of inferior and superior courts; their independence,—that is, their freedom from distraction caused by the prejudices and exactions of revenue 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 system of double appeals will be done away with, and the consequent waste of money and time and trouble and talents will be saved; the judicial service will be for the first time opened to the natives on equal terms, and European and native officers will learn to profit by each other's biulation; and last, not least, by the strengthening of the district courts, the profussil bar will acquire a status and an influence which it often lacks at present.

These observations have extended over a larger space than was at first anticipated, and here accordingly they find their fitting close.

# BARODA ADMINISTRATION

IN

1874.

 $\frac{g}{P}$  8

# A STATEMENT

In Reply to Remarks in the Baroda

Blue Book of 1875,

CONCERNING DADABHAI NAOROJI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

BY

DADABHAI NAOROYI.

LONDON:

Printed by vincent brooks, day and son, gate street, it mounts in yields.

# 182, GIRGAUM BACK ROAD, BOMBAY, 25th November, 1875.

To E. W. RAVENSCROFT, Esq.,

Sir, Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

I beg to submit to the Bombay Government the accompanying Statement in reply to the remarks contained in the Baroda Blue Book of this year, concerning myself and my Colleagues. I also send two more copies herewith, and I shall feel obliged by Government forwarding one to His Excellency the Viceroy, and the other to the Secretary of State for India, with a request on my behalf that in simple justice to us this Statement may also be laid before Parliament.

I remain, your obedient Servant,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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

To THE MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

My Lord, Secretary of State for India, India Office.

On 25th November, 1875, I addressed a letter to the Government of Bombay, accompanied by a Statement in reply to remarks in the Baroda Blue Book of 1875, concerning myself and my Colleagues. I enclose a copy of the letter with the Statement attached.

In reply to this letter, the Government of Bombay, in their letter dated and December, 1875, inform me:—"as desired by you a copy of the Statement will be transmitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Her Mujesty's

Secretary of State for India."

I now beg to request your Lordship will be pleased to direct to favor me here with your Lordship's reply to my request, that the Statement may

also be published as a Blue Book.

My only object in making this request, as a matter of simple justice, is, that my defence should be placed among the same Public Records, in which the untruthful attacks upon our honor, character and capacity have been published to the world.

I remain, your Lordship's obedient Servant, DADABHAI NAOROJI.

> INDIA OFFICE, 18th April, 1875.

Sir,

I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd ultimo, and to acquaint you in reply that It is Lordship in Council is not prepared to recommend the presentation to Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, of the Statement forwarded therewith, in regard to your conduct in connection with Baroda affairs.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq. GEORGE HAMILTON.

### THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 14th August, 1879. NOTICES OF MOTIONS.

2. SIR EARDLEY WILMOT,—East India (Baroda),—Address for Return of "A Statement in reply to remarks in the Baroda Blue Books of 1875, concerning Dadabhai Naoroji and his Colleagues," by Dadabhai Naoroji, addressed to the Government of Bombay on the 25th day of November 1875, and a copy of which has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for India-by the Bombay Government.

[The Return was not granted by the Secretary of State for India.]

## A STATEMENT

# IN REPLY TO REMARKS IN THE BARODA BLUE BOOK of 1875.

CONCERNING DADABHAI NAOROJI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

By DADABHAI NAORO7I.

### BLUE BOOK\* No. 1.

On 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 explain or refute them all in detail would be like trying to cut down a swarm of mosquitos with a sword. Moreover it will be now an utterly unprofitable thing to enter into a minute examination of the details of every day work of administration and for which, besides, I should have the Baroda Records before me. It will be sufficient for me to say, as it will be apparent hereafter, that from the very beginning, Colonel Phayre has taken a jaundiced view of my and my Colleagues' motives and actions. I confine myself to an exposure of only the most glaring misrepresentations and falsehoods, 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 also be for Colonel Phayre to say whether the various messages from and reports about him which I have given hereafter require any correction.

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

When Colonel 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 lók haé, kuch nahi samajté," (the Calcuttawalas are mere children, don't understand any thing) and suddenly turned very sympathetic towards the Gaekwar, encouraging him in his desire to remonstrate against the appointment of the Commission. He then so far showed his cordiality that the draft of the Khareeta received a perusal and some fostering and suggestive care at his hands; and the Khareeta

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

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 Resident 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, in 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 work of "State reform," by the advice and co-operation of Colonel Phayre?"

How significant is all this when read by the light of its little history, and it is no wonder that Colonel Phayre should look fondly back to the

Khareeta of 25th 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 Gaekwar, 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 cordiality 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 21. 18th August 1873, "I am always kept well informed of Durbar proceedings." Judging from this case and from what I 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 61. His Excellency the Viceroy gives the Khareeta of 31st 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 experage 64. There 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 proposed 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 arrangement."

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

<sup>\*</sup> Not all Parsees, - One Parses, one Hindu and one Mahomadan.

had, 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 estimation of many persons both here and in England, and would no doubt make every elfort in his power to introduce a better system of Government;" and Mr. Tucker, the first Councillor in the Bombay Government, says in his minute, "Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee is without administrative experience, but he is a man of some culture and intelligence, and with a constitutional form of government, 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 against me, I have, I submit, just grounds to complain. 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, say: "But his Excellency feels precluded from entertaining 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 Ministers and confidential retainers, 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 India 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 essential, as I am further instructed to solicit from the Government of India, authority to appoint a British Commission for the purpose 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 thwarted during its progress by the Ministers 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).

"The Government of Bombay have suggested that the Gaekwar should Page 31. be advised to suspend 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."

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 various difficulties in my way, Mr. Lee Warner encouraged me with the remark, that the British Government had taken 60 years to do what they had done in this Presidency and that much yet remained to be done, and His Excellency himself, at my parting, in a most kindly way told me "go on quietly." Had I dismissed or suspended any of the old Ministers, as matters are now disclosed by the Blue Book, Colonel Phayre would have turned round upon me, to denounce me on my back, as having insulted the Viceroy by doing what the Viceroy had expressly desired, was not to be done. Again while the Bombay Government object to Nanasaheb having been allowed to remain as Pritinidhi near the person of the Gaekwar, they forget, that they themselves not only allowed him to remain so, but even as the Dewan, by not recognising my appointment and thereby not only retaining but aggravating the very evil they complain of. Bombay Government having thus made up their mind to object to my appointment, without expressing it to me or to the Gackwar, not only gave me no moral support but refused to me the aid of Government officials which I solicited 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 Phayre, opportunities of misrepresenting and maligning me and my Colleagues to him for their own private ends, and he, as now appears from the Blue Book, was only too willing to hear them, and to turn their 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 hands 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 existing Page 71. 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 accuracy of his knowledge of the subjects upon which he was examined or of

his readiness in applying what he did know."

I cannot blame Mr. Tucker for his impression. My examination has a little history 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 dragged me, against my remonstrances into questions with which I had nothing to do. I had, previous to appearing before the Committee, shown my notes to an influential and active 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 thought 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 little 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 some fair treatment given me. Be this as it may; I am not the less thankful to Mr. Tucker for his opinion which I have already quoted before.

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 32 and my Colleagues), that the old Durbarees were then making efforts to thwart us, though they had been only nominally associated with my Colleagues. But these Durbarees began to take heart, and lead back the Maharaja to his old bad ways, because the Bombay Government 1efused to aid 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 30-bhoy 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 against 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 towards 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 Report 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 9th May with a P.S. of 11th May, with reference to the Gaekwar's Khareeta of 9th May, makes some remarks about me. Before noticing 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 future 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 hands) he would "Girengá or Giráengá" (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 5th December 1872, alludes in an insinuating way to my obtaining Rs. 50,000 for the writing of it and for the agitation of the

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 Phayre calls me a "thorougly disappointed man," "unanimously pronounced to be a failure here as an aspirant to the office of Minister 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 bias against me should welcome such opinion and make a special note of it to Government.

The fact simply being that some of the Durbarees were then endeavouring to thwart us under the circumstances I have already mentioned in connection with Mr. Gibbs' Minute, and they took advantage of the

Colonel's inclinations against me.

Colonel Phayre says that Nanasaheb repudiated the obvious direct meaning of the words "much as I already suffered in dignity and authority from the Resident's open hostility to my administration" &c. First o' all the obvious meaning of this is simply a fact, there was nothing And next, if Nanasaheb made any show of repudiating a to repudiate single word of the Khareeta, 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, Nanasaheb 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 I wrote it out, as I and Mr. Wadia agreed that this desire 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 is either 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 political 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 conclusion. 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 about 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 Hindustani to the Maharaja. Heaven knows how much mischief may have arisen from the Colonel's misunderstanding and being mis-

understood 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 Highness, 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 name of Government, I do not know;

or is it an invention of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy

I find from this Blue Book some expression of disapprobation against His Highness on the part of the Viceroy, with reference to the correspondence upon the subject of the insult and especially about His Highness's yad of 7th May 1874, to the Resident. I do not at present undertake to controvert His Excellency's views. I need simply say that as far as I remember, this disapprobation has not been communicated to the Gackwar and there was, therefore, no opportunity of 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 suggested and dictated in Marathi by one of the old Durbarees, 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 variety of complaints. Instead of wading through each case it will be sufficient to give a general explanation for the whole. "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 complain loudly at the least real or imaginary coercion by the authorities. Then either 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 commenced any question or inquiry, they would refuse to answer, threaten us they would go back to the Saheb and complain that their complaints 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 complaints, hurl vexatious yads to us and write letters to Government inclosing petitions, or statements taken by himself, containing all sorts of falschoods and exaggerations. In short either we should give all that everybody 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 carry out the recommendations of the Commission &c. &c. In this way was the farce of coming to us and getting no redress, and a continued agitation were kept up among all classes of complainants. It was simply impossible for us to come to any measonable settlement with any complainants. 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 advice 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 my knowledge lately that, after a certain individual obtained redress directly from the Durbar, he found the doors of the Residency shut against him for any visits. In the case of two or three settlements made by me the parties in a day or two withdrew from the arrangements and were again among the crowd of complainants meeting at the Residency. It is uscless now to go into all the details of the long correspondence in the 4th Number of the Blue Book. I would only glance at some important matters.

With reference 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 19th October 1874, viz. "also whether, referring to

rage 17 my yad No. 1502 C. 7, dated 12th August 1874, any, and if so,
what steps have been taken by your Highness towards settling

the grievances of this class."

Now in connection with this subject of the Sirdars while he is writing to Government about my inexperience and my inability to grasp general principles &c., the following will explain his own actual conduct in the matter. To the above question put by him, a reply was sent, but somehow that reply does 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, I proposed to him as the most practicable and shortest way of settling all the claims brought before the Commission, and chiefly 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 be settled; that I would endeavour to carry out at once such views as I 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 proposal he agreed; and gave me a statement of his views on some cases. Then he stopped, and whenever I 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 The Gaekwar's reply then naturally was a reminder of our arrangement and the Colonel was red-hot angry with me when I visited 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 he could, and if I remember 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 complainants themselves was out of the question, as long as they entertained 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 himself was the chief cause of the delay in the settlement of the Sirdars' cases, and yet he makes so much artful fuss about my inexperience, inability, &c. &c. to Government

In his letter of 11th August, Colonel Phayre says "His Highness has long wanted to part from Mr. Dadabhai himself, but he Page 23-fears, as I before 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 time I would never he in his way for a moment and I never held out to him any of my supposed "home influence" or even of any excition 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 am reliably informed, went so far a day or two ago as to draw up an agreement of 25 articles 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 25th ultimo." As I have to notice this misrepresentation further on when it is again repeated, I pass on to the next statement with the simple remark, that it betrays a ridiculous credulity to suppose that I could ask the Maharaja to "make over the Raj" to me and my party. But he had "reliable" imformation, of course, from

his "highly respectable" imformers!

The Colonel says, "when consulted I gave my decided opinion that Mr. Dadabhai and his party had not the knowledge, ability, experience or weight of character sufficient to carry out the reforms needed in every department of the State." Certainly, 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 one of my Colleagues the Naeb Dewanship, which was declined. Men like "the honourable and perfectly reliable" the Bhaoo Poonekar, to whom I am told the Colonel has given a flaming certificate and whose transcendent merit, he has also recorded in the Residency, and the "highly respectable" informers of the proceedings of the Durbar, who traitors to their master, also managed to sell the Colonel for their private ends, were men to the Colonel's heart. By the bye what should be thought of an English gentleman, fraternising with and encouraging men in the confidence of their master to become his informers. What wonder then that we, not possessing the knowledge, ability, 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." I suppose this is also the information from his "highly respectable" informers. I am speaking in no spirit of boastfulness, but I may say, that the mark we have left and the confidence we have inspired among all classes of the people, (except the harpies, 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 English 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 active 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 interviews 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 L. Pelly testifies that "Until purged by the administra-No, 6, Page 42. tion of Mr. Dadabhoy, the criminal and civil administration

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 chief 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 by us. Only four of us had to slave the whole routine work till nearly the time we left. At first, the Bombay Government refused us the aid of the officials 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 Durbarces 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 faith 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 fair 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 aid of men I wanted to carry out the reforms, and that I could not have had any fair trial, he endeavours to mislead Government "that judging from the fair trial which Mr. Dadabhai has had for the last nine months and Mr. Kazi Shahabudin for five, together with the Page 24 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 Bombay 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 certainty be stated that we had a fair trial.

The Colonel says "that I doubted if men of ability and character from British districts would serve under Mr. Dadabhai" Certainly the Colonel may well doubt that his men of character and ability like Mr. Bapoobhoy would like to apply to serve under me lest they may not be accepted. As to men like Messrs Mahadov Govind Ranade, Nana Morojee, Dosabhoy Framji, Gopalmo Hurri Desh Mook, The Honorable V. N. Mandlik, Mr. Pestonji Jehangir, Mr. Shambhooprasad and others, they of course do not, I suppose, possess any character and ability in the Colonel's eyes. If I said that Sir T. Madava Row might not have objected to serve under me, would be of no avail. None of these can reach the high standard of the "respectable" Bapoobhoy 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," i.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, either 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 came 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 for his and his State's good; and that he had therefore to make up his mind as he thought best and only express his 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 Pratinidhi, drags me in as follows:—"That if this was the kind of reform His Highness was going to carry out under Mr. Dadabhai's administration, it could only end in one result, and that very shortly." Now as a mere matter of opinion I 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 Pratinidhiship. 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 "injudicious." But they could have hardly 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 before the Commission) began teasing him that, after all, the Gaekwar was going to have his own way in the appointment of his Minister and a trial for 17 months, Colonel Phayre was then reported to have said that he would bring down my administration within 2 or 3 months by raising all Baroda territory up against it. I had laughed out this report at the 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 Colonel 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 rebellion (which with the spark of a single basty step on my part might have barst out into a conflagration); also calling to mind that only 2 days before he wrote his letter under comment, he had sent among other messages to the Gaekwar, with his "respectable" Bapoobhoy and Govindrao Mama, that my appointment would be war and not peace and that it would bring about His Highness' ruin in 3 months; and remembering the way in which the Colonel had once blurted out to me that the Gaekwar had narrowly 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 report. The Colonel can say. whether it was true or not, but one thing seems totain, 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-esteem. 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. Colonel communicates to Government, "and at last Bapoobhoy 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 Durbarees, 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 Bapoobhoy 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 guidance 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 have 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 immediately withdrawing and altering the yad when the Colonel mentioned his objection. This somehow does not appear in the Blue Book. I had no more idea of insulting him in this or any other way than of taking his place, though the Colonel gave me the credit of calling this a manœuvre on my part for some sinister object. About the second "Manœuvre" with which I am credited as having said that when advice is wanted 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 Gackwar could have been expected to give."

Now comes the Colonel's highest effort to dislodge me and my party; his letter of 15th August 1874 which requires some detailed notice. I pass over his third or fourth dinning into the ears of Government about my and my party's incapability to effect reforms. Repetition seems to be in the eyes of the Colonel a grand argument. The statement in the second para, that it was under my advice the Gaekwar had refused to go to Bombay during the Vicero's visit, is untrue. The statement that I persuaded the weak minded Malharrao to appoint me his agent in England, is untrue. And the Colonel can have no excuse of being misinformed on this subject; Not only had I publicly\* denied

ANNUAL MEETING ON THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, AUGUST 6, 1873.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that, before the vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed, he desired to make some brief explanations to the members, and this perhaps was the most fitting of portunity. With regard so the dopations given by the Princes of India, there was, it appeared, some misapprehension. Although, he Council had clearly and unequivocally, showth that these donations had been given entirely upon public grounds, and simply for the general good of the country, he would now emphanically repeat this in order that there might be no misunderstanding or misapprehension on that points.—These was absolutely no condition, no promise, no hope, held out that the donors should have any personal interest or benefit from the efforts made by the Association in England. He wished it to be distinctly understood that there were no more conditions attached to the donations than to the ordinary yearly subscriptions or donations of any of the members present, except that the gifts were princely, as became the gifts of princes. Any contrary opinion would seriously endanger the position of the Association, and therefore he wished to set the matter at rest at once and, he hoped, for ever. In further explanation, he might add that is his journey through Western India, he visited the Court of Paroda in March last year, to solicit support, but his Highness was not inclined to do anything. Some months afterwards, however, he recuved a letter inviting him to return, and when he went, his Highness asked his advice and assistance on certain private affairs. He accordingly undertook the performance of certain work for His Highness, without having any idea of expecting anything like pecuniary remineration. But his Highness urged that the service performed was at great value to him, and—finding that a personal recommense would not be acceptable—he missisted upon making a provision for his (the speaker's) children to the extent of Rs 50,000. (Hear, hear.) He (the speaker) felt the great delicacy of the position to the extent of Rs

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 "Manœuvre" comes with very ill grace indeed from the Colonel who himself tells Government "I amalways kept well informed of Durbar proceedings ' and who had "highly respectable" persons of the Durbar to keep him "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 which 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 impulse, 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.

I again pass over the Colonel's remarks in the 5th para, about my unfitness &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 pending; there is the reglect to take notice of Government references of the most urgest kind; there is the injury done to our trade, and the direct act of disrespect blown to the Resident in the

more for his honour than his pockets—and they told firm that, matheir opinion, he need not have the slightest hesitation in accepting the provision for left shabers—(hear, lear)—especially as he had earned it by honest and valued labour. (Hear, hear.) Liber, he was undecided in the matter, and he had since consulted some of his English friends in English, the had been given the alignest hesitation in the matter, and that he was bound to allow his children the benefit of his work (Hear, hear). He would not have troubled the meeting with his explantion about a private affair, but a public character had been given to the circumstance, and it that also supposed that he had undertaken some agency of his Highness, and had come over the England to fight his cause or to excite the East India Association to do so, and to advance his personal interests. This was altogether wrong. (Hear, hear.) He had heard in Bombay that certain high officials had entertained mapprehensions of the kind to which he referred, and only the other day, when in the Committee-room of the House of Commons, a gentleman high in authority, and for whom he had respect, said "If you are going to give any evidence about Native Princes, I should look out for you." [This Gentleman afterwards explained to me that he meant no reference to the report about my accepting agencies, but simply to my views about Native States.] This confismed his suspicion that some misar prehension existed. It was to dispel this misapprehension that he held an agency, that he had ventured to trespass on the time of the Association in making this explanation, and he would distinctly repeat that he had always felt his position in regard to the Association to be so peculiarly delicate, that, although it was probable that he might have experienced little difficulty in making, two or three lacs if he had chosen to undertake agencies, he had throughout maintained strictly his resolve that his character and conduct should be entirely above suspicion, and therefore to all such offers

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 25th July 1874, to our own account by endeavouring to induce the Gaekwar

to sign "an agreement" to the general effect that the administration 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 extraordinary "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 practice of deciding judicial cases by Nazránás. 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 Nazráná 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 magnified 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 interrupted 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, I sent word with Mr. Wadia that we must go and that he was simply wasting time and words and was much mistaken if he thought we would care a straw for our places, and allow him and

his mandal to go back to their old ways.

He was now fairly roused and earnestly 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 Phayre calls an "agreement of 25 articles" to "make over the Raj to us" and which proved such a nightmare 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 him see clearly what we considered necessary for preventing the old abuses from creeping in again, and for making proper reform, if we were to serve 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 circum-I give below\* translation of the monstrous "agreement" of 25

#### \* To HIS HIGHNESS SHRIMANT SIRKAR.

Ajam Hormusjee has communicated to me all that Sirkar said to him in Shrimant Nanasahabab house , after that Sirkar sent to me Nanasaheb and Rajeshree Damodarpunt. I tolu them to communicate to Sirkar that if the substance of what Sirkar told Ajam Hormusjee be as stated below, I cannot carry on the work.

1. No body can ever alter Sircar's orders.

Sircar will give orders as he like 2.

3. Sircar will spend as much as he like altogether.
4 To take 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 Sircar and promised to get a reply from him, but 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 with willingness. Thereupon Sircar told Ajam Hormusjee

to bring a memo. of what Dadabhai sett wanted.

Now if Sircar determine to continue in the same views which he expressed to Ajam Hormusjee, I cannot carry on the administration. Had I known such views at the commencement, I would not have undertaken the work, and if the Sircar's present views remain the same I have then no hope that my views would be accepted. But as Sircar has desired to let him know my views, I cannot but accede. My simple object is the Sirkars, and Sirkar's State's welfare, otherwise I have no business here. The chief foundation of the State must be laid upon justice and fairness.

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

Written orders should be sent to all departments, that orders written in the name of the Sircar or Hazor and countersigned by Dadabhai are only to be obeyed. No other orders should be obeyed.

First Explanation. The necessity for my counter-signature is only this, that the order to be made coming to my knowledge. I may be able to give my opinion or advice, or make any inquiry that may be necessary and should there be any mistake or misunderstanding, I may be also to

explain it So that proper orders alone may be given.

Second Explanation Sucar says that if on some occasion, under a pressure from the Raneesaheb the Sircar gave direct orders without my knowledge I should not object to that. About this I have to submit with every respect, that if on even a single occasion Sircar would give a direct order, people will bring recommendation to Sircar and Raneesaheb and constantly interfere with the regular course of business. "Bandobust" is such a thing that if one link is broken the whole chain is rendered useless. With one irregular instance Sirvar will lose all his praise, (1)

2. All "chities" or orders for payment on the State Banks must be initialed by me. Without that no payments should be made from the "Dookans"—such order must be made to the "Dookans." (2)

A certain amount should be fixed for Sircar's private expenditure including that of his "Khangi Mandal" or private friends and attendants. (3)

4. It is necessary to engage the services of several new fit men, and to increase the salaries of fit men already in the service and to make several reforms and alterations. For this purpose I should

(2) Without this arrangement irregular expenditure could not be checked.

This I had explained was unintelligible to me. It was meant, I suppose, that I was only to execute orders given by the Gaikwar.

<sup>(1)</sup> One additional important reason was that the Durharees and even Jasoes would now and then take advantage of giving orders in the Gaekwar's name.

<sup>(3)</sup> Without this it was impossible to bring Finances into order.

articles 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; viz., 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 ordinary every-day administration, 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 responsibility 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 feature that it was mainly 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. Colonel Phayre, however, makes out the "agreement" as being proposed by us a day or two before his letter of 11th August, and as being "one of our first efforts" 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 Phayre, as being solicitous to save their master from the clutches of the Monsters who were going to devour the Riasat! When the Viceroy's Khareeta of 25th July, arrived on 3rd August, its consideration engrossed the attention of the Gaekwar, 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 "determined personal opposition to me," and his encouragement to Bapoobhoy and to Nanasaheb as I had then heard.

have permission to spend five lakhs per annum more for three years, than the present (administration) expenditure, (of course) expend ture will be incurred as necessary only. (4)
Like the above His Highness the Holkar has arranged with Sir T. Madava Rov.

What I am not to do without the sanction of the Sircar.

 To give land or village to any body.
 To incur any new charitable or religious expenditure, or to make a present of more than Rs. 500 to any body. To bestow a charitable, or other annuity on any body.

To make new laws. To entertain or dismiss servants of salary exceeding Rs. 500 per month.

To alter the rates of assessment.

To do any public work costing above Rs. 1000.

Englineation. Sirear should give these sanctions personally, it is hoped that Sirear reposing confidence in me will give sanction quickly. Delay or inconvenience in the sanction, would produce disappointment and a check to hearty work. For taking such sanction Sircar should fix a place and time, to enable me to have private interviews for a certain time every day.

6. Nothing should be done contrary to the existing Revenue, Civil and Criminal laws, till altered by new laws.

7. All correspondence with the British Government to be carried on according to the satisfaction and sanction of the Sircar. [18. No Nazrana whatever should be taken in matters of justice, or of appointments or dismissal

of office ds. Exp anation. In no case old or new, should any Nazrana be taken by any body. The cases of Vaso and Majmoodar must be inquired into and decided according to justice.

g Several high officials ought to be made to resign their Dubaree posts.

10. Should Surcar have to make any appointment in state—service, I should be consulted.

Explanation. Moteram Dulpatram had once applied to me for service. I had refused. Sircar knew this, and yet without asking me Sircar has engaged him to do some secret Political work. This is against 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 most essentially necessary for the Sircar to make a thorough determina-tion, not to disturb it afterwards. It is my duty to preserve in tact the rights and increase the fame of Sircar and I shall not fail to do all I can in that way. Date 31st July 1874. (Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI.

<sup>(4)</sup> Under the circumstances of the time, when the old Durbarees always endeavoured "to thwart" reforms, this latitude as well as that of the sub-clause 5 of clause 5 became an absolute necessity.

When this came to our knowledge, we at once actually gave in our resignations on the 9th of August, so that the Gaekwar was left completely free 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 pressure of entreaty upon us, not to leave him, that we felt ourselves forced to withdraw our resignations. When Colonel Phayre must have heard that His Highness would not allow us to go:-Bapoobhoy and Govindrao-mama brought a message from the Colonel to the Gackwar on the 11th of August. that His Highness should not appoint me, should turn all four of 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 better than I, that he would shut up the Bangalo if I was appointed Dewan, that my appointment would be war and not peace, and that it would bring about His Highness' ruin in three months, &c., &c. Further in the evening we heard that Bapoobhoy was also one of the Colonel's contemplated We again told His Highness that the Colonel was really Cabinet. 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 British 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 The Gaekwar, however, made up his mind and sent the yad for military honors to be accorded to me as Dewan, on the 14th of August. This yad brought forth this letter of 15th August, which I am commenting upon, and which is a tissue from beginning to end of misrepresentations Of the rest of the letter from para. 7 and of and false statements. 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 either his extraordinary gullibility and carelessness, or his desire to misrepresent me.

"The salary," says he, "of the new Dewan, Mr. Dadabhai

Page 60. 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 Rupees were for the maintenance of an elephant and for other state-ceremonial requirements for the Dewan, 1000 of them being "palkhi" allowance.

The Report of 2nd November is in itself the best proof of the undue and vexatious interference of the Colonel which most seriously 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 31st of December 1875 till the 31st March 1876."

Page 75.

In para. 145 of this report, the Colonel writes as a matter of complaint against me, that "Again in a Khareeta written by Mr. Dadabhai to Ilis 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 said 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 "alto Chor Kotwal ne dande" (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 13th April. After reading and explaining the report, a short Khareeta was prepared the next day,\* as the Gaekwar desired and we approved. This was copied fair, signed and scaled on the 15th April. The next morning Nanasaheb took it to Colonel Phayre. On 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 leave the old Durbarces out in the cold. A full reply should at once be made to the Report. The Khareeta 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 still 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 Highness took time to consider and agreed with us. Another Khareeta, with certain addition to meet his wishes to some extent, was prepared, adopted, copied fair 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

<sup>\*</sup> I have received with pleasure your Excellency's friendly Khareeta of 31st March 1874, with a copy of the Report of the Commission.

a copy of the Keport of the Commission.

In my Khareeta of 31st December 1873, I had requested to be furnished 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 advice to be given to me. As your Fxcellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I shall take the opportunity of expressing my views upon the Report, when I shall reply to your Excellency's friendly Khareeta containing that advice. I beg to express &c &c

discharged our duty to give him out best advice. The Resident's recommendation and sympathy carried the day. A telegram was prepared to be sent at once to the Viceroy and a corresponding alteration was unade in the Kharceta, as follows. In the rejected Kharceta, 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 about my general administration, and more particularly even about my personal conduct and that of my Dewan from which I should naturally desire to clear ourselves at an early opportunity. I need only say at present that I have an earnest desire &c."

For this was substituted;—"As your Excellency, however, is to communicate to me shortly your friendly advice, I have

telegraphed to your Excellency that should the opinions and recommendations of the Report of the Commission be likely to influence your Excellency adversely to my rights, I request your Excellency to postpone determining upon the friendly advice to be given to me till my reply to the Report is received by your Excellency. I am preparing this full reply to the Report. In the meantime &c." With this alteration the Khareeta was sent on 19th April 1874, and to which the Colonel refers in a way, as if I had done something very wrong and encouraged the Gaekwar to give a full reply. Now, be my advice sound or mistaken, it is strange that Colonel Phayre who is himself the cause of the complaint he makes, fathers it upon me and in a way to insinuate a prejudice against me in the mind of the Viceroy. Or did his "respectable" Bapoobhoy, Nanasaheb and others invent the message from him that he strongly advised a full immediate reply. And I may also ask whether his "highly respectable" informers who "kept him well informed of the proceedings of the Durbar," had told him or not that we were all along openly against 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 really recommended the reply, and then make the offer to reply, as a matter 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 should be opened when too late to his blind faith in his "respectables" and "honorables" and the injustice and mischief that must have been caused thereby.

I may here ask the Colonel whether his friend ever informed 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 Highness 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.barces. While I have on the one hand, done my best to serve the Gaekwar faithfully and to take care of his legitimate rights and interests, I have never, on the other hand, failed in or shirked my duty to advise him, and to have 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 appointPage 63. ment we were entirely subject to the will of the Gackwar, implying
as if we were bound to allow the Gackwar 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 not
allow the Gackwar to do as he willed but at once protested against and

why, that monstrous "agreement" which frightened the Colonel so much, was the result of this very position that we would not submit to allow the Gaekwar, or his Durbarees in his name, to do anything 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 serve on such conditions.

After thus briefly noticing some of the most glaring misreprensations and falsehoods in Colonel Phayre's writings, I pass over without notice his remarks upon the Gaekwar's Khareeta of 2nd November 1874, as, first, they are mostly a repetition of what had been stated by him before, and upon the glaring portion 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 27th November 1874.

The despatch says "the Gaekwar has addressed the Viceroy a Page 104. Khareeta in which His Highness has in temperate language begged for the removal of Colonel Phayre \*\* "We are constrained to admit (apart from certain 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 Phayre's proceedings"

Again the Indian Government in their despatch to the No 5, page 4 Secretary of State, of 15th 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 Salisbury in his despatch of 15th April 1875 savs No 4, page 106 "His (Colonel Phayre's) character was little fitted for the delicate duties with which he had been recently charged, and his departure from the orders he had received was too serious to be overlooked."

Again in their despatch of 29th April 1875, to the Secretary of State, the Indian Government do me the justice (for No 5, page 43 which I feel thankful) to say "shortly after Sir Lewis Pelly's arrival, Mr. Dadabhoy Naorojee, the Minister in whom Mulhar Rao professed to place confidence, and who, so far as we could judge, 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 3rd June 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 poisoning, 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 communicated to the Gackwar on 21st 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 25th December, I repeated those reasons at an interview at the Residency between His Highness, Sir Lewis Pelly and myself. 1st, I reminded His Highness that I had undertaken the duties of the Dewan at his pressing request, that I had plainly given him my condition in acceding 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-

<sup>-</sup> The liance are mine.

tions and that notwithstanding all this, he had, during the past week or so allowed himself to play in the hands of his old Durbarees, and forgotten that he had requested me to become his Dewan and not a Karkoon merely to obey his biddings. 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, Govindrao Mama, Kharhar, Hurybadada (Nana Saheb having himself offered to leave Baroda for some time) and several 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. I then expressed 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 Colleagues, who had wilfully 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 Phayre's views that no officials of weight and character from the British districts would like to serve under me, and that my selections would agree to serve under the old Baroda ways.

I pass over Colonel Phayre's last shot, fired a day after No. 6, page 5. 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 imaginary as many other things 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 matters

concerning me personally which were referred to at the enquiry.

It is true that I received the resolution of May 1872. The history of the affur is simply this. Mr. Hurrychund Chintamon, who is at present in England as II.s Highness's agent, obtained a copy, and I believe honestly, from an English friend in England. It was when he sent it to me about last June that His Highness, myself and my colleagues came to know of it. Mr. Hurrychund brought the existence of this resolution to the notice of Lord Salisbury on the 24th June last. The document was given to the defence by me, as I had received it. In the course of a conversation I mentioned the resolution to Sir Lewis Pelly. He asked for a copy of it and I gave it.

Colonel Phayre says I made no complaints to him about his course of proceedings. 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 assistance in his power. Had I been so fortunate as to have received that assistance in no necessity would have arisen to write the Khareeta of 2nd November. Colonel Phayre says I more than once acknowledged the assistance he had given me in the matter of the Sirdar 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 complaints 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, DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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

Bombay, 25th November, 1875. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

#### LETTERS FROM SIR BARTLE FRERE.

Private.

Nov., 7th, 1873.

#### DEAR DADABHOY.

I can only repeat the advice I gave you at starting. The Government here MUST support the Government of Bombay, when the Gaekwar tries 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 likelled.

It is a great pity that he cannot be allowed to get the best advice pro-

It is a great pity that he cannot be allowed to get the best advice procurable, and, I believe, 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.

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 ill to the Gaekwar or any Native Prince.

Yours, in great haste,

H. B. E. FRERE.

22, PRINCE'S GARDENS,

14 Feb., 1874.

#### DEAR DADABHOY,

I have received, with the utmost interest, all the information you have sent home regarding your doings at Baroda. You must not be discouraged by anything that happens. You have undertaken, as I warned you, a terrioly difficult work, but, I feel sure, you have undertaken it in the right spirit and from none but the purest motives, and I am in great hopes that you will be, at least in part, successful. I only wish you had firmer materials to deal with in His Highness's Court; but my apprehension is that you will find the secret opposition of courtiers your great difficulty; but you may, I am sure, rely upon the support of Sir Philip Wodehouse whenever you are right, and on kindly warnings when he thinks you are mistaken.

With my best wishes,

Believe me, sincerely yours,
(signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Private.

WRESSIL LODGE,
WIMBLEDON, S.W.
25 Feb., 1875.

#### DEAR DADABHAI,

I have received yours of 18th January, and shown it to Sir Erskine Perry. It has been a matter of regret to both of us that you were not allowed an opportunity of carrying out the reforms you desired, and thus making one of the most interesting experiments possible in a Native State. But you have the consolation of having done your best. I do no see that any human being could have done more under the circumstance.

I have great confidence in Sir Lewis Pelly, and feel sure thi, under his guidance, many of the excellent measures you wished for, all be carried out, and I have every hope that you will, some day, have he opportunity of doing such things yourself. I shall always be glad thear from you, and remain,

Sincerely yours,

H. B. E. FRERE.

DADABHAI NOWROJI, ESQ.

TRANSVAAL,

April 3rd, 1879.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

CAPE TOWN

#### DEAR DADABHAI,

I have received your letter of February 7th, and regret that my absence from Cape Town has caused some delay in your receiving a reply. I shall be very happy if the letters I wrote von on November 7th, 1873, February 14th, 1874, and February 25th, 1875, of, which you enclose me copies, can be of any use in testifying to my belief that you had, at that time, the best interests of the Gaekwar and State of Baroda at heart in the work you had then undertaken.

Believe me,

Dear Da labhai,

Yours sincerely,

H, B. E. FRERE.

To DADAEHAI NAOROJI, ESQ. 32, Great St. Helens.

#### LETTER FROM SIR ERSKINE PERRY.

INDIA OFFICE.

(PRIVATE.)

6th Nov. 1873.

#### MY DEAR DADABHAI,

I am very sorry to hear that objections have been made to your going to Baroda as Dewan. For, although for your own sake I should have counselled you against accepting such an appointment, I think for the sake of good government, and for British interests as well as for the Gackwars, he could not have made a better selection. I am writing in a great hurry to catch the post in reply to your letter of the 2nd received this morning I may add that I have been talking the matter over with Sir Bartle Frere, and we entirely agree in the above view of the matter.

Yours very sincerely, E. PERRY.

# EAST INDIA ASSICIATION.

Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

#### President

THE RIGHT HON, SIR LAUIENCE PUEL.

#### Dice-Parestrents

The Most. Hon, the MARQUIS or SALIS-PURY, KG, PC, M.A, FRS, MRAS

The Most Hon, the MARQUIS or TWEED-

DALE. The Right Hon the EARL of SHAFTES-BURY, K.G., FRAS, FSS, &c Right Hon LORD STANLEY of ALDER-

LEV.

Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, P.C., M P

Lield-Marshal LORD STRATHNAIRN, GCB, GCSI, Member of HM's Wost Honourable Privy Council of Ireland IORD FRSKINF

His Hibness the NAWAB of JOONAG HIR, KC 8 I. HIS XCELLENCY RAGOONATH ROW

Gerral SIR GEORGE BALLOUK KCB, MP Geeral SIR ARTHUR COTTON, KCS1

Anjor General SIR G LF GRAND JACOF, A SCI CB Agor-General SIR HENRY RAWIINSON KCB KCSI, &c SRJAMEN FERGUSSON, BAPT, Governor

of South Australia, B.C.

GR CHARLIS EDWARD IREVELVAN

K.C. He, F.R. G.S., &c Mygor-General F. W. S. SCOTF, R.A. Mygor-General SIR.R. WALLACE, K.C.S.I. SKDAVIDWI DHERBURN, L. . M.P.

#### Counci)

CB, FRS, FSA, M.RAS Chairman-E B. EASTWICK, F Vice-Chairman-SIR CHARLES 10. MINGFILLD KCSI, CB. &.

C. W. ARATHOON, Esq. M. Jor EVANS BELL, M. R. A. S. Stein - J. 1995; 137; 24; A. E. NAGH DA JEE, Esq. JI, Eso ENISON, Fso, M.P. 1)4 Ch V OT 1, Esq. OT 1, Esq. OVINCENT EYRE.R.A. RC **۱**٤:

, F R.G.S , &c. 6.1 (), Esq AS FORSYTH, K.C.S.I. 41

T. FRENCH.
WYJI GAZDAR, Esq., M.A.
JIE GORDON, Lsq., J.P., Li 12 Mar. .

> Ę .

1

Annu

Lifes

Annu Life ! ABUL HOSSAN KHAN, F-Q JOHN LARLEY LITTH, E-Q, QC, MP Rev JAMES TONG STEPHEN P TOW F-SO, FRGS General SIR GLOKGE MALCOLM, KC E

General SIR GLORGE MALCOLM, K Lieut General W. F. MARRIOTT, C. JOHN BRUCE NORTON, F. S. GEORGE PALMI R. 1-9, BCS Captain W. C. PALMER. Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE R. B. SWIN FON, Esq., lat. M. C. S. P. M. 1ALT, Esq., F.R.G. S., F. S. WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq., Retired L. HORMUSJEE NUSBERWANJEL KEFL Eso. Retired B.C

KEFL, Esq. RUSIOMJEE VICCAJEE, Esq.

pnorary Secretary-Captain WILLIAM CHARLES PALMER. Henorary Solicitor-T. LUXMORE WILSON, Esq.

#### Bombav Branck.

Office-18, SASSOON BUILDINGS, MARINE STREET. Prisident-SIR MANGULDASS NATHOOBHOY, K.C.S I. Chairman-W. MARTIN WOOD, Eso.

Honorary Treasurer-ARDASEER FRAMJEE MOOS, I'sq. rary Secretaries KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, FSO MANCHERJEE MERWANJEE BHOWN AGRI, FSO

#### Bangalore Branch.

Honorary Se retary .- RAGHAVA CHARIER, Esq.

Scription including Journal (delivered free of Postage) £1 5 0 13 Rujeus 8 Annas notion ditto ditto iscription (including Journal) in India ditto ditto 150 ription No Entrance Fees.

# Flevised Alemorandum

ON

# THE MOST IMPORTANT REFORMS NEEDED BY INDIA.

Submitted 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 addition 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

<sup>&</sup>quot; Journal of the East India Association," Vol. ix., pp. 268-278.

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 possible, 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:—.

"... But 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

<sup>\*</sup> 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 poverty of India. The italics are mine

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-official 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 India 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 other 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 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 reserved 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 been intended 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 Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee 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.

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

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 India may derive 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 Indiafor the chief remedy of the present "extreme poverty" of India—if English rule is really and honestly meant to be a just rule and a blessing to this country. 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 seeing 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 remain 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 favouritism 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.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

# ADDRESS - //

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE But

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE.

Bombay.

1880.

A II

Printed at the "Native Ofinion" and the "Indian Printing" presses and published at the Native Opinion Office.

Вомват. 1880.

### PREFACE.

The 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 Richard Temple at first as a Famine Commissioner and then as Governor in this presidency has been universally felt to be so hurtful to the interests of the people and has been marked by such high-handedness and inconsiderate rigour that to think of honouring it with a memorial in recognition of its merits and beneficial results in the name of the public was adding "insult to in-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 joined to the proposal of erecting a statue, the popular feeling of dislike grew to indignation and showed itself in a free expression of opinion. The Native Press faithfully reflected this feeling, though necessarily in reserved language. 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 complaint against Sir Richard as the Natives. Still such of their organs as have looked to the subject from a large point of view, have not failed to notice the highly injurious character of his rule and prinof conduct and policy and have spoken without the reserve which native publicists labour under. The extracts given in the following pages, therefore, may be taken to represent correctly public opinion in India regarding the character of Sir Richard 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 embody into the collection opinions of the other Anglo-Indian vernacular papers in this presidency who have as a body condemed Sir Richard's career in Bombay both

as a statesman and an administrator.

## ADDRESS TO SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

#### THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

In 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 skill in organization, and his knowledge of individuals pre-eminently fitted him to labour, and he will probably be longest remembered in India for his services in connection with famine relief, then and afterwards. He threw himself into this new work with all possible energy. He was given carteblanche—and he used it. The sensational accounts of the special correspondents, notably Mr. Forbes' letters in the Daily News, sent a thrill of horror through Europe, and 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 author 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 much to blame as the Government he served. On another occasion nearer us he knew how to carry 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 little 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 the fact that he maintained two pounds of food to be essential to the preservation of life in Bengal, and that he afterwards declared one pound to be ample in Bombay, will have to be reconciled and explained by his biographer. A show of firmness on his part would indisputably have saved the State much money in the one case, and the people much misery in the other.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* It was, then, on the 30th April, 1877, that Sir Richard

It was, then, on the 30th April, 1877, that Sir Richard Temple formally succeeded Sir Philip Wodehouse, who left him as a last legacy the duty of urging the construction of the Rajpootana Railway on the broad gauge system, and it is one of the few regrettable features in his administration that he was not able to agree with his predecessor on a point so vital to commercial interest of Bombay. Another point on which we, at all events, must continue to differ with him was his conduct of the famine, and as this occupied his main attention for a time, it is best perhaps to discuss it first. The following table of the daily average of labourers employed on the relief works in the Bombay Presidency during the last week of each month from November, 1876, until November, 1877, conveys as good an idea of the growth and severity of the famine as can be briefly exhibited:—

18th Novem	ber 1876			97,956
Last week o	f November	1876	**********************	167,322
Do.	December	**		296,586
Do.	January -	1877	*************************	286,849
Do.	February	98	************************	227,086
Do.	March	22	*************************	252,225
Do.	April	**	fp.4	278,700
Do.	May	99	04::*::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::	367,307
Do.	June	23	*******************	356,078
Do.	July	77	***********	266.828
Do.	August	7)	P	264,122
Do.	September	175	***************************************	241,314
Do.	October	"	********************	69,076
Week ending 10th November 1877				41,375
	<b>-</b>			

The total cost, of relief up to the following Merch was: £1,140,000, but owing to the sums spent in long contem-, plated public works the actual outlay was only £490,000. Here the Bombay Government had successfully held their own against the Government of India, who were anxious. to avoid the construction of large works of great utility, 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 enforced fast on. Sunday that we disagree with Sir Richard Temple's policy. In Hyderabad and in Madras the one pound ration was condemned as too small, but it was nominally maintained to the last in Bombay for all ordinary forms of relief, though through the remonstrance of the public and the press it ceased to be 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 June 1877, led, as we can see from the table, to the ex-

traordinary reduction of more than 100,000 persons who had previously been in enjoyment of relief, and undoubtedly resulted in great suffering and heavy mortality. It will, we suppose, be impossible now to arrive at any accurate 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 Times 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 unable to forget that Sir Richard Temple, who thought a 21b. ration only just sufficient in Bengal, wished to maintain the 1 lb. ration in Bombay. Some experiments approaching the 1 lb. ration were attempted 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 absolute 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.

Sie Richard Temple has departed amidst such a shower of flowery hyperbole, such a flow of platitude, as would have fairly overwhelmed any ordinary mortal. whole thing has, we fear, been overdone: a little more, and those of his admirers who are indiscriminatingly gushing, must force on a violent 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 enthusiasm 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 fitness 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 four and twenty hours 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 hours later by a

dinner and twelve still longer speeches at the Byculla Club -enough, one would think, to have satisfied the veriest gourmand of local oratory. But early on Saturday morning the applause and the lamenting began 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 succeeded by an address, and a very sensible one too, presented by a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce; and the members of the Chamber only left the audience hall to be succeeded by the members of the Bombay Trades' Association. Most men leaving 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 half 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 be 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 smpathy 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, "founded a school-an infant school-of administrators." It would perhaps be at least as true to say that he has founded 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 aunels of a country which has been termed the garden of Western India; and to Arnold the finest work on that interesting commercial subject-Marine Insurance. men of the present day (having apparently cast authorship aside as a vanity) are quite equal if not superior to those

of the past. . . . That our friends should have the benefit of trained 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?" asked the child, after spelling out the epitaphs in a graveyard. Still the old saw of de mortuis really applies, if it should ever apply at all, quite as 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 much can be honestly said without exaggeration. As it happens, the eulogy with which he has been bespattered was injurious to others and hurtful to himself, and were he now with us he would 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 claim 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 Again, the credit of the Dhond and Munof truth. mar 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 Excellency in expediting the despatch of the Malta Expedition has been exaggerated into the most insufferable interference with the properly constituted authorities. say, as has been said, that "some of the most richly deserved laurels which were ever worn by Sir Richard Temple are associated with the historic expedition of Indian troops to Malta," is to make very light of his Indian 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 the general of a division nor an officer in the transport service. The officers who had the real charge of despatching the expedition were general Burrows and Colouel Hogg, and when the former was appointed the other day to the command of a Bombay Brigade in the field, the Commander-in-Chief knew how to refer to his eminent services on that occasion. Much has been said, too, about the late Governor's services to education, more especially in connection with physical science, and Mr. Latham, smitten, to the astonishment of all who knew him, with the same infection as the others, actually declared Sir Richard to be "a second founder" of the University. Sir Richard may have had vast educational schemes in his mind, interrupted by his sudden departure, but he actually did little for higher education but make a few appointments of doubtful propriety; and as for furthering the study of physical science in Bombay he accomplished nothing at all, but the appointment of Dr. MacDonald as a Curator of a Museum that is still 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. But we have already quoted enough for our present purpose, which is not to criticise Sir Richard Temple's administration—that has been done elsewhere—but to show the evil results and the utter folly of such indiscriminate landation.

As a first result every native journal of standing in Bombay has already turned round. The public meeting which might have been made to express the honest feelings of a loyal community has been almost unanimously disowned. Even before the meeting the terms of the address seem to have transpired, and an audacious broadsheet, of a nature such as is fortunately seldom 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

ironical reasons "Wby Sir Richard Temple should have a Statue." And the reasons include the one lb. ration, the collection of arrears of land revenue, the passing of the Land Revenue Cess Bill, the Salt and Abkari Acts and the Irrigation Bill, his sanction of the extravagant scheme of the Port Trust, the introduction of the Sewage System, the 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 publication in our local contemporary of a signed communication by a well-known Parsee, it is difficult 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 have made such enquiries and taken such precautions as would have prevented the unseemly spectacle presented when we see 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.

THE 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. The morning's reflection has come with its inevitable damper to the evening's, that is last week's diversion of spasmodic enthusiasm; and many gentlemen, "desirous of publicly expressing their respectful and grateful recognition" of His Excellency's services, are uncomfortably conscious of having rather overdone their zeal. Happily they have not been put to the severe test, which we suggested might be in store for them, of going all over again with their valedictory, enlogies. 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 "coo," the incident proved "varra bad" for the prac. The flood of

unqualified eulogy which filled most of the speeches 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 human energy,' but the elements of political intelligence and discrimination, as applied to the object of all the laudation, diffused through the whole, were present only in infinitesimal dilution. The demonstration will confirm the fame of Bombay for energy and enthusiasm; but it will detract, and that very seriously, from the reputation of our community for genuine and thoughtful public spirit, as contra-distinguished from its factitious, gregarious, and somewhat flighty counterfeit. And this reproach must, we grieve to say, attach to our daily press, wherein some decent show of moderation and discriminating criticism might be looked for. must not be hard on our contemporaries; they are already enduring the dyspepsia that follows surfeit. The Times of India took its black draught manfully at a gulp, when last Wednesday it did penance in a whole white sheet, and humbly confessed "to the evil results and the utter folly of such indiscriminate laudation." Who shall say after this that we have not a free and independent press in Bombay; only it was a little too bad of the repentant sinner to turn round on his quondam leaders and deride the fine periods of the Chief Justice, the Hon. Raymond West, and the new Advocate-General. The Gazette was less It made many wry faces over its black dose, which was administered, the day before, by that streamons dry nurse Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta. But 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 I have already to-day said in the Town Hall, will never sacrifice the interests of India, where he has spent the best years of his life, to those of party or of placemen whether expectant or present." Unfortunately, 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 powerful authorities or temporary dominant influences which determine the chances of his personal promotion and success. Richard is, by nature, an "opportunist;" and as this is such a generally accepted fact, of which a public man of Sir Michael Westropp's calibre must 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 "one 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 Sheriff's meeting, and which, enirabile 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 poverty, its platitudes, and vague generalisations. There was fair scope for presenting an address to the retiring Governor; but we suppose violent haste and the heated sensorium 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 excuse for a public address to Sir Richard; but when the Hon. Magnus Mowatt declared that "the monument which is about "to be erected to hint will claim equal attention with "those which have been raised to Mountstuart Elphinstone "and others" he gave a fatal blow 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 argument to prove this; and we have already consumed too great a proportion of our own scant space in reviewing the crude and ebullient orations of last week. Our estimate of Sir Richard Temple's administrative course has been plainly enough expressed in other columns in past years, and we. have not concealed in these our convictions opposed to very many of his measures during the last year or two. As a public 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 "" the notable Anglo-Indians of our day to follow the wurse and watch their tendencies continuously. We ortain as high an opinion of Sir Richard Temple's abilit ,, as do any of his reasonable admirers; but we percei, his fatal tendency to autocracy, his invincible dislike to feal freedom of discussion, his inclination to-sacrifice principle to expediency, his readiness to subordinate the interests of the people to the official policy of the day, to postpone the genuino claims of India to psuedo-imperial exigencies, and, as Bishop Meurin, with perhaps unintentional frankness, remarked, his facility of "becoming all things to all men," if so (this is ours, not the Bishop's) he may thereby enhance the fame and further the personal success of Richard Temple. This being so, we cannot but regard the popular movement of last week as an unfortunate and mischievous mistake. Still, for all that, Sir Richard 'knows the right'; and it will be partly the fault of the people of India if he ever be allowed 'to pursue the wrong' with impunity.—Bombay Review, March 20.

East Worcestershire in Western India seems a curious geographical expression; but there was something very like it in Bombay on Friday and Saturday last. Sir Richard Temple was about to leave the city to contest East Worcestershire in the Conservative interest; and no doubt it was part of the purpose that he should leave Bombay in a blaze of fireworks, retiring much as certain others returned from Berlin bringing "peace with honour." To this course certain sections of the Bombay community readily lent themselves. It would seem not improbable that a good deal of this enthusiasm was inspired and arranged for. When the Viceroy enters or leaves the capital, the streets are lined with chowkeydars, about as thickly spread as the gas-lamps. Sir Richard leaves Bombay for Worcestershire with the roads lined with troops, and probably with claqueurs at intervals to lead the enthusiasm. 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 be 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 the rights of Englishmen it would be impossible to find. The right of Englishmen to meet for the redress of grievances, the right to petition Parliament, or the Queen, or the Viceroy, or any authority whatever, is not a privilege, but the right of Englishmen. And yet it is but a few months ago that this wretched charlatan, who now goes to England to contest for a seat in the freest assembly in the world, positively refused - these same citizens of Bombay the use of their own Town Hall, to hold a meeting which they had a right to hold for a constitutional purpose, an object which they had a right to seek to attain. These free and enlightened citizens of Bombay were actually indebted to the courtesy of a travelling showman for a place to meet in, because the political Barnum, at the head of the city, thought it would be pleasing to "his betters," if he could state the voice of public opinion that desired to protest against an abuse of authority 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 scheme for erecting a standing monument of their own servility that might be instructive to future ages? In this sense we can understand it. But we cannot conceive of a fairly free and independent constituency in England sending to Parliament a man like the ex-Governor of Bombav. There was no flourish of trumpets, no dinner, no address, no lined streets, when Sir Richard left Bengal. There 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 advancement of Sir Richard Temple.—Indian Daily News. (From the Times of India, 18th March 1880.)

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE."

Sin,—I think it is necessary to enter a strong protest against the bold attempt that has been made to represent the address voted to Sir Richard Temple as having emanated from "the citizens of Bombay" instead of simply from his admirers. The requisition to the Sheriff only asked him to call a meeting of "the European and native inhabitants of Bombay desirous of publicly expressing their respectful and grateful recognition of the administration" of Sir Richard Temple; the address passed at the meeting called in compliance with this requisition, presumes to speak gene-

rally in the name of the citizens of Bombay. If the intention of the promoters or the meeting was really to convene a Public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay, it was 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 such intention had been openly expressed the proposal to erect a statue to Sir Richard Temple would have encountered very 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 concurred in their common admiration of Sir Richard Temple's services. It would be hardly worth while to expose the true character of the address voted to Sir Richard 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 who know anything of electioneering tactics in England on the eve of a general election, know well that this address, in the name of the public citizens of Bombay, will figure prominently in every Conservative paper in East Worcestershire and will be placarded in large type throughout its length and 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 manipulation was consciously performed, the first city in India would be fairly entitled to claim the credit of having initiated, for the first time in the history of British rule, an active participation in the waifare of an English general election by successfully carrying out a device such as would gladden the heart of the sharpest electioneering agent in England. Under its shelter, Sir Richard Temple can now pose before the East Worcestershire electors as a candidate, whose Conservative opinions on the many important questions of Indian policy on which the two parties have now joined issue, are stamped with the approval of the unanimous public 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 voiceless populations. I am afraid

that a very large majority of the native gentlemen who attended the meeting to give vent to their admiration of Sir Richard Temple's great services never contemplated the prospect of their admiration, being turned to such good ac-Otherwise, with all their lack of public spirit and independence, I do firmly believe that they would have hesitated before placing in the hands of a candidate who has now openly pledged himself to support an Indian policy against which they have so often pronounced themselvesa weapon which he can use with such pernicious effect against those great statesmen who have been fighting their battle so nobly and so valiantly in and out of Parliament,such men as Bright, Gladstone, and Fawcett, whose names are cherished with affection and veneration by all thinking and intelligent natives. Gcd knows we do little enough, or rather absolutely nothing, in the way of active co-operation with the efforts of these great defenders of Indian interests. But nothing could exceed our humiliation if we lent ourselves in utter ignorance, in apathetic indifference, in blind adulation, to thwart their generous exertions on our behalf. That such a stigma should not attach against us, it is desirable to proclaim widely and loudly that the address to Sir Richard Temple does not represent the unanimous or independent public opinion of this Presidency. I am in a position to know that a large proportion of the native public 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 views, 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 promotion, can always gather round him men who have reason to be grateful to him, or who are connected with him by personal or official ties, and men who will follow because others have gone before them. Leaving these alone, the neeting 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 seen leading them with spirit and independence was conspicuous by his absence. The Hindu community was not much better repre-

sented, and it is worthy of note that the only one of them who took 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. Even their numbers, however, were eked out by some very demirative specimens of Bombay citizens, and it would not be without interest to ascertain if any of the Parsee Schools had not a half holiday on the day

of the meeting.

But the numbers that attended the meeting would not be very material, if the title of Sir Richard Temple to the grateful recognition of the people over whom he ruled, stood on a solid foundation. That he possesses many high and estimable personal qualities, nobody, I think, will be disposed to deny. That he possesses administrative talents of no mean order will be readily admitted by all. His untiring energy, his single hearted devotion to work, physical and mental, his astonishing versatility, his amiable private character, are worthy of all respect. But unless we can find that these qualities and talents were devoted to noble and statesman-like claims and were productive of good and useful work, we cannot recognize his right to rank with those great statesmen, whose names are landmarks 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's 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 indulging in that keen and polished irony for which he is so famous, when he singled out Sir Richard's exertions to push on the native contingent to Malta, and his two expeditions to hurry on the construction of the Kandahar line as giving him high rank among the foremost Indian statesmen, and deserving to be commemorated by the erection of a statue. Hon'ble Mr. Mowat who has been earning for himself the reputation of an orator, and who moved the principal resolution, had absolutely nothing to say. It was painful to observe the way in which he floundered among rhetorical platitudes, and at length took refuge in discreet brevity and poetry. Mr. Latham spoke of Sir Richard's services to the cause of University education, but I am sure nobody would be so ready as himself to acknowledge on reflection that he was carried away by the impulse of the moment when he eulogized Sir Richard Temple as a second founder of the University. That Sir Richard Temple took great interest in the advancement of scientific education must be warmly recognised; but it must not be forgotten that he set about it in a way that was fraught with danger to the independent growth and development of the University. In a public lecture, which years ago Sir Alex. Grant delivered in Oxford, he earnestly warned Sir Bartle Frere never to confound the Chancellor with the Governor. Sir Richard Temple never forgot that he was Governor when he presided as Chancellor. While grateful for the interest he took, Sir Richard Temple's departure releases all true friends of the University from the anxiety that the very warmth of his interest occasioned-viz., that he might transform it into a department of Government. Mr. Budroodin Tyabjee, who followed Mr. Latham, went into ecstacies, because Sir R. Temple promised him the assistance of Government to found a Mahomedan school. Turning 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 alleviating the severity of the Deccan famine. Surely the framer of this paragraph must have been an unconscious disciple of the bold Danton with his famous battle. cry of L'audace, toujours l'audace. How did he chase away, when he peuned those lines, the gaunt and hungry spectres that must have througed round him of the victims 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? The 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 deserved nearly the greater portion of the credit at-

taching in respect 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 hard pressed, indeed, for material, when they were reduced to enlogize Sir Richard because he opened the Prince's Dock, the Univerity Tower and Library, 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 acknowledgment for fostering free municipal government in this city, for the Bombay 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 education to which we have already referred, and relating the stories of the inevitable Malta and Kandahar raids, the address abruptly comes to All the energy and enthusiasm of his admirers are, we thus find, quite impotent to point to one single act of high statesmanship, which can be fitly commemorated by the erection of a statue. But while the reasons for doing him such honour utterly fail, we have, on the other hand, a heavy bill of indictment against him for high crimes and misdemeanours committed by him during the short period that he ruled over this Presidency. Never had an Indian statesman more brilliant opportunities for distinguishing himself in the ranks of those illustrious men who firmly and fearlessly trod in 'that path of wisdom, of national prosperity and of national honour,' so eloquently, yet so sagaciously depicted by Lord Macaulay. He could have covered himself with glory by exposing the short-sighted weakness and impolicy of the Vernacular Press But he gave it his 'loyal support,' 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 could have protested against the iniquitous repeal of the cotton import duties and the imposition of an unequal Licencetax. But he refused even to let the public indignation against these measures find voice in its own Town Hall. He could have fostered the public spirit and independence for which this Presidency had acquired a name. But he tried to control it in its municipal organization, he sunihilated it in its Legislative Council. But the gravest charge still remains behind. He found this a free and independent Presidency; he leaves it a servile appendage of the Government of India. To crown all, he now offers himself for election to Parliament as an admirer of that short-sighted 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 16 1880.

March 14th

PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA.

THE Address to Sir Richard Temple was voted last Friday afternoon, at a meeting calling itself a meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay, but really consisting of a few Europeans, largely officials, and some Parsis; and it was read to his departing Excellency by a dutiful delegation of admirers on Saturday morning. It is, we think, the feeblest and falsest document of the kind we ever saw; it fails to mention one single act of the late Governor's which could justify such a mark of grateful attention as the presentation of an address is supposed to be: and instead makes Sir Richard's claim to the affectionate remembrance of posterity to consist in his official connection with several events and transactions which were planned and begun long before he became Governor, and which would have been brought to a successful issue at about this time, whether or no,even if John Smith Esq., or the Hon'ble Mr. Jones had been Governor instead of Sir Richard Temple. It would have been as appropriate to thank him because the sun had risen every morning, or to vote him a statue because the last monsoon was not a failure, as to do so on account of his part in the ill-starred Malta expedition, or his connection with the Tusli Water-Works-that fruitful source of public grumbling-or with the second white elephant of Bombay, the Prince's Dock.

The native papers of Bombay have been prompt and manly in pointing out that the meeting of last Friday afternoon was not in any real sense a representative meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay; and that the extravagant and undiscriminating

handation of which Sir Richard Temple has recently been made the willing subject is not cherished certainly by the more intelligent part of the native community. It is an ungracious task to write in this manner about a man who has really done so much to distinguish himself, and of whom so much of good can truthfully be said, as of Sir Richard. Yet a few words of this kind are not out of place when such an insanity of onlogy has suddenly afflicted a certain portion of the community.— Duyanodaya, Bombay, 18th March 1880.

THE rather sudden dissolution of Parliament resolved upon by the Ministry is a bombshell thrown into the liberal camp. The dissolution was expected but it was not thought that it would come so soon. Lord Beaconsfield has chosen his time well. There is nothing stirring in Europe, while in India the appreheusions entertained as to the chances of the unjust war proclaimed against Afghanisthan are allayed. For good or for evil India is growing to be a factor in the party politics of England, and since under the leadership of Lord Lytton and Sir John Strehey the finances of India have prospered, paid the expenses of the Afghan war, and are expected to show a surplus next year, it is no wonder that Lord Beaconsfield 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 sails of the Liberal party, and as the finances of India have suddenly taken a favourable turn, there will be no necessity for asking succour from the English exchequer. These are, so far as India is concerned, some of the considerations why the Ministry have determined to dissolve Parliament just now. it would seem that the Conservative party is not satisfied with taking advantage of the circumstances detailed above. fortune retain them in office, they seem to be determined to be strong in Parliament so far as the discussion of the Indian questions is concerned. Sir Richard Temple, our late Governor, is or is likely to be considered in England a great authority on Indian matters, and Sir Richard is to stand as a candidate for

East Worcestershire, where, it is said, he has every chance of success. It may be all ambition (and he is credited with a desire of ascending the viceregal throne at Calcutta) or the restless temperament of Sir Richard which may have prompted him to throw up the Governorship of Bombay and enter a life entirely novel to him. If the Conservatives succeed during the coming contest, and Sir Richard allies himself closely with them, serving at the same time as an extinguisher of Mr. Fawcett and others who have caused so much trouble to the party in power, there is every likelihood of Sir Richard returning 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 unusual 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 strengthen all these considerations.

It is therefore the duty of the Press in India to tell the electors of Worcestorshire the kind of representative they are going to have, and it is with such a view that we propose briefly to review the career of Sir Richard Temple in India, and particularly in this Presidency.

Sir Richard is a peculiar man. There is, so far as we hnow, no other soul that may be likened unto him. He is considered the favourite of fortune and a favourite of fortune is almost always a person whom the world, while his star is in the ascendant, outwardly admires but inwardly dislikes. A favourite of fortune, moreover, is not, in the majority of instances, endowed with strong faith in fixed principles, and we do not think that this peculiarity cannot be traced in Sir Richard Temple. Obedience to the orders of his superiors and an inclination to execute them with promptitude and exactness combine in him to a remarkable degree, so much so indeed, that he did not, on several occasions, shrink from immolating himself at the shrine of duty in a manner which was truly heroic but not very comprehensible to the outside world. This very convenient and comfortable faith has been the secret of his success in ife. Combined with this, Sir Richard possesses, in an eminent degreepassion for flash and thunder, no matter how short-lived and

unreal these may be. These are a few of his prominent characteristics—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 possesses,
besides these, other accomplishments which may well be the
envy of the eleverest and luckiest man in the world. He possesses an iron constitution and can ride any number of miles in
a day. He is besides a sweet talker, a voluble speaker and a
pleasant writer—accomplishments, which, we make no hesitation to say, he did his best to prostitute to his upper-most passion—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 could 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 agreeable companion and a true friend. We know for a fact that he is a generous patron. But the whole official career of Sir Richard Temple, has, instead of raising the tone of the administration, lowered it to a degree. This is the opinion of the native public and we make bold to express it. It is indeed certain that he stands high in official fuvour, and is even considered the pillar of the Indian Empire. For our part, we think and believe, we carry the whole native public with us, (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 beld, 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 rose-coloured and flashy reports that he wrote for the late Lord Lawrence, the then Commissioner of the Panjab, attracted attention all over India and the land of the five rivers soon came to be designated as "the model province." The truth however leaked out in time that all that gl'tered was not gold. The first responsible post he filled was that f the Chief Commissioner of Nagpore. He toured through the carry like the great Mogul, made the rural population to receive with tom-toms and evergreens, held an exhibition at Nagpore, and made roads that were washed away the next wet season. What permanent good did he do to Nagpore is a question that may well be left unasked. Next we find him at Hyderabad and thence in the Vice-regal Council. As Finance Minister he was a failure and as the Lieutenant 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 repressive 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 civilianism. The famine record will bear us out in this respect. The public press recorded thousands of deaths from want of food and its effects. Papers published by him or under his authority do not record hundreds. But 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 revenue. He was quite at one with Lord Northbrook that a stinted expenditure during a famine time would not only involve a great loss of life, but that it would be opprobrious to run such a risk He equally agreed with Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey that it would 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 memple against the instructions that were issued to him. Although nobody was at the time either for lavish expenditure or a charitable distribution of food to able bodied persons, Sir Richard maintained that a pound of grain was quite sufficient to sustain human energy and would not increase the ration. What the result of the stinted ration has been we shudder to mention. And yet some of

our Dance, Jees and Bhoys have voted Sir Richard an address! Sir Richard has all along tried to be popular with natives and we think he does not take them for such a bad lot of people as some of the Anglo-Indians suppose them to be. But when a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay was held to inau. gurate a volunteer movement, he excluded them from it. When the Surat trial came, he easily fell in with the official view of the disturbance, notwithstanding that it was brought about by the inconsiderate and insolent conduct of the officials themselves and as if to show his respect for those officials and particularly that forgotton being Motilal, he shook hands with the latter gentlemen when he had been to Surat! During the recent fires and dacoities in Poona he sent a telegram to the Secretary of State which conveyed the idea that the disturbance was a plot hatched by natives, and the educated natives were its ring leaders. Richard really believes, as we think he does, that the majority of natives is a loyal and well behaved body of men, such action as he took during the above occurrences was most inconsistent. But we never looked for consistency in Sir Richard. pupil of a liberal 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 purposes for extending our frontier in the North West!

Other instances in which he has allowed himself to be carried with the strong current, and where he has made "words do duty for things" may be cited. But we think what we have said of him 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 their 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 before they elect him for heir representative. But what shall we say of some of the gentlemen 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 favour Equestrian statue to a man to whom the imortality of the famine stricken is so much due! The idea is novel and to

inake the farce complete in all its ludicrousness we hope the statue will be placed in a place which was lately affected by the famine.—Native Opinion, Bombay, March 14th, 1880.

SIR 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 Saturday's Mail for England to be able to canvass for votes in his favor as a candidate for East Worcestershire and he has left amidst circumstances which are of a strangely novel character. - Some of the citizens of Bombay held a meeting on last Friday and voted an address to Sir Richard and also an equestrian statue. The Meeting professed to express the general public 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 public of Western Indiaat least the Native portion of it, which of course is not confined to and represented by the speechifying Shettius of Bombay but which dwells in the country does not sympathise with the movement at all to the undue extent to which its supporters have gone. The fact that what was called a public Meeting was held may show at first to anybody that we are saying what we 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 under some very unpleasant circumstances. Sir Richard Temple has really become popular with the Native public and if, as has been incorrectly stated in one or two papers, a great enthusiasm prevailed about him, why should the supporters of the Meeting have been so hasty about it? Would it not have been better to have waited for some days, when, if the en. thusiasm 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 signed the requisition to call a public Meeting did so not because they sympathised with the movement but because they were taken by surprise and had to give way to the urgent appeals of friendship! This is not very creditable to the way in which some of our Native grandees have acted on this occasion,

In indging of Sir Richard's administration impurtially, it is not at all proper to overlook the serious blemishes of his administration. That during these three years he showed much energy as Governor and took a wide interest in all the public movements of the day is what nobody denies. Former Governors never cared for the University, nor were they so anxious as Sir Richard to know the Natives thoroughly; that he has made all Government officials more careful and diligent and that he nevet left 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 been one scene of activity and intellectual pleasure; and we are also well aware 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 grudge its meed to Sir Richard; but surely is this enough to entitle him 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 a little at some of the events which have marred Sir Richard's popularity.

Bombay made her first acquaintance with Sir Richard as Famine Commissioner of the Government of India. He had already distinguished himself during the Behar Famine of 1874 by a policy of humanity and extravagance, for which he was afterwards taken roundly to task. He however did not scruple 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 aid was wanted from the subscriptions raised by the generous public of England, informed him that matters were not bad and no money was wanted. But above all, the ugly memory of the famous one lb. ration stands still crying in the name of Sir Richard. A man, who but three years ago preached the doctrine that 2 lbs. of food were necessary to feed a Native daily, hurried to preach the opposite doctrine that one lb. of food was quite sufficient. He adhered to his new theory with strange obstinacy, regardless of all remonstrance and medical advice, founded on experience and the result was death and misery were nampant in the famine districts. But 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 anxiety to praise Sir Richard's horsemanship and energy. But what surprises 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 but a few years ago as Editor of the Times of India it was Mr. Geary who wrote thundering articles against the inhumanity of the I 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 truth of it—that there was no scarcity of food but the want of buying power in the people. We are ready to acknowledge that Sir Richard was at the time placed in a delicate and difficult position, that he had instructions from Lord Lytton to carry economy to its bitter limits. But surely is that a reason why Sir Richard should have sacrificed principle for economy? And yet the Gazette would have us suppose that that reason is sensible and excuses Sir Richard's conduct. If it is, why, Sir John Strachey, against whom our contemporary has been writing fiery articles does not merit at all the censure that has been passed on him! But let that go. How is it none of the gentlemen who the Meeting referred to Sir Richard's land revenue policy—the spoke at way in which he steadfastly refused to grant remissions of the of land revenue arrears? We in Bombay are not perhaps aware evils which this policy has engendered but the fact is that many Ryots have had to give up their holdings and be turned out because they could not pay what was so rigorously exacted from Then again, when the Government of India recently asked Sir Richard if the system of levying land assessments which had been represented and found by experience to be productive of many evils, 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 rain the Ryots. The same has been unfortunately the case with Sir Richard's License Tax policy.

We next come to Sir Richard's policy as a legislator. And here unfortunately we find the same spirit of impatience and

high-handedness which we find in many of his other measure-In the first place, he hated the idea of having intelligent or l English knowing Natives in the Council and distributed the honors as if they were toys for ignorant grandees rather than responsibilities carrying with them certain sacred obligate as, Men not knowing English and unable to understand what vice being done in the Council were selected as Councillors and the result has been that the non-official Native element has been most pitifully weak in the Council these two years! And yet Sir Richard till the last moment of his departure from Bombuy spoke well of educated Natives and said they deserved well of the Government. If we come to the legislative measures passed in his time, the same conviction stares us in the face. Revenue Code Bill is itself enough to show us how stringent a legislator Sir Richard has been. And yet Mr. Geary has had the good sense to give Sir Richard credit for it! Does Mr. Geary remember the proceedings in the Council at the time the bill was under discussion—how Rao Saheb Mandlik and Mr. Mahomed Ali Rogay were silenced and put down? Nor is the Irrigation Act less indicative of Sir Richard's disregard of public opinion. We are ready to give every credit to Sir Richard for the efforts he has made to guard the country against famines but the good intention of the Act has been marred by the compulsory labour clauses which were taken off from even the Bengal Irrigation Bill by Sir Ashley Eden because of their oppressive character.

We now come to the Surat Trials and the Dacoitics. here we must say that indefensible as Sir Richard's conduct was during the Surat Editors' trials, the failure which attended them and the exposer that was made of the attempts of certain underlings in service to mislead Government were well borne in mind by Sir Richard who took a wise lesson from them and turned that lesson to a good account during the recent descrities 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" but we must remember that the times were of a character to lead astray foreigners and Sir Richard was away from Bombay and thus liable to be duped by malicious And moreover the fact that on returning to Poona Sir Richard carried all enquiries quietly and made no fuss as in the Surat trials but restored confidence in the Native community deserves 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 (Wasuleo Bulwant) had (three or four in number) were mere echool-boys." So far we readily acknowledge that Sir Richard has done justice to the educated Natives.

On no subject has Sir Richard said so much as he has said on the question of the loyalty of educated Natives. He is said to have written a Minute when Resident of Hyderabad to the effect that Natives are passively loyal but that composed as they are of different communities, the Government should be cautious lest this difference leads to some rebellion. And at the Byculla Club dinner on last Friday he gave the same advice to his andience in speaking of the excellent uses to which the European Volunteer Corps movement could be turned in a country like this. In the first place, the ambiguous language in which Sir Richard says in one breath that Natives are loyal and in another tells his countrymen that they should develop military instincts because the communities of India are varied shows his usual anxiety to please all the parties and favour the one that he really But is there any logic in saying that because Native society is made of different sections, the Europeans should have a Volunteer Corps lest that difference rises one day "into evelones and tornados." Sir Richard could not even understand that this very difference between the different communities of India 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 such a lot of people amongst whom by the very force of that difference unity is impossible. But 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 community was more loyal than the others-a statement which came from his mouth with a bad grace.

We have now to say a few words 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:—

"There are also one or two cardinal points wherein the British Government might, and probably will, do more than it has heretofore done to the advantage of the country and to the increase of its own popularity. Last year there appeared a thoughtful article (the author is not known to

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, inefficiency 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 us. But it classed their complaints under two main heads: first, that the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the Native gentry and the more respectable classes; second, that the British Government 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 aspiration would never be satisfied by the narrow field now open and who would be compressed into discountent unless some expansion was afforded. this seemed to me to be but 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. When 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 forgotton by those Native gentlemen who made speeches at Friday's Meeting. One Native gentleman gave him credit for the Volunteer Corps, ---forgetting that at the time the Volunteer Corps was formed, the Native Community were treated in a manner simply shabby, another gave Sir Richard credit for his energy but none cared to say a word about Sir Richard's weak points, which cry out for prominence. That Sir Richard has done much good to the European community there is no doubt; that he showed as if he were a friend of the Parsee community we would not deny; that he possessed and displayed unusual 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: but 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 but which our Shettias forgot because there was no help for it! No greater absurdity and folly could be conceived than that of men professing to be the leaders of society saying like children that they were compelled to sign the requisition, that they would not attend the Meeting if Mr. So and So would not attend and so 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 Western 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 there 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 public of Western India, the real opimon held 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 your genius but hate your despotism."—The Indu Prakash, Bombay, 1 th March 1880.

WE see it stated, that a movement is about 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 Presidency. We confess that we cannot persuade ourselves to sympathise with this movement, and we can only look upon it as another 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 Sir Richard 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 morbid. He has shown considerable interest in educational matters; he has spoken in pretty satisfactory terms about the just claims 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 have inspired the heads of all departments of administration with a wholesome 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 Each one of the virtues we have does it all come to? 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 Take education. Sir Richard Temple has not little wool. missed a single opportunity 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 appointment of more than questionable propriety, and in the defence of one of them, if a very trustworthy report may be believed, he has done very grave injustice to other and deserving members of the Educational Department; and he has got the Ahmedabad 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 appreliend, 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 about to hand over the inspection of our schools to the District Revenue Officers! We can only say Absit Omen.

On the subject of the legitimate claims of the Natives to a share in the administration of their country, the facts 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 officiated. He is about to appoint a European Magistrate in the room of a Native Magistrate whom he is said to have called upon to retire. He appointed a European Professor of Mathematics in the place of a Native. He has passed a Government Resolution requiring graduates of the University to work for two years at 40 Rupees a month to qualify

for the posts, which, under Sir Bartle Frere's Resolution, they could get without such preliminary apprenticeship. He has suffered Mr. Gopalrao Hari's Civil Service appointment to "lapse," after Mr. Gopalrao's retirement, and under the fresh nominations, he has got a young man appointed, who is said to have failed to get into the service by open competition, and who was unsuccessful in his candida ture for University Honours. What, we ask again, has he done for the Natives? He has appointed one Graduate, and one very ordinary undergraduate, of our University to two very good posts in the Revenue Department—but both appointments have evoked, 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 him, we have certainly heard complaints that this superintendence often degenerates into mere meddlesomeness. But this is 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 however 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 said to be 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 confidence in his political character. same conclusion follows in our mind, when his lavish expenditure of public money in the Bengal famine is contrasted with his cruel niggardliness 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 very clearly to the conclusion that Sir Richard Temple is very much of a time-serving politician. He is undoubtedly very clever, very able, very energetic-but he is also, we venture to think, very slipperv. if we may say so—and he is further very autocratic There is besides a particular appropriateness 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 Gods, oh Israel!-Subodha Patrika, Bombay, 7th March 1880.

WE confess then to a sense of intense disappointment at the sum total of the results of Sir Richard's statesmanship in Bombay. We have to say that the bad preponderates when weighed with the good in the scales of justice. fortunately, Sir Richard, from the very commencement of his career in Bombay, was led away by the notion that he felt constrained by duty to rule the Presidency as his masters bid. Consequently, it is notorious that while affecting to court it he set public opinion on all important matters at nought. · He nominally invited opinions from all independent unofficial public associations, but heeded them not. All petitions and remonstrances were either pigeonholded or consigned to the waste paper basket. He dogmatically stuck to his servile instincts or triumphantly carried them into action to the diagnet of all right thinking and independent men. He came here when a part of this Presidency as well as a portion of Madras were suffering from a dire famine the effects of which the wretched peasantry have not yet shaken off. With that exuberant energy which never deserted him, he at once set himself to mitigate 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 accused of gross carelessness and extravagance, that a pound of rice was more than enough to keep together the body and soul of a fa-And this opinion he elaborated in a formal mished ryot. minute notwithstanding the strong 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 themselves as to the inadequacy of the one pound ration per head. Public opinion, both here and in Madras, waxed wrathful; thousands died of famine fever; yet the great Goliath, the whilom advocate of the two pounds ration during the previous Bengal famine, buckled on his armone and resolutely fought against all comers, to prove that the one pound ration was more than sufficient for the Bombay labourer The history of the bitter controversy on famine works! which followed is so well-known that we shall pass over it in Suffice it to say that Dr. Cornish, backed by all deep silence. the scientific authorities of Europe, eventually demolished by the stern logic of facts the theory so persistently and mischievously advocated by Sir Richard, and won for himself from a repentant though still reductant Government the coveted dis-

tinction of a C.I.E. This was the first episode. Soon after Sir Richard openly insulted the public of Bombay by denying them the right of the use of their own Town Hall for the purpose of petitioning the House of Commons against the iniquitous License Tax Act of 1878. He refused it a second time when the petiion for constructing the Rajpootana Railway on the standard gauge was to be discussed. Though there was a consensus of opinion among the engineering authorities, both here and in England, as to the immeasurable advantages and ultimate saving in cost of a line so reproductive, he advised the Government of India to stick to the narrow gauge originally advocated by those brilliant luminaries of the Supreme Government known as the Castor and Pollux of India-luminaries whose baneful influence is yet being sorely felt in various quarters, and the erratic wanderings of one of whom is at the present moment astonishing the world of finance. What a singular 'irony of fate' that has compelled a Viceroy and an advocate of the freedom of speech to gag the expressin of honest public 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 purpose the most constitutional! Then there are the Irrigation, Khote, and Abkari Bills, so fresh in our memory. In passing each of these enactments Sir Richard has not failed to set at naught the opinions of the native pablic against the injurious character of some of their provisions. He overrode the opinions of the independent 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 woful poverty. These are some of the legacies he has bequeathed to the people of Bombay-legacies, which instead of enhancing their happiness, are sure to involve them in a maze of woo and destitution. To crown the whole he has left to the city of Bombay another precious present which in times to come may yield a crop of misery untold and unexpected. We mean the 'scientific' Drainage of the Town.-The Indian Spectator, Bombay, March 21st 1880.

Ever since Sir Richard Temple first came to the Bombay Presidency in his capacity as the Famine Delegate of the Government of India to the time of his departure from amongst us last Saturday for his native country to contest East Worcestershire 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 have been yet solved. The difficult problem is nothing more or less than an accurate and faithful estimate of his real character. If there ever was any living man whose real character was an enigma difficult of solution, that man we have 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 baffle his captors. We think it is not inapt to like the character of Sir Richard Temple to that of this classical demi-god Proteus; for as we have already remarked above, the variations in his character have been so Proteus-like that the future historian of India will find it very difficult to form an accurate estimate of the same. In the Panjaub before the Mutiny he was the trusted 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 wrote 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 Rs. 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 minimum limit of taxable income at Rs. 100 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 two pounds of food were essentially necessary in Bengal to keep the body of a famine-labourer in a fitting condition, the same man who afterwards with equal resoluteness maintained that one pound of food was quite sufficient in Bombay, and

Having regard to all these circumstances one cannot but come to the conclusion that whatever his individual character might be, Sir Richard knew well how to accomodate himself to the prevailing views and to carry out diametrically opposite instructions of two or more diametrically opposed chiefs and masters, in such a way as to show that he entered into the spirit of both. We firmly beheve that turn 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 Temple 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 1848 as a member of the Bengal Civil Service to the day when he resigned the Governorship of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple has been nothing more or less than a loyal and faithful recorder and executor of the orders and views of his master and chief for the time being, and we are afraid that whatever the future career before him 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 for 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 Empire. We believe the highest post for which he was fitted and which he did hold in India was when he continued to represent the Britith Indian Government at the court of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. Farther than that he ought never to have been elevated .- The Dayan Prakash, Poona, 18th March 1880.

(THE following is a translation of an article in the

Rastgoftar the leading Parsee weekly of Bombay.)

<sup>(1). &</sup>quot;The views of the party which Sir Richard Temple has joined are prejudicial to the interests of India. True native patriots will, therefore, not like to see his party successful, and that of Mr. Gladstone overthrown. During the last ten years, Mr. Gladstone has rendered important services to India; and those citizens of Bombay who wish for the success of Sir Richard Temple against the son of that same Mr. Gladstone, betray their ingratitude towards. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Bright, and many other men of note."

(2), "And it behoves us to confine ourselves within the aforesaid limits (i.e. giving merely an address to Sir Richard Temple). But the friends and admirers of Sir Richard have transgressed these limits. Not content with giving him an address, they have resolved-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 public opinion for the sake of private friend-ship; and they are thus reading a bad lesson to future generations. Sir Richard Temple has many friends here. His Excellency is a master of the art of multiplying friends by sweet words. He conferred honours and dignities on prominent men; ho brought the sons of well-known gentlemen to public 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 honour 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 stifle public opinion is not merely improper, but positively degrading. It would have been proper for the friends of the 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 curb their spirit of friendship as not to despise public opinion. But 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 Temple. But the public would never have gone the length of erecting a statue in his honour.

\* \* \* \* \* \*

Had his friends done so (i.e. erected a statue) at their private expense, we would have laughed in our sleeves and kept 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 name of the public, we cannot but say that Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy Bart. and Dossabhoy Framjee C.S.I., do not constitute the whole pub-

lic; nor are the Government officers and "Government house-Guests" the only organ of public opinion. 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 public.

\* \* \* \* \* \*

We have heard that several influential gentlemen plainly refused to sign the requisition sent to the sheriff of Bombay for calling a public meeting 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 without 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 be 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 scals 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 but lately erected in honour of Lord Byron, fifty years after his death; and here is an example of due honour rendered to real sterling worth. But to erect statues in honour of names, very likely to pass into oblivion in 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 Temple 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 Sir Richard Temple given to us than sweet words; what great and permanent benefits has he conferred upon this country; what political improvement has he devised; what beneficial policy has he introduced; what important rights has he conferred upon us; that he deserves to 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 Temple has not done than what he has done. We must find out how much 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 any permanent service to the country, Sir Richard has inflicted 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 tribunals. We therefore hope that the force of public 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.

Cories of the following hand-bills were distributed during the course of the public meeting at the Bombay Town Hall, on Friday the 12th Instant, which was convened to do honour 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, utterly 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. Because he insisted on collecting as much land revenue as possible, arrears included, during the year of famine 1877-78.
- 3. Because he refused the offer made through the Madras committee of aid from Bruish charity; to ameliorate the distress—though the grants afterwards obtained from Madras, in spite of his discouragement, helped to pay the land revenue arrears aforesaid.
- 4. Because he zealously supported the most striagent provisions of the Land Revenue Code Bill, especially those which eliminated the term "owner."
- 5. Because he sanctioned the heavy enhancements of assessment in Salsette and elsewhere, and supported the most stringent provisions of the Salt and Abkari Acts and Irrigation Bill.

- 6. Because under his Presidency of the Legislative Council, the freedom of discussion even occasionally manifested by official Members of Council, has been effectually trowned down.
- 7. Because he has conformed, without protest, the extravagant scheme of the Port Trust, thereby fastening a ruinous burden on Bombay.
- 8. Because by weakly yielding to the Bengal Military authorities last year, without appealing by public remonstrance to the Secretary of State, the campaign in southern Afghanistan was abortive and Ghazni remained unoccupied.
- 9. Because, by superceding public opinion, he forced on a sewerage scheme for Bombay at the beck of the Army Samitary Commission and in the teeth of the best scientific knowledge: and he obeys the same extraneous influence by leaving the hated C. D. A. as a legacy for Bombay.
- 10. Because while giving the best possible reasons for the employment of natives of Indian positions of responsibility, he has done next to nothing to give practical effect to that policy.
- 11. Because he tamely submitted to the Government of India's orders for stoppage of Public Works, given under the officially invented panic of April last year, thereby seriously increasing the difficulties and distress in the Deccan and elsewhere.
- 12. Because he did his utmost to fasten on the educated natives of Poons and the Deccan the foul stigms of having excited the dacoities and incendialisms of last year.

The Hindu, 17th March 1880.

# ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS,

GATHERED IN CONNECTION WITH THE INDIAN DELEGATION TO ENGLAND DUEING THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1885.

 $\frac{\mathcal{J}}{P}$  13

BY

# N. G. CHANDAVARKAR, B. A., L L. B., PLEADER, HIGH COURT.

"A campaign which it is only the barest justice to say that the representatives of the native educated class have conducted, amidst disgraceful insults and slanders, with a dignity and magnarimity which is itself one of the best possible testimonies to the justice of their appeal"—Pall Mall Gazotte, 8th December, 1885.

(Registered under Act XXV of 1867.)
[All rights reserved.]

MRS. RADHABAI ATMARAM SAGOON,

BOOK-Seller, Publisher, &c.

135, Kalkaderi Road.

Bombay:-

#### PRINTED AT THE

ARYAN TRACT & BOOK DEPOT'S PRINTING PRESS.

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 the writer.

N. G.C.

Bombay. 11, February 1887.



#### THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1885.

-----

A period of General Election in England means a period of great political excitement. Always proud of his vote, it is then particularly that John Bull seems to feel that he is a freeman and not a slave. Wherever you go, politics and the prospects of the two great parties form the principal topic of conversation. On the windows of shops and even of houses placards are found pasted, some with the words:-"Vote for Mr .-. the Liberal Candidate"; others with the words:- "Voto for-the Conservative and Constitutional Candidate." People with time and money in their hands, traders, shop-keepers, publicans and priests, even women and children,—all, each in his or her own way, take part in the excitement. There are of course men who take things quietly, hardly care to attend political meetings, look upon the period as a curse, mind their own business, and, when canvassers and election-agents wait upon them, refuse to bind themselves by any pledge, wishing to "keep their minds clear until the day of the poll." But in England, where politics and parties go before everything, the number of such men cannot be very large. For, generally speaking, a man's political opinions seem to be determined for him at his lirth. A man is born either Whig or Tory. When he grows up, he may change or remain neutral. But even then he is forced by self-interest or something else to side with one party or the other. I have seen houses in villages and counties displaying flags and banners as either Tory or Whig ensigns; and children are to be seen going about in dress exhibiting the colours of the party to which their parents belong. In the streets I have met swarms of them running about and calling for "three cheers" for some favourite 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 political excitement is felt to be so great that instances have not been rare of men dying immediately after making speeches at large meetings or on returning from the polling booths after dropping their votes into the ballot-box. And a new kind of fever, known as election fever, has been discovered as being due to it.

It has been said that Englishmen go "mad" during 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 seem, 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 speakers at Conservative meetings denounce Mr. Gladstone as "an arch-humbug", Mr. Chamberlain as "an atheist" and "a plunderer of other people's property"; while speakers at Liberal meetings were not behind-hand in pouring forth abuse on the statesmen of the Conservative party. Lord Randolph Churchill, whom the latter regarded as their "coming man", suffered perhaps 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 meetings. 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. Chamberlain'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 present 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 applause 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 result 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 audience kept on for several minutes exhibiting their political 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, had ruffled 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 flock that if they should vote 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 plunder the Church". "And if the Church be plundered", one asked, "where will you 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. A more amusing instance of the ludicrous length to which people carried their spirit was this. It was some days before the elections commenced. Mr. Gladstone, who was then in London, happened 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 large 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 but 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 just then on business, offered it to Mr. Gladstone and the latter readily availed himself of Mr. L-'s kindness. When the report a read in that part of London that Mr. L-had lent his trap to Mr. Gladstone, a burly churchwarden, who was one of Mr. L-'s customers and who was evidently a red-hot Tory, visited the latter's shop, enquired if the report was true, and on being informed that it was forthwith directed Mr. L-to strike out his name from the list of his customers. Some days after this occurrence, a speaker at a Liberal meeting referred to it as an instance of the extent to which, he thought, Tories carried their bitterness and prejudice. Ho refrained, however, from giving out the name of either Mr. L-or the churchwarden. The audience, which 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 audience, 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 name.

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 people regret the party spirit, which animates political life in England always but more especially during 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 bitter 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 character was John Bull's sanguine temperament and the courage with which he manfully bears himself up under defeat or against adverse 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 Conservatives. Each party seemed to be 'cocksure' of its own success; and never liked to own that it had its own obstacles to combat. For the purpose of ensuring success no stone is left unturned. As soon as Sir Charles Dilke's election, for instances by a small majority in the borough of Chelsca was declared: the Liberals placarded it all round that it might encourage the other boroughs, where the elections were still to take place, to elect Liberals. The Conservatives, on the other hand, did not fail to make much of the fact that Mr. Whitmore. Sir Charles's opponent, had won a great moral victory and run a close 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 derisively 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 members in Birmingham who are all elected. The influence of the latter was confined during the elections of 1885 to London and places near it but even then one could see that this political organization of ladies was likely to extend itself beyond the metropolitan boroughs. The idea of utilising the services of the gentler sex for party purposes seems to have originated with the Tories, because women 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 leading statesmen. Mr. Chamberlain's opponent was hardly known in Birmingham. Nor had he acquired any political reputation. The same might to some extent be said of Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Gladstone's opponent. Lord Randolph Churchill 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 electors—to fight, 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 hat had been for years a Tory stronghold, where squires and landlords ruled supreme and the farmers and working men were helpless. For his zealous advocacy of the cause of the latter 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 taught to share it with men. The people must be taught 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 character—their staunch adherence to settled principles, their patriotism and the energy with which, regardless of all considerations of time and money, they strive for the success 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 commencement 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 aware 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 Irish electors in many of the constituencies in England were going to vote "solid" for the Conservatives. It was also almost certain that the shop-keepers and traders, suffering from a somewhat long-continued period of depression in trade while the Liberals had been last in office, were inclined to give a chance to Lord Salisbury's Government; that, in fact, the five 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 "New 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 boroughs, 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 seem to shine upon it. The fixing of the date of each election rests with the Government: and Lord Salisbury, who was in office when Parliament dissolved, had so arranged the dates that the cause of

the Conservatives was able to gain 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 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 always, lead more or less the constituencies that follow. 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 cue from them and thus ensured the success of the Liberal cause. Probably in giving the borough elections precedence over the elections in counties last November, Lord Salisbury counted upon the probability that the success of his party in the former would lead to its success in the latter also. When the few boroughs 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 For two or three days after the elections commenced London was enveloped in fog and train; 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 the loss of many votes. While going round several of the metropolitan boroughs on the polling days, I was able to convince myself of this last fact. The carriages conveying 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 and spring carts were used; and in one place even fire-engines were brought into requisition. With the decided superiority of their conveying power, the Tories, assisted by fog and rain and belped on by the five P's, went on triumphing all round till two events happened, which suddenly 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 outright 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 advocates of the principles of free trade with which the names of Cobden and Bright are associated, made a caricature 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 agricultural labourer. In a hin place the Liberals got up a procession, carrying small

loaves and herrings, illustrating the scanty fare which working men would have to live upon in the event of Lord Salisbury 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 convevance was wanted for an elector, who was suffering from fever and cold, but who was nevertheless anxious 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 his vote into the ballot box. Men and even women volunteer 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 counting 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. Each 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 and 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 he 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 summon, forget his disappointment and show to his supporters and opponents alike that in spite of defeat he is as jolly as ever. If he betray any sign of dejection or discomfiture he is almost sure to suffer 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 luck 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 genuine Englishman-with little or no humbug about him, a model of unaffected courtesy, and with sympathies of the right sort. Nothing is calculated to impress a foreigner visiting England more strikingly 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 I entered into conversation was a hair-cutter. 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 doubt, Sir, the present Government (meaning, Lord Salisbury's), have done well since taking office; but old Gladstone also I like and so I am puzzled," I came across another haircutter and that was during my visit to Manchester-a very voluble man, who seemed proud to tell me that he was a Tory. He 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 shrewd. 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-cutter; 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 during the last sixteen years, there was not much hope for the Liberal cause Hair-cutters, however, are everywhere a garrulous class: the nature of their occupation perhaps makes them so. It brings them daily in contact with a number 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. But they are not the only class, however, that amaze you by their fund of information and their shrewd remarks on politics. Even the 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 Mail and said:-"This gives an account of your 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. But 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 deputed, 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 English 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 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 platform every single man in the audience rose and received him with tremendous cheering. When he rose to 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 Randolph Churchill, he said; - "Lord Randolph is a man of great ability, great shrewdress 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 in 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 proceedings 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 the 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 candidature &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 would not allow him to go on. He tried hard to secure a hearing; but the working men had made up their mind and the candidate had to 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 certain 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 illustrative of the wit that working men show they possess, was narrated to me by an English friend. A speaker, addressing a meeting, tried to. descant at some length on the virtues of a gentleman, who, it appears, had died shortly before. He went on asking:-"What place are we to give this great man that is gone? Are we to rank him with the Apostles or with Moses?" And so he proceeded in the same strain, uttering a good many of similar names, and every five minutes repeating his question:-"What place, I ask you, gentlemen, are we to give him?" The audience was getting impatient and feeling bored, hoping every minute the rant would end. No one for a time ventured to interrupt him. last a working man ventured to rise and said-"Don't you trouble yourself any more, Sir, about it. Here is my place 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 subject 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 society. to describe the working men as ignorant and illiterate. instance, I might mention that I was more amused than surprised to hear an Anglo-Indian gentleman, a passenger on board the S. S. Assam, in which I returned to India, remark to another passenger in the course of a conversation on the results of the elections of 1885 that Liberalism was mostly confined in England to what he called "the boors and bucolics" of the country-men, who, he said, were apt on account of their ignorance to be led away by what he described as "the tempting bait of Mr. Chamberlain's radical programme". The other passenger being, like the speaker himself, a Tory, readily assented. Their opinion was not, however, singular, for it is held by many and it may be partly perhaps founded upon prejudice. Just before the elections there appeared in the Daily News a series of articles on "The 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 prejudice 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. 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 truth. They greeted his answer with vehement applause, and Mr. Mill was returned to Parliament by a majority of some hundreds over the Conservative competitor". The nice little hits and the appropriate remarks which working-men make at meetings by way of interruption, while a man is addressing, are often very happy; and they show that they generally take care to be informed 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 our system of local self-government. 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 a number of working-men gathered round me, and one gentleman-not a working man-observed that there were two things which he did not 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 superfluous and unnecessary. I had, again, he said, on one or two occasions addressed the audience as "our rulers", while I should have spoken of them as "our fellow-subjects". 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 addressing a meeting of working men, one got up and said-"Speak of Fawcett". At our meeting in Swansea in the course of his address Mr. Mudalivar told the audience that self-interest made us strongly desire the prosperity and continuance of British rule in India, because it had conferred on us many blessings. "It had", he said, "for instance, given us a common language. But for English, I should not have been able to make myself understood by my brother delegates; we do not know one another's vernacular" Whereupon a man asked-"Do you know Wel-h?", the point of the question being that difference of languages had not prevented the English and the Welsh from uniting. So, why should 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 before 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 suggested to him by the fact that letters over the signature of "B" had been from time to time appearing in the Times on agricultural and other questions. They were believed generally to proceed from the pen of Lord Bramwell and the question showed how English working men were taking interest 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 represented the Bordesley division of Birmingham in the last House 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 his 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 had 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 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-men 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 repudiated his claim to that title. Evelyn, who opposed Mr. Lal 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 representativé of the working classes of India. Mr. Ghose made an effective retort by telling the working men that he was proud to say he was descended from ancestors, who had followed the humble 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 genuine 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 meetings where we were present, in the English working classes the people of India have a tribunal, on whose sense of justice, fair play, and true sympathy 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 regarding clubs and club-frequenters. I forget the occasion which called 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 Londoner's home" and such of them as are political are "the chief 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. the latter I shall write at some length later on. There are clubs that are non-political, such as the Pall Mall, Salisbury, Saville and others. These, I was told, are frequented by men, who are not strong political partisans and who pass for either moderate or indifferent men in party matters. Men of literary or artistic tastes and pursuits resort to such as the Athenœum, the Arundel or the Arts Club. They have also in London what is called the Bachelor,' club. 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 Club. former has a large Hall, thrown open to all kinds of political or other meetings. Perhaps the most interesting of all is what is called the Traveller's Club in Pall Mall, of which I read that no person shall be considered eligible to its membership, "who shall not have travelled out of the British Islands to a distance of at least 500 miles from London in a direct line"!

But 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, as 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 Digby, 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 attraction 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 large and decorated dining hall, it will be a most magnificent building. Just opposite the place where the National Liberal is now located, a splendid and spacious house is building for "the Constitutional Club". The Northbrook Club is also in a fine building. It is meant for Anglo-Indian and Indian residents in England, but 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 respect of The Manchester Reform Club and the Newcastle Liberal Club are equal to any first class club in London. Speaking of the former, it may not be out of place to mention here what I heard from the gentleman, who presided at the dinner given at the Club in honor of the Indian Delegates. He said:-"Do you know how such dinners are arranged? When I heard one morning that you were to visit, 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 full swing, a few members happened to talk about certain cases of intimidation exercised upon ignorant and poor voters. Well, the very next morning I found to my surprise that the talking had led to acting-a Voters' Protection Fund had been started, many had readily joined it, and what had been a mere idea the day before 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 at 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 excitement. The Press Association, between which and the Club there was direct telegraphic communication. reported the declaration of each night's poll and hundreds of members used to gather there every night during the election days. The results used to be received until two o'clock in the morning. On the first night we had the results of what were called uncontested elections—of candidates returned unopposed. These of course did not excite any interest: But it was from the second night that real excitement commenced. That was the night when the results of the poll in most of the metropolitan boroughs were declared; and as most of the results were unfavourable to the Liberal cause, the National Liberal Club presented that night a sight of mourning. Among the hundreds of members and visitors, interested in the success of the Liberal cause, there were men that were comparatively old and men that were comparatively young. As each telegraphic communication went that night to swell the Conservative majority. the elderly members present, seated in the chairs, with glasses of whisky and soda by their side, muttered disappointment but on the whole seemed to take things with philosophic coolness. But not so the more youtliful and active members present. With them each defeat of the Liberal party was a signal for groans and hisses and for cries of Down with the Parsons and Such men as Prof. Thorold Rogers looked particularly downcast that night for the bad turn the elections were taking in the metropolitan boroughs as regards the Liberal cause. . The third night was to be declared the result of the poll in Birmingham, and the eagerness to know it brought 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

Club there was tremendous cheering; but somehow the figures of Mr. Bright's majority were, as given out by the telegraphic instrument in the Club, illegible. Those present became unusually impatient to know by how many votes Mr. Bright had defeated Lord Randolph. A few members ran at once in the direction of the Reform Club; some others ran to the Grand Hotel just opposite the National Liberal and in a few minutes we were able to know that Mr. Bright's majority was not more than 700. The fourth night we had Mr. Herbert Gladstone and several other specessful Liberal candidates at the Club. That became a night for political talk and speeches; and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed then because of the tremendous majority by which Mr. Gladstone had been returned for Midlothian.

The Somerville Club, which has been already mentioned, is for ladies only. It was started in March 1880 and has its present quarters in 405, Oxford Street, W. It has a large Discussion 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 the middle of October and ends about the middle of July. that season, on the first Tuesday in every month, a lecture or. entertainment is given; on the second Tuesday, a debate on some subject previously announced is held, and this is open to visitors (ladies or gentlemen) introduced by members; on the third Tuesday a similar debate, open 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 excluded from discussion at all meetings and debates of the Club. mentioned these particulars about this institution, because it was under its auspices and at the request of some of its members, that I delivered an address in its Lecture Room, a large number of ladies and only two gentlemen being present. As no particular subject had been suggested or prescribed for my address, I though that the question most appropriate to the occasion

would be that of social reform in India. Accordingly I gave my hearers an account of the widow marriage movement in Bengal and in Bombay; the Parama Hamsa body, which existed some years ago in this city; the Students' Literary and Scientific Society: the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj movements. At the close of the address, Miss Orme, who was in the chair. asked 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 are girls married amongst-you"?" "Is it time that women are treated as slaves in India"? . "What is the lot of widows in India"? "Are Indian ladies allowed to attend meetings and lectures"? These questions plainly indicated that English ladies were following more or less closely the discussions on social reform taking place in this country. But their information is very imperfect and L was not surprised 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 asked has some bearing on a case that is just now exercising the public mind here. It related to the letters, which had shortly before appeared in the Times of India over the signature of "A Hindu Lady", and summarised versions of which had 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 her" and so on. I was not sure at the time that Rukhmabai was the writer of those letters; but at a time when her ease has excited so much interest and created sympathy for her in some quarters, though she is being roundly denounced by others, it may afford her some comfort and consolation to know that there are ladies in England, who would seem to have heard about her case, who, I believe, feel for her, and would be glad to take up her cause were the case carried to the Privy Council. When the questioning was over, one of the ladies

present sent to Miss Orme a piece of paper, containing the question:—"Will Mr. Chandavarkar tell us something about the political condition of India?" On that subject too I spoke, and we dispersed after passing a most pleasant evening.

## ( VI. )

# "LIVELY" 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 one day when he learnt that the object of our visit to that country was to appear on English platforms and acquaint the British public with the political condition of India. From what I have in the foregoing chapters remarked about political meetings in England the reader must have already gathered that they are rarely dull and when once party spirit is brought into play, they become what Englishmen call "lively" meetings-"lively" in the sense that speakers are interrupted, the proceedings are disturbed by groans, hisses, and all sorts of ejaculations, and even benches and bones are sometimes broken. Of such meetings we used to read constantly in the morning dailies of London last October and November. For instance, during the election contests of 1885, Mr. Goschen had to get away unobserved from a crowded meeting in Edinburgh, where he had intended to speak, but where the Radicals swarmed in such large numbers and seemed so determined to disturb the meeting at any cost that it was thought safe for him to leave quietly. He 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 experience to go through a few days before the 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 Lattended 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 Munro and Mr Blennerhassett to attend the meeting 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 him as a traitor to their cause, because he did not profess to he a "Nationalist" or Parnellite. His candidature was, therefore, most sternly and hitterly opposed by them. Even his life was in peril during the last elections. Letters used to be received by him threatening to shoot him and so on if he should persist in his 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. Blennerhassett,—an amiable and noble lady, who accompanied her husband at every meeting which he attended and who threw her own life into peril in seeking to save his. Now, in asking me to attend Mr. Blennerhassett's meeting, Prof Munro said that there was every chance of the meeting proving a boisterous one, as they had received information that the Irish were going to assemble in large numbers to kick up a row. "Have you been

to what we call a "lively meeting?" asked the Professor. And when I replied "No," "Well, then," he said, "you, will see one this ovening". When we entered the large Hall, where the meeting was held, I saw at once what was likely to happen. The front benches were occupied by men, who had been admitted by The place was guarded on all sides by a strong body of policemen. On the platform there was a goodly number of ladies-a circumstance which shows that English ladies are not afraid to brave the terrors of a stormy meeting. The moment the Chairman, accompanied by Mr. Blennerhassett entered, that portion of the audience which occupied the front seats cheered, but the Irish, who were behind, hissed and groaned, some crying out "You are a renegade", "Go to Kerry", "A traitor", "We shall shoot you"—all this being addressed to Mr. Blennerhassett. But he bore it all with dignity, seeming not to mind the opposition. When the Chairman rose to open the proceedings, the noise in the Hall increased and it went on increasing as one speaker followed another. When Mr. Blennerhassett's turn came, the noise became the loudest and an extraordinarily strange sight presented itself. The moment he rose, Irish ruffianism seemed to grow violent. An attempt was made to put him down and make his speech inaudible. Men shook their fists at him, called him by various opprobrious epithets, and became so noisy that none, even those who were sitting near him on the plat-form, could hear a word of what he said. This made the men on the front seats, who were Mr. Blennerhassett's supporters and sympathisers, indignant and the Hall was filled with voices crying out, 'Chuck'em out". Mr. Blennerhassett, with a wonderful presence of mind, stood calin resolved not to give way. He said to the audience that he was determined to hold his own at the meeting and was not going to resume his seat without having his say out of fear for those who had assembled there to oppose him. Upon this the Irish party said:—"You sha'nt speak. We will send you to Kerry"... Up

to this moment the police had been silently observing what was going in; but when they found that the Irish were growing violent they thought it prudent to interfere. Several men were kicked, and turned out of the Hall. There was 'one Irishman particularly, whose face looked most ruffianly, and who, though held by several people and kicked and heaten to bleeding by the policemen, would not give way and most violently resisted every attempt to turn him out. They had to struggle, with him for nearly ten minutes and 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 thus restored and Mr. Blennerhassett was able to make himself better heard, though there were occasional interruptions still. Whenever he referred to his opponent, Sir James Fergusson, the Irish interrupted him with the remark:-"But he don't want policemen". After the meeting was over, Mr. Blennerhasset's friends, fearing that the Irish might mob him in the streets if he drove unprotected to his residence, sent 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 ladies and gentlemen. including myself, and four policemen. 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 not understand the order or was in the pay of Mr. Blennerhassett's enemies we knew not-he drove us 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 wheels 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 policemen inside kept us together lest, seized by fright, we should run against one another and thus harm ourselves.

Happily, it was only one wheel that had given way and beyond a slight shaking, we came to nothing worse. But it was not the accident we so much feared. It was the Irish and) we were anxious to avoid and this stoppage of the 'bus on the road we were afraid would expose us to their attacks. And it was not long before a crowd soon gathered about the 'bus. Naturally we began to fear that the Irish might be amongst them. But the policemen surrounded us and kept us out of harm's way. Broughams and cabs were instantly brought and fortunately we were able to return to our respective places of residence safe and sound—to thank God that nothing worse had came off either at or after the meeting.

The next "lively" meeting I should notice here is the one we attended at North Hackney. Sir Lewis Pelly, the Conservative candidate of that contituency, is well-known in India. At some of his meetings he spoke about the delegates and some of his remarks were represented to us to be rather personal 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 Hackney and defend ourselves. Our meeting there was held in the Kingsland Congregational Church. It was a crowded and noisy meetingand when we appeared on the platform we caw at once that "roughs" had been sent by some one to disturb the proceedings. A number of men were standing in a corner, who kept making noise and asking:-"Who are the Indian Delegates?" "Who sent them?" On one occasion the interruption became so great that the audience grew indignant and from all parts of the place voices were heard crying "Chuck them out", "Chuck them out" All of a sudden nearly every man was seen standing on his chair to find out where the interruption came from. During this confusion, we requested the Chairman to tell the audience not to mind either the "roughs" or the interruption. The Chairman said:—"Ladies and Gentlemen, please take your seats and leave the men that have come to disturb the proceedings alone. Let us see what they mean to do. The Indian delegates themselves wish that the men should be let alone". But the audience 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 guests, and we, as gentlemen, are bound to see that they are not insulted here". This was very feelingly 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 you 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. Our 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 Conservative candidates that we were trying to make India a party question. Mr. Mudaliyar. in a speech that was persuasive and argumentative, dealt with the answer Sir Lewis Pelly had given to our test questions. It so happened that just before rising to address I had caught 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 Men". I commenced my remarks by drawing the attention of the men that had come to disturb

the proceedings to those words and asked them to behave as good Christians at least while they were in that place consecrated to the service of God. This put the audience into good humour and was received with cheers. I next referred to Sir Lewis Pelly, and remarked that, though he had been somewhat hard on us, yet we would not imitate his example but would speak of him with all respect, and that, although not Englishmen ourselves, we had received an English education, of which we were happy to say we were proud because it had faught us that we should behave like gentlemen in replying to our opponents. I can hardly give an adequate description of the enthusiastic manner in which the audience received this—they seemed to appreciate the spirit in which we were inclined to notice the attacks against our mission. A similar scene occurred at Mr. Chamberlain's meeting in Birmingham. After Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Broadhurst had spoken, I followed. I commenced by referring to a statement that had been made by a certain gentleman at a meeting that we had been brought to England " at the instance of Lord Ripon to white-wash his disgraced 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 the audience began to cry out: "Shame" and called for the name of the gentleman. I tried to go on without naming him but they would not let me. A number of voice :--"Name the man, name the man Don't go on without manning him". I replied:—"No, you will excuse me, gentlemen, I am not going to name him". "No, name him", they went on repeating. I then said "Well, Gentlemen, I must ask your indulgence. It is no use naming the gentleman", Several voices: "Name, Name". This was rather an embarrassing position, from which, however, I tried to extricate myself by observing:-"Not that I am afraid of naming him. But he is not known in

England—and I do not wish to give him a reputation that he has not in this country by bringing his name forward before the large and influential body of people that I see before me". This satisfied my hearers, they cheered and laughed, and I was allowed to proceed. The third incident that deserves to be recorded here occurred at Grinstead in East Sussex. That was the county, which Mr. Heald was contesting in Liberal interests. I left London for Grinstead a few hours before the time fixed for the meeting and was accompanied by an English in ad. In the train by which we left we heard from several : How-passengers that the meeting was likely to be very "lively" Asked 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 trought to an abrupt close and now the Conservatives were ging to retaliate. Mr. Heald's meeting at Grinstead was held in the local Theatre. There was a large audience, more than he house could contain, so that an overflow meeting had to be heid. We entered the Theatre by one of the private doors. When Mr. Heald saw the necessity of an overflow meeting, he arranged that I should address the latter first and he that at the former. I got out by the same private door by which we had oriered. Having spoken at the overflow meeting, I turned hack to the Theatre with my English friend. But we found the private door shut from within. The only to the platform was the door of the large room where the n ceting was held; but that entrance was, we were told. barred by a mob of roughs. It was a question with us whether we should risk our lives by trying to make our way through that mob. But we had no alternative: slowly, we reached the entrance and tried to get in. Fortunately, I had not worn my Imaian head-dress that evening; or else the roughs would have easily made me out. My friend and myself pushed ourselves through them quietly and taking us for men who had come to hear, not to speak, they allowed us to pass on. But when we got to the middle of the Hall, some among the audience, recognising me from my colour—there was more light there—shouted out:—"Welcome". The opposite side hissed and the roughs at the entrance tried to create a disturbance when Lrose to speak; but they did not succeed, as the audience was favorably disposed towards me and whenever the interruptions became louder, they cheered me on by saying:—"Don't mind them. Go on".

# (VII.)

# IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

( PART FIRST. )

During our short stay in England, we were brought in contact with several persons, to many of whom our special thanks are due for the assistance they rendered us in the performance of the somewhat delicate duty with which we were charged by the Associations that had deputed the to that country. I regard it as a highly fortunate circumstance to us and as a matter greatly redounding to the credit of the English character that though we were strangers in that strange land, the sympathy and support that we received from many ladies and gentlemen lightened our labours considerably and made it a pleasure 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 and kindness—whether it was at Maidstone, Newcastle, Swanses, 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 us was genuine and spontaneous is shown by the fact that whenever we declared at our meetings that we had nothing to do with English parties, the statement was received with cheers:

It would not be of any interest to the reader if I named all those, to whom our 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 opportunity of, as it were, studying 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 genuinely 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 display a great deal of zeal in everything that they take up. Shortly before the last elections, he entered into a controversy with Lord George Hamilton, strongly-attacking the latter in connection with the famine of 1876-77. Sir George Birdwood entered the lists on behalf of Lord George and the controversy became not only bitter but even somewhat personal Now, Sir George and Mr. Digby may be said to have something in common. So far as English politics go, the 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 George thinks that India should trust neither party or should trust 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 fight was going on between him and Mr. Digby. Sir George spoke to me about the controversy with some 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 reconciliation between two such 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 he was elected M. P. for Aberdeen by a very large majority of votes. Before his election he had a large practice as Parliamentary counsel. He is a remarkably sound and careful politician. We used to have the benefit of his company and advice almost every day and we were very favorably impressed with the spirit of caution and prudence he showed in all he said and did. As a speaker, he is fluent and witty. On one occasion I heard him deal with a question of figures and statistics so humorously that though it was a dry subject

Le was able to make it interesting and keep the audience laughthroughout. Dr. Robert Spence Watson is one of whom both my friend Mr. Mudaliyar and myself have brought most reasant impressions. He is one of the leading lawyers of Newcastle and as President of the Newcastle Liberal Associaturn occupies a prominent position in the sphere of politics As a speaker, writer, and traveller he has already his mark. He is the author of several works int le verse in English, among which may be named "Caedmon, the first English poet," "A visit Witten," "Villages Around Metz," "History of English Rule and Policy in South Africa." In recognition of his literary attainments and distinction, the University of St. Andrew's has conterred on him the degree of LL. D. He was one of the two contassioners, deputed by the Society of Friends during the Let Franco-Prussian war to relieve the distress of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Metz. While discharging that charitable office, he and his companion were suspected to be "spies, by the French and arrested but they were released when subsequently the true nature of their mission was discovered. French Government at the close of the war presented him with a medal, specially struck in his honor for the self-sacrificing spirit in which he had relieved distress. He travelled once to Morocco where in the absence of the Cherif, the Cherifa received and ento a med him with great honor. He was granted permission by 13 Cherifa to visit the sacred city of Wazan a privilege that had near pefore been granted to a European. He is a very fluent and a roible speaker. Having a large following in Newcastle he has several times been pressed to become a candidate for-Carliament both for that and other towns but he places refused. He was indeed next obliging to us. It was who invited us to Newcastle, and made all the arrangements facer public meeting there, it woich he presided. There is ted each of the party man a lan-Lis smaling countenance and his genial looks at once indicate that it is not in his nature to be led away by the spirit of the political partisan. It leading paper in Newcastle once wrote of him:—"Neither in the maxims of a party nor in the genius of a sect is to be found the secret of the disposition, in which political questions are applied ched by Dr. Watson but in the largeness and generosity of a character to which neither sect nor party could give the strong of narrowness." Such is Dr. Spence Watson and I think is him we have secured a friend, ready to act upon the principles that every Englishman ought to do his duty by India. The Joseph Cowen, also of Newcastle, in some respects reserved but in others forms a contrast to Dr. Watson. Both are many the

benevolent disposition, but the benevolence of Mr. Cower apparently confined to "the white races." Talk of oppression of wrong inflicted on some petty state in Europe. Mr. Co. sympathies are at once aroused. During the Bulgarian att. ties he was one of those who claimed independence for Bulgaria. To Ireland he is now prepared to grant Home Rule. But 1 s sympathies do not extend beyond Europe. As for Ind. Egypt or any country populated by the dark races, he takes everything is for the best there and there should be no need or cry for change or reform. Of Egypt he once said that he was "the product of centuries of enslavement" it was unfit for form of constitutional government. It is difficult to units stand this political character of Mr. Cowen. But Dr. Watson 3 consistent throughout.—his sympathies are not narrow and ! .. political views have nothing of the eccentric element apout the in-The name of Dr. Spence Watson reminds me of the lady, who name is known wherever philanthropy is cherished and admin if -I speak of Miss Florence Nightingale. I had the pleasure of calling on her at her house in Oxford Street twice. now old and obliged to confine herself to her bed on account of illness, the capacity for work is still in her. She is always doing something—writing for the papers or reviews on some still x

or other. Earnestness is still discernible in her expression. Nothing interests her so much as the well-being of the poor and the helpless. We talked for more than an hour on a to subser of things relating to India but it was the condition of t's lower classes in this country that seemed to interest her react. Speaking about our workmen and agriculturists partiwarly, she enquired:-"How do they live?" "What sort of theation do they receive?" "What sort of dress do they wear?" ' an they read and write?"-With the delegation movement she respressed herself to be strongly in sympathy and warmly comrainded the step adopted by the Indian Associations in sending a deputation to arouse English interest in Indian affairs. "We, Unglish people,"—she said to me—"will not learn to take arerest in India unless you seriously press Indian questions our attention." She regretted that almost all the friends of India had been defeated at the elections; but her advice to ve was that we should not lose heart on that account. "We are passing through a crisis. No one can say what will come but of it. The Irish question is itself a source of great anxiety and trouble. And I do not wonder that the elections have been to India a great disappointment. But your friends must not despair. Work on and it will all be right." These were the words of encouragement Miss Florence Nightingale addecised to me at the close of our second interview, and coming i m a lady, who has herself lived a life of great self-sacrifice in the cause of distressed and suffering humanity, the advice ought to be carefully borne in mind by us. Another remarkable lady that I saw was Mrs. Augusta Webster, who was one of the candidates for the School Board. I visited her 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 men who were expected to know better of these Boards were surprise ed at some of the revelations of mismanagement. For instance, when on one occasion she complained to a gentleman, who had been for some years a member of the Board, of its extravagance and cited facts and figures in support of the complaint. he seemed to feel considerably surprised and said; -"Dear me! I never knew of all this before. I wish I had known I must look into it." And Mrs. Webster thought his was not a singular case. Talking of the School Board elections should said lady voters at one time had a prejudice against voting. At. 1 she told me how a candidate for the Board once hit upon a. ingenious way of removing this prejudice. He invited the lady voters in his ward to tea in a place near the polling booth, where his votes were being registered. Many ladies turned out in response to the invitation. They were so pleased with the arrangement that they said they had no idea voting was so easy an affair and now that they knew how comfortably it could be managed, they would no longer consider it a difficult thing for a lady to go to a polling booth and vote.

# ( VIII. )

### IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

( PART SECOND. )

INTERVIEW WITH LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

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 taken

to that country 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 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, and assured him that we would try our best to remain neutral as far as English parties were concerned. He said he was himself a very warm admirer of Lord Ripon and heartily approved of his Indian policy. 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 Service 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 parties on the Indian Civil Service question concerning; the natives, it would, he believed, be from the Conservatives. Assured by us that we would endeavour 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 it used to do at the time to every communication coming from Mr. Blunt.

It was through Mr. Blunt that we were able to have the memorable interview with Lord Randolph Churchill, then 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 Randolph was going to receive the Indian delegates they are said to have turned aghast and tried to rebel. They perhaps 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 full effect to the Proclamation of Her Majesty should be continue in office. A more sincere well-wisher of India, he said, than Lord Randolph he had not met. His Lordship was full of India, his heart was in his work. Here Mr. Mudaliyar asked Mr. Blunt how it was that Lord Randolph had been violently attacking Lord Ripon. Mr. Blunt replied that the attack 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 his Lordship warmly approved of the domestic policy pursued by Lord Ripon in India. I might say with reference to this last remark of Mr. Blunt that it tallied with the opinion 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 going 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 without 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. Blunt 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 about 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 polish 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 us, Mr. Blunt told him that he had advised us not to identify ourselves with any particular party. Lord Randolph merely nodded. Mr. Man Mohan Ghose said we should be glad to remain neutral. Again a nod of approval from his Lordship. Lord Randolph apparently thought that it was a question on which it was prudent he should not speak but might as well convey his meaning by his silence. He spoke of lis visit to India, said how much he liked all he had seen, and male some enquiries about Raja Khiv Prasad of Benares whom 1. described as a "very nice gentleman". That over, we talked politics. He said that he was very earnest about his proposal for a Parlinmentary enquiry into Indian affairs. He had spoken about it to his colleagues in the Cabinet before introducing the Indian budget into the House of Commons in July and they had all agproved of it. But what the Liberals would do if they should coninto power, he said he could not say. He indeed thought it was probable, if they got into office, they would carry out his proposal but it was equally probable they would try to limit the scope at the enquiry. His own settled conviction on the subject was that the enquiry should be thorough and lead to something pra-The Committee should examine carefully the way 1.1 which the courry was being governed; and it should consist of the best men available in Parliament. Mr. Morley, he continued. had opposed his proposal on party grounds more than from any settled opinion on the subject. His speech had surprised his Lordship considerably. Our interview lasted a little more than Before parting, Lord Randolph said he would be half an hour. glad to hear from us again on any subject specially appertaining to our respective presidencies. We bowed our thanks to his Lordship and parted. Thus commenced an acquaintance, which, however, was not subsequently kept up in the good spirit in which it had begun.

#### Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

There were only a few days for the elections to begin. time was drawing near when our duty being done we should have to leave England for India; and yet we had not seen Mr. John Bright. We learnt that a great meeting was to be held at 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 Schnadhorst, President of the Liberal Association in Birmingham, our desire to be present at the meeting. Leaving London early 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. very 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 he 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, he looks rather young for his age. There are anecdotes told of him in Birmingham, which show how people o 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. Skottowe, there is one told which may be found interesting by my reader. Some years ago Mr. Chamberlain and his friend and lieutenant, Mr. Jesse Collings, visited the south-west of They came as far as Malaga and from there they resolved to proceed to Gibraltar; but they were disappointed to find 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,

he said, there was no accommodation for passengers in his ship. The travellers, however, assured him that they were not particular about accommodation, and would gladly manage to get on in the ship, provided they were somehow taken to Gibraltar that very day. The Captain was after all induced to comply with their urgent request. He showed them into his cabin, which he placed at their disposal. Addressing 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 out on the sofa"—the youngster being Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Chamberlain's oratory may not be equal to Mr. Bright's but it has charms of its own. Mr. Bright moves his hearers 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 before he makes you laugh 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 hands, for in Mr. Bright's case neither the hands nor eyes move much. Indeed, a much 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 age able to do. It is a treat to hear his perorations, -so grand and yet so simple, but unassisted by action. Not so Mr. Chamberlain. He is an orator, who depends for effect as much on gestures as on his voice and wit. Action is, in a word, his forte as much as fluency and force 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

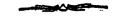
hands on all sides and move their bodies as if they were in a fit of agony. There is a peculiar grace in Mr. Chamberlain's delivery and gesture. The meeting where I heard him was held in the Grand Theatre of Birmingham and when he rose to speak, he stood in the middle of the stage. The audience in the galleries of that large Theatre, not being able to see him, loudly called upon him 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 laughed)-"I think I had better follow the advice of the proprietor of the Theatre and he tells me that the acoustic properties of this place require that I should stand there"-pointing out the place where he had first stood—"so as to make myself heard by all." The gentle movement of 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 elecution, The speech he made at the meeting I speak of consisted of many hits at Lord Randolph. "Lord Randolph is fond of long words and of the most inappropriate adjectives." "I say it is an act of unparallelled audacity 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." (Laughter renewed.) There was no reference to India made in this speech except a casual allusion 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 will 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 not know when I came to this meeting that we were to have the additional and unusual pleasure of welcoming four of our Indian fellow-subjects. (Cheers.) Had I known of this beforehan i I would have ventured to say something with regard to the affairs of that dependency of which we are so proud but which at the same time involves us in such heavy responsibilities. (Hear, hear). I think, however, that I may assure the delegates that the working men throughout the length and breadth of England are sound upon the subject of India. (Cheers). desire nothing in connection with the Government of Indus which shall not have for its first consideration the welfare of the people of India and if there are wrongs and grievances, there is a tribunal to which they may be brought with the absolute certainty of a fair and just hearing." Before departing, Mr. Chamberlain came up to us and said that he would be glad to have an interview with us after the elections were over. interview my colleagues had with him when we visited Birmingham the second time, i. e., on the 7th of December, but I was not present at it. Mr. Chamberlain asked my friends what was the most urgent reform India needed. Mr. Ghose drew Lia attention to the Civil Service question; Mr. Mudaliyar to the necessity of reconstituting the Legislative Councils on a popular basis. He promised to give his attention to Indian questions and there the interview ended.

### ( IX. )

# IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PERSONS.

(PART THIRD.)



### Mr. John Bright.

It is now exactly twenty years since 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 he might be said to be the same in 1886 that he was in 1866. He is perhaps the only living English statesman, whom it may well be said that he has, instead of "learning various lessons," taught the same lesson throughout to his countrymen,—the lesson of "liberty at home and 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 has been afforded by the public life of Mr. Bright." And the history of that public life could not be summed 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 three names-Gladstone, Bright, and Chamberlain-evoked of course the greatest enthusiasm, but you could nevertheless detect a diffe-

rence in the cheers with which the three were respectively received. For Mr. Gladstone, all—the older and the younger generation of Liberals—exhibited their profound admiration. But he extorted it more by the force of his genius and his capacity as the leader of his party than anything else. On the other hand Mr. (hamberlain was the hero of the rising generation of Liberals. The older class of Liberals did not seem to cheer him much, either because he was the man of the future and their best memories were associated with the past, or because some of them thought he was going too fast for the times. But Mr. Bright seemed to be respected equally by all and men of all parties acknowledged his moral earnestness. The belief about him is that there is not much of the partisan in him, Even Lord Randolph Churchill, 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 future 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 Liberal, coming up to us, said :- "I liked very much your references to Bright, Idon'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 he 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 thus marring the sequence of thought in his speech. He, therefore,

continued his remarks; but his querist was not to be satisfied. He kept on repeating his question until Mr. Ghose had to yield to his wish.

### HIS MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL.

The veneration, which is felt 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 least a quarter of an hour before the commencement of the proceedings. 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—you feel then that you are in the presence of one who can make himself quite at home But the moment he appears in public it becomes somewhat austere, leaving not a single smile on his face and then you feel that you are before a stern moral dictator who is serious even when witty and will put up with no humbug. On his arrival, the formal introduction to him of the Indian delegates having taken place, he entered, followed by us, the large and spacious 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 four and five hundred people. There was not an inch of space vacant; we were literally crammed. Every 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 magnificent spectacle. 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 large number 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. But it 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 you like this heat," and 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 enthusiastically 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 applauded. Then rose Mr. Bright to speak and with him again rose the audience. 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, whereupon 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 has 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 Churchill. His Lordship was passed over completely in silence as if no such person had appeared on Birmingham platforms. Mr. Bright was followed by several speakers. One of them asked:-"Are you, gentlemen, going to prove turncoats by rejecting Mr. John Bright. who has won 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 the 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 audience had received in silence the speaker's remark but that single lady's "Hear, hear," suggestive as it was, was greeted with most enthusiastic cheering. In his speech Mr. Bright did not make any 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 and supply the omission. In so doing, he 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 For the first time in my life did I feel what it was to be in a trance. The ladies and gentlemen there had 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 eloquent seem to rise than with him rose the audience too. Those who had heard his first speech reclining on their seats now seemed unconsciously bending forward, and the whole audience heard him in such subdued silence that you could have heard even a pin fall, until, rising by gra lual stages, he at last reached the climax of his earnestness and eloquence and in tones that still ring in my ears said of India.—"I could almost hope that I was twenty years younger 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 on the floor seemed wild with ecstacy. John Bright getting younger! What would not the working man pay for it if that were physically possible. The very idea acted like a charm upon the admiring audience 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

m what seemed to us his best manner for nearly twenty minutes, we, who were scated next to him, observed that he was literathe shaking. When he put his hand to the glass of water near hon, it was so unsteady that it was with difficulty he could raise the glass to his lips. The meeting over, we retired to a room adjacent to the hall where the meeting had been held. An incident en surred there which shows how greatly Mr. Bright is revered. While he was talking to us several ladies and gentlemen lected round him. After having shaken hands with some of them he was departing, when an elderly looking lady, who seemed to be one of his most devoted admirers, not to be baulked of the purpose for which she had waited so Luz, stepped forward, and touched Mr. Bright's hands and retired, as he was finding his way through the crowd to his carriage. Before departing he said to us:—"Well, gentle-100 1, you may count upon my support in the House of Commons -i' I am re-elected." Mr. Man Mohan Ghose smiled at this and said;-"Of course you will be." Mr. Bright in his quiet manner:-"Well, I don't know-don't be sure of that." This was said with a naivete, which was as engaging as it was sincere.

### OUR INTERVIEW WITH HIM.

Next day—it was Sunday—came off our interview with Mr. Bright. He was staying with Mr. Dixon. Before calling upon him, Mr. Osler suggested to us that we should after the close of the elections in Birmingham visit that town a second time and address a public meeting under the presidency of Mr. Bright. "It is the difficulty," said Mr. Osler, "is to get Mr. Bright to preside. Whenever he is asked to speak or preside, he at first declines and you have to repeat your request. He asks in return—II hat am I to speak? What am I to say?—But when you persist a little in your entreaties, you get him round. What he will say to our present proposal we must see. But most likely he will not refuse." We

called on him at three in the afternoon. There were present at the interview Mr. Dixon and Mr. Osler. There we found Mr. Bright a different man altogether from what he had appeared to he at the public meeting the previous evening. He did not lock either solemn or grave. There were smiles on his countenance. He laughed frequently with us and fascinated the company the freedom and humour of his talk. He inquired what had become of Sir William Wedderburn's scheme of agricultural banks and wished it were given a fair trial. He made enquiabout Lord Reay and said he was very glad to hear his Lordship was becoming popular as Governor of Bombay. He spoke about the Civil Service question and his old scheme for separation the Government of India into independent presidencies. Then be talked of the Ilbert Bill and the war against Theebaw. referred to Lord Ripon and said with much warmth how do aghted he really was to find that his Lordship had succeeds ! in winning the golden opinions of the people of India. Here I remarked how India felt disappointed to find that Lord Ripon had not been made a Duke on his return from that coun ry. Mr. Bright in reply:—"Oh, that's nothing. They want to get rid of their present Dukes, and I don't think Lord Ripon sets high value upon that title." He told us how, while returning from a funeral, he had met Mr. Norris, then about to leave for India to join his appointment as a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta, and asked him to be kind and courteous to the natives. Speaking of the future of India, he said:—"India ha:, I hope, a bright future before her. If you are moderate end we are reasonable, no difficulty is ever likely to arise in the you ... ment of that country." There is a notion among some people that Mr. Bright is an ultra-Radical, who would, if he had he, way, give up India this very moment. He is supposed to he'l very revolutionary ideas about this country but I venture think that the remark I have mentioned above shows how mistaken that notion is. It justifies Mr. Justin McCarthy's view that there has always been "a certain element of conservatism" in

Mr. John Bright. But in him the element is of a genuine character-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 have been talking to these gentlemen about holding a meeting after our elections are over, and I propose that they should pay us a second visit and tell us something about India." Mr. Bright:-"Certainly. It is a very capital idea indeed." Mr. Osler:-"And they want you to preside." Mr. Bright:-"Well, don't be sure of that, though." Mr. M. Ghose, as the leading delegate, put 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 whether he should consent or decline 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 about it on my return to Rochdale It is very likely I shall be able to come." This was, whispered Mr. Osler to us, as good as consent. 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 minutes only,"

# (X.)

### GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.



I have dealt hitherto almost exclusively with what may be called the political side of the English character as it struck me

during my brief experiences of the General Election of 1885. 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 he is in his own native land. "The prevailing expression" of the English people "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 proverbial austerity of expression seems to desert him there and you see in him an enthusiastic and very demonstrative being with sympathies and antipathies of the most gushing kind. During the period of political controversy and platform oratory, which immediately preceded the General Election of 1885, the Tories made it one of the strong points of their attack against 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 but 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 boroughs, where Lord Salisbury spoke, some people (of course Tories) appeared among the audience with a large umbrella which was uncovered and comically displayed for some time, had rotten eggs and dead cats thrown at it, and ultimately when Lord Salisbury rose to address, it was torn into shreds and amidst the groans and hisses of the half indignant and half comic audience was rudely thrust out of the place. This is an instanto of how, when fired by the passions and prejudices of party spirit, John Bull, who usually is said to feel 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 chapters, the reader has been furnished with other illustrations of this feature of the English character. If you dive a little deeper, 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 corruption or intimidation cannot so much as raise its head. But the experiences of an election give you reason to change 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 made 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 would be secret as between them and their friends but would not protect 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 gentleman, who held a high appointment under Her Majesty, it was said in the papers that he had brought his official influence to bear on his subordinates to get them to vote 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 husband Of another lady it was given out that she had asked a working woman for whom her husband was going to vote. On the latter replying for the Liberals, the lady said:-"There will be no blankets at Christmas then." The working woman, who was evidently more devoted to her party than to worldliness, indignantly

rejected the temptation held forth before her and retorted:—"It isn't Liberal working men who want charity blankets; it's those who call themselves Tories."

These are election experiences, from which perhaps an Indian pessimist would draw the inference that after all human 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 us though cases of intimidation and corruption occur they are not as easily exposed as in the latter But the pessimist ought to remember what seems to be a practically, if not theore-tically, accepted 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 character, you must see John Bull more specially when he is not involved in the meshes of party politics. A general idea may be conveyed of him when I say that he lives like a machine. At home or in society you find that he has so much artificialised life as to carry the science of etiquette to something like absolute, though tiresome 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, but in effect both are perhaps, 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 you actually are. This to an Indian no doubt causes great embarrassment 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 But in England courtesy is well-known well practised and there are few, if any, critics there to condemu you as a barbarian merely bacause when invited as a guest you

profess your inability to use the knife and fork with agility. The quiet of an English homo-its neatness and its regularity-the care with which everything is put in its proper place and every action done, as far as possible, in its proper time: the kind and consteous treatment servants receive; the way in which children are taught to behave and to converse; show that sanitary reforms, social reforms, and political reforms begin with John Bull at Leur -that habits of order and good discipline, so essential to men in general and statesmen in particular, are learnt not so ranch from books or at school or college as in well-regulated homes, which in their little circle form an empire by themselves : red where one is taught to govern and be governed. From every Figure 11 lish home which I visited as a guest I heard that the cause of t. reperance was gaining in England. Ten or fifteen years ago, I va told, people used to drink more largely than it is now the fashion to do. It would seem the evil has been transferred to India from England. This, however, by the way. Another vorderful improvement John Bull has made is that he is less toted-without, I hope, being less religious. Had ten or fifteen ago a native of India stood for a seat in Parliament the first que stion that would have been asked him would have been this:-"Are you a Christian?" But now people have grown more liberal Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose was asked by a man at one of his meetings to state his religious faith. Though Mr. Ghose was ready and almost 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. Ghose had to drop his reply to the question. Follow John Bull from his home into the street, a more busy and active being it would be difficult for you to find. Men and women are to be seen going about in a hurry as if they have hardly time to look about. If a stranger on a visit to that country from India drives or walks through the streets with his national head-dress on, even the most busy man passing learns instinctively as it were to stand and gape. You throw off the head-dress the next day and wear the English hat, not a soul

cares to look at you-you are lost in the crowd and are no longer "the observed of all observers." But it is an English mob gathered in the streets on exciting occasions produces a most striking impression. I had twice opportunities of watching and observing such a crowd during my stay :. London—one on the occasion, when the late Lord Shaftesbury. funeral cortege passed through Cockspur Street on its way in the Westminster Abbey; the other on the day of the Livil Mayor's show. On the former occasion a very large nur' of people gathered in the street to see the cortege pass. There was a gravity about the whole crowd which was striking a impressive and most appropriate to the mournful solemnite of the occasion. The crowd followed the cortege to the Abb v and all through the mournful silence observed by the large concourse of people afforded a striking contrast to the bare and excitement which one finds in a crowd gathered at a political meeting. Nay, the contrast between that some a t the scene on the occasion when the Lord Mayor's proces passed through the leading streets of the city of London was even more marked. People began to collect nearly two have before the time fixed for the procession to pass through. The were men, women, and children gathered in such large num' - rthat the traffic had to be closed as the streets were 1:eked. What with the policemen trying to keep the cross! in order, telegraph boys of ten and twelve entrusted " ' the delivery of telegraphic messages running about and with difficulty finding their way through the press of people, and the lower class of people struggling with one another to pick up silver coins thrown by sundry members of the National Liberal, the whole presented a most exciting and pictures pass scene. At last the procession came, consisting of shows of several kinds. The most striking figure in it was that of old S.r. John Bennett, "the Radical watch-maker of Cheapside." He is a prominent figure generally on most public occasions. The fire time I saw him was a few days after my arrival in England at

a recting held in the Cannon Hotel, where Mr. Colquboun read a oper on Upper Burmah. Even at the most crowded of meet-, us you are sure to distinguish him from the rest. He is a fat, of I man, with small but piercing eyes, which are opened and shut every second with force while the lips are set constantly motion. He wears a bunch of red roses in his button-His individuality is so striking that his age-worn ure in his well-known velvet coat and brown felt hat meets · ur eye wherever he may be seated. He is seventy-two ers old. As the carriage which contained him passed, the . Jwd 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 cheers, whereupon some wags were heard to cry t:-"Don't take off your hat, old John. You'll catch cold and die." It was a very cold day and for an old man of 72 sist in an open carriage with his head bare it was indeed runmag a great risk, But Sir John Bennett seemed not to care it rather to enjoy the fun. In his humorous manner he went in doffing and then donning the hat and shared with the crowd he merriment caused by his presence.



### XII.

# WHAT THE PRESS SAID OF US.

There is nothing very striking in the circumstance that in England, where politics are inseparable from parties, the mission of the Indian delegates came to be regarded by several people, especially the Conservatives, as a party move. The impression prevailed among them that we had gone all the way to England for the purpose of supporting the Liberal, and if not the Liberal the Radical cause, before the British constituencies. It may be thus explained. In our speeches, we could not but express our

disapproval of Lord Lytton's Indian administration; and Lord Lytton was a Conservative. Again, we could not but applicud Lord Ripon's Indian policy; and Lord Ripon was a Liberal With all our best efforts to, put our estimate of both on grounds having not the remotest connection with the accident of the one being a Liberal and the other a Conservative. we could not hope to convince men, accustomed to judge a ! things political with party bias. Further, the impression wa strengthened by the circumstance that we spoke against the increase of Indian military expenditure. The proposal for that increase came from and was supported by Lord Randolp's Churchill, and he happened to be a Conservative too. Thus it was that we came to be taken for men, who wished to throw ourselves into the arms of Liberal politicians. Tory papers raised that cry, and some of the retired Anglo-Indians in Lordon did their best to re-peat it at meetings and in papers According to one gentleman, we were "low caste men"-men who had "cast off the religious and social traditions of the East According to another, we were "three young Radicals, who called themselves Indian delegates". A third critic set is down for "three mysterious Indian gentlemen". A fourth gav out that the cry of "justice for India" we had raised was "an electioneering !dodge". A fifth made the curious discovery that we had been taken to England, "at the instance of Lord Ripon, to whitewash his disgraced career" and so on. Two or three papers invented worse facts and said worse things -papers, which, in point of rabid writing, would have surpas the most rabid vernacular paper in India, of whom some people to often are heard to complain. But the critics did more good than harm to our cause, for they gave wide publicity to our mission; and there was not a single newspaper in England, which half not something to say on it.

Here I shall present to the reader a collection of extra 's taken from some of the journals that stood well by us. The Echo:

"They (the delegates) will get a partial hearing. They will be posh-poohed by the official class and the Conservative Press. I'vey will no doubt be satirised by the organs of the Anglo-Indian mmunity in India; but they will do good nevertheless....They will sow seed which will spring up in due time.....We are r drawing on the resources of India, and unless we econon so we shall be a greater curse to it than a blessing. We er, however, more from want of thought than of heart." The Presbyterian Messenger: - "Among the novelties of the present situation is the appearance among us of three delegates room India.....They have come to lay before the English peono the claims of India to more considerate treatment... The thinge which has come over our Indian empire is absolutely marv lous. The English language has become the speech of the edusmed classes; English ideas have taken root; a new loyalty has i en developed; in one word, India has fairly started on the path that will make her a part of ourselves". The Court J'URNAL:--"The gentlemen from India are really men of high culture and from the speeches which they have delivered during their precandidature (sic.) are decidedly common-sense-like and without the least extravagance in their ideas". THE FREE MAN:-It speaks well for the rising intelligence of that country that three Native gentlemen have been sent from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to ask the electors of Great Britain to give greater attention to Indian affairs..... Last week they saught an interview with Lord R. Churchill, who promised them that a Parliamentary enquiry, will be made during 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, notwithstanding the pleasure they expressed at hearing this, day place any hope or trust in this now favourite Conservative sambit." The Cambrian of Swansea:-"We earnestly hope the ladian representatives, who are now endeavouring to arouse

hearty sympathy and cooperation throughout England, on behalf of the best interests of our Indian empire, will be eminently successful in their efforts, and that our British House of Parliament when it next meets, will calmly consider the just claims which our Indian brethren have for justice, and grant them that justice at the earliest possible moment. In order to do this there must be a change of policy—not simply in the practice of a little cheeseparing economy, but our system of Indian Government must be organised on a new, broader, and cheaper basis". THE SWANSEA JOURNAL:-"We emphatically approve of the objects which the delegates from India have in view in visiting this country. Their main desire is to stir up the sympathy of the people in their favour, and to bring into closer bonds of friendship their great Empire with England... The response of Swansca, as represented on the occasion of their visit, was as emphatic and enthusiastic as could possibly be pronounced". The MANCHE-STER GUARDIAN:-"If the visit of the Indian delegates has done no more than demonstrate the warmth and sincerity of the popular feeling in this country towards our Indian fellow-sub jects, it will have been 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 objection ought at least to show how a more approximately representative mission than that which we lately welcomed in this city could be formed." The HULL EXPRESS:-"Mr. Bright made a very good speech upon Indian affairs last night. He had always been one of the forward school with regard to India; be is practically at one with Lord Ripon and would unflinehingly apply the principles of English Liberalism to the Government of our greatest dependency... He expresses what is undoubtedly a growing feeling when he says that our Indian service stands, in urgent need of reform." THE EVENING EXPRESS:-"The delegates, who came to England from India at the beginning of the election in order to acquaint the electors more fully with the aims and desires of their fellow-subjects in the East, have had many opportunities of addressing the people of this country and of making known the growing urgency of the Indian question...There was a time when Ireland would have been satisfied by very moderate measures of justice. Now and for ome years past her growing dissatisfaction has hindered the trogress of legislation, and has turned her into a very thorn in the side of Britain. Nor will she be quieted again until every sense of grievance has been removed. At present the Indians are content to ask for the extension of local self-government a nong them, and the reorganisation of legislative councils. these very reasonable proposals are acceded to before the lapse of an inordinate length of time, the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown will be intensified.....Conservatives profess t, love glory. We would commend to them an utterance Mr. N. Chandavarkar made use of last night. "It was easy to con-Fier and easy to rule with a strong hand. There might be glory in it; but there was the imperishable glory of having educated and enlightened a fallen nation."

These are some of the extracts which I have inserted here for the purpose of showing that the delegation was noticed even by the provincial papers. I ought to conclude this with a quotation from the Pall Mall Gazette of the 8th December 1885:—

"The 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 appropriate conclusion to a campaign which it is only the barest justice to say that the representatives of the native educated class have conducted, amidst disgraceful insults and slanders, with a dignity and magnanimity which is itself one of the best possible testimonies to the justice of their appeal."

#### XIII.

### OUR MEETINGS.

Soon after our arrival in England a preliminary meeting of some of Indian's friends and well-wishers was held in the rooms of the National Liberal Club for the purpose of deciding how hert 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, Blunt, 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 the Westbourne Park Chapel, North Paddington, on Wednesday the 14th October, under the presidency of Mr. William Digby. Though it was a very wet evening yet the chapel was filled with a large audience. It was estimated that about 1500 people were 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 Randolph Churchill's remark that "the Indian famine insurance fund had been eaten up" was received with laughter and the audience kept on repeating the remark for some time. The next day we were officially received by Lord Randolph Churchill, then Secretary of State for India, at the India office. An account of this reception has been given already. Our second meeting was held in Oakley Hall, Old Kent Road, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Leary, in support of Mr. Blunt's candidature. Among these present at this meeting were the Hon. A. Bourke (a son of the late Lord Mayo), and an Afghan religious chief. There were about 500 people in the hall. There too we met with a good reception. Mr. Blunt delivered an interesting address on India. While in the course of his remarks he dwelt on the poverty of the people of this country, a man in the hall interrupted him 1. crying out:-"Here, Sir, is a man whose condition is sorse. Pray think of him before you talk of India." Blant replied that they had not met there to think of kim. Aigh in chief addressed in his own language, not knowing Eng-1-4. He spoke elequently, though none of these present besides have elf could understand a word of what he said. But the sorrach of his utterances did not fail to win the applause of lis radience. Whenever he seemed to finish a sentence and ratise for breath, he was cheered and encouraged with the remarks :- "You're quite right, Sir," "That's it," "Fire The Hon. A. Bourke was also one of the speakers. Contained meeting was held on the 27th October in the 1.11 of the Corn Exchange at Maidstone in Though the time for the local promoters of the meeting had been too short to enable them to send placards and bills all round and widely advertise the meeting, yet ilo hall, to the agreeable surprise of all of us, was filled the retflowing and great interest was manifested in the mission o' the delegates. Mr. H. Head, Chairman of the Radical Associa tion of Maidstone occupied the chair. At the close of the meeting a , Thiber of working men gathered round me and asked questions In his letter to Mr. Digby, the Rev. Mr. Harold about India. Rylett thus wrote about the meeting:-" You will be delicated to hear that we had a most successful meeting The Corn Exchange, the largest public hall lier right. is the town, was well filled by a thoroughly representative audience of Liberals.... I think we ought to endeavour to for an association with the object of informing the English resple on the subject of India even after the delegates have returned." A lady, writing to me about the same meeting. observed :- "I returned last evening from the Corn Exchange in which that grand meeting was held, with my heart full of what you had told us all, concerning the welfare of those poor people in India, and I felt I could not help writing today, not only to

thank you for coming as you did and interesting us so did to but to wish you and your two friends all the success that possible in the arduous work you are so courageously unlertabing in England. I trust you will find as you journey through our land, and take back with you when you return the conviction that though our country is cold, our hearts are warre towards our dear brothers and sisters in India." At Maidstone, I was also kindly received the next morning by the proprietor and working-men of one of the local paper manufactories.

Our next meeting was held in the Albert Hall in Swan. on Monday the 2nd November. Mr. Dillwyn, M. P., pr. ded. There were about three thousand people present and noth could surpass the height of their enthusiasm. The Welsh are even more demonstrative than the English. We had several leading Liberals of the place on the platform with us and the speeches made on the occasion seemed to be very highly appreciated. After the meeting was over, with "three cheers" for the delegates and for Mr. Dillwyn, a large number of those present came up to us and expressed their hearty sympathy with our mission. From Swansea we went to Newcastle, where a public meeting was held on the 6th November in the Central Hall under the presidency of Dr. Robert Spence Watness The attendance was not large, but we were received well and attentively. Writing to Mr. Digby, Dr. Spen-Watson said:—"I have seldom been at a more enthusia. "! gathering...But what is to come of all this? We care t let all this enthusiasm die out. We must have a league of the friends of India and peg away at it. I have never before so fully realised our responsibilities. I am prepared to work at the thing". It was at this place that I was interviewed by a representative of the NEWCASTLE DAILY LEADER. The meeting at Newcastle was followed by a great and enthusiastic meeting in the West London Tabernacle, St. James' Square, Notting Lill under the presidency of Sir Charles Dilke. There were about 2000

reople present at it. Thence we went to Manchester. was hospitably entertained by the Mayor of the place-Mr. Alderman Schmidt, an Anglicised German of liberal views and mial manners. The delegates were invited to a house dinner of the members of the Manchester Reform Club.' More than a hundred gentlemen were present. The short post-prandial speech of our leader, Mr. Man Mohan Ghose, responding to the to 1st of "the Indian Delegates," was very enthusiastically 1 ceived—especially his remark that they saw the British lion in l alia " when he was out on a hunting expedition and did not Asplay the most amiable traits in his character" was most highly  $\varepsilon_4$  plauded. The dinner was followed by a public meeting, which was held in the Free Trade Hall under the presidency of Mr. Slagg. It was a crowded meeting and we were listened to with attention. From Manchester we returned to London and spoke at Deptford. Altogether we had three meetings in this constituency—all very largely attended. On the 21st November we visited Birminpham 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. Our presence on Mr. Bright's platform gave offence to Lord Randolph 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 roply to his Lordship, which was published in all the leading English papers. Meetings at Honiton in Devonstire, Aberdeen. and East Grinstead followed, and our campaign closed with the grand and memorable meeting held in the Town Hall of Birmingham on the 7th December under the presidency of Mr. John Bright.

14 P

## FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION

KA MORY

#### INDIAN POINT OF VIEW

#### A PAPER

Read at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute

On the 29th of March 1877.

### KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.,

DOMETIME SENIOR DAKSHINA FELLOW, ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE,
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY.

Bont Say:

PRINTED AT THE "NATIVE OPINION" PRESS.

ATMARAM SAGOON & Co., KALBADEYI ROAD.

1877.

Price Twelve Annas.

# 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 aware, has recently attracted considerable attention both in this country and in England. It is a subject so intimately connected with the whole future of our country-no less in its social and political than in its industrial aspectsthat it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of l ving correct views upon it. At the same time it is a subject respecting which a controversy has been raging for a long time, and is even now, as the late Professor Cairnes expressed it, "active and glowing with something of its pristine fervour."\* I propose in this paper to present a conspectus of the various arguments, which have been or may be urged on either side of the controversy as it affects this country; and to set down some of the practical conclusums as to the true line of policy to be followed in this matter to which we are led by a consideration of those arguments.

Before entering, however, on a discussion of the condicting views on this important subject, I think it desirable to draw prominent attention, at the very outset to one corcumstance connected with it, namely, that the question

<sup>\*</sup> Some leading principles of Political Economy newly expounded PR 450-51, and compare also Fortnightly Review June 1876. P 881.

as between Free Trade and Protection is not really one of pure Political Economy—not one, in other words, on which the verdict of Political Economy is final and unappealable I venture to think, that there are few or no questions of practical politics, upon which the deliverance of Political Economy can be accepted without numerous qualifications. And it appears to me, that this must become obvious even upon a slight examination of the matter. If Political Economy is conversant, as we are told by the highest authorities it is conversant, with wealth alone; and if in practical life, the pecuniary aspect of a measure is, and must be admitted to be, not the sole-often not even the most important—aspect to be considered; then it seems to follow, that the economical view of such a measure is but one of many factors which must go to form the final judg ment upon it. And accordingly, we find Political Leonomy spoken of in Mill's Autobiography, as "a branch of Social Philosophy so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conclusions even in its own peculiar province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and counteraction from causes not directly within its scope; while to the character of a practical guide it has no pretension apart from other classes of considerations.\*" The same view, has been taken by another of the great Economists of our day-I mean the late Professor Cairnes. He says: "The data thus furnished"—that is to say, by Political Ros-

<sup>\*</sup>P 236 (3rd ed.). See also Mill's Political Economy, Profess (Popular edition.); Essays on some unsettled questions of Political Economy pp. 138-9;140-5. (1st ed.).

no ay-" may indeed go far to determine our judgment, 1 at they do not necessarily, and should not in practice always, do so. For there are few practical problems which do not present other aspects than the purely economical—political, meral, educational, artistic aspects-and these may involve consequences so weighty as to turn the scale against purely nomic solutions. On the relative importance of such conthe ing considerations, Political Economy offers no opinion, remounces no judgment; thus, as I said, standing neutral to ween competing social schemes."\* And Prof. Cairnes ... Is up his remarks on the subject in this wise: "It supthe means, or more correctly, a portion of the means, the stimating all, it refuses to identify itself with any." It is unnecessary, I apprehend, to further labour a point via h is so clear, as well upon the reason of the thing, as then the authorities which have been cited and which may he easily multiplied. + Some, indeed, may think, that the point should have been disposed of even more summarily than it has been here. But as Professor Cairnes has remarked in the sequel of the passage already quoted, this "charesteristic of economic science" is not "at all generally appreciated, and some serious and indeed lamentable conseon nees have arisen from overlooking it." And what is of st.'l greater importance, in the whole of the very elaborate d sussion which the question has recently undergone with

<sup>\*.&#</sup>x27; rtnightly Review for July 1871 P. 93. The paper has been time reprinted in Prof. Cairnes's Essays in Political Economy. See P. 256

<sup>+</sup>See, inter alia, Prof. Leslie's Essay on Financial Reform. Cobden Club Essays 2nd Series P. 193.

reference to our Customs Tariff, I am not aware of a single writer on the Free Trade side who gave its due, weight to this circumstance. The great weight which is really due to it will be shown at a later stage of our investigation. At present it is enough to have drawn attention to it.

And now, with this preliminary caution, let us consider the purely economic aspects of Free Trade and Protectionism in their operation in India. The objections to Protectionism, in the abstract, may, we think, be fairly summed up as follows:—

I That it benefits the comparatively small class of producers at the expense of the consumer.

II That it prevents a country from producing as much in the aggregate as it might and could produce in the absenct of the protective regulation.

III That it diverts capital from its natural channels.

IV That it renders industry unprogressive, and is democralizing to the industrial classes generally.

V That, in principle, it is destructive of all foreign tradand the moral and intellectual benefits thence resulting.

VI That it involves the great evils of the interference of the State with Trade and Industry.

There is not, I believe, any objection to the system of protection which may not be comprehended under one or other of these six heads. We shall now proceed to consider them in their order.

And first as regards the loss to the consumer. We find

it often alleged\* that to give protection to the growth of any article is equivalent to an enhancement 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 reply. I do not now wish to dispute the allegation that the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods, for instance, which have been objected to as protective in their operation, will reduce the price of those goods in this country-although, having regard to what has been stated on high authority to have been the effect of the repeal of the Corn Duty in England, there may be room for doubt as to that matter.+ But I will assume, for the purposes of the present argument, that such a reduction of prices will result from the repeal of the duties in question. Let us now trace the results of that measure in other directions. There will be a deficiency

<sup>\*</sup>Wealth of Nations Book IV ch. II; Chamber of Commerce Report (Bombay) 1874-75. P. 86; Fortnightly Review June 1876, P 889; see also Mr Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee's letter to Lord Lytton on the Import Duties P. 3.

<sup>†</sup>See Ricardo's works (McCulloch) P. 191. Rogers Political Economy P 235, and Gladstone's Financial Statements P. 129 whence it will appear that the operation of the repeal of the Corn Laws in England was beneficial in a different mode altogether. The passage is cited with approval by Prof. Leslie; Cobden Club Essays. (2nd Ser) 236. Prof. Leslie, in that paper, couches his lance against all indirect taxation. It is more than doubtful, however, whether his beau ideal of taxation is practicable—in India especially. See Gladstone's Financial Statements P. 518 and Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 1875 P. 54 Journal of the East India Association VIII. 192.

<sup>‡</sup> I have been unable to resist the temptation to add the following remarks although they do not bear on the abstract question, but only apply to the case of an impost which is necessary for revenue

in the revenue of the country to the extent of the yield of those duties. How is that deficiency to be made up? Two, and only two, alternatives seem to present themselves. Either another tax-must be levied, 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 burden of taxation from one shoulder to another; and as we must assume, at least for the purposes of this argument, that the import duties are not objectionable on the ground of their involving any inequality\* of taxation, this result is manifestly unjust. If on the other hand, the tax is levied from the very persons on whom the import duties fell, the result will be simply, that the state will have taken with one hand what it had given with the other-will have taken in taxation what it had given in the reduction 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

purposes as well as protective in its operation. My excuse must be found in the fact that it is with reference to such a duty that the abstract question which I am discussing has been raised.

<sup>\*</sup>In point of fact the duties will be found to satisfy most if not all of the famous canons of Taxation laid down by Adam Smith. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji is also of this opinion. See his Letter to Lord Lytton P. 6 Et seq. Compare also Syme's Industrial Science P. 71, where and on the following pages may be seen some very incisive observations on the late Indian Tariff Act.

are other taxes which are more proper to be remitted than these Import Duties. Our system of Land Revenue on this side of India may be good or may be bad-that question need not be discussed on the present occasion. it the cyndence afforded by the Deccan Riots, and by the enful Famine now prevailing in this Presidency, must, . most minds, be conclusive to show that the Land Tax. to put it in the mildest way, has some claims to be taken to consideration when a remission of taxation is contemplated.\* A similar argument may probably be urged with much force as regards the Salt Duty. + But it is unnecessary to carry this branch of the argument any further. It appears to me to be quite clear, that if any tax is to be comitted, the whole system of taxation must be considered, in order to see which tax is the fittest to be abolished. And if such a consideration is given to the question, strong argument and high authority will be found to support the ase of other taxes than the tax on imports of Manchester goods. I How then does the case stand? Assuming that the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods will reduce

<sup>\*</sup>See Report of Deccan Riots Commission P. 2; The Poona Sarvajank Sabhā's Report for the Indian Finance Committee (1873); Fortnightly Review April 1876 P. 526. Since this was written our new Governor has expressed his opinion on this subject in the course of his reply to an address presented to him by the Poona Marvajanik Sabhā. Sir R. Temple holds out no hope of reduction in the Land Assessments, as he is satisfied about the care with which the settlement has been made. Is His Excellency aware of the late. Air. Havelock's experiment?

<sup>†</sup>Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1874-5 P. 109 Fortnightly Review April 1876 pp. 521-8.

Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1874-5. P. 97.

that such reduction will either be counterbalanced by some additional payment in another direction, or will lead to some injustice in the general system of taxation in the 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 am now assuming—what at this stage of the argument must necessarily be assumed—that there is no other objection to the Import Duty than that which we are now discussing. And on that assumption, the results to be expected from the repeal of the Duty, as just now pointed out, seem to me to militate against that repeal.

But the Protectionist case, if it is to be so called, in answer to this objection in the interests of the consumer, does not rest there. Assuming that the Import Duty does increase the cost of the goods liable to it, and further assuming 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 endured during its currency will be made up for, and more than made up for, by a large diminution of cost afterwards. Admitting for the nonce, that the objection we are now considering is unanswerable in the case of a country altogether unsuited to the manufacture of the goods liable to duty, it appears to me to be utterly devoid of force when applied to a country in many way; adapted to that manufacture. 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. 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 required is enormously more cheap;\* and even the coal that may be necessary is not inaccessible.† 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 profits 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 put. But we are not left entirely to an a priori argument in this case. In 1873 there was published in the Fort-

<sup>\*</sup>In saying this. I do not for get that cheap labour is not necessarily 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 Brassey's Work and Wages pp 69, 87.

<sup>†</sup>Compare Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1874-5. P. 54. and Journal of the East India Association VIII. 123.

nightly Review an article by Mr. David Syme, in which two or three very striking instances are given of how the levy of a protective duty on certain articles in the United States and in France ultimately reduced the prices of those articles-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 States. indeed, were able to undersell even England herself.\* To my mind, I own, this is quite conclusive. Both a primi reasoning, and the experience already gained in other countries, + lead concurrently to the conclusion, that in a country adapted to any manufacture, a protective duty, although it may in the first instance raise the cost of the manufactured article, must in the long run reduce the cost. And if this is so, can the objection we are now discussing be maintained? Can it be said that protection under such circumstances means injustice to the consumer? It is one

<sup>\*</sup>Fortnightly Review April 1873. pp 449,450,451. Compare also Mr 'Syme's Outlines of an Industrial Science pp 87-8. What has been stated in the text also furnishes matter for consideration as against the contention of the Chairman of our local Chamber of Commerce, that "no law can be laid down with greater certainty than that if you protect the manufactures of a country by protective tariffs, its export trade in these manufactures will wither and die." (Chamber of Commerce Report for 1874-5. P. 87).

<sup>†</sup>Our own cotton manufacture shews a sustantially similar result. for although our indigenous machine-made coarse cloths are not yet, I believe, cheaper in money cost than Mauchester cloths, still considering their greater durability, it is in the long run cheaper to buy them than the cloths imported from Manchester. Company Syme's Industrial Science P. 170.

of the characteristics of civilised life, as contrasted with the primitive condition of mankind, 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 advantage in the future. Is it not clear, then, that in such a case as that we have put, the true interests even of the consumer dictate a policy of Protectionism instead of Free Trade?

And this view of the subject enables us to perceive, that the apparently formidable dilemma put forward on behalf of Free Trade is quite innocuous. "To give the monopoly"savs Adam South, in a passage of the Wealth of Nations which Dugald Stewart has pronounced to be "satisfactory and conclusive"\*-"to give the monopoly of the home market to the produce of domestic industry in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals. and must, in almost all cases, be either a uselessor a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is evidently useless. If it cannot, it must generally be hurtiul."+ The earlier portion of this passage appertains to our next point. But if we look into the alternatives presented to us at the close of it, we' shall find that they by no means exhaust the possibilities of the case. And our proceding

Lectures on Political Economy-Works edited by Hamilton Vol. X. P. 24 note.

<sup>+</sup>Wealth of Nations Book IV chap II.—Vol III.P. 113 (Wakefield's edition)

observations will indicate the third alternative—namely that the produce of domestic industry may not at a particular point of time be able to compete with that of foreign industry, but may reasonably be expected to be able to do so after a short period, if in the meantime it receives suitable help and opportunities of development. In a case like this,\* Adam Smith's argument, I venture to think, has but little force.

Upon the whole, therefore, this first objection to Protectionism in India appears to me to fail, because the principles upon which it rests do not quite square with the actual circumstances of this country. Let us now proceed to consider the next objection, which is that Protectionism tells unfavourably on the aggregate production of a country. This objection is thus stated by Adam Smith in the passaget to which we have already referred. "If a foreign

edition.) This passage is also cited by Stewart, Works IX. 25.

<sup>\*</sup>On re-reading Chap. II of the Fourth Book of the Wealth of Nations, I find that this case has not altogether escaped the acteution of its great author. But I venture to submit, that the manner 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 unlikely. He says: "By means of such regulations, indeed, a particular manufacture may sometimes be acquired sooner than it could have been otherwise, and after a certain time may be made at home as cheap or cheaper than in a foreign country. But though the industry of the society may be thus carried with advantage into a particular channel sooner than it could have been otherwise, it will by no means follow that the sum total either of its industry or of its revenue, can ever be augmented by any such regulation." I have said in the text, upon this and on the next point, what appears to me to be worthy of consideration against the views here expressed. Smith's admission, however, that we may by protective regulations acquire a valuable industry sooner than we can without them, is not without value. †Wealth of Nations Book IV Chap. II. (Vol.III. P. 114. Wakefield's

country", says he, "can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general andustry of the country being always in proportion to the capital which employs it, will not thereby be diminished, . . . . but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage. It is certainly not employed to the greatest advantage, when it is thus directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can pake. The value of its annual produce is certainly more er less diminished, when it is thus turned away from producing commodities evidently of more value than the commodity which it is directed to produce: according to the supposition that commodity could be purchased from foreign countries cheaper than it can be made at home." Here again, I have no quarrel with the argument sofar as it goes. What I contend is that it does not go far enough into all the possible circumstances; and the conclusion to be derived from it must, therefore, be taken, not in the general form in which it is inaccurately put, but subject to qualifications. The third alternative which we have mentioned in the discussion 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 have had a fair trial. If on the one hand it cannot be

denied, that in the beginning the production must be diminished; it seems to me on the other hand to be equally undeniable, that after the protection has had fair time to put forth its fruit, the production, in the case we have put will regain its former extent, and may even be developed into still larger proportions.\*

It is unnecessary to dwell further on this topic, and we therefore proceed to the next objection. "The sole effect," says Ricardo, + " of high duties on the importation, either of manufactures or corn, or of a bounty on their exportation, is to divert a portion of capital to an employment which it would not directly seek. It causes a pernicious distribution of the general funds of the society—it bribes n manufacturer to commence or continue in a comparatively less profitable employment." Now there is one point worthy of notice concerning this alleged diversion of capital, which will have to be discussed when we examine the last of the objections to Protectionism set out above—namely 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. 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 goods, I have no recollection of having met with a single fact or figure adduced to show, that any diversion of capital has taken

<sup>\*</sup>Compare Fortnightly Review April 1873 pp 449-57. †Ricardo's works (Ed. by McCalloch) P. 189.

place in consequence of the protection alleged to be afforded by the Duties in question. In truth, those who took part in the interests of free trade in that discusion did mot 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; thus showing themselves to belong to that class of the disciples of "the founders of Political Economy," who, in the words of the late John Stuart Mill, \* "stop short at their phrases," who "believe themselves to be provided with a set of catch words, which they mistake for principles-free-trade, freedom contract, competition, demand and supply, the wages-fund, individual interest, desire of weath &c .- which supersede analysis, and are applicable to every variety of cases without the trouble of thought." These weighty words. I venture to think, describe only too truly 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 yet, as I have endeavoured to point out, if we employ a little analysis, we find, that the fundamental principles, on which the general 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 year 1875, no less a sum

<sup>\*</sup>See Dissertations and Discussions Vol IV. S6. Compare also the quotation there given from Professor Leslie and the note thereon at P. 87; and Fortnightly Review for July 1871, P. 90 (Cairnes's Essays P. 251.)

<sup>†</sup> For June 1876. P. 879.

three crcres and eighty lakhs of Rupees had been invested in Cotton Factories at work in Bombay. These figures are taken by him from the Bombay Government Gazette, and they are corroborated by the detailed statement on the subject to be 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 had been diverted from some more profitable industry. We might fairly have expected from the practical business men who discussed this question, that they should have referred to some industries, more productive and more profitable to the country, which had been starved by resson of the protective import duty having diverted capital from them to the Cotton Factories. What, however, are the facts? I find no trace of any attempt to deal with the 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 Prima Minister, "that the inevitable tendency of any trade nursed and fostered by protection is to divert capital and labour from the natural channels into which they would otherwise be more beneficially turned."+ When a gentleman like Mr. Hugh Mason, speaking on behalf of the Manchester

<sup>\*</sup> PP. 41-4.

<sup>†</sup> Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1873-4. P. 33

Chamber of Commerce, in a matter so vitally affecting some of their doarest interests, can find nothing better than "inevitable tendencies" to press into his service, we may be pretty sure, I think, that there are no facts or figures to support his case. And yet if we are to argue the matter priori, it appears to me, that, in the circumstances of our country, the assumptions which underlie the reasoning of the adherents of Free Trade on this point are many of them quite baseless. As Professor Cliffe Leslie has said of Politial Economists generally, "they have feigned an unimpeded pursuit of wealth, a universal knowledge of the gains and prospects of every occupation in all places, and a perfect racility of migration; and from these fictions they have reasoned with exactly the same certainty as if they were real ases. The result is that Political Economy has become a yword for hasty assumptions and bad generalization."\* In this country, where every thing is so liable to become terestyped by custom, + where there is so little knowledge oth of the real resources of the country, and of the proper 1 todes of developing those resources, where there is not a superfluity of enterprise, I think that a diversion of capital, even when it is proved to have taken place in emsequence of a protective impost, is not necessarily a diversion from a more profitable into a less profitable chanand, cannot always be correctly looked upon as involving a iss to the country. Now in the case before us, not only is there no evidence to show any such "pernicious" diversion

<sup>\*</sup> See the Academy. April 10, 1875. P. 364.
† Compare, upon this point the observations of the late Mr. Begehot in the Fortnightly Review for May 1876-P. 737.

whatever, but there are facts which tend to prove, that a considerable portion of the capital employed at present in the cotton manufacturing industry was altogether unempleyed 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 little diffidence; but I have obtained information from certain 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 development, the great native merchants in Bombay used always to keep large balances in hand for the purposes of their trade, so that money might be forthcoming at any 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 capital which used formerly to remain in that form has now gone to make Ip 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 so safe as it was under the previous system, this result is by no means to be deprecated. So much wealth which before was not productively employed, is now employed for purposes of production. The aggregate production of the country, therefore, must have increased to the extent of the outturn of this additional capital. True, it may be said that if this protective impost had not existed, this capital

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 The truth is that contradicted with equal show of reason. 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 some of our 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. again, we see another mode in which the working capital of Bombay has received a clear addition. So much wealth which had remained 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 turned into 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

<sup>\*</sup>I also believe, that there has arisen, so much faith in the cotton manufacturing industry, that the heardings of some people have seen the light in consequence of this new industry being established among us.

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 have already referred. "We are aware", he says, "that this latter advantage is considered to be an illusory one, as capital and labour, it is alleged, would only be diverted from one industry into another, without any real benefit to the country. To this we answer, first, that this objection would have no force whatever, unless the whole capital and labour of the country were already fully and remuneratively employed, a supposition never yet realized in any country"\*—and, 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 exhibiting the actual aggregate production of the Presidency of Bombay, for some years before, and some years after, the rise of the cotton manufacturing industry.† But the figures for the imports and exports of all the three Presidencies are available, and so far as they furnish a proper basis for argument, certainly do not afford any support to the Free Trader's views. I take the figures in the following table from the Statistical Abstract concerning India (Number Two)—for the our years just preceding the period when the cotton industry having been established in Bombay, the import duty began, it is alleged, to act as a Protective duty.

<sup>\*</sup>Fortnightly Review. April 1870 P. 457.

<sup>†</sup>Compare Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji's paper on the Poverty of India Journal East India Association IX, P. 237, et seq.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Imports 1857-60.	14,172,485 £. 14,960,502 £. 16,156,427 £. 20,717,598 £.	2,540,739 £. 2,253,096 £. 2,638,400 £. 3,000,846 £.	11,895,060£. 13,609,467£. 15,750,823£. 16,903,659£.
Exports 1857-60.	13,443,967 £. 13,579,431 £ 14,515,938 £. 12,903,770 £	2,407,906 £. 2,665,920 £. 2,224,664 £. 2,492,156 £.	10,740,004£. 12,033,123£ 13,791,696£. 13,493,284£

This yields, for the annual average of imports into Bengal during the period in question, £16,501,753; into Madras £2,608,270; into Bombay £14,530,752. And the average of exports similarly is for Bengal £13,610,776; for Madras £2,417,661; and for Bombay £12,514,527. Turn we now to the averages after the establishment of the cotton factories. I take the figures from the Statesmans' Year Book, which is based upon official documents. And I omit the years 1804, 1865, 1866, which are exceptionally favourable to Bombay. I also omit 1867, as the returns for that year give the figures only for 11 months, owing to the change of the financial year then introduced. The figures now stand as follows:—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Imports 1808-71.	21,840,163 £. 21,321,371 £. 19,496,082 £. 18,588,706 £.	4,104,692 £. 4,086,478 £.	20,476,046 £. 24,128,314 £. 22,232,435 £. 15,708,938 £.
Exports 1868-71.	20,066,698 £. 21,367,819 £. 20,971,821 £. 23,455,045 £.	6,114,041 £. 6,072,375 £.	25,528,619 £.  23,770,307 £.  24,690,819 £.  26,494.761 £.

We get the averages from this table as follows:—For Imports—Bengal £20,311,580; Madras £3,976,345; and Bombay,£20,636,433. And for exports—Bengal £21,465,346; Madras £5,409,976; and Bombay £25,121,126. These averages are contrasted with the previous ones in the following table:—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Imports during 1857 Do. Do. 1868	60 16,501,753£, 71 20,311,580£	2,608,270£ 3,976,345£.	14,539,752£ 20,636,433£
Advance	3,809,829£	1.368.075£	6,096 681£
	Bengal,	Madras.	Bombay.
Exports during 1857- Do. Do. 1868	30. 13,610,776£ 71 21,465,346£	2,447,661£. 5,409,976£.	12,514,527£. 25,121,126£
Advance.	7,854,570£	2,962,315£	12,606,599£

Now these appear to be rather remarkable figures. 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 during the regime of Protectionism in Bombay, our imports 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 1860, our average full short of that of Bengal by over a million sterling, after 1863 we beat Bengal by nearly four millions. And mutatis mutandia

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 doubt, shows a higher percentage-about fifty two per cent.\* So of exports. While Bengal advances only fifty per cent, our exports are 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 been here contemplating is much more striking in the case of the exports than of the imports. If we 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 the 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

<sup>\*</sup> 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

thing that Protectionism is alleged to prevent. Upon the whole, therefore, the general figures of our Import and Export Trade do not afford the slightest support to the dogmatic Free Trader's views: They show that Bombay with her Protectionist system has not gone to rack and ruin, but has been exhibiting, on the contrary, a striking development, so 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 Free Trade."\*

There is another mode of comparison which may be adopted, and which also yields results not inconsistent with those which we have now seen. The tables above set out give us the averages of imports and exports of the three Presidencies in 1857-60 and 1868-71. Let us compare these averages

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Brassey (Work and Wages P. 60) says that " in a country in which the erroneous policy of protection is still adopted by the Government, the price of labour from the increased demand for it. will advance, as might be expected, in a still more rapid ratio than in a country in which a free trade policy is adopted. The closing of the home markets in Russia to foreign trade is producing a sensible effect on wages and the cost of living." Now if this is so, it seems to me, that even if Protectionism did diminish the aggregate production 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 do much good to a country to have a few bloated fortunes in the midst of a dead level of indigence here and there chequered with squaled misery. It is better, I humbly conceive, to have fewer large fortunes if the population at large be at the same time removed above the reach of starvation and misery. I cannot say whether there has been observed in India any such phenomenon as Mr. Brassey leas noted about Russia. In the absence of figures, I am unable to say any thing more than that I have been informed that wages have risen to some extent all over this Presidency during the last few years.

with the like averages 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.
Imports 1846-49.	6,22,36,232 Rs. 6,64,96,716 Hs. 5,41,85,848 Rs. 5,77,06,235 Hs.	1,02,22,110 Rs. 1,02,90,035 Rs 1,10,88,174 Rs 1,06,52,712 Rs	4,33,76,038Rs. 4,15,79,118Rs. 4,04,36,062Rs. 5,71,34,128Rs.
Exports, 1846-49.	10,10,27.551 Rs 9,51,97,977 Rs. 6,86,69,282 Rs 9,81,97,424 Rs	1,47,69,816 Rs. 1,58,43 167 Rs 1,49,15,589 Rs 1,94,63,112 Rs	6,26,49,653Rs. 4,96,51,927Rs. 4,37,99,479Rs. 6,86,21,907Rs.

The averages yielded by these figures are contrasted with those which we have already arrived at in the following table:—

	Years.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Imports.	46-49 57-60 68-71	6,01,56,258Rs 16,50,17,530Rs 20,31,15,800Rs	1,05,63,258Rs. 2,60,82,700Rs 3,97,63,450Rs.	4,56,31,337Rs. 14,53,97,520Rs. 20,63,64,330Rs.
Exports.		9,57,73,058Rs 13,61,07,760Rs. 21,46,51,710Rs.	2,44,7,6610Rs.	5,61,80,741Rs. 12,51,45,270Rs 25,12,11,260Rs.

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

<sup>\*</sup> See the table at the end of the book. Mr. Martin gives the sums in Rupees; and in the second table, therefore, I have reduced the Pounds sterling to Rupees at 10 Rs to the Pound sterling.

Bengal imports falls from 10 to 4 crores, speaking in round numbers, in the case of Bombay it falls from 10 to only 6 The fall in the case of Madras is not nearly so much. The results therefore 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 the case of the exports, the advance 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 advance in the third period beyond the second being very nearly double the extent of advance in the second period beyond And here again Madras is still far behind her sister Presidencies in the absolute total of her exports, but beats them both in the rapidity of her advance. 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 Rupees-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 as has not also befallen her sister Presidencies, although 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 be 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 we 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 upon the sea of speculation to which we are directed by the question above propounded.

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 occurred—if any diversion has occurred—by reason of the protective Import Duty on Manchester Goods, need not necessarily have been a diversion into an unprofitable channel. And we have also endeavour-

ed to show that the available statistics of our trade and commerce do not negative that assertion. As regards one department of industry—and that the principal one in this country, namely agriculture, 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 Political 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 suppose she produces 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."\* General Marriott's mind, evidently, has not been worked upon by the bugbear of diversion of capital into unprofitable channels. + 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 events on the point before us, to the whole Presidency. After setting out some figures for the years 1854, 1864, 1874, the Commissioners say: "In noting these figures, it must be remembered, that during the latter part of the period embraced, there was but little unoccupied waste, and the

<sup>\*</sup> East India Association Journal VIII. P. 207.

<sup>†</sup> Yet the gallant General is no Protectionist. See East India. Association Journal VIII. 136.

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 have shown to be not the fact that 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 mentioned. Upon this point, Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in his book on Political Economy, asks-"What should we say of a farmer who starved his best land in order to try experiments on a rocky waste?" + Well I may say, 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 put. If there is any reasonable chance of making a piece of land productive, -not necessarily in the immediate future, 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 upon it. He would be wise in looking

<sup>\*</sup>P. \$3.

<sup>†</sup>Polit. Econ. P. 230

npon the certainty of a smaller immediate outturn as dust in the balance, when set against the great likelihood of a larger aggregate outturn in the not very distant future.

We shall now proceed to the next objection-namely, 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 classes of a country have been taught to look to the legislature to secure them against the competition of rivals, they are apt to trust more and more to this support, and less to their own skill, ingenuity, and economy, in conducting their busi-The inevitable result is that industry becomes unproductive wherever it is highly protected."\* And further on he observes, that Protection "vitiates the industrial atmosphere, by engendering lethargy, routine, and a reliance on legislative expedients, to the great discouragement of those qualities on which, above all, successful industry mainly depends-energy, economy, and enterprise." † I do not for one moment wish to take from the force of these 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 established; and not, at least with sufficient distinctness, the case put by Mill in the wellknown passage to which Prof. Cairnes considers his own

<sup>\*</sup>Some Leading Principles of Political Economy &c. pp 483-4 † Ibid P. 487.

remarks to be a reply.\* A distinction must, I think, be taken here between the case of an industry to be newly established, and the 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 circumstances worthy of consideration

<sup>\*</sup> 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 without grumbling submitted to a reduction of the protective Tariff. This may be very true. But it does not follow, that this was done because the Protection could not be dispensed with. There is another, and, I humbly think, a more correct, mode of explaining the conduct of these persons—they drd not wish their profits to be reduced as they would be by the competition following on the reduction or repeal of the Protective impost.

remarks. I do not think, that there need be any demoralizing effect upon the industrial classes, where the protection is avowedly given in order to allow an industry the opportunity 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 does not appear to me to be conclusive upon the point. And I suspect 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 idea that the precious metals were the only wealth. The ground upon which Mr. Mill bases his dictum; and the

Some Principles &c. pp 451,452,454.

<sup>†</sup> Prof. Cairnes (Some Principles &c. p 484) thinks that "Protection invariably begets a need for protection." We have endeavoured to point out how this does not follow from the circumstance from which Prof. Cairnes seeks to deduce it. And a priori it seems to me, that the "need for support" cannot arise, where the support given is given under well understood limitations. Besides, if Prof. Carnes's broad proposition were correct, it might be argued by parity of reason, that the newborn child should not be supported in walkingfor does not support beget the need of support? But that is a position which, I apprehend, will not be accepted even by Mr. Herbert Spencer, whose views on these matters go, I believe, further than those 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 difficult to see a logical halting-place between his doctrine and Mr. Spencer's doctrine of "specialized administration", which nevertheless Prof. Cairnes rejects. This point is referred to further on in the text.

ground, I may add, upon which we ask for the benefit of that dictum—is another and very different one. Nor am I prepared to attach much weight to the argument, that under a system of Free Trade there is greater inducement to the artizan to invent new modes of economising labour. Although 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, where there is so little familiarity with any of the 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 Free Trader 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 business" of which Prof. Cairnes speaks. And I do not feel at all sure that freedom of trade will really give any more.

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

<sup>\*</sup> Compare on this point Prof. Huxley's remarks. Lay Sermons P. 62 et seq and Mr. Brassey's Work and Wages P. 122.

country; for the essence of the doctrine is to encourage native industry, by excluding the produce of foreign industry, wherever these come into competition with commodities which native industry can produce."\* And Mr. Macdonell in his Survey of Political Economy goes a stop further, and observes: "Foreign trade and home trade are advantageous on the same ground, and if it be economically hurtful to have free trade between France and England, it is hurtful to have free trade between Edinburgh and Glasgow, or for that matter, to have free trade between one street and another. Diogenes living in a tub, dependent on no man, is the model and only consistent Protectionist." † Mr. Macdonell's reductio ad absurdum is probably capable of answer even on the extreme Protectionist theory. But we shall not dwell on that aspect of the subject. We have but one roply to both Professor Cairnes and Mr. Macdonell on this point. The doctrine of Protectionism, with the limitations with which we accept it, does not lead logically to the destruction of all trade-be it foreign trade, or home 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 for the accident. Whatever the benefits of trade, for instance, between England and India, I apprehend that it will not be contended by such writers as Professor Cairnes or Mr. Macdonell, that that trade should, in the interests of the

**†** P. 392.

<sup>\*</sup> Some principles &c. P. 452.

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 us to alter this state of things, which we say is the 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 are now discussing. Whatever the extreme advocates 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 lead to what Professor Cairnes very justly calls the "intellectual and moral loss which would result from the withdrawal of the principal motive to the intercourse of mankind."\*

Extreme 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

<sup>\*</sup> Some Principles &c. P. 454. I may add, that I am quite prepared to accept the logical conclusion from this doctrine. If Bombay, for instance, has an established manufacture, which is better adapted to the circumstances of Poona, and which in a short time can be established in Poona by means of Protection, I would protect the Poona manufacture against Bombay.

<sup>†</sup> Compare Mill's Dissertations and Discussions IV. 124.

extreme one—to test the broad principle of Free Trade. Suppose a small country particularly adapted to the production of one article only, which happens for some time to be in very large demand, but does not itself satisfy any of the primary necessities of mankind. According to the broad principle of Free Trade, that country ought 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 article in question. And yet it seems to me to be quite clear, that it would be extremely bad statesmanship, even if it were good Political Economy, to confine the production in such a case to that article. rhythmical tendency which is traceable in all departments of social life, which carries the devotees of fashion from one absurd extreme to the opposite one,"\* might at any time 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. During the discussion on the Import Duties 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 between

<sup>\*</sup> H. Spencer's Essays on Education P. 148..

<sup>†</sup> See Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1873-4 P. 36.

American and Surat Cottons in the home markets has to be considered, for this margin appears likely to increase rather than diminish in proportion as the Southern States recover from the effects of the Civil War. We know that Lancashire 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 people 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 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 industry. 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 controversy, to which the question has given rise, between Mr. Herbert Spencer on the one side, and Professors Huxley

<sup>\*</sup>The precise figures may be seen in the recently received Statistical Abstract concerning India No. X. P. 49.

and Cairnes on the other.\* For I think, that even accepting Mr. Herbert Spencer's view, which carries the limitation of governmental functions to the furthest point, the Protectionist case, as we have stated it, may be sustained. In considering Mr. Spencer's view on this subject, it is particularly necessary to take it in connection with his general philosophy. And one of the pervading principles of that philosophy in its sociological aspect, is that there is a relation always subsisting between a society and its institutions, which harmonizes them, so to say, and which makes the useful institutions of one society not necessarily useful in another. As Professor Cairnes observes, agreeing in this respect with Mr. Spencer: "Further it may be 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 should, in its corporate capacity, exhibit the traits characteristic of a civilized nation; just as it would be equally impossible 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 manipulation, be made to yield the social and political results yielded by the more advanced nations of Western Europe.";

<sup>\*</sup> See Spencer's Essays (2nd series) P. 143; Fortnightly Review November 1871, and Huxley's Critiques and Addresses, P. 8 et see; see also Preface P. VI et seq; Fortnightly Review December 1871. and Spencer's Essays (3rd series) P. 127 et seq; Study of Sociology. passim; and Fortnightly Review. January and February 1875; and Spencer's Social Statics Part III.

<sup>†</sup> Fortnightly Review. February 1875 P. 262.

Or to put it in the words employed by Mr. Spencer himself, in that "vigorous piece of argumentative writing"\* which constitutes his most recent statement of the view held by him. "It is only when a considerable advance has been made in that metamorphosis 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 industrial structures—it is only then that the efficiency of these spontaneous co-operations for all purposes of internal social life, becomes greater than the efficiency of the central governing agency"+ It seems, therefore, to be plain, that upon Mr. Spencer's principles, even if we leave the criticisms of Professor Huxley and Professor Cairnes out of consideration, the broad doctrine negativing all Government interference in trade &c. cannot be maintained in its application to this country. Upon the general question, I may also add, that in the very elaborate comparisons between governmental action and individual action which we find in sundry passages of Mr. Spencer's writings, he does not appear to have attached due weight to the circumstance which is thus referred to by Professor Huxley with his usual felicity. "The state," says he, t "lives in a glass house; we see what it tries to do, and all its failures, partial or total, are made the most of. But private

<sup>\*</sup> Huxley's Critiques &o Preface P. VI.

<sup>†</sup> Fortnightly Review December 1871. P. 617. Spencer's Essays III. 157-8.

<sup>‡</sup> Critiques and Addresses P. 9. Fortnightly Review, November 1871 P. 529.

enterprize is sheltered under good opaque bricks and mortar. 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 seems to me to be pretty obvious from the whole history of our country for the last few years, that if Mr. Spencer's doctrine, in all its breadth were to be applied—or rather misapplied—to this country, we should not only fail to have the results of which Mr. Spencer speaks; we should not only fail to do the things done by Government better than Government does them; we should go without the things altogether. After pointing out that in England, all the knowledge from that possessed by the poor to that of those "who carry on the business of the country as ministers and legislators," has been "derived from extra-governmental agencies, egoistic or altruistic;" Mr. Spencer proceeds to say: "Yet now, strangely enough, the cultured intelligence of the country has taken to spurning its parents; and that to which it owes both its existence and the consciousness 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 inapplicable to the circumstances of this country? Need we say, that the history of India during the past few years shows a state 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-

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Rev ew December 1871. P. 651. Spencers' Lasays III 163-4.

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 cases, but even 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 understood with the necessary limitations as regards the conditions of the social environment-limitations, which, as already pointed out, Mr. Spencer himself will probably not repudiate. In the report of the proceedings of the second national 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 surveyors. the Government of India had rendered a very great service to archæological students." And in the discussion which followed on Professor Eggeling's paper, Mr. L. Bowring, Dr. Caldwell, Mr. Burgess, 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 utter insufficiency of individual action"\* with regard to the preservation and collection of old inscriptions. Similar instances could be easily multiplied, if it were necessary-

<sup>\*</sup> P. 38. (Trubner 1876).

which, I apprehend, it is not—to labour the point any further. It seems to me, upon the whole, that Mr. Spencer's doctrine is not applicable in the circumstances of our country; and having regard to the considerations already suggested, I would add, that Mr. Spencer himself would probably agree in this view.\*

But apart from the objection based 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 by 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 question of the true sphere of Government agency "does not admit of any universal solution;"; and further on, he qualifies the general proposition, that "the 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." I 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

<sup>\*</sup>The subject has been again discussed in the Westminster Review for April 1877.

<sup>+</sup> Political Economy. (Popular Edition) P. 568 a

<sup>1</sup> lbid P. 571 b

Luissez faire may prove to be as mischievous here as it has proved fruitful of good in England. The question must be answered with reference to the facts of our social, political, and economical condition. How again does Mr. Mill treat the question of Government interference in education?\* 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 shall presently address ourselves—the case of education and of Protection for 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."+ Look again at the principle on which the State protects those of immature judgment. A nation may be of immature judgment, just the same as an individual. † And

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid P. 576. et seq; and compare Dissertations and Discussions IV. 12-13.

<sup>†</sup> Political Economy P. 576 b.. It is unnecessary to give detailed references. I will now content myself with referring generally to Book V. Chapter XI.

<sup>‡</sup> In the article to which reference has been already made, I find corroboration for this view, in the following words of the Westminster Reviewer, who appears to be an adherent of Mr. H. Spencer's dectrine. "There is", he says, "an early stage of existence in which nations like infants or children cannot be set free from authority; they cannot judge wisely enough or act with sufficient self-control to avoid fatal or irretrievable mistakes." Westminster Review for April 1877. P. 325.

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 knowledge rarely, if ever, cultivated amongst us; our nation 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 country; 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 the 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 system of colonization, rest on principles which, I venture to think, are not without application in the question before us. And, therefore, considering all these matters, we are safe in concluding, that on the general principles on which State interference is justifiable, there is nothing to object to in the State encouraging the rise of manufactures in this coultry.

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 decide whether a particular industry should be developed in a country by protective regulations? Who shall determine the period at which the protection shall cease? Is it not manifest that the selection of favoured industries (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 perpetual intrigue ......?"\* I am quite free to admit that there is much force in these questions, considered in the abstract. 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, I 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."+ 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 against Government interference, no more, by parity of reason, should it be such an argument in the case we are considering.

Political Economy P. 233. I own that the parenthetical 'c'ause appears to me a rather dangerous one to Mr. Rogers's argument. For, whose "conception" of the "absolute necessity" is to prevail? That of the governing powers, I take it; and then you have full scope for "intrigue."

<sup>†</sup> Political Economy P. 580 a

The position, therefore, which we have already taken up is not rendered less tenable by the apparently formidable attack of Mr. Rogers upon it.

We have now finished the first and most important section of the present discussion. It appears to me, that the facts and arguments to which attention has been drawn already, are amply sufficient to justify the proposition, that in a country circumstanced as ours is, Protection is not the mischievous agency which it may be in other countries; that where there is reason to believe, that an industry is naturally not unadapted to the circumstances of a country, but fails to flourish there in consequence of accidents the effect of which a Protectionist policy may remove, there a Protectionist policy may not only be harmless, but in the long run positively beneficial. In his Budget Speech 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 to attach 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 much so indeed, that no man will have the courage to defend a legislative proposal under 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 Statements P. 501.

that if I have had the "courage" to defend a "proposal under such a stigma," such "courage" is not altogether synonymous with rashness. Mr. Gladstone may 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 recollect what another great authority of our own day has said on this subject. "I venture," Professor T. E. Cliffe Leslie 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 chief writers; that, so far from being of no country, and unchangeable from age to age, it has varied much in different ages and countries and even with different expositors in the same age and country." If then even the theoretical doctrines of Political Economy are not necessarily true of all countries alike, a fortiori, would the practical precents based upon those doctrines be inapplicable to all countries alike. This truth which, I may add, has also been recognised by Mill,+ appears 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 authorities, that the British Parliament

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Review November 1870 P. 549.

<sup>†</sup> Dissertations and Discussions IV. 88. I find that Mr. Mill had in Parhament also given a similar answer to Mr. Lowe to that which Professor Leslie has given in the Fortnightly Review. See the Indian Economist for October 1871 P. 57, where the answer is extracted.

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 Leslie stated above. That the British Parliament will probably consider the argument conclusive. 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 British Parliament is logically bound to accept the argument. 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 shall 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 Constitution—certainly not so fundamental as this—extended to us, when we ask that it should not be 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 turn to the other branch of our subject. Having, as I trust, shown that none of the stock objections to Protectionism are of any force in the circumstances of our country, I shall proceed to set down some of the positive arguments, which, I think, may be urged in favour of a system of Protectionism in India. Now everybody who has paid any attention to this subject is aware of the one universal wail for departed industries which may be heard in various parts of this country.\* It is well known, that several articles, which in days gone 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, therefore, the melancholy 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 think, shown, that no advantage in the way of the opening of new industries can be gained, unless some guidance and aid are forthcoming for the instruction and support of our capitalists. If then we are to follow what may be called the Laissez faire policy in this matter; if we are to act on the 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 such progress to be unjustifiable 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 enterprise,

<sup>\*</sup> Compare the various articles on that subject in Mookerpee's Magazine.

our ignorance of the resources of our own country, our ignorance of the modes by which those resources are to be developed—all these will reduce us to the condition of a nation of pure agriculturists, with no manufactures worth the name to afford "scope," as Professor Cairner has it, " for wider and more diversified cultivation, such as is furnished by an industry branching in numerous directions and offering to enterprise a varied field."\* Is this a desirable state of things? Is it a state of things which we can contemplate calmly and without alarm? Surely, 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; t surely, when we see this, we cannot stand stoically serene before a theory, which will turn us over, bound 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 Is there nothing demoralizing in now witnessing

Some Principles &c. P. 475 et seg.

<sup>†</sup> I-wish to guard here against a possible misunderstanding. I think that, upon the whole, our Government did bravely and well in the matter of the famine. At the same time I also believe that it fell into some very grave mistakes as regards the supposed conspiracion of workmen, 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 "begetting the need for support"? On the other hand, should any heartless theorist succeed in convincing 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 helping hand? See then the position in which we stand. Abandoning Protectionism, because it is demoralizing, 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. Even 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 agricultural is not a desirable state of things. Among writers who have discussed the theory of this subject, Mr. Mill, in a wellknown passage 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-

Compare Journal Royal Asiatic Society XVIII P. 422.

cultural-cannot attain a high state of civilization and culture. And for this there is a great foundation of reason."\* Professor Cairnes, too, in the sequel of the passage which I have quoted in the last paragraph, about offering a varied field to enterprise, observes: "I cannot deny that there is a certain basis of truth in the considerations just stated: and that circumstances may even be imagined in which they would possess real cogency." The same testimony can be obtained from the mouths of practical men, and it is particularly valuable, being given with special reference to this country. In the course of the discussion at our Chamber of Commerce on the Import Duties on Cotton Goods, Mr. Kittredge said: "Agricultural countries are proverbially poor countries, and India is no exception to the rule. While she has to depend, as has been the case until very lately, wholly upon agriculture, she will remain poor." And to the same effect are the opinions of Mr. R. H. Elliott and Lieutenant Colonel Tyrrell. We shall presently see some of the economical grounds on which these opinions rest. But in passing I wish to draw attention here to the higher ground to which both Mill and Cairnes allude—namely, that a purely agricultural people cannot be a highly civilized people. It was with reference to this ground mainly, that at the

<sup>\*</sup> Political Economy. P. 558 a.

<sup>†</sup> P. 476. See also Syme's Industrial Science P. 185. and the memorial of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce quoted by Mr. Syme in that book at P. 77.

<sup>‡</sup> Report of the Chamber of Commerce 1874-5. P. 98.

<sup>§</sup> See East India Association Journal Vol VIII P. 126. Vol 1X. 49-50. See also Fortnightly Review April 1873. P. 462.

beginning of this essay, I thought it desirable to point out the necessary limitations with which economical generalizations must be received, when they come to be applied to practice. That ground will be admitted to be a very strong one-yet Political Economy proper, I apprehend, does not take it into calculation. But further. It is now a very well-recognised truth, that to raise produce by agriculture in any country is to take so much out of its soil, and that unless something is given 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 proba-Lly recollect the comparison made by Professor Huxley\* between what he calls the "matter of life" and the "magical wild ass' skin" of one of Balzac's stories. Well, land may be compared to this "matter of life," in as much as every use made of both implies "expenditure which cannot go on fer ever," though both have the "capacity of being repaired." Now it is pretty well known, that in our country, this " capacity of being repaired" is not much exercised. That is not merely the result of my own inquiries, but in the general Administration Report for 1874-75, the Government of Bombay have thus acknowledged the fact: + "Land is overcropped, and too little, nonrishment returned to the soil; and though this deteriorating influence has been in operation for centuries, yet high prices through a series of years have stimulated the desire to secure large crops with-

Lay Sermons &c P. 175.

<sup>+</sup> P. 115.

out sufficiently altering the custom in respect to the preparation of manure." Now, it is obvious, that the mischief resulting from this exhaustion of soils is greater where the produce of agriculture is, to a great extent, exported, and only a comparatively small quantity used in the country itself.\* And according even to Mr. J. E. T. Rogers, " a Government may with propriety 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."† The conclusion from these premises need not be stated.

Again, it is not an unfamiliar fact, that for at least three 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 engage 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 Bombay for such employment as they can get. Dr. Hewlett! says, that there is a large influx of such men into Bombay from the villages in the Deccan, from Kutch, Kathiawar, Colaba, Ratnagiri,

<sup>\*</sup>Compare on this point, Mill's Political Economy pp. 557 et seq. †Political Economy. P. 223. This admission by the way, affords a loophole for the entrance of much of that intrigue and of those, means for demoralizing Governments against which Mr. Rogers strongly protests. See too P. 45 supra.

<sup>‡</sup> See Dr. Hewlett's Census Report for 1872 P. 10. And compare Poona Sârvajanik Sabhâ's Roport for E. I.F. Committee P 27

Malvan, Goa, and down the coast—which is a pretty large It is easy, therefore, to see, that remaining a merely agricultural people, 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 pointed 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 employed in trades and occupations other than agriculture. † It is, therefore, quite plain, that even from the purely economical point of view, even confining our attention to the means of increasing the aggregate production of the country, it is not desirable to permit our industry to be confined to agriculture.

There is another point not unworthy of note. So long as our system of Land Revenue Settlement continues to be what it is; so long as there exists a danger of a share of the profits

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Review. April 1870. P. 451. And compare also Carey's Social Science Vol III. P. 28.

<sup>†</sup> See P. I4 of the Report.

derived from improvements on the soil being pounced upon on behalf of the State; \* there is not, I think, much chance of large capitals being employed in agricultural improvements. I do not wish now to enter into any controversy regarding the policy of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue, either on the model of the Bengal Settlement or any other. † But this I will say, that while wo hear of the vagaries of the Survey and Settlement Department with such frequency as we do, it is impossible to fold our hands in content, and rest under the self-complacent belief that we are living under the best Lan1 Revenue System that can be adopted. If this is so, it seems to me quite impossible to contend, that it will be an economical benefit to the country to devote its labour to the extension and improvement of agriculture alone. Labour will not be so devoted; and much capital will remain 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," t is based upon the truth that "-

<sup>\*</sup>It is true that this is expressly prohibited by an Act of the Legislature. But we know how a coach and six may be driven through such Acts in administering them. And I am assured by one who has very carefully and exhaustively investigated this subject, that in practice the Act is so far almost a dead letter. Even a supposed danger of this, however, is enough for our argument.

<sup>†</sup> The authorities against the Bengal settlement are collected in a note in the extremely elaborate judgment of the Chief Justice of Bombay and Mr. Justice West in the famous Kanara LandCa+3 P.23.

<sup>‡</sup> Political Economy. P. 75 s.

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 system may be said to be almost in its infancy; considering that the conveyance 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 att-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 country the desirability, even from an economical point of view, of introducing manufactures into it. In the sequel of the passage from which we have already quoted, Mr. Mill himself points out some of the conclusions to which the application of that principle leads. The passage is one, which has not attracted any attention in connexion with the present 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

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid P. 74 b.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid P. 75 b.

"it is, above all, the deficiency of town population which limits the productiveness of the industry of a country like India." And after pointing out that the agriculture is "conducted entirely on the system of small holdings," but that nevertheless there is a "considerable amount of combination of labour," and at times Government help also, he goes on to say: "The implements and processes of agriculture 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 communication, would afford." So far, it appears to me, that the argument points to the establishment of various 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 the cultivators prevent them from attempting to become consumers of town produce." And he, therefore looks to the extension of our exports of agricultural produce for the development of our resources. This is, no doubt, in some measure, correct. But on the other 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 commodities for which again other factories may be established. And so the various actions and reactions in the industrial organism may lead to experiments guided by correct information, till we shall have seen for what particular manufactures our country has special capacities. manufactures as may be found, by experiments or by anticipation from known facts, to be not adapted to the circumstances of the country may with advantage 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 say 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." 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

<sup>\*</sup>Compare also on this point the remarks of Mill, Political Economy P. 74 b.

<sup>+</sup> Wealth of Nations Book IV. Chapter II. Dugald Stewart in his criticism on this seems not to question the theoretical correctness of the exception but its practical efficacy.

country; and he applied the exception in favour of the English Navigation Laws. But the military defence of a country is not an end in and for itself-it is valuable only as a means to the end, which is the safety and progress and civilization of the country. And therefore, if uron consideration we should find anything to be necessary for the true progress and improvement 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 be but little difference between the two cases. Now we have shown, that manufactures are 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 our power to make it. It, therefore, follows, that Protection to manufactures in India stands on at least as sound a footing in theory as the Navigation Laws did in England.

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

<sup>\*</sup> P. 391; see also Rogers Political Economy P. 232.

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 experience" due to his "having begun sooner."\* These are not trifles, even taken singly; taken all together, they constitute a very heavy dead-weight indeed. But 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 suitable to it; whether it is always safe to trust to foreigners for a supply of commodities that may be of vital. consequence in war; whether a mixture of city life the concomitant of manufactures may not be so precious as to counterbalance some present loss; whether the collapse of a

<sup>\*</sup> Political. Economy P. 556.

large class or interest living by a precarious home industry is always outweighed by cheapness, sometimes distributed in imperceptible portions to consumers; and lastly whether the decline in production, due to an adoption of protection, may not sometimes be followed by a better system of distribution? If I may be permitted to give an opinion on these questions, I should say that all European countries, and the United States, have outgrown the necessities of Protectionism."\* This passage, as I have said, appears to me to be far more correct in principle than the previous one. 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 introduce some manufacturing industries into the country; and if they cannot be secured, as they have not been hitherto secured, without Protectionism, to Protectionism 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

<sup>#</sup> P. 397-8.

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 "For many years," he says, "great commercial injustice was done by England to British High, indeed prohibitory, daties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee &c. to favour similar products grown in 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. same principle was adopted in silk and other articles; the result was the destruction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plan of Strafford in Ireland during the reign of Charles I-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 our indigenous manufac-

<sup>\*</sup> East India Association Journal VIII. 138.

<sup>†</sup> The History of British India. P. 543 n. Compare also what Mi R. Knight says at. Journal. E. I. Association II P. 255.

tures was this very Protectionism. And when we ask that the same instrument which was used as a sword against us should now be used as a shield for us, 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 used now. I deny, that in extending Protection to any native manufactures, the British Government would be doing any injustice to the manufactures 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 injustice had been done before in the interests of the very persons who are now complaining. But further, not only have Indian manufactures 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 State. 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 subjected? They grew up under the influence of protection. Protection, in a greater or less degree, unnerved their energies. They adopted, and were content to depend upon; imperfect and wasteful methods of manufacture, and when the legal protection, which had thus beguiled them

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Review. June 1876 P. 896.

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 branches of industry, I believe with scarcely more than a single exception, has become more healthy, more vigorous, and more profitable than before."\* We thus find, that "almost every branch of British industry" actually grew up under the influence of Protection. And under these circumstances, it seems to 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 been a subject of frequent remark, that adulteration of cotton goods is extensively carried on in England. Mossrs. 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 statement is amply corroborated. † What now is the mode in

<sup>\*</sup>Gladstone's Financial Statements P. 482. It will be observed, that the "suffering" of which Mr. Gladstone speaks need not be undergone at all, if the Protection is avowedly given, in accordance with the limitation laid down by Mill, for a short period only, so as merely to give the industry an opportunity of taking root.

<sup>†</sup> Report of the Chamber of Commerce 1873-74 P. 37 et seq. and Syme's Industrial Science P. 80 et seq.

which this so-called Free Trade policy will work? The duties being repealed, the local mill-owners lose so much out of their profits. The result will probably be, that some at least of the capital engaged in the local industry will be withdrawn from it. The Manchester manufacturer then has nearly the whole field to himself. The adulteration may increase; and yet the poor consumer, in whose interests, forsooth, the duties were repealed, must buy those adulterated goods. Any attempt to set up a rival can, of course, be easily put down by those already engaged in the trade.\* See, then, the result. The local consumer is entirely at the mercy of the foreign producer. Either he must go without cloth-an alternative which need not be considered—or he must take adulterated cloth. In such a case, it is evident, Free Trade becomes synonymous with restriction in favour of Manchester. Competition means the monopoly of the parties in possession.

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

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Review, April 1873, P. 453 et seq.

<sup>†</sup> This is exactly paralleled by what Mill says about children. "Freedom of contract, in the case of children, is but another word for freedom of coercion," (P. 577 Political Economy.) Compare also Syme's Industrial Science pp. 51, 69.

unobjectionable, it is even desirable, 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 cases) should be protected and helped 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 Economy when correctly interpreted and properly applied. "The system of Protection," Professor Cairnes has said, "naturally grew out 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 doctrine of Protection here advocated. That doctrine is not based at one single point on the theory, that the precious metals are the only wealth, and that the ultima

<sup>\*</sup> Some Principles &c. P 451.

thule of all policy is the acquisition of those metals. It rests on other data and on different reasonings.

"The aggregate wealth of a country," Professor Cliffo Leslie observes, "depends, of course, on the degree of development of all its resources; the development of all the capacities for production and commerco of all its localities and all its inhabitants. But to secure the development of all these resources or natural forces, one indispensable condition is perfect liberty in every locality, for every trade, every company, every individual, and every enterprise; to allow every effort, individual or co-operative, to be made, every experiment tried, every improvement attempted. ..... The wealth of countries is in proportion, 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 truth is one of which Professor Leslio himself would approve; but it certainly does seem to me, that in cases like ours, the liberty, on which Professor Leslie lays such stress, is not to be attained under the dominion of free and open competition. It is a mockery and a delusion to speak of liberty, when the native endcavouring to develop the resources of his country, can be undersold 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 cross over, as enjoying liberty, because, for sooth, he has no fetters on his person. We must have a more real liberty than unlimit-

<sup>\*</sup> Cobden Club essays (2nd Series) P. 196.

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, not 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 must 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 Leslie 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

<sup>\*</sup> Fortnightly Review, November 1872, P. 538.

this country are not "proper particulars" to be "covered under" that principle. We have shown, that in India, Protection will not lead to the evils which it has led to in other countries. We have shown, that here it will not foreclose—as it does elsewhere—any benefits likely to accrue to us but 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 science, and on principles higher than any which economic science has to deal with, the system of Protectionism is one 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 based on them on the following pages. The correct figures are given in the following Table prepared from the Statistical Abstract relating to India No. X. (P. 37 et seq.):—

<del>----</del>0-----

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Imports 1868-71.	21,821,424 £ 21,325,600 £. 19,496,082 £. 18,588,706 £.	3,688,248 £. 4,069,535 £. 4,046,505 £. 3,982,834 £.	20,153,317 £. 22,849,269 £. 21,614,164 £. 14,677,838 £.
Exports 1868-71	20,206,464 £. 21,266,324 £. 20,971,121 £. 23,240,609 £.	4,311,555 £. 6,114,041 £. 6,072,376 £. 5,150,728 £.	25,000,011 £. 23,123,611 £ 23,730,539 £. 25,102,584 £

### BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

I. Was the Râmâyana Copied from Homer? A reply to Professor Weber. (Atmaram Sagoon & Co.) Price Twelve Annas.

"The current numbers of the Native Opinion of Bombay contain a very able and dignified review of the Essay by Mr. Kashmath Trimbak Telang This writer endeavours to refute Professor Weber's arguments one by one, showing no ordinary acquaintance with Sanskrit Literature and the writings of European Scholars."

—Academy, 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 Native Opinion, Mr. Kashinath's paper has been published, and though we cannot enter into the merits of the question, we must say that he has displayed considerable ability and great critical power in the course of the argument he has conducted."—Times of India, 9th January 1873.

"This is a well written essay upon a question which has attracted much attention of late and drawn forth much elaborate criticism. The Essay under notice will be found a very useful disquisition on the point at issue."—Calcutta Review, July 1873.

II. Bhagavadgîtâ, translated into English Blank Verse, with copious notes and an Essay on the age of the work. (Atmaram Sagoon & Co.) Price Two Rupees and Eight Annas.

"We have read this book with great pleasure, and we rose from its perusal with a conviction of the author's abilities as a well read and sound Sanskrit Scholar. We can say only a few words as regards the translation. We have compared it with the original, and we are glad to find that it is surprisingly accurate and elegant... We therefore strongly recommend this book to those who cannot read the Bhagavadgita in the original, and who yet wish to understand the philosophy inculcated in it. The Essay has added a ten-fold value to the translation, though the latter is excellent in itself. The Essay is very elaborate and full of learning. All branches of Sanskrit Literature, Poetry and Grammar, Theology and Philosophy.

Sruti, Smriti, and Puranas, and the works of European Scholars have furnished him with arguments to refute Dr. Lorinser's theory and establish his own."—Native Opinion, June 1876.

"To Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang of Bombay we owe atranslation of the Bhagavadgita into English Blank Verse. In a highly interesting Introduction, the translator endeavours to show that this work does not owe its origin, as has been generally assumed, to a period considerably later than the rise of Buddhism."—Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1875-76.

"A translation of the Bhagavadgita into English Blank Verse by a native of India is a strange combination. The translator is Mr. K. T. Telang, M.A., LL.B., sometime Fellow of Elphinstone College, now Advocate at the High Court. Bombay. The translation is carefully made and follows chiefly the interpretation of native commentators. Still more important, however, than the translation, is an Introductory Essay in which the criginality and antiquity of the Bhagavadgita are vindicated against European sceptics. This Essay reflects high credit on the knowledge and acumen of the writer, though he seems occasionally to have misapprehended the line of argument adopted by the European Scholars he criticizes."—Academy, February 1876.

III. Bhartrihari's Nîti S'ataka and Vairâgya S'ataka with Notes, Various Readings, and Extracts from two Sanskrit Commentaries—(Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics) Government Central Book Depôt. Price One Rupee and Twelve Annas. \$ 15-

# AN ESSAY

ON

# THE POSITION OF THE VERNACULARS

IN

OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

(IN TWO PARTS.)

BY

VAMAN ABAJI MODAK, B.A.,
PRINCIPAL OF THE ELPHINSTONE HIGH SCHOOL.

----

Bombag:

PRINTED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1888.

## NOTICE.

THE 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 some friends that, if possible, the paper should receive a wider 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 secure the admission of the Vernaculars into the curriculum of the Calcutta University. The Universities of Madras and the Panjab have from the beginning 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.

### PART I.

#### HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,-

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 collectively. 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 communication which the cultivation of the vernaculars alone could afford, the educated few were isolated from the uneducated masses, in their thoughts and feelings, aims and aspirations. Having thus pointed out the cyil, I also suggested 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 Greeks, for the purpose of encouraging vernacular literature by the award of honorary prizes and 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 question further before I formally took steps in the matter in my 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 study 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 most farsighted and liberal sentiments in the matter of the educational policy to be thenceforth adopted for the enlightenment of the people of India; and as such it has been worthily called

the Educational Charter of this country. In that Despatch the Honourable 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 \$8 of the Despatch they state the main object of education in India to be "the general diffusion of European knowledge"; and in order to attain that object they require that the institutions affiliated to the University, naifiely, 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 for those languages; and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian." Here, I would remark in passing, it is evident 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 been 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 education, the study of the vernaculars should be assiduously attended to;" and that "any acquaintance with improved European knowledge, which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people, can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages." In para, 14 they further add in this connexion that "as the importance of the Vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literature of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by 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 within the reach of all classes of the people; and that therefore they look to the English language and the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge."

It is clear from the passage quoted above that the Honourable the Court of Directors, in their Despatch of 1854, aim at the general diffusion of European knowledge in the country chiefly through the medium of the vernacular dialects, and direct that all other branches of instruction, including 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 organization of independent Educational Departments under the instructions conveyed in that Despatch, was immediately followed by an important political revolution in the country; and the events of 1857-58 led to a transfer of the chief administrative authority from the Court of Directors to the Secretary of State. The change of spirit which was, in consequence, introduced in the administration, was no less felt by the educational system than by the other departments of Government. The sound principles 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 Bombay University, though professedly modelled on the London University, with a view to avoid the defects of the older Universities of the United Kingdom, 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, 15 otherwise under no small obligation, for the rare ability 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 Vice-Chancellor of the University, that the Vernaculars were ousted from our University in favour of the classical languages. Of course the movement 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 opinion, entirely lost sight of. With these preliminary observations, I shall briefly indicate the different steps by which this change was 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 books then in the Vernaculars of any real literary merit, such educational works of an elementary character as the Balamitra and others, as were available, were prescribed for the purposes of the examinations. This furnished an opportunity to the advocates of classical languages to stand up for the introduction of their favourite subject into the curriculum of the University.

At a meeting of the Syndicate held on November 29th, 1862, Sir Alexander Grant moved "that in all language examinations after Matriculation the University should recognize the classical languages alone." This motion was subsequently adopted at an adjourned meeting of the Syndicate, 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 languages (English being considered as such) was likely to prove "a distraction from the pursuit of those literary, moral, 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 objects 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 that the English language is quite as much a classic to Indian 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 submitting 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 Natural and Physiological Sciences, which are so essential to a complete scheme of liberal education. I need not remind my hearers that these subjects, in their higher aspects, have been, since the introduction of the classics, relegated to the list of optional subjects for the second B. A. examination; whereas before the change took place several of them were included in the ordinary 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 available for lecturing at college. Dr. Wilson very properly 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; while they all had an equal interest in the advancement 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 Brahmins 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 languages of India did really afford a scope for the lingual exercise, 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 linguistic 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 revolutionary 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, I 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 education after their graduation, or who wish 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 reasoning 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 Sanskiit, and that their difficulties in 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 with their id on 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 relationship to the Prakrits, their immediate parents, than to Sanskrit; and the stock of pure Sanskrit words which do not occur in the conversation of cultivated men, but are found in vernacular-poetry, is small, and could be learnt merely by means of a dictionary rather than by going through the elaborate process of learning a language so difficult as Sanskrit.

The next argument brought forth by Sir Alexander was that the work of fostering national vernacular literature ought to be left to the nation itself without the artificial stimulus of the University examinations, and to the reflex effect of the study of Sanskrit, as the fostering of English was left to the study of Greek and Latin. Sanskrit scholars, he uiged, might bring out really good editions of Marathi poetry. Now, though the first part of this argument may be admitted 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 observable, in Marathi literature at least; and during the last twenty years that classical studies have been encouraged by the University, there has been no edition brought out of any vernacular poetical 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 impracticable. 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 demand of classical studies, so that the wholesome practice of translating English 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 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 had 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 Calcutta 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 Induprakasha and Native Opinion having only during the previous year come into existence. But still the former strongly opposed the proposal at the time. However, at present, as I have already remarked, the Native Press is nearly unammeus in proposing the re-introduction of the vernaculars 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 University education with primary of 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 unfit 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 necessary preliminary training in classical languages. Now as regards this we know hall well how this has been done with a vengeance, so that the vernaculars have been driven away altogether from the sphere of secondary education.

Dr. Wilson, again opposing the resolution, disclaimed all idea of discouraging the study of Sanskrit; and as a compro-

misc he proposed to allow that a certain definite amount of Sanskrit might be exacted from every candidate for a degree 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. Wilson.

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 languages 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 for 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 Civil Engineering, and but three Doctors of Medicine. This clearly shows 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 poetical 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 had a 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 French of the East, and further as being one of the bases of many of the Aryan vernaculars of India; and that he would require that the vernaculars should be made compulsory in the Matriculation examination. 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 entrance 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 favour of the vernaculars, ultimately fell through. But he lived to see Persian admitted to the list of classical languages ten years after during 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 Arabic, 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 Honorable Justice) West, our present Vice-Chancellor, said that some practical step must be devised to ensure a certain amount of knowledge of the vernaculars without raising too high the test of Matriculation in vernaculars. It was necessary, he added, that along with classical studies, students should be required to keep up their vernaculais, and ought not to be allowed to lose all effectual grasp of them for the higher purposes to which they might be applied. Judged from the history of language and literature in England, it was, he said, by no means impossible that even men, whose faculties have been roused to activity by a sound academical training, should not be impelled to constantly exercise their own language among their own people. His mofussil experience showed that students, while attaining proficiency in English, had quite lost the use of their own language, except for such homely purposes as ordering their dinners, or scolding their They were unable even to write or read the most ordinary letters in the common-written character of Canaccae or Maharathi. At the same time he agreed with Sir Alexander Grant in thinking that the prose books in the vernaculars were unsuited to the purposes of University Examinations. He would, therefore, urge that while substituting the classics for the vernaculars, it should be made a condition of passing the F. E. A. and B. A., that the candidate shall display a thorough competence to translate from each of the languages, taken up by him under the proposed regulation, into some vernacular language chosen by himself, and a sufficient general proficiency in the latter for the ordinary purposes of literary composition. His reasons for making this suggestion 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 familiarity 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 fertile literature in one's own comparatively poor and uncultivated language.

It was thus that English 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 meanwhile 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 root of the system, by muddling up the stream through which the education was to be conveyed. He, therefore, agreed with Mr. West.

Now it appears to me"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 Sir Alexander Giant, urged that the vernaculars had so many dialects that the University 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 Marathi and Gujarathi, well-known to gentlemen who passed'examinations 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 not utilized for University Education till 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 though 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 vernaculars 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 as a medium 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. while 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 higher 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 Sanskrit 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 contrary 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 connexion that there were no

less than twenty votes in favour at least of the partial retention of the vernaculars, and that nearly all those who had more or less intimate acquaintance with vernaculars voted in behalf of the amendments.

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

By the resolution of the meeting of the syndicate above referred to, Persian was excluded from the list of languages for purposes of the higher examinations only by the casting vote of the Vice-Chanceller, Sir A. Grant. Hence the admission of Persian was 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 claims of Marathi and Gujarathi. Here also the same thing occurred, viz., those who had 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 copious 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 French, 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, whose acquaintance 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 discriminating appreciation of the thoughts, feelings, doings, laws, usages of the remote ancestors of our race, which, while it makes us admire, honour, and reverently preserve all that is great and good in their precepts and examples, ought to free us, at the same time, from a mere 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 enlightened 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 cases secured to them a name even among the savants of Europe, the land of progress. I will also readily admit that those, who have read even a few masterpieces of classical literature, cannot remain altogether uninfluenced by the originality, beauty, and other minor characteristics of classical authors. But I 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 High 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 nothing; and the same remark holds good with reference to their knowledge of the grammar 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 great Educational Dispatch of 1854, is not so much as attempted. 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 with the various subjects that engage the attention of the people, which are issued from the press, are wanting in the impress of solid culture and refined taste. They neither display inventive imagination, matured judgment, sober wisdom, nor careful thought, such as can only be secured by genuine intellectual culture. The writings are not unoften hasty in their conception, shallow in their substance, unpolished in their expression, and vulgar in their sentiments. 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 EMINENT 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 were made 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 arising from the change, how it had led ultimately to the exclusion 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 and modern 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 higher 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 sobriety 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 loving 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 Natural

History of Sciences; (2) History, Political Economy, Politics, Jurisprudence, Rhetoric, Universal Literature; (3) English (which I need not say is the vernacular in England) composition 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 æsthetic faculties."

If such be the aims and objects of University or liberal 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 educationists above quoted insist upon as being essential parts of a system of a truly liberal education, and which undoubtedly have a really liberalizing 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, which 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 knowledge, 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 countries 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 his acquaintance with Greek or Roman authors." Any comparison, therefore, between this country and England in this respect is altogether fallacious. 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 English, but a very large number of them find it a difficult, painful (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, especially when they have to deal with a subject which does not come within the scope of colloquial topics. Let me not be misunderstood I do not in the least deprecate the very great attention that is being naturally paid to the study of English, and the effort that is being made on the part of our educated men to acquire a thorough mastery over it. This must be so, since it is the language of our rulers, and, therefore, of all higher administrative work in the country. Nay, a thorough knowledge of English 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 present 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 heat cannot go sufficiently deep to stir up national energy. For it is a chimerical idea to think that English can ever become the current 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 education, "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 English educational system, 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 collection 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,) while 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, condemned 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 England, differently circumstanced as it is, how much more loudly and persistently ought we to complain of the utter neglect of our vernaculars 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 first 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 express 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 study 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 within 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 I have already mentioned elsewhere. Consequently in one of his subsequent Educational 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 tedious and repulsive toil,"

The Bombay Committee of the Education 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

little merest," "But," they add, "it is clear from the evidence before the Commission that many native gentlemen in Bombay, Guzerath and Maharashtra are keerly conscious of this defect, and are ready to co-operate with the University and with the Educational Department, in any measures that are calculated to remove it." Yes, I also acknowledge the existence of this reviving consciousness of the importance of our educated men having a good command over their own vernaculars. Will the University, however, come to our help in the matter assuggested by the Commission? Well, it remains to be seem whether it will: but till it does, the Educational Department alone will be quite helpless to do so as experience has shewn us. Nor is there any hope of the efforts of mere individuals, however patriotic they may be, being of much use in the work of cultivating the vernaculars, when the national system of higher education wholly neglects the work.

But it may be asked, are the vernaculars worth studying? I emphatically answer, yes. What is there to read or to study? • I reply, their literature, such as it is, their grammar, and their vocabulary. The literature, besides being the only key, however imperfect, to the thoughts and feelings of our immediate ancestors, is capable of furnishing a considerable knowledge of the traditional history, religion, and philosophy of aucient India, and this in a much smaller compass and in much simpler language than the original classical literature. Moreover, the moral and religious induence 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 some exclusive students of classics suppose. Does not Mukteshwar, speaking only of Marathi Literature, exhibit considerable beauty of expression? Moropant of forcible language and logical reasoning? Dayancshwar 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 grammatical 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 studying; 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 sprung 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 University culture, is not poetry studied 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 awakening 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 available, the poetical literature, which we have, cannot be made useful for purposes, 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 poetical 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 literature affording models for imitation. At thesame time the grammar and syntax of vernacular prose, is sufficiently determined to admit of its being used for translations 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 language used for the purpose be vernacular or classical? If a knowledge of classical languages be considered necessary for the study of philology, then I contend that the study of the mediæval prakrijs 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 disproportionately 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, Geography, 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-4 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 educational systems 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 eaclier 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 being displaced by the mother-tongue, which he regards as an indespensible acquisition, and which, according to him, is an essential element in a comprehensive 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 the 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 he 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 classical 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 vigour." 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 linguistic, especially classical, studies, which, 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 History, especially the varying fortunes of the leading nations on earth who have played a conspicuous part therein, and of the great epochs, which have, for better or for worse, affected the course of human history? What again can be of greater practical importance than the study of Political Economy, which alone, can enable the vising 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 are 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 various arts 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 educational 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, I 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 aptitude 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 excluded from all higher 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 circumstances, be led to the pursuit 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 Professional Education) "is an ornament and an important acquisition to his country. But in a place of Education we would give to all knowledge an equal chance of distinction, 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 pleasure 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 aisefulness? If this test were strictly applied to classical studies, the puffed 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 who go 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 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 classical studies, and assert the necessity of giving a place to sciences 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 elsewhere.

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 I should prefer to term it, and if our race, which he calls inferior in companson to the European races, but which I should describe as being in a declining 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 have looked upon as essential in a scheme of really liberal education. If some studies were made optional, in all higher examinations, and if 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

of the classics for the rich philosophical lore which they contain. Even as it is, when classical studies are made a sine qua 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 I 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 condemn the elaborate grammatical studies which have 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 rudimentary 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 opportunity of mastering a difficult foreign tongue like English.

with thanthers King

## MY VISIT TO THE VIENNA CONGRESS

BY

RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.,

PH D. HOY, M R A S., &c.

A paper result before the Rombert Branch of the Rogal Asiatic Society, February 11th, 1887

> Bembas. EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA. 1857.

## MY VISIT TO THE VIENNA CONGRESS

BY

RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.,

PH. D. HON. M. R. A. S., &c.

A paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, February 11th, 1887.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE

EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1887.

When my college friend and classfellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yainik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give 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 interest 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 Vienna 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 9th 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 next 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. Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Mall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had 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 him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there he would 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 convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings 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 uparness or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words bahut garami hoti hai, salam, &c. The conversation thus begun in Hudustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable techngs. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words तुम्ही काइन आलां, "Whence do you come ?" I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, अने काडेवाडमां हता, " I was in Kattiawar." आपने काम सं इतुं "What office did you hold there?" I asked. अने पीलिटिकल एसंट हता "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi आपण आंडरसन साहेब 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 I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, 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 as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, 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 manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford 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 Pali scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at 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 about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. 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 ideas 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. 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 he, 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 Pali 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 very 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 Pâlı 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 his 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 observed 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 employed 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 familiar 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 having 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 rural, 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 architecture, the mediæval, 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 mediæval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid a visit to Professor Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he 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 publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression bhasharthah occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhâtupâtha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Arvans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression bháshártháh meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhaunagar, Mr. Gaurisamkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Samuvasa. and about a copy of the new Samnyasin's work on the Vedanta presented to him by the author. Professor Max Müller spoke approvingly 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 Samkaracharya 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 eternal 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 must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he 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 one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahma when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahma," what happiness can there be? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahma," does not according to Sainkaracharya'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 believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedantasûtra and of some of the Upanishads; but with Samkaracharya 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 Brahma," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be; but a free, blissful, unchanging, and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion; so that Samkaracharya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all but to see 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 Anecdota Oxoniensia 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. He 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 Commissary-General, Bourbay. 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 exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of Industries with the latest

improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without 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 furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal 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 fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much 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. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, 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 beautiful 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 beauty 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. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian 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 view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25th, 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, a 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 next 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 declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public 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 French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought

presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different 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 Aryan 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 Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipsic; Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum. Grierson. a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust 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 Milloue 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 Ediuburgh, and Dr. Böhtlingk of Jena. The Aryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French; and the Italian read in the language of his 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 convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nagari, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nagari 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 dialects of the Hindi, and at another time with observations

on Tulasidasa and other Hindi poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindi, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithila, and publishing grammars of the dialects prevalent there. The Aryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting extracts from my Report on the search for manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palmleaf 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 branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Pûrvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another 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 in the instances परमे ह्योमन, महिना जन्ति, &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 beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kasmir and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Buhler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr. Cartellieri showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vasavadatta with similar ones occurring in Bana's Kadambari, that Bana 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 Bana were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhâli in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written an a character which is a variety of the Kasmir character known by the name of Sarada; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The character appeared to me not very different from or very much more ancient than that in which Kasmîr 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 Navagva and Dasagva occurring in the Rigveda; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vrishabha, 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 India 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. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such 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 must 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 25,000 florins 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 signature. 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 coadjutors; and there is a large photographic if apparatus in the building by means of which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size 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 Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. 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 residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, 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 given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was 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 Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Âryan section, where I should have a select andience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses in different metres and sung them in the manner we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Âryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the Rigveda Sainhitâ in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study 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 Rishis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Rishis is reported in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad and the Vayu Purana. Janaka, the king of Mithilâ, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupanchalas or the country about Thanesar, Mathurâ, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the

Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans: "That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yajvavalkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, " What, does be think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best?" Janaka had a priest of the name of Asvala, who said to him : "Well, Yajiavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yajñavalkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of one who knows the Brahma the best; I only want the cows." Then the priest Asvala put a question to Yajūavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, 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, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gargi Vachaknavi who, in her own words, "attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kasi or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow." Yajiavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanishad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Rishis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithill, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital 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. Asvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Bühler, Yajnavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Sakala as Kielhorn. Kahoda manifested himself as Jolly; and the remaining Rishis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gargi Vachaknavi.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the

various problems suggested by it. They have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, shown that the Aryans of India composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, 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 comparative 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 archælegical survey and search for manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Aryas, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahabharata, Râmavana some of the Puranas, 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 philological 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 Brahmans 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 brought 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 proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical 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. thought, 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 disadvantages under which the foreigner 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 institution, 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 have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race prevents 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 Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of such 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 understood 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 Sastras, as we call them; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar 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 Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, 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 Germans 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 Kasika, an old commentary on Panini's Sutras 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 Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him 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. Hultzsch 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 intercourse 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 them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. 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 Vice-Chancellor 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 and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced 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 enting, their social manners, and their institutions are a good-deal 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 tunnel; 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 precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, "Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves;" and ended 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 human 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 furled, In the Parliament 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 advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results 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 Sanskrit 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 mischievous. 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 oriental learning to his aid, observed, "Oh, Buddhism has softened the Cevlonese, 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. And two 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 firm 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 energy 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 10th 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 I 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 always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid 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 Birmingham 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 advance 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 found 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 saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe. 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 see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, 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 centuries." Notions such as these were present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, 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 vithout 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 eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate 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 have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe 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 Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives 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 return to your country." I said: "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I 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 we're 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.

### VERSES

DEDICATED TO

#### THE ARYAN SECTION

OF

## The Vienna Oriental Congress.

BY Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR.

पौरस्त्यानां जनानां निर्दातशयमपि स्वास्मतो भेदभाजां भाषाविद्याकलानामधिगमविषये संततं सप्रयत्नाः। येनान्योन्यं स्वोताः समुचितवचनेचौधयन्त्येवमेते सोयं सौर्यभावो जगिति विजयते मानुषत्वानुबन्धी॥१॥ नानास्मित्रेशसंस्थान्यितनुधजनान्संगतान्वीनिषुर्या-मास्त्रेयाभुभृतोस्यां नृपम्कुरमणे राजधान्यां समीक्ष्य। वैदेहस्याथमेषे पुरवर्रामधिलामाभितं पुण्यसंघं ष्रह्मज्ञानुमूर्थाणां सकलसुरनरैर्वन्दितानां स्मरामि॥२॥

> भयलो भवति बूलररूपः याज्ञवल्क्य इव वेबररोटी । शाकलः किल भवेत्किलहार्गो यः कहोड इति साव च योलिः॥ ३॥

गामी वानक्रविवेडा पुरंशी प्रतिभाति में । प्रस्थावलोकतं यस्या जीवस्यालम्बनं महत् ॥ ४ ॥ भन्यान्लुश्चिगोस्तयाक्र्विमृखान्मन्येत्र तांस्तानृषीन् सर्वे तत्त्वरताः श्वतिस्मृतिपरा ज्ञानकबद्धस्पृहाः । शक्तुं तिष्यगुगपभावजनितं गाउं तमः सर्वतो दूरीक नुमुपस्थितः सकरणः सोयं मुनीनां गणः ॥ ५ ॥ समतीत्य वराक्षीहं गिरिवनवाधीन्सभातिमां प्राप्तः । प्रम्णः पाश्चेद्धा वयं च देशाश्व नो भवेशुरिति ॥ ६ ॥ भायां वर्तिनेवासिषु तश्चिगद्यीत्ताहरान्भवतः । सोहार्दे याचेहं विशुद्धकृषं तथा च मावि ॥ ७ । राष्ट्राणां स्नेहमादाय विमहस्य श्वाय च ॥ कल्पतामीदृशी संसन्मतुज्ञानां च भूत्ये ॥ ४ ॥ F 16a

THE

# OLD MAN'S

# HOPE

TRACT FOR THE TIMES.

Calcutta :-

PRINTED BY THE CALCUTTA CENTRAL PRESS CO., LD., 5, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET.

### **AWAKE!**

Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle,
Wait ye for some Deva's aid?
Buckle to, be up and doing!
Nations by themselves are made!

Are ye Seris or are ye Freemen,
Ye that grovel in the shade?
In your own hands rest the issues!
By themselves are nations made!

Ye are tailed, what voice in spending.

Have ye when the tax is paid?

Up! Protest! Right triumphs ever!

Nations by themselves are made!

Yours the land, lives, all, at stake, tho'
Not by you the cards are played;
Are ye dumb? Speak up and claim them!
By themselves are nationa made!

What avail your wealth, your learning, Empty titles, sordid trade? True self rule were worth them all! Nations by themselves are made!

Are ye dazed, or are ye children, Ye, that crouch, supine, afraid? Will your childhood last for ever? By themselves are nations made!

Whispered nurmurs darkly creeping, Hidden worms beneath the glade, Not by such shall wrong be righted! Nations 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 the neelves are made!

Sons of Ind, be up and doing,
Let your course by none be stayed
Lo! the Dawn is in the East;
By themselves are nations made I

ME BEARS US ALONG SO SILENTLY AN smoothly that it is, often, almost with a start the some of us old folks awake, as it were, to the consciousness 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 whice no man can work, I would fain speak to those brethren when 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 mean Hope that, could I see it realized, would light for me the portal of the unexplored, and allow me to depart with the blessed assurance that a happier day was dawning for our Beloved Country.

As I move, silently and unnoticed, from one district and prevince to other districts and other provinces of this great Empire amidst much that seems to me to be regretted, much that I canne but think wrong, one feature of Indian life of the present da forces itself everywhere on my attention, with an intensity that overpowers and almost excludes all other sensations. against it as I will, and as I have for years now struggled, one gloom shadow overclouds all my waking hours, one hateful spectre haunt all my dreams. Whatever I do, wherever I go, one sorrowful fact start me in the face and withers all the flowers of my life. I have es deavoured to drape it over with more pleasing and presentable facts, but the best of these, that I could procure, look only as litt scraps of coloured rags, sparsely scattered here and there upor vast and rugged mountain side. I have tried to forget, to igno it; to live and float upon the surface, without looking dow into or giving heed to the depths below: but all in vain Year after year, the heartache has grown within me, till not 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 I pass away, can succeed in making my countrymen, high and low, see it with equa clearness and adopt it with a corresponding determination to succeed 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 parting. You are looking well and cheerful enough I must own; it has been a little cold no doubt, but you are well clothed and well fed and 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, to 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-stricken, for he better times that never come, who with one single dirty rag bout their loins, shiver even in this warm clime in the chill evenings ind raw mornings, who can never fill their own stomachs, who, yorse still, have to see the one joy and crown of their lives, their ittle children, unfed, unclothed, to watch them, weakened by inafficient nourishment, fall one by one (vainly clinging to their miseryhaddened 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 think you chequer their gloom-hrouded paths? Toil, toil, toil; hunger, hunger, hunger (not actual tarvation or it would sooner be all over); sickness, suffering, sorrow, hese alas! alas! are the key-notes of their short and sad existences, and 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 and drowned!

You, who are comparatively so well off—you for whom life, iespite its inevitable sorrows, has yet so many joys, so many sunseams—do you, can you, picture to yourselves the hopeless sadness of these your unhappy brethren's hard and suffering lives? Do ou feel for them? Are you men, or stones? 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 I so smiling and comfortable? How is it that you are apparently taking no single effort to remove this national calamity, and—in so 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 misery wast be; that the lower classes must suffer; that it is the lot to which has pleased the Almighty to call them; that their sufferings re a dispensation of Providence which they should accept with theerful resignation, and that it is useless to attempt to fight against he will of God, or distress ourselves about sufferings that He has orlained? Doubtless the time will come when these blaspheniers will now something more about that will of God, of which they so glibly alk; but of this much we may all be certain, vis., that it is not the yill of God that any man should undergo sufferings which can be

averted from him by his fellowmen, and that on the contrary is 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 fellow

The greater portion of this incalculable amount of suffering preventible and preventible by you; and I solemnly tell you, staing 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 he to regret it bitterly. Believe me that the retribution for shirk good work is no less certain than the retribution for doing evil we Let people delude themselves as they may; let them drug the inner knowledge of the truth, their consciences, as they will we worldly pleasures, or seek to smother them with worldly pursuand ambitions, they yet never wholly lose consciousness of the fawhich every one of you know in your inmost hearts, that as menses inevitably, here or elsewhere, shall they reap, and that precise according to your own acts and omissions here, shall divine just 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 given 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 thou 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 so to staunch this ocean of tears. It is for women and children to d and tenderly, as they ever will, God bless them! with particular 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 pove so extreme that it is difficult to make strangers realize it. I v remember a dear English lady, with whose friendship I was hone. 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 explain 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 mi 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 forget 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 it was our bounden duty to rise, not to revenge, not to speak, even feel malignantly about, but simply to put an end to.

To the British Government we owe peace—a great blessing, one which may be purchased too dearly, since it is better, for tance, 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. It is owe we say the great blessings of peace, of protection, compatively complete, to life and property, of a grand new departure education, including the grandest examples of noble lives which have come to learn of through our connection with them, and infinite series 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 grievous impoverishment of the masses, which has plunged more in fifty millions of our people permanently into dire distress.

There is no question that the Europeans will dispute all Some will deny the misery—they are as a rule so astoundingly orant 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 m, as amongst ourselves, but as a body they are honest and upht and desirous of doing right. Only unfortunately they are erly ignorant of our lives and of the condition of the country, and so wrapped up in a comfortable sense of their own good intenis, 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 few of are old enough to have heard with your own ears, from those 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 sses were comparatively well off, and were never persistently and down by poverty as they now are. Once in a way there a big famine; and hundreds of thousands (though much fewer n 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 thundert, but sunshine and fair weather predominated. The British have good 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 exisre in a stifling, never-lifting fog of penury.

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 Government mainly, or even appreciably, responsible for its creation. They assign, all kinds of reasons but the true ones, and I have even a 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 p 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 mate 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 imparand persevering manner the present and past conditions of people of India, the fact that, despite the many shortcoming 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 adof 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 ( But this view seems untenable in face of the v vernment. 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 presenhanced 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, at this is directly and distinctly traceable to a fundamental defect British rule.

This defect is twofold; for an, even then, poor and backward contry, our European friends created an administration too expensive a too elaborate for any than a very rich and very advanced one, so the throughout, too large a portion of the earnings of the country has be 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 machinery of country; but under our present benign rulers, many millions augh not 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 contra, the many ions 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 sar he most careful investigations can enable one to speak on so very olved a question, I believe it is certain that all that remains in a 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. er by year a large proportion of the profits of the industry of entire population is drawn away to increase the working capital inother 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 chinery of the British financial world. Talk about the American. sage Machine, into which whole pigs and calves were flung to irge as ham and veal sausages, it is but as a child's toy to that antic machine of British commerce, into whose greedy maw ning is too vast—whether the entire earnings of one nation, as iur case, or the liberties of another as in that of Burmah, nothing ly is too vast, nothing too sacred, to be cast, so that it may erge later as dividends to British investors!

But to return: here, and here only, is the source of the trouble; r by year a large and yearly increasing share of the profits of the ustry of the country is being drawn out of this country, are 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 are 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 remedimeasures.

These are simple enough. As speedily as may be, without needless expense and without injustice to individuals, 90 per cer of the non-Indian agency employed in the Government in a its multifarious branches should be replaced by Indian.\* Instead increasing the European army, as has just been done to,000 men, it should have been diminished by at least an equinumber, and as time went on further and further reduced, an loss of military strength being made up by the encouragement of Indian volunteers and the organization of an Indian militia thoughouthe empire. The Secretary of State's Council should be abolished and the real governing power transferred to this country, the Governmenter being largely leavened by a representative Indian element, so 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 othe minor cognate 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 a b (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 treases, that I was subordinating the real facts to the object I now ha

<sup>\*</sup> I here use the word Indian as applying to all persons, without distinction of recreed, or colour, who are bond file 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 salary. In official parlance most of those I call Indians are designated statut natives; but to these I also add pure Europeans not born but only permanently domic here.

n hand, and I shall therefore, for the most part, content myself with uotations from a standard English book, Gowing's Brief Biography of Richard Cobdan.

Richard Cobden! 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! our English brethren were being starved by iniquitous laws (passed in the interest of a mall group of aristocrats), which prevented food getting into the ountry. Our own poor brethren are being starved by institutions low completely obsolete, (maintained in the interest of a small group of 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

f a 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."

"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 everybody 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 have found it impossible to get the corn laws repealed but for the friumph of the Reform Bill of 1832."

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 are 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 restrictions 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 ever 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 nominally represented therein,—until, in fact, they should possess that direct share in the administration of their own country which is the birthright of every free citizen of a free country.

Now as regards the Anti Corn Law League "it is now univer "sally allowed to have been the best and most ably manage "popular movement in the history of political progress, and neither rival nor enemy, past nor present, has ever hesitated to admi "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 political 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 political history, that we have no chance of getting rid of thos odious fiscal arrangements which are ruining India, and starving ou people, until we are "really, and not merely nominally, represented in the governing body of the country, and "possess 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, anto be guided by the experience of that noble nation to whom wowe our existing conceptions of political rights, and our aspiration for a freedom like their own, we shall, henceforth, instead of frittering away our money and our energies on a score or more of different objects, some local some general, one and all, everywhere, combine t lay hold upon, and make our own, in defiance of all opposition and in despite of all obstacles, "that direct share in the administration 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 fort and win is the introduction into the Government of tha representative element contemplated in the National Congres. 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 had taken an active part in the Corn Law
egislation) that they were agitating to secure the total and immeliate repeal of the Corn Laws, his reply was "you will overturn the
honarchy as soon as you will accomplish that." When in that same
pring 200 delegates waited upon Lord Melbourne, a so-called Whig
and then Prime Minister, and explained to him that their object was the
repeal 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
country, the land would go out of cultivation, Church and State could
not be upheld, all our institutions would be reduced to their primiive elements, and the people whom the Corn Law repealers were
exciting would pull down our houses about our ears."

Yet within less than seven years, as the result 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 abolition as too preposterous for consideration. Here, again, is the louble 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 League.

"The task of the Anti Corn Law League, Mr. Cobden said, was to be that of instructing the nation. There had been agitations 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 petitions 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 the League. The House rejected the motion. Then Mr. Villiers moved that certain members of the Manchester Anti Corn Law Association should be heard at the bar. The motion was defeated by 361 votes against 172. The delegates waiting in London for the decision of the House met next morning to consider what should be their next step. There was no sign of discouragement, and speaking to his brother delegates Cobden said, 'the delegates have offered to instruct the House; the House has 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 sire to son Tho' baffled oft, 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 foreign 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 unders stood the question of free trade, either as a principle or in its application 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 encountered—the landowners and magistrates were of course against the lecturers—here 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 air under pretence that he had obstructed a thoroughfare—at Stamford a mob threatened to 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 by perseveral 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 vincit.

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 England." I cannot quote the exact figures for each of the years, but I 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 I 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 struggle primarily and immediately in the interest of those mute suffering 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 so-called 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 in defiance 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 prince, 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 annexation—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, races, 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? 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?"\* 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 Lieutenant-Governor, the Commissioner takes his cue, from the Commissioner the Collector, from the Collector the Superintendant of Police, and from these all their underlings. 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 & five years you are a miscable man, happy if by great largesses to

<sup>\*</sup> i.e., handless, eyeless, brainless, a popular but strictly correct description of a former trio of Chief Court Judges.

the old wily jamadars and fifty other underlings, dallis, carriages, elephants (I will not say 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 official 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 Inspecfors 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, manœuvring 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 rulers 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 tenper cent income tax, proposed, discussed, passed, all at one single 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 when the evil day comes—and come it will—just grin and bear it. But with representative institutions all this will be changed; not Viceroy will hand his name down to posterity as a conqueror and plunderer of other nation's territory, at our 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 to 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 MAN'S HOPE; and if I can only live to see this realized, I shall die content and happy!

GOD BLESS INDIA AND ALL WHO LOVE HER

#### APPENDIX.

- Provisional Rules for giving effect to the 3rd Resolution of the National Congress of 1885, in re the introduction of a representative element 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 next 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 sit for two years 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 Committees 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 connection with their membership.
- (5).—No elected or nominated Member of any Council to be capable of receiving any title or honorary distinction during membership or 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, including of course all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils.

  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-offici Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and shall necessarily (except as hereinafter provided) receive a full and complete reply the his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the whole subject, and on this reply the Council may at once (or at any subsequent meeting giving due notic thereof) proceed to consider the question and record thereon suc resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that is the subject in regard to which the enquiry is made involves matter of Foreign policy, or Midtary 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 information 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 thereof 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 Vice-President 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 acceptance 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 Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it sha' be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Comme (see Resolution III) to consider the matter and call for any and 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 Government Gazette.

RESOLUTIONS passed at the Indian National Congress, units of Representatives from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, A habad, Lahore, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Ahmedabad, Kurrat Surat, Veerumgaum, Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chingleput, Tanj Combaconum, Madura, Tunnevelly, Coimbatone, Cuddupah, Antapoor, Bellary and Umballa, held in Bombay on the 28th, 2 and 30th December 1885.

### RESOLUTIONS.

- I.—Proposed by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras), seconded by Mr. P. Mehta (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Norendrounth Sen (Calcular That this Congress carnestly, recommends that the promised indicate the working of the Indian administration, here and in Englishould be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of I being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both India and in England.
- II.—Proposed by Mr. S. H. Chiplonkar (Poona), seconded by Mr. P. Anti-Charlu (Madras), and supported by Mr. J. Ghosal (Allahabad): ""
  this Congress considers the aboution of the Council of the Secret of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary prefunity to all other reforms."
- III.—Proposed by the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I. E. (Bombay), seconded by Hon. S. Subnamania Iyer (Madras), and supported by the Hon. Of bhar Naoroji (Bombay). "That this Congress considers the ref and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Court by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected memit (and the creation of similar Councils for the N. W. Provinces and Or and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets she be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members be moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to branches of the administration, and that a Standing Committee of House of Commons should be constituted to receive and ca der any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, we would be vested in 1500 overruling the decisions of such majorities.
- IV—Proposed by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay), seconded by Vira Raghavacharyar (Madras), and supported by Mr. D. S. W. (Madras): "That in the opinion of this Congress the competit examinations now held in England, for first appointments in our civil departments of the public service, should henceforth, in accordan with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, 'be has imultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as fir practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in becommittee being finally classified in one list according to nearly, a that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England, further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as a seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examination held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intel's it

- more, and physical condition as may be decided by Government to be recossive. Lastly, that the recosmic of candidates for intrance anto the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years."
- rop ised by Mr. Rapgaya Navada (Madras), seconded by Mr. Dinsha Eddlif Witch (Bombas), and supported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmul (Karach). That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the inditary exponditors of the empire is unusceedary, and regard being had to the remaines of the empire and the easting circumstances of the country, excessive.
- Proposed by Mr. J. U. Yajnik (Böndere), seconded by Mr. S. A. Swammath Iyer (Tanjore), supported by Rao Saheb S. Venkata supparays du Pantulu (Masulipa m): "That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be mer, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Customs duties; and, secondly, by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, evical and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Persan should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt."
  - Proposed by Mr. P. M. Melita (Bombay), seconded by Rao Bahadur Krishnafi Laxman Nulkar (Poona): "That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony as distinct in all matters from the government of this country as is Ceylon."
    - Proposed by Mr. Murlidhir (Umbaila), seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruna (Surat): "That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the political associations in each province, and that these associations be requested, with the help of studies bodies and court accuses within their respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions deaft within these resolutions."
- Proposed by Mr A. O. Huma (Bengal), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer (Madras); "That the Indian National Congress re-assemble mext year in Calcutta, and set on Tuesday, the 28th of December 1886, and the next succeeding days,"

These Resolutions have subsequently been considered and unanimously approved fratified by almost every Political Association (more than one hundred in the ) in the Empire, and by Public Meetings at nearly every town in India, so at its impossible to deny, now, that they faithfully represent the views of the bulk of the inhabitants of British India).

\$ 17a

THE

# RISING TIDE:

OR,

### THE PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

IN

INDIA.

Quita:

PRINTED BY THE CALCUTTA CENTRAL PRESS CO., LD.,

5, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET.

1886.

### THE RISING TIDE.

Oh! 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 tide has begun to flow,

The tide that shall float her and bear us, safe on to our haven 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 us, 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 sorely tried in the past;

For lo! with the dawn that's breaking

The tide has begun to flow,

The tide that shall float us and bear us, sale on to our haven at last!

Union.

### PREFACE.

-0---

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

Besides being permanently the organ of "the Services," it is als wherever possible and whenever it can obtain employment as suc the mouthpiece of the Government of India, and specially of the 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 wicke wars." It is perhaps still more unnecessary to explain that with simple-hearted, honest gentleman like LORD RIPON, such a paper four no favour; in his time it could gain no priority of intelligence, and was treated just like all other journals; -above all LORD RIPON shows a disposition to defend Indian interests and Indian aspirations, ar consequently the PIONEER steadily abused and reviled him, as it has, evsince Mr. A. P. Sinnett was driven out of the editorship, by the propri tors, on account of his pro-Indian views, steadily abused and reviled the Indian Community.

Lord Dufferin is himself, unfortunately, a bureaucrat 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 that 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 practically he consorts with and support a bureaucracy that, unchecked by the powerful public opinion that in England suppresses within narrow limits the despotic proclivitie of all great State departments, is rapidly becoming, in India, "the greatest plague in life."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the PIONEEI should once more have become, to a certain extent, the mouthpiece of the Viceroy, or that in a late issue it should have published an article

<sup>\*</sup> Viz., (1) The Englishman; (2) The Daily News; (3) The Statesman (Calcutta) (4) The Pioneer (Allahabal); (5) The Bombay Gazette; (6) The Times of India (Bombay). Of these (1), (4) and (6) are rabid anti-Indian organs; (2) is more impectable; (3) and (5) endeavour to be just and impartial.

nisrepresenting the scheme of constitutional agitation on which the ndians are entering, placing their aims, objects and modi operanding perfectly false lights, and attempting to mislead the public entirely no regard to the whole question. Neither, perhaps, is it a matter for urprise that the Indian public accepted this article as inspired, since the communications on these very subjects, generally understood to have passed, quite recently, between authorities 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 thoroughly exposed he injustice and dishonesty of its attacks. In doing this it incidentally 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 better light than it has, we think, previously enjoyed danifestly they are above all things loyal and PEACE-LOVING ADMINERS and FIRM SUPPORTERS of BRITISH RULE, only determined to secure by constitutional action the removal of those defects in that rule which, as they allege, mar, to a certain extent, its otherwise noble haracter.

Whatever may be our views in regard to many of the matters iscussed in these articles, which we reproduce now with the permission of the editor of the Mirror, we cannot fail to sympathise in the spirit which actuates the Indian National Party. The particular reforms twhich 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 work in the right spirit of independence and self-help. Whatever fortunes tend the toilsome and troublous task on which they are entering, and whatever the practical ultimate results of the reforms which sooner or atter they are certain to secure, the self-sacrificing struggle in which hey are about to engage, will prove the noblest possible education for hat new Indian Nationality of which Lord Ripon's auspicious reign sheld the birth, and merits, and will we are sure obtain, the sympathy and countenance of every unprejudiced Englishman.

### THE PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

IN

### INDIA.



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 *Pioneer* itself we cared but little, but that believing this particular

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 honestly 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 India in such a form as may seriously hamper 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 our action, they will find them so strengthened that all difficulties in the matter of reform will disappear. But, on the other hand, it 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 has turned the heads of our Native friends, who state quite openly that they in theu turn hope to force the hand of Government, just as the Irishmen have done, by ceaseless agritation and attack at every point.

This, as we pointed out in a previous article, is an entire inistake success that has attended the Parnellites has, we fear, been, my rate partly, due to the murder of Lord Cavendish and other ages for which no justification is possible. India as one man approves these misdeeds, and would rather continue for ever in politically-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 sall strive to obtain the fruition of our aspirations.

In England they will, through Radical sympathisers, bring before Parliament gain and again every case in which the decision of the Government of India ad the Secretary of State is adverse to their aspirations, appealing also to the ouse of Commons whenever they think they have caught the executive triping.

Of course, we shall! Why if we did not, we should, indeed, deserve to be called the fools that the *Pioneer* and its party always profess to busider 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 persevere, ever despairing, ever coming up again after each repulse fresher and pronger 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 Hannibal and it to be of that of Rome, and all we can do is to suggest, as a sind of compromise, that you follow the example of the Coon with bolonel Crockett, and instead of giving us and yourselves all the bother nat this will necessarily involve, quietly arrange a modus vivendi with s, by making some such small concessions, in the matter of reprentative institutions, as shall satisfy the country for the next ten years, and 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 perpetually, 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 incrests of the rulers or the ruled it would be desirable that such asses should be hid away from public ken; and whether, on the ontrary, it is not highly expedient that officials should be so intimidated by the threat of a question in the House as to be thereby induced to betain from high-handedness and oppression. The Pioneer apparently hinks these are virtues, and quite whines over the prospect of the poor

officials wickedly intimidated from practising them by some of us wretch ed Indians threatening to have a question asked in the House Really this is too good. We are reminded of Leech's burglar, who happening "in the exercise of his profession" to break his shins over a coal scuttle, is loud in his complaint of the iniquity of people who 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 he 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, and will strive to keep up a constant irritation in Indian matters with a view to wearing out the patience of whatever Government may be in power, and compelling them to give way for the sake of peace and quietness.

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-countryment 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 multitude 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 out. 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. Representative institutions are our Sangreal, the only possible life-blood of any healthy and permanent administration, and nothing is so absolutely certain as that, within a comparatively brief period, we shall obtain some first instalment of representative Government.

They cannot hope to create a compact Indian party in Parliament of such strength as to decide the fate of Ministries as the Irish party have done; but they count upon always being able to command the sympathy and support of certain

temiers, whose aim is notoriety at all costs, and who will be willing tools in their ands. So much for their plan of operations in England, which are more likely a result in fullure than in success.

We do not like to shock any one, not even the Managing Proprietor and virtual Editor of the Pioneer, but truth compels us to say not only that we do hope to create a compact Indian party in Parliament, far nore formidable than the Irish party, because composed, as a whole, of men of higher character, but that we have even now made a huge step towards this, and have already a strong party of friends in Parliament prepared to support any definite action we may decide to take. If, as has been talked of, a party of our English friends lecide to come out to attend our National Congress this year, the Pioneer will be able to form some idea of the compactness and strength of our British supporters.

In India their modus operandi will be more mischievous. Their first aim is to create the machinery of widespread agitation, which they can put in motion at a moment's notice; and for this purpose they are utilising existing political and social associations, and collecting funds under various pretexts.

This is only partially correct; the organization, the machinery, though still, in places, very imperfect, already exist, but it was not originally 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, occasional dim glimpses of which so frighten the bureaucracy, are first the systematic political education of the masses; and, secondly, such an organization of these, as shall render practically impossible any 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 be 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 linked 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 who unwittingly obey the impulses they impart, but instinct with power and wisdom.

If those who take offence at the slight external and visible signs of the great internal and invisible organization, that necessarily appear from time to time when any concrete work has to be undertaken, could only realize what this organization means for them, though like Balaam, 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 Europeans in the country in a single night was quite on the cards. We do not believe that there ever wat

really, despite all that we have heard, any actual, immediate dang of such an outbreak, but at any moment the danger might have become imminent; at any moment the flood-gates might have burst-there was nothing to prevent it—neither the educated classes on on side on the secular line, nor the religious leaders on the spirituline on the other, had organized any systematic hold on the masses-all was chaos, and gigantic forces, innocent of all systematic controllary 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 fever, and that organization which the ignorant fancy to have for is sole object agitation has really rendered impossible any violence 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 as 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, or aspirations, and for these purposes a little money has here and the been collected, and a very large sum indeed will, no doubt, be collected when later money "in masses" is required.

The Pioneer 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 i present dimensions, but one must have devils as well as angels, ev 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, we will leave the organ of the bureaucracy to the natural fate of sucunhealthy growths. Fear not, little Pi! No bold Bengali Babu shatear out that last remaining cherished hair from your poor old banoddle!

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

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

But not content with this, they wish to rouse the people.

This is just what 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 it run up stream, and so

to on the outskirts of this great movement will, from time to time, pear Indians taking exactly an opposite line to what the immense jority of us approve and who do act as if they desired blindly to use trouble. But such are always promptly put aside, and for some ne past we have seen neither writings nor speeches at variance with a basal scheme for gradually securing all those political rights, to nich we consider ourselves entitled, by peaceful and constitutional bans. "Rouse the people" indeed! We wonder if those who so ably write about this have any conception how easy that would have en—if they have any idea of the fire that lurks, so ready to burst 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 fluences 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 Times ach to this purport—and we cannot help laughing, because the fact that were the influences at work, to protect and sustain British rule India, turned against this, in one fortnight there would not be, we mly believe, a single Englishman at large in India to wield that uch talked-of sword. We do not want to get rid of British rule, we not want to, and we will nor separate ourselves from the British npire; at any rate, not within any period that can be included within y practical, political programme. British rule, with all its defects, still essential to the welfare and progress of India, and British rule 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 sally ar the generally noble features of this generously conceived, but, none e less foreign, administration. Blundering bureaucrats, high and low, er and anon, are guilty of acts of injustice or oppression, or commit errors hich in their positions amount to crimes) sufficient to "rouse" a far pre phlegmatic people, and our leaders sit, and have sat year after ar, patiently watching and shielding the British Government from e, otherwise inevitable, consequences of the misdeeds of its unworthy presentatives, and then a Government organ in, we fear, an only too farly inspired article, talks of us as wishing to "rouse the people!"

And by securing the holding of mass meetings and the signing of monster itions to create spurious public opinion to which reference can be made with all solemnity by supporters in Parliament.

This, too, is only partially correct. As to the holding of mass setings we do not, in theory, much approve these, as no real good wh is ever done there, and they virtually only publicly register the oregone conclusions" of those who attend them; but there are times 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 latified 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 we be allowed to please themselves, but the last thing such petitions we embody will be a "spurious public opinion;" they will only arise response to some real local excitement; they may very likely not, at a times, be drafted in the most statesman-like style; they may be quaint simple in their incongruous combination of matters, local and imperiosmall and great, but they will embody the genuine sentiments of the signatories, and they will, therefore, deserve a more patient and kind consideration 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 in portant question again crops up, we shall probably see to what exent their efformative reached.

Of course were our objects those which the Pioneer as the party it represents affects to, or, perhaps, really does believe. I should, indeed, not be making much headway. But it is passing strang that from their point of view the extreme disproportion between mea, and ends did not awaken in our opponent's minds a suspicie after all, our ends might not be what they suppose To begin with what the Pioneer will, perhaps, consider the important item, though we ourselves regard it as be 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 restrength, there is not one single really able Asiatic in this Empir and very few influential ones, who are not publicly or privately links. in along one or other of the three chains, or one of their mar 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, remains in some localities, and especially in Low. Bengal, to be done. A considerable proportion of the lower classe have already accepted different members or associations of the edu 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 whice 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 I wheeled into line.

Behind all this—and though this scarcely concerns the public it just as well that some inkling of the truth should permeate the neral ignorance—rests an organization that for thousands of years, ruggling through a cycle of moral depression, has silently and secret-striven, while necessarily bowing to the ordnances of Fate, so to ould the operation of these as to render them as little unpropitious possible to our beloved India. Truly with all this supporting a movement now growing apparent even to the dull eyes of our arblind self-satisfied detractors, were our objects at all what they a pleased to attribute to us, it might well be said that we were not making much headway," but facts being as they are, we can sure the Pioneer that we are making quite as much headway as a can possibly desire, and that as all we seek is orderly progress d gradual, and, to outsiders, almost insensible, advance, our head-ry is never likely to become more apparent than it is now.

In Bengal, the machinery of agitation is certainly being perfected, but then ngal is tainted with sedition, and politicians at home look askance at every thing it comes out of it.

It is curious, but it is only a specimen of the extraordinary rorance that prevails in the highest quarters as to the every-day ets of Indian life, that Bengal should be specially mentioned as a locality in which the machinery of agitation is being perfected. every intelligent Indian reader of this paper knows, Benlis by far the most backward Presidency in respect to organtion. 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 Wahabis Patna were convicted of sedition, but it is odd if the ancient adeeds 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. ing 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 that one or other of our leaders is in weekly communication with ding English politicians in both Houses of Parliament, not one of iom betrays any indication of looking askance at us or our movement. uite recently, too, our friends, Messrs. Monmohun Ghose, W. C. nnerji, and other prominent Bengal politicians, found themselves seived everywhere in England with cordial kindness, and nowhere tected any single individual even looking askance at them. Nay, herever Mr. Monmohun Ghose, in his capacity of Bengal represenlive, 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 advocating, and to secure which we are

agitating here and in England, and shall continue to agitate, ever n and more strenuously, till we succeed in obtaining them.

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

As already explained "the agitator class" (if, as we presume, is the title applied to all Indian Reformers) are not shrewd enough discover that "politicians at home look askance at everything comes out of Bengal," for the simple reason that they are not endowith the faculty, so highly developed in the writers in the *Pionce* seeing what does not exist, but they are shrewd enough to know reforms, 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 no with them before they take that step.

The grandiose resolutions of "National Conferences" are quoted in support the view that India is united in certain subjects, and that every race and cree at one in their demands for political power: but then the mass of the people 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 view that the educ classes throughout India, and all who follow their lead (and this includes a majority of the middle, and a considerable proper though less than half taking India as a whole, of the lower and lo 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 are bond fide at one their demands for political power. It must not be supposed that other, numerically rather larger, fraction, that rather more the 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 controlling influences of those wiser and better al think out results beforehand, has now to be educated (the Pie misleads its readers by using the word "roused") to understand 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, populous 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 trouble to be faced beside which the reign of lawlessness in Ireland will b as child's play.

It follows from what we have already said that almost the primary and object of the education which we are seeking gradually to part to that portion of the masses still requiring it, (an education ich truly is a rousing process, though not in the sense of the writer this article) is to render impossible any such lawlessness as has, ost throughout, disgraced Ireland's, otherwise creditable, struggle political 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 myself denounce him, though 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 approach to lessness, or anything else that can make bad worse-a calm istence in constitutional efforts to obtain the reliefs we require, is plutely certain to succeed, and that without leaving behind 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 civilized and (of course, we poor Indians are little better than savages!) may for ever, we believe, dismiss this painful dream. Six years ago i 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 systematic agitation we absolutely deny; it will an end to good government, and make our present benevolent rule an imbility, for once an alien Government is met at every turn by intumidation and ts, benevolence 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 inchisement to which she aspires, is as certain as that the Gangesr, small as is the stream that foams and sparkles in the upper ies of the Bhagirutti, will, all in due season, reach and blend with vaters of the ocean. Has this writer, like a modern Rip Van Winkle, asleep 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 struggle on which we are ing to conquer for ourselves, what they have conquered for them-12.

Intimidation and threats! Yes, indeed, audacious rebels that we ye stand up to the heaven-born official classes, from Viceroy downin, 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 eggs are eggs, we will report you to that people, and the Parliament, and give them no peace till they wheel you into light This is awful intimidation—these are truly fearful threats, meriting indeed, the adoption of a sterner policy. But—and our friends have not recently visited England for nothing—we can promise the Pionethat the tenure of office of any Government here, who tried under for circumstances to adopt this sterner line of policy, and even of a Ministry in England who ventured to support them in this, wor not be excessively prolonged:—

We are glad to notice that the aspirations of New India are not met in at a sympathising spirit by the more thoughtful and far-seeing Native gentlement the old school, who see nothing but sedition and discontent as the result of again 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 fools, who in conversation with Europe Officials may privately have said something of the kind, but among 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 cars ing on, but in that other thing, that nightmare in the Pioneer's t dream, that agitation on the model described by the Pioneer, the those thoughtful and far-seeing Native gentlemen of the old schdiscern nothing but sedition and discontent; and no wonder! the 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 Pionee own imagination, we may be absolved from discussing it further.

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

It is to these that the Government must look for the means of placing befine people the true meaning of the wild and fanciful schemes which are no put forward so glibly: their influence must be enlisted against the agitators, suddenly India may find itself led to the brink of a precipice with no guidal hand to save it from rum. The patriots who hope to make it a second Irelawill, perhaps, see how dangerous it is to take Western agitation as their modificannot be applied to India save as a slow match is applied to a train of growder. Do they wish to do this?

We are a little tired of this writer now, and what out poor readers st be with our 'comments on his vagaries, is more 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 introducing her that system of mingled cowardice and brutality that has, n time to time, too sadly characterized the popular movement 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 gunpowder. We believe in mind re than in matter, and prefer the influence of intellect to that of But there has been a perfectly awful lot of gunpowder ig about loose which any chance spark might have exploded, and ise who first undertook the work of storing this up in bags and Ls in orderly arrangement, went about their self-imposed duty with ir lives in their hands, as their very efforts to avert the terrible iger 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 loose been practically isolated, all real cause for alarm has, we believe, ually disappeared, and every fresh step in organization, every sh 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 by of, unless, indeed, it be wild and fanciful to assert, as we all do, t the best amongst us are not so much inferior to the average Engman 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. pta, of the Civil Service, to take a single example, has been ore the public in all sorts of official capacities, and no Englishn, even, pretends that in any of these he has proved one whit Prior 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 vastsuperior to any Englishman, who has ever held office here. h being the case, perhaps, it is wild and fanciful for us to endeair to procure such a modification of existing rules, as shall give afifty B. L. Guptas instead of one or two, and proportionally diminish number of English officers, who cost us one-third more in salaries 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 abilities inited and developed in our service and at our expense.

or is it wild and fanciful for us to claim, through representatives, firect share in the Government of the country on the grounds, for alia, that, as we are heavily taxed, and an enormous revenue is led from us, we have a right to a direct and potential voice, in ying to the questions, what taxation shall be imposed and how

shall the proceeds 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 particular point not one has treated the resolutions as otherwise than reasonable as 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 suddenly 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" and 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

## The Pengal Antional Pengue,

TO ALL INHABITANTS OF BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA.

FRIENDS & FELLOW COUNTRYMEN!—A number of us, whose names u will find in the accompanying papers, being deeply impressed with the gent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into a Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a League, whose is object it will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional cans, to bring about the concession of Representative Institutions to DIA.

No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold blessings at we owe to British Rule; but we feel—and in this we have, we believe, 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 until the sting form of Government is modified, and the administration here is de to partake of that representative character which is the glorious distinct of British Institutions, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.

If representative institutions have been found necessary in colonics 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, believing, we understand, that th 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 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, even in small bodies, our views attract little attention, but united in one sat LEAGUE our unanimous and matured op nions will necessarily receive 3 attention. THEREFORE, we entreat all of you, high and low, rich and or, without distinction of race or creed, caste or colour, to join us in this od work. Everyone of you is deeply interested in a measure, the ultimate ults 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 your fellows your country, at any rate this one time, to join in this one great effort. jobtain for India this relief, this blessing, on which hinge all other reliefs Tihorty Prosperity and Progress.

It is needless to explain that to make this League a real success, to attain the great object it sets before itself, a widespread co-operation ample funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those of ful funds that we now call upon you, in our Country's name, to aid us. none of you fancy that this is a metter with which you have no concer in which you are not personally interested. There is not one amongst; be he rich or poor, humble or 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 under which you live, the action of the Courts, and generate conduct of the administration as a whole, can be made to meet satisfact the daily and hourly requirements of your lives, and harmonize with y innate sense of what is Right and Just.

All are interested alike; from all we ask aid in proportion, and only proportion, to their means and position. From the poor and uneducated ask only an expression of that sympathy and good will which all in the hearts feel for our work; an open acknowledgment of their adhesion to cause, and a nominal subscription to mark their membership. From the plant educated we ask only a similarly small pecuniary contribution, but expect not only an open acknowledgment of adhesion, but also honest operation in popularizing an appreciation of the benefits of, and neces for, Representative Institutions, and in securing additional members the Leacue. From the well-to-do or rich, be they educated or uneducate expect—the whole country expects—cordial and liberal assistance in wand in money. From all of every degree we look for support, and with entire confidence that we now invite all to join our League and all effectively according to their means and abilities, with co-workers and fur with men and money.

Signed, on behalf of the League, by Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mo Tagore, K.C.S.I., and nearly all the leaders of all sections of the Inc Community in Calcutta. F 18

THE

# STAR IN THE EAST;

OR,

### THE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

Calentia:

PRINTED BY THE CALCUTTA CENTRAL PRESS CO., LD., 5, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET.

#### THE STAR IN THE EAST.

Robed in mourning, crowned with ashes, Night-enshrouded, India 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! too bright to last;

And around me, heaven-aspiring,
Myriad brave sons dauntless trod,
Bowing head and heart to nothing
But their country and their God.

Crownless, now, forlorn I'm weeping,
Dust and ashes all my meed,
Sluggard sons ignobly sleeping
In a slough of selfish greed.

Oh heaven! 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 mother-land,
See thy children rally round thee
Heart to heart and hand in hand.

## THE BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE

is now many years since the more enlightened and advanced thinkers of the Indian community began to realize that, excellent as was British rule and greatly as, in some respects, it excelled any native rule of which they had any recent experience, it had yet, as a whole, failed the adapt itself sufficiently to local conditions. Initiated it past times in a wise and sympathetic spirit, and originally

plastic in the hands of rulers who identified themselves to a marke degree with their people (whose good will and support the strove above all things to secure and retain, and whose displeasur 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 par careless alike of the approval and disapproval of the country themselves scarcely less of machines than the administration of 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 aur prudent men who supervised its growth had endeavoured, so far as their 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 people with them grewless and less apparent, and Europeans, growing more numerous, began to consort more inter se and less with Indians, and the knowledge of the customs, habits, wants and wishes of thesi latter (never very profound) grew more and more superficial, ou rulers gradually substituted for the original desire to construct at administration accurately corresponding with the traditions and instincts of the people—a determination to evolve a government is strict accordance with their own conceptions of what was best and most desirable. The result was the elaboration of a rigid frame work in no way conforming to the moral, social or intellectual contou of the country, failing to take support where this would gladly have 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 advance of their time, had, as we may now perceive, realized the unhappy position into which British rule was drifting at a much earlier period But the country, as a whole, was still densely overshadowed by ignorance and superstition, there was no inter-communication between the more thoughtful men of different provinces, or even of different districts; the majority of the local officers still retained in their

ealings with the people some outward show at least of that sympathy ith their subjects that had constituted the very essence of their redecessors' policy and 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 was ervading with growing intensity the body politic, this was not, as yet, ssigned to any definite source, and was accepted rather as a dispensation of Providence (as a bad harvest might be) than attributed to its cal cause, the blundering benevolence of foreign Rulers.

Thus it happened that, when the great military revolt of 1857 jurst upon the bewildered country, the people, everywhere, were again 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 dundered and murdered without any weak-minded regard to the race, olour or creed of their victims; no doubt landowners and others who had suffered under the iron systems of Civil and Revenue Law imposed ignorantly, on a population to which they were wholly unsuited, by well-meaning foreigners who fancied that everything they imported rom their own country must needs be good for every country-no loubt, we say, that sufferers under these inelastic and alien systems seized the occasion to right their grievous wrongs, and where decreeholders and auction-purchasers were foolish enough to demur, disposed somewhat too summarily of them and their demurrers. none the less was the country, as a whole, on the side of the British Government, and none the less did it pray for and, so far as in it lay, aid 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 Government all 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. enlightened and This, be it understood, was amongst the partially-enlightened members of our community. Amongst the unenlightened, the masses, no such doubts were felt—the sentiment that the Government was bad and unjust, that British rule was alien and oppressive, was accepted almost as an axiom.

But there was at that time an influence at work that greatly softened these hostile views, that engendered patience and encouraged 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 Britisl Government under the British constitutional system. Common sense i opposed to any such monstrous reading of this most solemn State! enunciation, but British constitutional law is by no means an em' bodiment of common sense, and we are not sufficiently versed in constitutional law to say whether this view can be legally maintained But this we can say, that it is fortunate for all parties that this 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 i 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 by our dear Sovereign. All classes saw in this enunciation of principle a permanent and sacred charter of our liberties; all were accustomed to the slow action of great rulers; all knew that it took a long while for truth to permeate upwards to mighty monarchs, but all feit tha herein lay a certain assurance of better times to come, and though they ceased not to chase 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 and make good to us, in their entirety, her blessed assurances of equa justice and freedom.

It was solely due to this wise and benevolent Proclamation 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 time 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 rulers 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 of the wants of the country and the wishes of the people.

At last the cup of national endurance and patience seemed 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 the press, and absolutely devoid of that sobriety of temperament, that

incerity of purpose, which constitute the essential foundations of ill true statesmanship.

Clever, accomplished, the most genial of boon companions, ne most charming 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 bst, for his personal glorification and for the gratification of a vanity, those chief aim, to use his own oft-repeated phrase, was "to make 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 of the country, his reckless desire to glorify his rule and his apparent that of any higher principles by which to test the righteousness of those attractive schemes which his feverishly active brain was or ever generating—his thorough unfitness, in a word, for the neat office into which he had been pitchforked,—all but wrecked he British Dominion in the East.

Times had greatly changed since the volcanic fires of the great Mutiny had blazed out over an unsophisticated and shudlering population, had flared awhile in crimson horror, had flickered and disappeared. Indian newspapers were now to be numbered by jundleds, and, though few of them possessed a large circulation, and in the aggregate millions of readers, and tens of milions who, through these latter, listened to their messages. Men had 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 distant villages. The more advanced thinkers, alike those favourable and hostile to the continuance of British rule, had begun to lraw together. Already some of these had begun themselves to act, or to send out others, as political missionaries to the masses, to 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 of a sort, stimulated by cheap publications from Indian presses, books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and above all by the great increase of inter-communication in all parts of the empire. had 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 sense of injury and injustice which had so long smouldered in their hearts was beginning at last to glow ominously brighter.

Thus had matters begun to stand when the first "great splash"

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, an Cavagnari 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, the smothered thunder presaged the coming eruption, and we were unquestionably nearer to a general uprising than we have ever before been since the ever-spreading red shadow first clouded any portion of the patient East. Openly or secretly the country, almost to man, were against the British Government, and any trifling addition to the provocations, under which the people were gnashing their teeth, might, may almost 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 all consider how it would be with them and theirs with even 100,000 even 200,000 Bittish Troops and 250 millions against them in rea earnest? They look back to 1857 and say with a self-satisfiet 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 were with them that rendered their success possible. Had the country been against them, not one of them—no, nor one of the additional quarter of a million of European troops that, with France's proffered aid, they might possibly have succeeded in landing in India—would have survived the struggle. The brave strong man fights through the swarm of ill-conditioned wasps, despite their venemous stings, bu the thirty-foot python, stingless though it be, crushes him to puly in its vast flexile folds. Who furnished cheerfully supplies to every little British force, while the mutineers could get nothing but wha they seized vi et armis? Who sheltered and comforted every stray European, man, woman and child, who, escaping the mutineers and the gangs of blackguards (the noxious products of their boaster 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 could so seldom learn exactly where the British forces were? Who was it that to the number of nearly one-quarter of a million enlisted within the period of little more than one year and fought side by -side with the British in a thousand fights against the mad mutinou sepoys and the swarms of budmashes, dacoits, and other jail birds whe flocked to join their standards? To all these questions one answe only is possible—THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

No! While we may primarily attribute the comparatively apid suppression and, a little later, entire obliteration of this crible military revolt to the indomitable pluck and notable power of organization of the British, high and low, Military and Civil, and he grand statesmanship of Lord Canning who, in defiance of the systerical protests and prayers of the bulk of the official classes, the noment the tide turned set to work ruthlessly to reduce the military expenditure 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 and the sympathy, no doubt more or less passive, of the rest of the population, the British Empire in the East would now, long since, have faded into "a glorious memory of the past."

It is well to realize this clearly—it is well to realize the entirely 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 Heaven's mercy, this errible trial, for all, was averted.

It was when matters were almost at their worst, when British supremacy was scarcely worth six months' purchase, that an hitherto inrecognized 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 knowedge and pursuits, had been, ever since the Mutiny, anxicusly watching the fluctuations of national feeling and, so far as indirectly and anonymously was possible, throwing the entire weight of their influence into the scale of order. When, however, the crisis grew 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 thousands of Indians would suffer (and, as in the case of the Mutiny, at least half of these absolutely undescreedly even from a British point of view), not merely that tens of thousands of Europeans, a vast majority of them good and well-meaning men, would be "in one 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-consequence 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 seemed about to spring into action. Fools prate about holding an empire of 250 millions of souls by the bayonet—wise men know that brute

force is the feeblest bulwark that can be opposed to the sentiment convictions (just as often wrong as right) of a great nation. knew only too well that grievous and prolonged as the struggl might be, that oceans as might be shed of Indian blood, if one the country in its then temper rose, it would never again be pacific until, by fair means or foul, the Empire of Great Britain in India ha They knew only too well also that India was, a been destroyed 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 British Phoenix, would arise at first, at any rate, multitude of evil things infinitely more prejudicial to the real pri gress of the country than British rule had ever yet, even according to its worst enemies, proved itself to be. They knew that the forcible and bloody rupture between England and India, as th result of such a struggle, would reduce the former to the levi of a second-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 sages in the East who, sittin apart from the turmoil of the world, study, passionless, the histor of mankind, than that England, with all her faults, with all he crimes, has yet been the foster-mother of the existing liberties of the world. Would France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland Belgium, 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 Norman conquest 2 From (aye and before) the time when 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 autocracy and its brood. It is to the example of the nobler portion of the British nation, it is to the 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 the impulse, 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 power and, despite all said and done during the last hundred years, the poison cloud of despotism would roll back westwards, over Euror at any rate, leaving it to some future Campbell to sing the sarequiem:—

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,"
And Freedom shricked when 'brave old England' fell,"

But determined as were these men, who almost alone realize the dread issues at stake, to avert, by all possible means, the three ened catastrophe, they were far too deeply versed in the inner lifethe nation to fancy, for a single moment, that the sparks that he been kindled in so many hearts could ever again be extinguishthat it was possible for mortal man to do better with the flames, at must inevitably result, than direct them in such wise as to minimize their vehemence and utilize their expanding volume for the good the country. Then began they to preach to their most trusted iends directly and to the country at large, through innumerable direct channels, the doctrine that expansion must be given to be hitherto repressed and imprisoned national feelings of disconnat and hatred, and that this expansion could only safely take the orm of overt constitutional agitation, no matter how noisy, or even a first childish, if only it afforded due vent for those bitter and nodictive feelings foredoomed, if still pent down and hidden, to ultify before long the brightest promises of the coming century.

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

But we anticipate. Despite the most strenuous efforts (compatie with evading the attention of the their unscrupulous and aprincipled 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 the forces operating to excite and to restrain, even the little fected during the last fifteen months of Lord Lytton's administration constituted the feather that depressed the scale of fate in your of order. But even those to whom the movement owed, its rigin would not pretend to assert that such was certainly the case.

But whilst India's best and wisest were thus struggling with eir utmost energy to sanify the body politic, with scarcely appreable results, Providence, who ever helps those who help them-lyes, came to the rescue, and the long doubtful and darkling battle etween 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 amidst ne 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. All Engsh statesmen, therefore, were not, as his example proved, mere ands and specious wind bags, full of empty and lying promises and professions. The good Empress who had sent us at last one onest Viceroy might send us more like him. Despite the unampathetic attitude of the officials of whom we chiefly had experinced, there might be, there must be, other true and good men in angland who, when they came to know how sad our case was, ould see us righted. The race of noble philanthropists who polished slavery in the West Indies was not extinct. Here at ast was one true-born English nobleman, bent, in good earnest,

on seeing equal justice indifferently dealt out to black and what There was still a hope then. There could not be only one such ma It was for us to reach the others, and then, perhaps, slavery in the 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 shroid haze of gloom hung everywhere, and all was dumb and motic less as in the country of the dead. The night closed in, in a darkness oppressive as a ponderous Pall; at midnight 17° 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 diappearing, and when next day, fervid as one of summer's ow children, awoke us, the waters were dancing free, dimpled with the million fire flashes, and singing in rhythmic ripples around every point. Water fowl splashed and sparkled on the sunny wavelets green tassels were 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 detears on the rising day. Everywhere the hum of insects, the son of birds, the distant sounds of sheep bells, mingling with the myric voices of renewed life, rose like a golden hymn of praise and jo A single day had slipped by, and where late all had been glod and bitter frost and death-like stillness, now all was sunshine, sor and happiness.

Then first, fostered by Lord Ripon's benign influence, did the hidden leaven commence to work appreciably—then first the gospel of hearty open constitutional agitation in lieu of secret hatred-impelled plotting, began to find favour in the eyes of the many—then secret organizations dissolved, as such fungoid growt will, or turning themselves inside out and taking a fresh root, rounto upper air as honest recognized associations for the promotion of the national cause—then, first, did those anxious watchers, whad 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 moring ripened into noonday, the dark clouds of the Anglo-Indian vehement, and (as the best amongst them do not now deny), u reasonable antagonism darkened the prospect, this failed whole thanks to the confidence inspired by Lord Ripon's charact and conduct,\* to shake the faith of the country in their not Gospel, though it doubtless somewhat modified, and that whole

<sup>\*</sup> See, in reference to the feelings aroused by Lord Ripon's kindly rule, "India's 1 a .well," reprinted at the end of this pamphlet, from the Mirror of the 14th Decem 1884, the day on which Lord Ripon left Calcutta at the close of his Viceroyalty.

the better, their attitude in regard to it. At the outset by had taken it up, in the exuberance of joyful hearts and in confident belief that Lord Ripon was going 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, poorters, bitterly opposing their righteous 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 parergon, 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 questionably misled by a few designing men who, themselves eping 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 and after all, we owe them much, since to their opposition was ainly due the success of the efforts, then being made, to solidify party of Reform and fuse a congeries of provinces, tribes and ans into one nation.

Neither party has much to be proud of in that frantic boyish tuggle, and now that this has passed away we may well hope at, 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, d, shaking hands, prove themselves ready to battle side by side in us, aiding us by their greater experience and knowledge to liver India from our common adversaries—a despotic and irresponse Government, and an overweening and too self-sufficient ficial class.

The National Congress of December 1885 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 st 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 Angloncial organs to discredit that Congress and deny its representative aracter, but that has all passed away, melting as time ever dissolves e false. 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 BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE was the almonecessary outcome. The Resolution 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 referred 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, who would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majoritie

The scheme of the The seco Congress was simple. Resolution proposed the abolition of that obstructive, per cious and costly organization, the Council of the Secretary State for India. Even English politicians had early recognize 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 iustice 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 or 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 celebr 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 for wanting; as a check it only checked those very measures that show have received encouragement. It was and is utterly useless, t 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 prelin nary to all real reform.

But while desirous of dispensing with this sham check, Congress fully realized how necessary it was that, in future, so real check should be exercised over the vagaries of the execute and this check they proposed to provide by the resolution alrest 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 untry, the executive, after having been compelled to listen fully the voice of the people, 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 India through the British House of pmmons, that would, of course, be absurd. As to expecting embers of a committee of that House, already fully 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 intersls, of great questions involving important principles, 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 ritish 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 merit 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 atended that no practicable scheme to regulate the relations the representatives and the Government could be devised. it, a month or two later, a series of provisional rules, sich had been tentatively agreed to by a majority of the Congress presentatives, were published, showing conclusively that if only British Government would accept the principle, no difficulty ould 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

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 neiple could be brought into practical operation, and then the ople of Bengal saw that the time had come and banded themves into a great LEAGUE pledged thenceforth to agitate and uggle ceaselessly, and by all lawful means, to secure that desired neession.

rolved.

The inauguration of this LEAGUE must ever constitute an portant era in the political history of Bengal. For the first time

for ages, leaders of every section, sub-division and class of the poplation of Bengal combined heartily and that for an unselfish objective were met Mahomedans and Hindoos, princes and peasant great landowners and small tenants, lawyers, bankers, merchant medical men, professors and principals of schools and colleg divines and religious reformers, learned scholars, novel writers, new paper editors and poets, all pledging themselves to labour in the public cause.

One thing only the LEAGUE lacked, and that was a good intermixture of non-official Europeans and Eurasians, of who less than a score, we believe, at any rate at the outset, joined the n The Indian community were greatly grieved at t movement. marked abstention on the part of their non-Indian brethren. 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 BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE aims at but one single reform, a that equally in the interests of Europeans, 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 Bengal League, the imp sition of a representative check on arbitrary taxation and arbitra 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 t 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 gr 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 absentceisi prevented at the time the invaluable co-operation of the Europea and Eurasians in this great undertaking.

Be the cause what itemay, 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 bias in 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 enterprin which all three should have been equally active, and under presidency of the first citizen of Bengal, SIR JOTENDRO MOH TAGORE, they commenced operations and issued an appeal to

untry, so succinct and withal so cogent, so moderate and yet so mest, as to merit reproduction here:—

"Friends & Fellow Countrymen!—A number of us, whose names will find in the, accompanying papers, being deeply impressed with the sent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into: Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a League, whose expicit will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional isns, to bring about the concession of Representative Institutions is India.

"No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold blessings at we owe to British Rule; but we feel—and in this we have, we believe, e sympathy of many of the most distinguished thinkers and many of a 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 isting form of Government is modified, and the administration here is ide to partake of that representative character which is the glorious distinction of British Institutions, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.

"If representative institutions have been found necessary in colonies here identity of race, creed and customs enables the Rulers to grasp, intuiely, the needs of the Ruled, how doubly indispensable are they here, here fundamental differences in nationality, religion and culture, debar a 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 the 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 a 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, but united in one great lade 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 good ork. 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 most cred obligations, even if you have never until 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, Prosperity and Progress.

"It is needless to explain that to make this League a real success, and attain the great object it sets before itself, a widespread co-operation and aple funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those needle funds that we now call upon you, in our country's name, to aid us. Let me 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 dweller in cities, no is not directly interested in this primary and comprehensive reform, 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 risfactorily the daily and hourly requirements of your lives, and harmonize ith your innate sense of what is Right and Just.

proportion to their means and position. From the poor and uneducated vask only an expression of that sympathy and good will which all in the hearts feel for our work; an open acknowledgment of the adhesion to to cause, and a nominal subscription to mark their membership. From the pobut educated we ask only a similarly small pecuniary contribution but expect not only an open acknowledgment of adhesion, but also honese coperation in popularizing an appreciation of the benefits of, and necessity for Representative Institutions, and in securing additional members for the League. From the well-to-do or rich, be they educated or uneducated, expect—the whole country expects—cordial and liberal assistance in wo and in money. From all of every degree we look for support, 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 function the means and money."

This address explains sufficiently, perhaps, the objects of the 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 Sir Jotendro Mohun to one of the leading London Journa which, but for the all-absorbing interest excited at home by the struggle 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 formatic of a National League to promote the introduction of Representative Institutions into India, as also of the appeal which the League has addressed the country, and I venture to hope that you will give publicity to this movement in England, through the medium of your columns.

"Forming part, as you do of a self-governing community, you chardly realize, I fear, the eagerness with which we, who are practical debarred from all share in the Government of our country, covet that potical freedom and those Representative Institutions that Great Britain I conferred on almost all her dependencies, except on the most import, and populous of these, British India.

"It would be well that England should realize this, as also the pifound feelings of dissatisfaction with which the existing character of tadministration is regarded—feelings, which although openly expressed or by a few of the most advanced and independent of the educated class pervade, I believe, all ranks and sections of the community.

"I am aware that many of those indisposed to favour native aspiratic deny our solidarity, but permit me to assure you that, whatever may habeen 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 endeavour to secure this by all practicable, legitimate a constitutional means."

And now that we have traced the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE 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 Gopel, can any educated, impartial, and thoughtful member of eith of the three great communities in India, deny the justice a ntire reasonableness of that prayer, with which our LEAGUE is indeavouring to penetrate the ears and hearts of the British 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 earnestly 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. But what have we ere in India? Something, we fear, very near akin to mutual misanderstanding, distrust and dislike.

Take the case of our present Viceroy. Day by day His Excelncy is becoming less and less popular with the Indian community. lailed by the entire country with delight at his advent, in consequence, 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 ambers as a veritable incubus, a true "Old man of the Sea," 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 unblemhed private character, of high intellectual culture, kindly nature id the most generous instincts and impulses, he is beloved in private fe by all who have the honour and happiness of enjoying his equaintance. A politician, of vast experience, deeply versed in very phase and detail of European national politics, his views on all questions of international diplomacy command the respect of turopean statesmen. To his own singular personal merits he adds he happy fortune of being conjoined with a consort, whose noble and indefatigable efforts to promote the welfare of the women of idia have evoked a respectful and affectionate response throughout india.

Still this admirable man, instead of being, as might a priorical priorical process. Standard of the country, is week been expected, the idol and the darling of the country, is week by week not only growing in disfavour with all classes of Indians, but steadily becoming more and more generally regarded as the greatest fexisting obstacles to the fruition of every true patriot's best hopes or 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 cenly appreciative both of the qualities of their rulers and of the irections in which their own and their country's best interests lie.

Now it is quite certain that a very considerable proportion of the unpopularity which at the present moment attaches to Lord Dufferin is wholly unmerited, and results solely from misconceptions if his words, acts and views. It is extraordinary how many utter misstatements as to his policy and his sentiments have been circulated

in all good faith by our Press, and these too founded on information that the editors, who first admitted them to their columns had every reason to believe trustworthy. It is a fact that in more cases than one we have now traced back such misstatements to European officials, who doubtless stated in all good faith what they had heard from others, but who, as a matter of fact, only stated the opinions 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 *primâ 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 gag it. 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 a demi-official letter about, not the criticisms, but the direct misstate. ments of the Native Press-not as a personal grievance to himself 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. 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 created 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 dwelt 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, "neither'

inreasonable nor very alarming," of the Indian party of Reform, and see if it were not possible to meet to a great extent their vishes. This done, and the material concessions accepted and approved, it was to 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 p be fairly tested in practice.

Moreover at the same time, although little danger was to be inticipated in Bengal from even the most gigantic mass meetings of the lower classes, some check must be put on these since, in he event of the system extending itself amongst the more compative populations of the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the unjab, ignorant and even well-intentioned men might, at any time, se suddenly excited into crime, not against Government but, as I 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 shole, Lord Dufferin deserved the thanks in lieu of, as he has scurred, the revilings of the whole country.

There are a dozen other similar cases, in which the Viceroy has seen vehemently attacked on the strength of published statements, shich 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 more 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 told by a person who comes frequently in contact with the liceroy that he looks on the Town Hall meeting as an attempt to coerce Sovernment, and he has determined not to submit to the orders of a fraction of the Indian population, however large that fraction may be. Coercion trikes at the root 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 course ccording to the dictates of a mutinous crew, statesmanship becomes an impossibility, and the country is reduced to the level of the land visited by Captain Gulliver where animals governed and men obeyed. So at least thinks he Viceroy, who is, I believe, very much annoyed with the speeches made t the Town Hall, and who has determined 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 Government 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 meeting will be included) are collected, the Viceroy will take it up and record his opinion. It is simple ignorance of the modus operandi which leads any one to suppose that in the present stage of the affair the Viceroy can have arrived at any definite opinion on the But in the second place, to any one who really does know the Viceroy, the assertion that he looks upon public meetings 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 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 disapproving 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 Government 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 in 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 voice of the people, and insensibly against the people themselves. Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, here and there are exceptional man, may regard with feelings 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.

capable of crediting our Press with the good faith that unquestionably, broadly speaking, characterizes it. We can quite understand their feeling. They say: "One day this fellow sticks in, somewhat guardedly, a downright fabrication. Three days after he repeats it in a more positive form. A few days later and he begins a series of articles based on this original falsehood which he now treats as a thoroughly established fact; and you talk of the good faith of the native press. Faugh I' Now we understand his anger, but prithee good official who is to blame? The erring editor, or the impossible form of Government of which you are one of the l'illars? 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 Lord Dufferin, Mr. Blank tells me that the Hon'ble Mr. Noodle assured him that you said that if the native press did not mind its P.'s and Q.'s you would just teach them a lesson—now my Lord is this true?" 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 editor, 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 defenders of Lord Dufferin, and we hold that for certain measures he 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 invasion, and still worse the annexation, of Burmah, and the treatment that the universal national desire to be allowed to volunteer has, in practice, met with, were all wrong. It is impossible for us to go into the question of responsibility; it may or may not be that the Home Government share the responsibility for the wrong-doing;

<sup>\*</sup> It is only just to note that this meeting with the Amir was arranged in accordance with the advice of Lord Ripon.

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 the 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 such measures be, in the opinion of the country, wrong and unjustifiable, and carried through moreover in the 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, and will necessarily become, unpopular.

He may be right and the country may be wrong; but, if so, he 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 deserved 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 last moment, rendered that invasion a necessity, had the country possessed representatives to make clear to the Government, face to face, from an authoritative standpoint, the intense and universal feeling on the subject that pervaded the nation. Be this as it may, we feel quite sure that the annexation of Burma would not have been carried through in the face of such a constitutional 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 volunteering 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 into 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 etiquette, 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 missoriune (for it has been no less) could ever have besallen us had we enjoyed any sort of real and recognized representation.

We have dwelt at great length on this matter of the existing tinpopularity of the Viceroy, because there is no one thing more desirable in the interests of India than that confidence and good will should prevail between the Head of the Government and the people, and we have left ourselves no space to show, in detail, how almost every grievance the people have, every disability and discomfort under which they labour, so far as these are due to errors of Government (for many of their discomforts are due to social abuses which they must themselves reform) may be immediately 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 could 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 majority of officials never 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 marvellous), and then the interview comes to an end. But even in the case of that minority who really courteously endeavour to ascertain the views of their visitors, these latter are, as a rule, only fair-weather sailors, Ramsgate 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 to be found amongst the hangers-on who silver the palms of red-coated chuprassees. But, at any rate, it will be justly rejoined, men like Lords Dufferin and Reay, do see and honestly try to pump even the best men in the land. Now will our Englishman suppose a radical M. P. favoured (as an extraordinary exception) with an Interview with our Gracious Sovereign, and will he also suppose that humours were just at that time rife that the Crown was manœuvring to perpetuate an existing constitutional anomaly by bringing about the appointment of another Royal Duke to succeed the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief. 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 he would never allude to the matter, and should the Queen (which would be in the highest degree improbable, unless she had summoned this particu-· lar 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, he makes the House ring with his denunciations of the "grasping greed of Royalty and the truckling subserviency of Tory Premiers."

And such is the case here too. No Indian gentleman, however often honoured by conversations with the Viceroy, can "bear the lion in his den, the Douglas in his hall," and denounce, as I 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, times, scream itself hoarse, but solely because, until it roars, no Givernment here pays the smallest attention to its calls for justic and reform. And even outspoken as it is, what is your invariable remark when its utterances run counter to your exalted wisdom, own conceptions of what is fit and proper? "Press? Editors? a sy of rascally school-boys and briefless lawyers, ranting in monked 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, are cases, some knowledge of the nation's mind is forced in upor their reluctant convictions, they treat that knowledge with what 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 hand 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 shar that will leave no doubt as to their reality here or in England and will at the same time command for them that respectful consideration which a great nation has the right to demand for the 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 have not brought home to all honest hearts and minds the justice, the reasonableness of our demands in this matter, we despair of ever 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 show of reason in your contention; but will you please show us how well how England, will be any the better for allowing you gradually to monopolize the lion's share of all the good appointments now

eld by Englishmen, or by placing you in a position to prevent our ping as we like with the resources of this great country which we ave conquered, and now hold at our will and pleasure? Your soilled 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 for her to govern India RIGHTEOUSLY! Now do you ant to govern India righteously so that, with an untroubled heart, bu may answer at God's judgment seat the awful question "How 18t thou discharged this trust that I reposed in thee?" Don't fancy bu can escape, because thousands are sharers with you in the crime! very individual composing the mob that commits a single murder answerable in his individual person for that crime, and every inividual Englishman, in a position to influence (and what Englishian 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 misgovernment ut it aside here, if you will; there is no escaping it elsewhere. not for nothing that you have been made rulers over many things reat is the glory, greater yet the responsibility.

But we say, again, do you want to rule India RIGHTLOUSLY b you want her necessities, her prosperity, the welfare, the progress, te happiness of her people to be the first considerations; or do you fally desire it to continue possible that her highest interests should s 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, at a vile vampire, incarnating the corpse of what was once perhaps 1 honest Briton, prolonging a loathsome existence by sucking the se-blood of both countries, and we pray that all worthy Englishmen lay soon find you out and bury you at the nearest cross road with stake through your corrupted heart. But to the immense majority ho, although ignorant, careless, and too lazy to do their duty by oking into matters for which they are responsible, yet, at the botom of their hearts love truth and justice, and do want (some one clse) 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 ie country to govern RIGHTEOUSLY (or indeed in any way except haphazard) a population of over 200 millions, whose utterices, whose wishes, whose opinions, they either wholly ignore or even when listening to them) treat with unvarying and sovereign intempt? It is clear that such a Government can only be enabled attain even a distant approximation to righteousness by associating ith it, on terms of something like equality and independence, a rge contingent of the ablest, best, and most representative members that population, so placed as to enable them to force on the dull irs 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 WILL 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, supporti 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 I 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 bitterne of an angry nation into the safe channels of constitutional agitati under the benignant influences of Lord Ripon's reign, all dand was for the time averted 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 ev 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 milital expenditure, the imposition of fresh and unpopular taxation, and the especially in the growing difficulty everywhere being experienced the masses in procuring a sufficiency of food, seeds have been sow that must hereafter bear a terrible harvest unless the only remedy, the introduction of a popular element into the government, be honestly a boldly adopted. They have no grave anxiety as regards the immed ate moment, for, despite growing and widespread discontent with the existing form of administration, the country is still loyal to tl British Crown and still believes in the ultimate success of their appear 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 a India's justest prayers, the time will come,—it may be sooner, it may be later, but come it will, and come when it may, it will come all ! soon,—when the people, losing all lingering reliance in the Queer Proclamation, and all belief in either the justice or good intention of the British nation (as they have long since lost all faith in the specious professions 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. that time comes,—though God in his mercy forbid it ever should.—I no Englishman fancy that any Indian soldier will be on his side. Whe 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 section 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, the English will stand alone, and then God help them, and God forgiv them for all the blood that will be poured out, the infinite mise that will be shed like a poison dew, throughout India 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 e only 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, foreirned, will yet prove wise in time, India, with the BENGAL ATIONAL LEAGUE and scores of similar political associations and idies, labouring head and heart to procure by every constitutional cans 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 are the misery), the dishonour, the disgrace, will be England's and ngland's alone, for ever and for ever.

<sup>(</sup>In connection with the subjects discussed in the foregoing paper, it has been right desirable to reproduce (as showing, inter alia, the reasonable spirit in it in thus far our Indian reformers are working) a series of articles which ently appeared in the "Mirror" of Calcutta (the leading Indian Newspaper), the growth and development of political liberty in Great Britain's other spendencies.)

# THE GROWTH OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH DEPENDENCIES.

WHEN considering the object that the BENGAL NATION LEAGUE has set before itself, we naturally turn towards the oth Dependencies of Great Britain to ascertain how they have faunder the governance of our common Queen and Empress, and we measure of political rights each has succeeded in acquiring. Igning minor differences, according to which these Dependencies midbe separated into some six or seven classes, they may be roug divided into two main divisions, vis., those that practically manage their own affairs, and those in which, more or less, all the memportant affairs are managed by the British Government, throughts local representatives and their nominces.

The colonies pertaining to the former class are usually descrias enjoying Responsible Government, and are, so far as their interadministration is concerned, practically independent. In this clare comprised: (1) the Dominion of Canada, with its seven Provir of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edwa Island, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia, each with its own k Legislature for the disposal of purely local matters and the endominion 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 aching 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-Gene appointed for a term of years, (as is the Viceroy here) in the Quename by the British Ministry for the time being. This Govern General is to the Dominion what the Queen is to Great Britain constitutional Sovereign—possessing little real direct power, by great deal of indirect influence; compelled to move along with popular sentiments of the day, but yet not a mere foam crest he lessly marking the summit of the wave of public opinion, possessing under favorable conditions, when the office is held be 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, the

seven of these—is immediately presided over by a Lieutenantvernor, nominated by the Governor-General, who is to his Province at the Governor-General is to the entire Dominion.

There is a Parliament 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 elective), Upper Chamber or Senate, whose speaker the Governor-General ninates, and a Lower or House of Commons, who elect their own aker. Then, for each of the sevent 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, n 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 r, and what may not, advantageously be left to the local Legistres; and although the conditions of the two countries differ in may and those essential points, yet the separation effected in Canada be found, when the time comes, useful in indicating how a similar tration can be effected here. Practically, though there have been e little hitches, the system is working, and has worked remarkably, as, indeed, despite all the abuse 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 lish Privy Council. The members are nominated by the Governor-ieral (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.

All real power is vested in a Cabinet of fourteen Ministers, who un their position precisely as Cabinets in England do, viz., in see of commanding the support of a majority of the House of amons, by whose adverse verdict, of course, they are similarly used 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 he 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 it, just as they do, out of the most prominent and powerful of bolitical adherents and supporters.

The Ministers held in check, of course, more or less, accordite the intensity of their aggregate personalities, by the parameters broad back supports them in their elevated position, a practically as entirely masters of the situation in Canada as a Ministers in England. The Governor-General, as representing the Sovereign, and performing many of the functions attaching Royalty in Great Britain, issues writs for the election of representives, convokes, prorogues, or dissolves the Legislative Chambers, & &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 asset to Bills, passed by the Houses of Parliaments, or of suspending the operation pending the assent of the Crown, but practically it would be only under very exceptional circumstances, such as that of debatable measure passing by a small majority, that this powwould ever be exercised.

Then, each Province has its elected Legislature; in the major of Provinces these consist of two Chambers—a Legislative Assemble equivalent to a House of Commons, and a Legislative Count representing the Senate, or, in a far-off way, a House of Lords—hin 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 wius; there (as in British Columbia for instance) there is only a sing 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 Miniconstitute 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 Province are loaded with an elaborately expensive Government, in some case 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 Chamber—the Legislative Assembly with and the second or Legislative Council with 24 members, all, course, elected—and with these an Executive Council or Ministraupported by the majority of the Legislative Assembly, and consisting 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 matter affecting their own interests, the people of Canada are entirely ind pendent, and it is they, the people, who alone understand what the

ht, and what they do not want, and how any and every measure affect them and their interests; it is they, we say, who alone ide what shall be done, 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 efforts despond; we must prepare ourselves "to suffer and be strong," I through darkness and storm, if need be, by patient toil and swerving fortitude, to win our way to the only goal for which it is ith 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 tong and weary road (of which more on another occasion) to ponsible Government, step by step; all this we admit, but we all never, never attain that goal at all, unless we begin taking those ps, and the first immediate, practical step, which every man can be, which every enlightened Indian, who is not a traitor, will and ist take, is to join the BENGAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, or some similar lociation, and support it not only with such pecuniary aid as each afford, but by personal efforts to extend its influence, strengthen organization, and help to smooth the way for its triumphant sward progress.

Are any of you still asleep? AWAKE! The time has now me 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 reason setting to work in real earnest at once. We cannot expect any at results from even our most strenuous exertions for some time come; we must be patient and wait for these—and the sooner 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 thorough-know 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 wart.

In discussing the political position, attained by the several pendencies of Great Britain, we enumerated those that at present joy what has been called Responsible Government, viz., those ich are, as we hope ultimately to be, practically independent of eat Britain, as regards the conduct of internal affairs. Taking the brainion 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 adminitration is, in practice, carried out. The other Responsible Govern ment Colonies-Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Tasmania, Ne-Zealand, 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, viz., 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 the 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 characters of the members who compose then to object and oppose in such cases, and by their opposition afford time for the people and their popular Chamber to cool down and look at questions from a common-sense point of view. Of course therefore, a different class of men is wanted in the Upper to wha you get 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 existing House of Lords will have to be modified before long, so as to bring it somewhat more in harmony with the popular sentiments of th present day. But in the Colonies, where no nobility existed, and where it has not been the policy of the Crown (a great mistake ne doubt! to create one, other expedients to secure a more conservative stable and cautious set of men for the Council than are usuallreturned (in many cases by manhood suffrage) to the Assembly, hart to be adopted.

In New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, the Councillors 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.

In the other Colonies the Councillors are elected for a term o years, but in all cases by electors having a property, and in some

aces, (e.g. Tasmania), an educational qualification as well; whereas embers of the Assemblies, in several of these Colonies, are elected the basis of manhood suffrage. Moreover, in almost all cases the Councillors themselves require property or other qualifications of 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 eight Responble-Government Colonies; suffice it to have given some idea of se barest outlines 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 seir fellows, and thoroughly understand all local conditions, and a number of strangers from a distant portion of the Empire, so ignorant even to realize their own absolute want of knowledge; is, we say, the people of the Colony themselves, and not aliens, ho 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 imprises the Dominion of Canada and the other eight Colonics aready enumerated, which has an aggregate population of, say, nine willions, there is another smaller group, usually designated Crown colonies, with an aggregate population of, perhaps, seven millions.

Now these Crown Colonies are divisible into three classes: first, those in which, under one name or the other, two Chambers e retained, one an upper and smaller one, like our Executive or supreme Council, the members of which are either elected (as at ne Bahamas) or nominated (as at Barbadoes and the Bermudas); nd the second, a considerably larger House of Assembly or Repreentative Assembly, the members of which are in all cases elected by ectors possessing a property qualification. In the case of the Bahaias, it might seem as if the form of Government closely approached ne "Responsible," but, as a matter of fact, it is divided from this y a great gulf, for in all these three Colonies, the Executive Council, tother words the Cabinet or Ministry, instead of being practically ne masters of the Governor, are really his humble coadjutors and nore or less his subordinates, and this Cabinet, instead of dependng on the support of the majority of the Lower House, is composed artly of ex-officio Ministers and partly of nominees of the Crown r Governor, who could, theoretically, snap their fingers at the largest jajority 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 hese 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 segislative Assembly, and that partly elective and partly nominated by

the Crown, and designated, therefore, a "Composite Council." This gro 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) aspir as a first step, and it may, therefore, be useful to glance at t leading features of the administrative arrangements in one or to of the more important of these. The Government of Weste Australia is directly administered much like that of India by Executive Council, presided over by the Governor, and compose of five members, officials, appointed by the Crown—the Coloni Secretary '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 director 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 irresponsible as are our Viceroy and Counc but two causes operate to render the Government of Western Austr lia almost as free in practice as that of any of the other Responsible Government Colonies of the Australian Group.

The first 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 the sea, if they oppressed and bullied them too much. Any Governe and Council 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 million sterling, would, in an inconceivably small space of time, find then selves having a most un-pleasant talk and taking a most un-pleasan 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 legitimate 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 elected Practically in one way or another (the matter is too long to entiupon in this present brief paper) almost every question does come, a 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 way as to enable the majority to place officially on record its disar proval of any proposed or consummated Government measure. 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 information as to the existing position of the Government, whic

comparatively recently been modified in several important spects, than we can obtain in any book), so far we say as we can dge, the lines on which the Government of Western Australia is n, are precisely those on which the country desires to see the overnment of India run, as a first step towards that Responsible overnment, which is necessarily the ultimate goal of all our olitical aspirations.

AFTER Western Australia the next most important of the ngle-chambered, composite councilled colonies is Natal. Here, too, in Western Australia, there is a great deal of real freedom, and practice it is as impossible for a Governor to go right in the teeth the unanimous opinion of the colony as it would be for a Prime inister in England to run counter to the British Vox Der (!) as some to pleased to designate the Vox populi.

There is the inevitable Governor, there called a Lieutenantcovernor, assisted by an unusually large Executive Council, consisting of nine members, viz., the Colonial Secretary, the Secretary for ative Affairs, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Chief angineer, 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 r-officio seats in the Legislative Council, which besides these includes a 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, override a najority of the Legislative Council, but, as a matter of fact, in lmost all internal affairs, the Executive follow the opinions of a substantial majority of the Legislature, if not immediately, at any ate, if such opinion is reiterated by a fresh majority, after a dissolution.

The Government of British Guiana is curious and cumbrous, 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 iews and wishes of the people which constitute, it might almost e said, the rule, and not the exception, where the Government in ndia is concerned.

Not, be it clearly understood, that we are ascribing any blame, saying this, to individuals; it is the system, not the men, that we

now seek to arraign. 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 practic purposes are entirely invisible to them. And they make blunder Well! and que voules 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 coulook 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—the 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, leaving undone the thing that they ought to have done, and doing the thir which they ought not to have done. Meddle and muddle, to choo their own apostle's apt definition, sum up their entire labors, but the is the result of a villainous system of Government which divides the rulers and the ruled as effectively as if they were in different planet and if we blame our rulers individually, it is chiefly for being so stupp as not to realize the absurdity of their positions, and not to joi with us in endeavouring to bring about a reform in the existing obsclete and mischievous arrangement.

To return. British Guiana is governed by a Governor, Court t Policy, and Combined Court. The Governor, of course, is sent or by the Ministry in power in England, when the vacancy occur He may be good, bad or indifferent, but as these are too common! cases of providing for "the brothers and the cousins and the uncles the bads and indifferents it must, we fear, be admitted, "have it. The Executive Government, consists of the Governor, aided by th Court of Policy, which consists of five official members, and five elected 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 have to be filled up. For whenever vacancies occur, the electoral College elect two candidates, one of whom the Court of Policy selects. 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 and taxation.

Thus all such matters are dealt with by an assembly of 16 members, of whom 11 are elected, 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 e officials to four elected members), five of these cleven are sure be more or less Conservative. It would be quite easy to work t a scheme for India on the lines of the British Guiana Constitum, but we consider that it is on the lines of the Western Australian institution, which is altogether simpler and more easy of introduction, that we should endeavour to work.

The Leeward Islands again are a sort of confederation, remindus of that of the dominion of Canada, but not enjoying 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 spointed 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 elected by iters, having a substantial property qualification. Dominica has ily 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 R 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. egislative Council consists of eighteen members, half nominated, ilf 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 seen that in ne way and another, every part of this straggling group of plonies is represented in the administration. The means advanced; any good-sized sub-division Behar would exceed them ten-fold in the population, wealth, telligence and every other qualification for ensuring, prima facie, se 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 ccluded 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 stirely autocratic, has, as a fact, a Composite Council like the seceding Colonies. The Governor has an Executive Council of stree officials, and also a Council of Government, comprising the

officer commanding the troops, eight other civil officials, and eigelected non-official members, elected for five years by electors have substantial property qualifications.

So even here in this barren island fortress, inhabited by foreigned a considerable proportion of them, enjoying a worse reputation that of any other race in Europe, representative institutions had made a certain advance.

IT now remains for us to deal, and briefly, with those few at insignificant little fortresses and settlements which constitute the thiclass of Crown Colonies, the only group of British dependencing except India, in which no representative element enters, at present to the administration.

Some of these are inhabited by mere savages. Reasonat enough, for instance, in Fiji, Representative 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 "lopig," 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 discomfor the individuals concerned. We think we can assure Lord Duffer that if he should resolve to aid us to attain that humble modicy 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 discourted treatment!

Penang, Perak, Malacca Singapore, Hongkong,—mere dots even the largest scale maps,—naturally have no representation, conditions of these settlements with their immensely preponders masses of low fourth race, non-Aryan inhabitants, the survivals of time before the conception of representation had dawned on thuman 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 insignificant 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 plant class to continue to oppress and ill-treat the immense majority the population, which is of Indian origin. It is not necessa

desirable to give, at present, to the Indian emigrants, who constitute by three-fourths of the population, any preponderant voice the administration. But numbers of them have grown in wealth to intelligence, and they ought to possess a potential voice in this, ind to be placed in a position to defend their humbler comrades rainst the oppression, cruelty, and shameless and selfish class gislation of the dominant planter class and their official friends and this been done, the disgraceful barbarities which for long the activities are treatment of our people in Mauritius, and which recessitated a Royal Commission to bring it within something like reent limits, could never have occurred. As it is, the treatment our Indian brethien still receive is far from what it should be ind 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 ecks, the west coast of Africa settlements, viz., (1) the Gold Coast, ) Sierra Leone, and (3) the Gambia River, in all of which the stire population are a low race of non-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 subt, be permanently retained by England.

Jamaica and Trinidad, both, despite their world-wide known mes, small Islands with very limited populations, though each thoning 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 d Penguins, it would be difficult to get up a constituency, numerilly 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 isranchisement 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 iey were then and there (people of a distinctly lower race, and itirely uneducated as they were) entitled to vote. They immensely redominated 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-India Islands, except Barbadoes and 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 i qualified to deal with. If now, at this present moment, when q political organization is still imperfect and immature, you we 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 might 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 depotism, 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 his franchise involving considerable property or educational qualification to-morrow, not only without a shade of danger, but with infine benefit alike to Europeans and Indians, to high and low, to rull and to ruled, and it is simply crass ignorance of the real condition of the country and the real state of public opinion amongst us the 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 remai 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 liber than the authorities have ever been inclined to concede to us, the has kept Ceylon in the backward position she now occupies. By for this there is little doubt that, like all colonies at all approachisher in size and importance, Ceylon would long since have passed 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 from the administration of Ceylon, and despite the fact that the inhabitants, as a body, are far less advanced than the people? India, we yet find that, even in this exceptional third class colon? the Cingalese occupy a better position politically than we do. India, Ceylon is governed by a Governor with an Executive and Legislative Council; the Executive Council includes the Coloni. Secretary, who is also Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor, the Queen-Advocate, the Treasurer, the Auditor-General and the Commande 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 Gover nor's control, and both more independent officially and more under the influence of public opinion. The Legislative Council, as here i India, consists of this Executive Council, plus two Provincial Lieuted nant-Governors (Agents they are called), the Surveyor General, th

illector of Customs, and five unofficial nominated members. This es not promise any much greater freedom from autocratic and pitrary government; than the Government that we have in India, t, as a matter of fact, it confers it. In the first place, there is in vion a real equality between Cingalese and Europeans; none of e sham and show in these matters which is all we in India ever There has never been an Ilbert Bill there; t, but bonâ fide equality. r many years past, Cingalese Magistrates have sent European 'er-do-weels to jail, dealing with them precisely as European agistrates deal with Cingalese badmashes, and out of this and her similar facts, it has come about that European gentlemen eet and treat Cingalese gentlemen almost as their equals, and that e authorities show a consideration for the views and wishes of the tople of the Island, that, as a broad rule (of 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. ncy possess the right of interpellation, and are thus in a position to rce full explanations 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 staining in each and all of Great Britain's Dependencies, and we ld that, while more than half of these are absolutely free, and ive been thoroughly honestly dealt with, in so far that they e practically treated in strict accordance with Brtish national eoretical 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 us, and although its cople are distinctly less advanced than ours, yet enjoys an adminisation superior to and more advanced than our own, and distinctly aracterised 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 at we are beginning to make, to win, by all honorable means, an iprovement in our degraded political status!

WHEN we consider our own miserable plight, so far as the exercise of those political rights, which are every free-born citized birthright, is concerned, and then turn to the enviable position occupied by our fellow-subjects in the Canadian Dominion, Cap Colonies, the Australian Colonies, &c., we cannot help wanting know what we have done to be thus left out in the cold, or again what they have done to obtain so much that is denied to us.

A study of the past history of these colonies answers that 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 speaking with her Canadian Colonies, until they rose in rebellion, and the and not till then, was political freedom conceded to them. For to 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 wasked for was conceded, the Colonists would follow the example the creators of the United States, and then, and not till then, was 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 revoice in the government of their own country, and excluded from all political rights. From 1841 onwards they petitioned for presentative Government, but it was only when they rose in art to resist an arbitrary mandate of the authorities, that John Bulleyes 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, therefor 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 thorough disagreeable, and evidences a capacity for making himself a greedeal more disagreeable still, that Mr. J. B. realizes the chang time has brought about, and thenceforth treats that recusant characteristics.

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 in obtaining responsible Gover ment. But there are right, as well wrong, ways of doing eve ting, and it may be well to look a little closer into the history of the emancipation of the Colonies 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 sys:—

"To retain the loyalty 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 the same empty show of presentative institutions, which exists at this day in Germany. The Councils of Assemblies could, indeed, vote new laws; but their acts might be vetoed an irresponsible Executive The Councils and Assemblies voted supplies, at the Executive administered them. No Member of the Executive could deprived of his post by the Council and Assembly; and however corrupt of unpopular the entire Government might be, it was removable only by the British Government which acted through the Colonial Office. A system exter adopted to degrade and irritate a growing community could not be been devised. Yet this system existed in the Canadas for half a century; and would probably have existed to this day." (Mr. Payne writes 1883!) "had not Canadians risen against it in arms."

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 it 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 difficulties their way. It may really have been necessary for them to appeal arms. But now, after the lapse of nearly fifty years, after a broad and has been cleared through the, at that time, unexplored jungle colonial oppression, it never can be necessary to appeal to arms, ace we can certainly, by a little extra patience it may be, secure r peaceful means all that we desire. And this being so, it would a crime of the deepest dye to resort, even under far greater proceation than we have yet received, to violence. Let us explain:

a country like Russia, where there is no liberty of the Press, no seedom 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 upport to render their success probable, as to do so would be to sk uselessly many lives. But they have a right to freedom. There no other way by which by people so situated it can be attained, in 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 are solely to blame; it is these, and the whole official body here, and the great body of retired Anglo-Indian officials i England, and the great mass of unconscientious politicians in Great Britain, too lazy to learn at first hand the truth about India. this immense body, perhaps a million or so of men, who are cor jointly responsible for, and must share the shame and disgrace of the political slavery under which we, free-born citizens of that boasts "Land of the Free," are condemned to rot and wither. If there were a dozen men even whom one could point out as malignantly main taining this iniquitous order of things, we should certainly say, seiz 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 all goe faith! That they sin, in that they, some of them, allow themselve 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; the so surely as there is in the great hereafter a perfect regultal 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 i 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 varying degrees are the criminals in our case, even, if it were justifiable (which we have just shown that it is not) to use violence to punithese, we should still be no nearer a justification of any resort arms, since in this latter the people whom we should kill or would would not be any of these criminals, but a set of entirely innoce and probably ignorant men, knowing nothing whatsoever of the merits of our case, and only loyally executing the orders they receifrom their superiors. To injure one of these, whilst our object are attainable (more slowly and at far greater cost, it is true, be still attainable) by peaceful means, would, according to our creed, an unpardonable crime.

No! if that sterner course of action, suggested by a leading Anglo-Indian Journal the other day, be ever unwisely adopted any Goverment here, we also may begin to think of sterner measures 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 are left open to us, we have

he man who should propose any such sterner measures as the anadians felt compelled to resort to, a traitor not only to that neen-Empress to whom we all owe allegiance, but equally to adia's cause which he might pretend to desire to aid.

WE commenced in our last a cursory examination of the cirumstances which led to the political enfranchisement of the anadas, 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 Ithough the Canadians resorted to arms, and may possibly under pe circumstances have been justified in so doing, nothing of this ind could be necessary in our case, as matters now stand, and that, ierefore, 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 isolved attitude as an example to be followed by our own people, e not only do not hold up their methods of procedure as deserving imitation, but unhesitatingly condemn them as 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, To Deums were ng in honor of the event in the churches 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-lives 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 "mutato nomine de te fabula narratur;" can any histotal 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 successively into the same pitfall! To resume:—

"Upper Canada, though not in actual rebellion, was ripe for it. The oubreak in Lower Canada was suppressed, but so little interest was then taken i Canada or its affairs that the very fact of the rebellion was generally unknow until, in 1839, there arrived in Liverpool on their way to Van Diemer Land twelve Canadians under sentences of transportation for treason. Englispeople were startled, and some indignant 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 representative Government, introduced by the Union Act of 1840, and concludes as follows:—

"The subordination of the Executive to the Legislature, as in the mothe country, which was thus secured, received the name of Responsible Goverment." 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 the Empire, for when secured in one of the Colonies, it was within the reasof all. This change is the principal event in our modern Colonial History."

Well done Canadians! Did we not recently say rightly that 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, whi it illustrates for all time the spirit in which injustice and wron 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 told the story in our own words; 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 the Australian and Cape Colonies:—

"Until 1842, that is to say, for a period of half a century, New Soi 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 me constitution, something like that which Canada had received half a centure before. The Australians like the Canadians had long chafed under

isgovernment of the Colonial Office [just as we have long chafed under the isgovernment of the India Office], and, strange as it seems, many Australianse now living who once denounced the tyranny and oppression of the other-country, and 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 amphlets that circulated in New South Wales,-pamphlets to which ie strongest of our appeals are but as moon-beams unto sunrays. as water unto wine. Things went from bad to worse; throughit the forties the clamour grew; Great Britain began to realize at 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 10ther word about separation? So far from this it was just from rdney that the volunteer contingent was sent the other day to suport the British cause in Upper Egypt. It was a thoroughly bad 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 stort 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 withheld 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 an m shoe of foreign make that in no way approximates to fitting us, no doubt complain in mild and measured tones. The Proneer, it is ie, talks of our violent language. Does the Pioneer remember the I gentleman, who, sitting in an omnibus, blandly remarks 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 l' Verily, like fashion, are we "cussin and swearin like blazes!" but, if now ting 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 es, that make due allowances for our actual configuration, there I 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 I and never can furnish.

WE again quote Mr. Payne:-

"The next Colony, which obtained responsible Government, was th Cape Colony. So long as the only route for ships to India was round 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 colonists as in Canada and Australia [as our Government is now to us Crown Councils, Executive and Legislative, had been escablished in 183 previous to which the Cape had been treated merely as a military post, an ruled by a military Governor. The settlers petitioned for Representative Government in 1841, but their claims were neglected [they took no measures make themselves disagreeable], and so little attention was paid to their wishe that the Home Government, when the Australians refused to take any mos convicts, determined to make the Cape a penal settlement, and in 184 despatched a shipload of convicts to Cape Town. The colonists, who wer resolved to make a stand, rose in arms and refused to allow them to be lanc ed. This incident forced their claims on public attention, and in the ner 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, unvanished story that the whole secret of eliciting reform at the hanc of our good Lord and Master, John Bull, is to make oneself disagreeable? You may apparently complain and petition ad infinitum thus did the Canadas, the Australias, and the Cape, but they too nothing by their motions; they might shout till they were hoars but until they began to kick, to fight, or evince a readiness to dos until, in fact, they began to make themselves disagreeable in goo earnest, no one paid the slightest attention to them.

Very clearly we have to make ourselves disagreeable; anplease God, as time goes on, we will do so, and no mistake; but here 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 local law limits, but we shall nevertheless hope to make ourselves ult mately so stupendously disagreeable, as to force even our "claim on public attention," and so secure those modifications in the existing form of the administration, which are essential to the prosperiof India, and the well-being of her now greatly depressed and suffering population.

And, now, glancing back at all these past struggles-struggl

hat it behaves our rulers to study with as much care as we propose to do—struggles as pregnant with lessons for them as for ourselves—what says our author?

"Such is the story of the attainment of "Responsible Government" the principal Colonies. It amounted to the political enfranchisement of tweral millions of colonists, residing in the dependencies beyond the seas the incidents, which immediately occasioned it in each Colony, are of tile importance; its deep fundamental cause was the enfranchisement of the English Middle Classes by the Reform Act of 1832."

And yet after the Reform Act of 1885, whereby the English wer classes also were enfranchised, there are people mad enough suppose that a modification of our present despotic and autocratic orm of Government, in the direction of Responsible Government, nark, we only say in the direction of this) can long be withheld om us !

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 parties, and bring our grievances within what Mr. Gladstone called the there of practical politics. But as we are quiet and orderly, refusing stain our country's unsullied robe with bloodshed or other crime, we insist upon trusting for success to persistent efforts, carefully estrained within all those limits prescribed alike by the laws of God and of man, our adversaries, it would seem, cannot believe that we see in earnest, and affect to treat our fixed resolves as merely 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 the future no visions. But that any cultivated and unprejudiced man applied doubt what must be the ultimate result of that endeavour to correct political enfranchisement, on which we are now soberly entering, would, were such a thing possible, be, indeed, a marvel.

As for ourselves, we have no doubts and no illusions. We know at confining ourselves rigidly to constitutional methods, the work ell be long and weary. We foresee trouble and even, perhaps, iffering for some of the most prominent workers. We look forward 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 aguiry; we know that neither here nor there are we dealing with soroughly honest, straightforward public men whose words are eir bonds, but with a lot of professional politicians, whose public and livate consciences are entirely disconnected, and who, while in ivate life, truthful and honest, are so in public life only when a eparture from the straight and narrow way does not appear to them ore expedient. We realize that for long we shall, as it were, beat ir hands against a dull wall of selfishness, greed, race-prejudice, and

ignorance, 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 ur our beloved country, the hand, the head, the heart, that now inc these lines, shall have dissolved in the funeral pyre; and yet no sha of doubt of the ultimate and entire triumph of our sacred cause e darkens for us the outlook, or dims the brightness of that hallow vision of a free and happy India which cheers and rewards us its reality shall console and bless those who come after us. Moses of old, we stand, looking over that promised land, which sl recompense all who attain it for their weary wanderings in t wilderness of despotism—not for us that land flowing with milk a 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 pec shall enter in and enjoy, is as certain as is the rising of the sun, wl already the dawn is ruddy in the East-as 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 dream 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 thee,
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,

But not for us the Hero's crown,

The Freeman's priceless prize,

And not for us 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,

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,

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, &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,

&ε. &c. &c.

But not in vain thy toil hath been, Old Time rights every wrong, And all, and more shall yet be ours, The weak shall yet be strong. Farewell, farewell, a nation's love, &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.

It comes, it comes, by Poets sung, It comes by Hope foretold, The glorious autumn to outvie The golden days of old. Farewell, farewell, a nation's love,

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,

Then fare thee well, brave heart, farewell, True heart that wavered never, All else 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 !

(Reprinted from the Indian Mirror of the 14th December 1884)

J 19

## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S

## VIEWS ABOUT INDIA

By DADABHAI NAOROJI

LONDON

Reprinted from the Contemporary Review

August and November 1887

#### SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S

## VIEWS ABOUT INDIA.

#### AUGUST 1887.

T.

I OFFER 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 levity of his treatment of questions of serious and melancholy importance to India, or to the literary smartness of offhand reply which he 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 are, in many parts, unworthy of a gentleman of Sir Grant Duff's position and expected knowledge. But what is particularly more regrettable is his attitude 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 Britain 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 beneficence and good intentions of the British nation; and by the increasing influence SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF ON INDIA.

are the powerful chain by which India is becoming more and more firmly linked with Britain. This education has produced its natural effects, in promoting civilization and independence of character—a result of which a true Briton should not be ashamed and should regard as his peculiar glory. But it would appear that this independence of character and the free criticism passed by the educated classes on Sir Grant Duff's acts have ruffled his composure. He has allowed his feelings to get the better of his judgment. I shall 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 much to ask that these last should take the pains to arrive at an accurate knowledge of facts before they give their conclusions to the world?" May I ask the same question of Sir Grant Duff himself? Is it too much to ask him, who has occupied high and responsible positions, that he, as far 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? Careless or mistaken utterances of men of his position, by misleading the British public, do immeasurable harm, both to England and India.

Of the few matters which I intend to discuss there is one—the most important—upon which all other questions hinge. The correct solution of this fundamental problem will help all other Indian problems to settle themselves under the ordinary current discussions of every day. Before proceeding, however, with this fundamental question, it is necessary to make one or two preliminary remarks to clear away some misapprehensions which often confuse and complicate the discussion of Indian subjects.

There are three parties concerned—(1) The British nation, (2) those authorities to whom the Government of India is entrusted by the British pation, and (3) the natives of British India.

Now, I have no complaint whatever against the British nation or British rule. On the contrary, we have every reason to be thankful that of all the nations in the world it has been our good fortune to be placed under the British nation—a nation noble and great in its instincts; among the most advanced, if not the most advanced, in civilization; foremost in the advancement of humanity in all its varied wants and circumstances; the source and fountain-head of true liberty and of political progress in the world; in short, a nation in which all that is just, generous, and truly free is most Lappily combined.

The British nation has 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 worthy of its great and glorious past and present.

## SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF ON INDIA.

No, we Indians have no complaint against the British nation or British rule. We have everything from them to be 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 by its servants, 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. Grant Duff either forgets or ignores these great events. 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. did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more complete 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 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—a debate reflecting the highest glory on the British name.

SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF ON INDIA.

#### Sir Robert Peel said :--

٠ŧij

"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 imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants, 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 House of Lords, said:—

"But he should be taking a very narrow view of this question, and one rutterly inadequate to the great importance of the subject, which involved 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 this question and to the influence which this arrangement must exercise upon the future destines of that vast mass of people. He was sure that their Lordships 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 inhabitants of Hindoostan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Mahomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands. . . . . " IIIs Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adopted, concluded: "He was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom 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 wise, that benevolent, that noble clause," and he adds:—

"I must say 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 contains that clause. . . . Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas' is a despicable policy either in individuals or States. In the present case such a policy would be not only despicable, but 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 taste for the conveniences of life, 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 govern savages. That would indeed be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might 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 murder 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 bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice, more 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 community, to stupefy and paralyze a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. . . . . I have 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 followed 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 fulfilled; or is it a lie and a delusion, meant only to deceive 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 deliberated 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 did the gracious proclamation of 1858 proclaim to the world:

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

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

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, 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 conscientiously fulfilled, India will have nothing 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 advancement 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 benefit 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 would 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 seek 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 material 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 poorer and less happy," and he has subsequently expressed his own impressions: "The first and deepest impression made upon me by this second visit to India is a heightened sense of the poverty of the country." Now, to such a serious matter, what is Sir Grant Duff's reply? First, a sneer at the educated classes and at higher education itself. Next, he gives a long extract from an address of the local reception committee of the town of Bezwada, in which, says the address, by means 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 This is the reply that a great functionary gives to go any further? 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 Grant Duff did not thereby intend 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? However, Sir Grant Duff could not help reverting, after a while, to the subject a little more seriously, 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 poverty in many parts of India," he disposes off-hand of the grave 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 the Sir Grant Duff, with a cruel levity, only asks two or three 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 three questions he puts:—"The question worth answering is: Do the Indian masses obtain, one year with another, a larger or smaller amount of material well-being than the peasantry 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 even 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 wealth?" And he gives no proof of that increased wealth. Thus, then, does Sir Grant Duff settle the most serious questions connected with India. First, a sneer at educated 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 his assertions are.

Fortunately, Mr. Grant Duff has already replied 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 favoured us, to better purpose, with an extract or two from some of his other speeches. 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 very dust is the few millions that are obtained 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—"one of the countries of Western Europe" and the "our

own country" of his questions. Just at that time I had, in a roughway, shown that the whole production or income of British Indians about Rs. 20 (40s.) per head per annum. Of this Mr. Gran Duff made the following use in 1871. He said: "The position of the Indian financier is altogether different from that of the English one Here you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been, guessed at £800,000,000 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 per annum as the income of every person in British India. Even our comparative wealth will be looked back upon by future ages as a state of semi-barbarism. But what are we to say of the state of India? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived 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 Duff's speech having been received in India, Lord Mayo thus commented upon it and confirmed it:—

"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convince of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive. Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by the last mail, stated with truth that the position of our, finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England,' he stated 'you have comparatively a wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has. I believe, been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum; that goes well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person in British India.' I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States."

Here again is another answer to Sir Grant Duff's questions, by the late Finance Minister of India. Major (Sir) E. Baring, in proof 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 £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 Duff's questions. The only thing now remaining is whether Sir Grant Duff

NATE AND DIVINITY OF THE PARTY.

will undertake to prove that the income of British India has now became equal to that of the Western countries of Europe; and if so, let him give us his facts and figures to prove such a statement—not mere allusions to the prosperity of some small towns like Bezwada, 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 England, France, or "Western countries of Europe."

I may say here a word or two about "the huge province of Madras, which," says 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, about 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 dabourer:—

"His 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 3d. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable. . . . I have seen something of Ireland, in which the condition 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." And 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 spending 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 insufficient 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 through life on insufficient food," and what wonder that the very touch of famine should destroy hundreds of thousands or millions. Coming down at once to the latest times: Sir E. Baring said, in his finance speech in 1882:—

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 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 possible would be unjustifiable."

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 public 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 any 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 Rs. 20 (40s., or, at present; exchange, nearer 30s.) per head per annum. It must be remembered that the mass of the people cannot get this average of Rs. 20, as the upper classes have a larger share 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. 31. 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 countries from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics":—

Countries.			oss earnings r inhabitant.	Countries.	Gross earnings per inhabitant.
England			£41	Pelgium	£22 1
Scotland			32	Holland	. 26
Ireland			16	Denmark	. 232
United Kingdo	m.		35.2	Sweden and Norway	7 16 2
France .			25.7	Switzerland .	. 16
Germany.			18.7	Greece	. 11.8
Russia .			9.9	Europe	. 13
Austria.			16.3	United States .	. 27.2
Italy .			12	Canada	. 26.9
Spain .		•	13.8	Australia	. 43 4

13.6

Portugal .

The table is not official. In his "Progress of the World" (1880), Mulhall gives—Scandinavia, £17; South America, £6; India, £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 40s. per head, or rather, at the present exchange, nearer 30s. than 40s. Is this a result for an Englishman to boast about or to be satisfied with, after a century of British administration? The income of British India only a third of that of

ewen 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 distribu-Let the British Indian Administration 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. 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 material advancement 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." Surely Sir Grant Duff knows better than this. Surely he 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 British India is not heavier than that of England itself. The gross revenue of the United Kingdom in 1886 is £89,581,301; the population in 1886 is given as 36,707,418. The revenue per head will be 48s. 9d. The gross revenue of British India in 1885 is (in £1=ten rupces) 4.70,620,000, and population in 1881, 198,790,000—say roundly, in 1885, 200,000,000. The revenue of the United Kingdom does not include railway or irrigation earnings: I deduct, therefore, these from the British Indian revenue. Deducting from £70,600,000, railway earnings £11,898,000, and irrigation and navigation carnings £1,676,000, the balance of gross revenue is £57,116,000, which taken for 200,000,000, gives 5s. 81d.—say 5s. 8d.—per head. Now the United Kingdom pays 48s. 9d. per head from an income of £35.2 per head, which makes the incidence or pressure of 6.92 per cent. of the income. British India pays 5s. 8d. out of an income of 40s., which makes the incidence or pressure of 11:3 per cent. of the income. Thus, while the United Kingdom pays for its gross revenue only 692 per cent. out of its rich income of £352 per head, British India pays out of its scantiness and starvation a gross revenue of 143 per cent. of its income; so that, wretchedly weak 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 earth is governed so cheaply as British India, and misleads the British public about its true and deplorable condition. But what is worse, and what is British India's chief difficulty, is this: In England, all that is paid by the people 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. large portion is enjoyed by others, and carried away clean out of the country. This is what makes British India's economic position

unnatural.

I give below, the incidence of a few more countries:—Percentage of expenditure to income: Germany, 10.7; France, 13.23; Belgium, 9.5; Holland, 9.61; Russia, 101; Denmark 5.17; United States, 3.9; Canada, 5.0; Australia, 16.2. But in all these cases, whatever is spent returns back to the people, whether the percentage is large or small.

The Budget Estimate of 1887-88 is nearly £77,500,000, so the percentage of incidence will increase still higher. Sir Grant Duff's object in this assertion is to justify the character and prove the success of the present British Indian policy. It will be hereafter seen that this very argument of his is one of the best proofs of the

Grant Duff says: "Mr. Smith proceeds to admit that India he absorbed some £350,000,000 sterling of silver and gold in the la forty years, but makes the very odd remark that, although English writers consider this a great proof of wealth, it is not so regards in India." To this, what is Sir Grant Duff's reply? Of the sau kind as usual: mere careless assertions, and a fling at the mit representation about the educated classes. He says:—

"It may suit A or B not to regard two and two as making four, be arithmetic is true, nevertheless; and there is the bullion, though doubtle one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon India would be get the vast dormant hoards of gold and silver which are buried in the group or worn on the person brought into circulation. Can that, however, be hopfor as long as the very people whom Mr. Smith treats as exponents native opinion do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government?"

To avoid confusion I pass over for the present without notice tl last assertion. It will be seen further on what different testimor even the highest Indian authorities give upon this subject. Wit 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 avoid useless controversy to give in my second article a series of facts and official figure 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 Duff and others of his views dream of. These facts and figure will show that British India has not received such 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 bulk into British India is very much misapprehended, as will be show in 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 India is prevented from acquiring at capital of its own, owing to the constant drain from its wretche income, and is on the verge of being ground down to dust. foreign capital as circulates in British India carries away its ou profits out of British India, leaving the masses of its people as poas ever, and largely going through life on insufficient food.

#### II.

SHALL now consider the important questions of trade, bullion, population, drain, &c., to which Sir Grant Dust 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 a 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 ide them. What are given as trade returns of British India are it 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 easure; though in every true trade all exports with their profits ght so to return. The present exports of British India contof—

- 1. The exports of produce belonging to the Native States.
- 2. The exports of produce belonging to the territories beyond the 1d 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 they are the labourers, by whose labour, at poor wages, the

resources of their own country are to be brought out for the profit of the foreigners, such profit not to remain in the country.

- 4. Remittances for "home charges," including interest on public debt held in England, and loss in exchange, and excluding interest on debt which is incurred for railways and other productive works.
- 5. Remittances for interest on foreign debt incurred for railways and other productive public works. What in this case the lenders 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, the rest of the whole benefit of such loans remains to the people of the country. This, however, is not the case with British India.
- 6. Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners to their own countries for their families, and on account of their savings and profits. These remittances, together with item four, and what the foreigners enjoy in the country itself, are so much deprivation of the people, and cause the exhausting annual drain out of the very poor produce or income of British India. This is India's chief evil.
- 7. The remainder are the only true trade exports of the produce belonging to the people of British India.

Let us now examine the actual figures of the so-called exports-on British India, say for 1885. For easier understanding I give the figures in sterling, taking the conventional £1=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, 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 £83,200,528. We must first know how much of this belongs to the Native States. The official trade returns give us no information on this important 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 21.5 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 Pombay comes from the Native States. A large portion of the cotton exported from Pombay comes from the Native States. According to Hunter'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-fifth only—i.e., £16,600,000. Next, the export of merchandise from the frontier countries is about £5,300,000.

may roughly take only one-quarter of this as exported out of India. hat will be £1,300,000.

The exports of coffee, indigo, jute manufactures, silk, tea, &c., hich are mostly those belonging to foreign planters and manufacturers, 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 public debt ad loss in exchange, come to about £11,500,000.

Remittances for interest on foreign loaus for railways and other ublic works are about £4,827,000. I cannot say how much interest a the capital of State railways and other productive works is paid England as part of the interest paid on "debt" (£2,612,000). If the debt as £162,000,000, and capital laid out on productive ones £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 finterest on all railways and public works will be about £6,000,000, 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 milies, and of savings and profits, and for importing merchandise suitble for their consumption, may be roughly estimated at £10,000,000, nough I think it is much more.

The account, then, of the true trade exports of British India stands us:—

Total exports of all India as	ad 1	Fronti	er State	eø			£8 <b>3</b> ,200,000
Native States .						£16,600,000	•
Frontier Territory						1,300,000	
European planters		_				10,000,000	
Home charges .						11.500,000	
Interest on all railw:	378	and	public	W	orks	,	
loans .						6,000,000	
Private remittances			•			10,000,000	
	•				•		55,400,000

The true trade exports of the people of British India

£27,800,000

or say, roundly, £30,000,000 for a population of nearly 200,000,000, iving 3s. per head per annum. If proper information could be btained, I believe this amount would turn out to be nearer £20,000,000 han £30,000,000 for the true trade exports of the people of British ndia. 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 by British administrators? Let us compare this result with the rade exports of other parts of the British Empire. As I have no

which they may have to export some of their produce, I malallowance for their whole public debt as so much foreign debt. This of course is a too large allowance. I take interest at 5 pc cent., and deduct the amount from the exports. I am therefore evidently under-estimating the exports of the other parts of the British Empire. As the exports of British India include re-export of foreign merchandise, I have taken the exports of all other countries, in a similar way, for a fair comparison. No deduction for any payment of interest on foreign debt is made for the Unite Kingdom, as it is more a lender than a borrower. I cannot give here the whole calculation, but only the results, and they are these:

Countries.	True trade export per head (1885)	- Countries.	True trad	le export ad (1885) s. d
The United Kingdom Australia (including and specie which duces) Natai	149 4, bullion	Cape of Good Hope (of diamonds)  North American Colon West India Islands  British India, only		35 5 70 5 75 4 3 0

Let us next take some of the foreign countries, and see ho, 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 deb I have taken the amount of the whole public debt, and allowed 5 p. 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 tri These countries I mark with an asterisk; tho. trade exports. marked † include bullion. For these I cannot get separate return for merchandise only. In the case of the United States the figure really agreat under-estimate, as I take its foreign debt as equal in amoun 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 othcountries, and some allowance will have to be made for that. in all these cases the amount of exports is so large, as compare with the paltry figure of British India, that the contrast 'remain most striking :-

Countries.		3	Exports head	per	Countries.	porte hea	
				d.		8.	d.
*Russian Empire			12	0	Austro-Hungarian Empire	47	0
*Norway .			61	7 i	†Roumania	27	0
Sweden			61	6	†Greece	39	9
*Denmark .		٠	97	- 5	Egypt	38	9
German Empire			107	2	*United States .	55	6
Holland.			348	1	†Mexico	20	1
*Belgium .			375	2		149	0
*France			68	7	†Argentine Republic .	90	8
†Portugal .			33	9		198	2
Spain		·	36	5	Japan .	3	8
*Italy	:	Ţ	17	. 9	British India	3	Õ
	•						

en Japan, only so lately opened up, is exporting more than British

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 What benefit has England's trade derived, after possessing administering British India for more than a hundred years, under nost expensive administration, with complete despotic control over the people having no voice and no control of any kind. 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, And yet we find that British India is in foreign countries. far the most wretched customer for British produce or manutures. Here are the facts:—The total of the exports of British duce 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 by enter India by British Indian ports. These British exports have be distributed among—(1) Native States; (2) frontier territories; 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 rives from her dominion over British India. I shall not be sursed if it is found that the real share of the people of British India the British exports is not half of the £29,300,000 imported into 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 United 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 £700,000. 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. s amount for a population of 200,000,000? Only 1s. 6d. per head. ke it even at 2s. per head if you like, or even £25,000,000, which Il be only 2s. 6d. per head. What a wretched result for four-lifths 'the whole British Empire! The population of British India is 0,000,000, and that of the rest of the British Empire outside India, luding 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

antries. I give the results only:—

#### BRITISH EMPIRE.

EXPORTS OF BRITISH PRODUCE PER HEAD FOR 1885.

To Countries	8.	ð		To Countries.	8.	đ.
British India . 1s. 6d. or	2	6	1	Ceylon	3	10
North American Colonies .	30	8		Mauritius	14	2
West Indian Islands and				Cape of Good Hope and		
Guiana	37	10	1	Natal	45	8
British Honduras .	66	7		West African Settlements .	57	3
Australasia .	155	8	-ĺ	Possessions on the Gold		
Straits Settlements	86	10	-	Coast	13	10

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 a exports at present to the whole world (£213,000,000). What amount of work would this give to British industries and product 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 besides a charge of dishonor able violation of sacred promises that clings to the British name? India prospered and consumed British produce largely, what a gawould it be to England and to the whole world also! Here, then, we be Sir Grant Duff's—"India's interest, England's interest, and the world's interest "—to his heart's content, if he will with a trand earnest heart labour to achieve this threefold interest in the 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 Inc. stands the comparison even with them:—

Exports of	e Br	RITISH	PRODUCE PER HEAD	
To Countries.	8	d	To Countries	đ.
British India	. 2	-	Russia (perhaps partly sup-	
Germany	. 7	7 3	plied through intermedi-	
	. 7	11	ate countries) 0	111
Sweden and Norway	. 10	8 (	Greece 10	1
Denmark and Iceland .	. 19	) 4	*Turkey in Europe 16	8
Holland (this may be sup-	•		* ,, Asia 3	10
plying some portion of	£		Fgypt 10	2
Central Europe)	. 4-	1 3	United States 8	9
Belgium (do. do.) .	2.	3	*Central America 4	7
Portugal	!	3 ()	*Brazil 10	5 `
Spain		3 9	Uruguay 54	0
Italy (perhaps partly sup				8
plied by intermediate	9		Chili 12	4
countries)	. 4	t 9	Japan 1	1
Austrian territory (ditto)	. (	8 (	1	

Japan, so lately opened, has commenced taking 1s. 1d. worth I head. These figures tell their own eloquent tale. Is it too much expect 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?

In the first article I referred to the capacity of British India or taxation. Over and over again have British Indian financiers mented 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 andia to dust?" It is, as I have shown in the first article, after queezing and squeezing as much as possible, only 5s. 8d. per head er annum, and according to the present budget a little more—say 6s. et us see what the capacity for taxation of other parts of the British mpire and of other foreign countries 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.

# Countries. Countr

United Ki	ngdc	om		48	9	Cape of Good Hope .	53	1
Ceylon	·			8	6	North American Colomes	31	7
Mauritius				40	5	West India Islands .	23	1
Australia				139	8	British Guiana	32	2

#### FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

#### GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD PER ANNUM.

Countries.				8.	đ.	Countries.	,	d.
Russia in Euro	pe			24	5	Austro-Hungary 4	()	6
Norway .	٠.			23	G	Italy	3	10
Sweden .				19	8	Greece	7	7
Denmark .				26	11		ß	ક
German Empire	٠.			13	6	Bulgaria 1	2	3
Prussia				41	2		0	3
Saxony .				22	8	Egypt (proper) 3	U	11
Grand Duchy of	Ólde	enbu	rgh	18	-	United States (different		
Saxe-Coburg an			-5-	17	- 77	States have their separate		
Bavaria .			-	44		revenue besides) 2	6	10
Wurtemburg	•	•	·		8	f	5	3
Grand Duchy of	Rad	er.	·	27	_	the same of the sa	6	1
" " " .	Hee	E.A	•	21	-		1	0
Alsace-Lorraine			·	$\overline{24}$		,	R	9
Holland .	•	:	•	47	_	1	9	8
Belgium .	-	-	•	45			()	9
777 V	•		•	73	-	1	Ŕ	7
Portugal .	•	•	٠	31	ã	1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	4	2
Spain .	•	•	•	41	_	All territory directly under	-	_
Switzerland	•	•	٠	12	2		3	3
DHISTIDATING	•	•	•	14	4	i meet.	•	•

N.B.—Some of the above figures are worked out of Whitaker's Almanac, 1936

It will be seen that British India's capacity for paying taxation is my poor indeed, compared to that of any other country of any insequence. Of the above figures I cannot say which may be appressive to the people. I give this as a fact, that these people pay much for being governed. But it must be further borne in mind hat every farthing of what these people pay returns back to them, thich is not the case with British India. Can it be said of any of these countries that one-fifth or one-third of its people goes through

life on insufficient food from sheer poverty of only 40s. 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 English officials have administered the State, and put them into ordered and good government. The capacity for taxation which I give below is not the result of any oppressive taxation, but of the natural developments by improved government, and of the increasing prosperity of the people. I give instances in the Bombay Presidence that I know, and of which I have been able to get some particulars.

#### GROSS REVENUE PER HEAD. £1 = Rs. 10.

			8.	d.					8.	d.	
Baroda			12	3	Gondal			,	18	0	
Cutch.			7 1	1	Morbi				17	2	
Rhaynazar			12	6	Wadhwan	_	_		18	10	

These States have no debts. Baroda, Bhavnagar and Gondal have built and are extending their own railways, and all have built and are building their own public works from revenue, and have god balances. Baroda has a balance in hand of £2,100,000, equal t eighteen months' revenue; Cutch has £140,000, equal to eigh months' revenue; Bhavnagar 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. W. Hunter, in his "Imperial Gazetteer," says about Bhavnagar i' connection with Kathiawad: "Bhavnagar has taken the lead in the material development of her resources, and is the first State in Indi which constructed a railway at her own expense and risk." say that Gondal did the same in conjunction with Bhavnagar, an Baroda had done that long before. In handing over the rule of Gondal to the prince on the completion of his minority, Majo Nutt, the British Administrator, and in charge of the State at th time, says with just pride and pleasure, in reference to the increas of revenue from £80,000 in 1870 to £120,000 in 1884: "On point of special interest in this matter is, that the increase in revenu has not occasioned any hardship to Gondal subjects. On the contrary never were the people generally-high and low, rich and poor-in greater state of social prosperity than they are now." The Bomba Government has considered this "highly satisfactory."

At the installation of the present Chief of Bhavnagar, Mr. Peile the Political Agent, describes the State as being then "with flourishing finances and much good work in progress. Of financial matter I need say little; you have 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, goot

rork in progress, increase of revenue, with increase of social rosperity, for high and low, rich and poor." Will this ever be in British India under the present policy? No.

There are some other States in Kathiawad in which higher taxation er head than that of British India is paid by the people, though I o not know that it is said that there is oppressive taxation there. nay instance Junagadh as 11s. per head, with £500,000 balance in and, equal to fifteen months' revenue; and Nawanagar as 1Cs. 3d. er head, and gradually paying off some debt. I have no doubt hat Native States will go on rapidly increasing in prosperity as their ystem of government goes on improving. I know from my own personal knowledge as Prime Minister of Baroda for one year that hat State has a very promising future indeed. There are several other Native States in India in which the gross revenue per head is igher than that of British India. All the remaining first and second lass Kathiawar States are from 8s. to 13s. per head; Gwalior, 7s. 8d.: indore, 13s. 5d.; Bhurtpore, 8s. 8d.; Dholepur, 8s. 10d.; Tonk, 7s.; Kotah, 11s. 4d.; Jallawar, 8s. 10d. Only just now Sindia lends 63,500,000 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 Agents' 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 earth is governed so cheaply as British India. In the first place, this is a fiction, as the heaviness of burden on poverty-stricken British India is nore than double than that on the enormously rich England; and secondly, Sir Grant Duff's object is to show that this cheapness is a proof of the success of the present British Indian policy. 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 concluive proofs of anything but success in improving the prosperity of the Moreover, for the so-called cheapness, it is no thanks or credit to Government. It is not of choice that Government takes only 6s. per head. On the contrary, it is always longing, ever moaning and using every possible shift to squeeze out more taxation if it can. ill means make British India capable of paying even 20s. per head (if not 50s. per head, like England) for revenue, without oppression and misery; or make its income £20 per head, if not £41, 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 results, instead of tall talk and self-complacent assertions. Bovernment given us year after year correct information about the actual income and condition of the people of British India, Britain

would then have known the deplorable results of the neglect of, and 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. tries to show that because British India pays only Gs. 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. in this he is not quite accurate. He would have found out this had he only looked about in India itself, and he would have saved himself the surprise which he expresses at Mr. Smith being startler when he (Mr. Smith) was told that taxation was lighter in Native States than in British India. As a matter of fact, there are some 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 very nearly as low as or even less than 6s. per head: Hyderabad, 6s. 4d. Patiala, 6s. 4d.; Travancore, 5s. 8d.; Kolhapur, 5s. 6d.; Mysore 4s. 10d.; Dungapore, 2s.; Marwar, 4s. 10d.; Serohi, 2s. 3d.; Jeypore. 4s. 3d.; Banswara, 3s. 8d.; and Kishengarh, 4s. 10d. Travancore i. known as a well-governed country. £15,000 of its revenue is interes on British Indian Government securities, and it holds a balance in hand in Government securities and otherwise of £564,000—equal to 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 Bolivia, 5s. 11d.

Sir Grant Dust refers to the absorption of gold and silver and to 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 during a period of eighty-four years (1801 to 1884), including the exceptionally 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 average of eighty-four years roughly-say 200,000,000 This gives 45s. 6d. per head for the whole eighty-four years, o. 6½d. per head per annum. Even if I took the average population as 180,000.000, the amount per head for the eighty-four year: would be 50s., or 7d. per head per annum. Of the United Kingdom 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, £86,194,937 Taking an average of 31,000,000 of population for twenty-seven years the amount retained for these twenty-seven years is 55s. 7d. per head?

or very nearly 2s. 1d. per head per annum; while in India for more han three times the same period the amount is only 45s. 6d. per head, or 6½d. per head per annum. France has retained from 1861 to 1880 (Mulhall's Dictionary) £208,000,000; and taking the population—say 37,000,000—that gives 112s. per head in twenty years, or 5s. 7d. per 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, nearly equal 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., 6½d. per head per annum—received for all possible 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 average popuation of about 300,000,000, or 21s. 10d. per head, or 2s. 2d. per India during the same ten years retained nead per annum. £65,774,252 for an average population of say 245,000,000; so that he whole amount retained for the ten years is about 5s. 4d., or only  $3\frac{1}{2}d$ . per head per annum, against 21s. 10d. and 2s. 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, clearing-houses, &c., in India, as plays so important a part in England and other countries of Europe. Wretched as the provision of  $G_2^1d$ , 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 territories, and the European population; and then the remainder is or the native population of British India. We must 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, have no foreign drain except the small amount of tribute of about Some frontier territories receive something instead of paying any tribute. These States therefore receive back for the exports of their merchandise, and for the ordinary trade profits on meh 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. It 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 comnelled to import for its absolute wants. I hope England does not nean to say that Englishmen or Englishwomen may sport as much

as they like in ornaments or personal trinkets or jewellery; but to the wretch of a native of British India, their fellow-subject, has a business or right to put a few shillings' worth of trinkets on his we or daughter's person; or that natives must simply live the lives a brutes, subsist on their "scanty subsistence," and thank their staff 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 ta Parliamentary Committee 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 trinkeor ornaments of silver, and their rough use, another million may required to supply waste and loss? If only a pennyworth per he per annum be so wanted, it would make a million sterling. 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 Bo. bay Presidency for 1884-85" (p. 2), says of Rajputana and Centi India-"13. The imports from the external blocks being great than the exports to them, the balance of trade due Presidency 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.

Fron	a Rajputana	and	Cen	tral l	ndia				.R	s. 5,55,46,753
,,	Berar		•	•	4			•		1,48,91,355
**	Hyderabad	i	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	8,67,688
						To	otal		. R	s. 7,13,05,796

Or £7,130,579. This means that these native States have exported much more merchandise than they have imported. Thereupon to Report remarks 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 itali are mine). This, then, is the way the treasure goes; a. poor British India gets all the abuse, insult added to injury Its candle burns not only at both ends, but at all parts. excessive foreign agency eats up in India, and drains away out India, a portion of its wretched income, thereby weakening as exhausting it every year drop by drop, though not very perceptibly and lessening its productive power or capability. It has pocapital, and cannot increase it much. Foreign capital does nearly the work, and carries away all the profit. Foreign capitalists fro Europe and from Native States make profits from the resources

itish India, and take away those profits to their own countries. e share that the mass of the natives of British India have is to udge and slave on scanty subsistence for these foreign 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 country, for the benefit of the foreign capitalists. I may illustrate s a little. Bombay is considered a wealthy place, and has a large pital circulating in it, to carry on all its wants as a great port. hose capital is this? Mostly that of foreigners. The capital of European exchange banks and European merchants is mostly seign, and most of the native capital is also foreign-i.e., that of e native bankers and merchants from the Native States. Nearly 1,000,000 of the capital working in Bombay belongs to native ukers from the Native States. Besides, a large portion of the althy merchants, though more or less settled in Bombay, are from itive States. Of course I do not mean to say anything against ese capitalists from Europe or Native States. They are quite free d welcome to come and do what they can. They do some 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 development 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 concerned. 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 rning of the candle at all parts. First of all, British India's n wealth is carried away out of it, and then that wealth is ought back to it in the shape of loans, and for these loans British lia must find so much more for interest; the whole thing ving in a most vicious and provoking circle. Will nothing t a catastrophe cure this? Even of the railway, &c., loans the pple do not derive the full benefit. I cannot go into details I refer to my correspondence with the Secretary State for India, published in the Journal of the East India sociation under the title of "The Condition of India." Nor can I go here into the calculations about the drain. I can only ret to my papers on "The Poverty of India" and "Condition of India Let Sir Grant Duff kindly show me where I am wrong in the papers, and I shall be thankful; or he will see that no country the world, not even England excepted, can stand such a drain withod 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, mu be its effects on India, where the wage of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day! Were the hundred millions of British subjects in Indian converted into a consuming population, what a market would be presented if 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 the country itself by others than the people. Even an ocean would he dried up if a portion of its evaporation did not always return to it a rain or river. If interest were added to the drain, what an enormouloss 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 the material disaster, but even the serious "political danger" from the 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 Indial only last year, in his despatch of 26th January 1886 to the Treasur makes this remarkable admission about the consequences of the 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 public revenues is very peculiar, 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 the hands of foreigners, 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 the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political 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 for 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 the

Britain's, and she will at least be relieved from the charge of dismour to her word. But I have not the shadow of a doubt, as the atesmen of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858 had no doubt, that he result will be a blessing both to England and India.

A second ray of hope is this. Many Englishmen in England are king active interest in the matter. Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, Sir Trevelyan, and others have done good in the past. Others 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 lmit here that some Anglo-Indians begin to realize the position. ie owe much to men like Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir G. Birdwood, lajor Bell, Mr. Ilbert, Mr. Cotton, and others of that stamp, or their active sympathy with us. Mr. Bright hit the blot as far ack 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, ie chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government 'the country." It is not necessary to go far to seek for this fundaental 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 marriages, &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 nd die like brutes. But the fact of the matter is, that this is one f those fallacies that die hard. Let us see what truth the Deccan The Report of that Commission iots Commission brings to light. lys (page 19, par. 54); "The results of the Commission's iquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the appenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryots' The expenditure on such occasions may undoubtedly e called extravagant when compared with the ryots' means; but the ccasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total im 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 dies 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.) Say Ju Commissioners.

Sir Grant Duff says: "We have stopped war, we are stopp famine. How are the ever-increasing multitudes to be fed?" not Sir Grant Duff a little hasty in saying "We are stopping famine." What you are doing is, to starve the living to save the dying. Make the people themselves able to meet famine without misery and deather 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 Dui; will ever have the patience to study the subject. The statesmen of 1833 and of 1858 have in the clearest and most emphatic way answered this question. They knew and said clearly upon what the welfare and well-being of the hundreds of millions depended. The laid down unequivocally what would make British India not only able to feed the increasing multitudes, but prosperous and the best custome of England; and Mr. Grant Duff's following kind question of 187 will be fully answered: "But what are we to say about the state o' India? How many generations must pass away before that country has arrived at even the comparative wealth of this (England)? This benevolent desire of Mr. Grant Duff would be accomplished i. no long time. This 'question of population, of "the ever-increasing multitudes," requires further examination. Macaulay, in his review of Southey's "Colloquies on Society," says:

"When this island was thinly peopled, it was barbarous; there was littl; capital, and that little was insecure. It is now the richest and the most highl civilized spot in the world, but the population is dense. . . . But when w compare our own condition with that of our ancestors, we think it clear tha the advantages arising from the progress of civilization have far more than counterbalanced the disadvantages arising from the progress of population White our numbers have increased tenfold, our wealth has increased hundred fold. .. . . If we were to prophesy that in the year 1930 a population of fifty millions, better fed, clad, and lodged than the English of our time, will cove these islands, . . . many people would think us insane. We prophesy nothing 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 would surpass all their wildest dreams, . . . that for one man of ten thousand 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 to 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 their prophecies shall be fulfilled.

population it does not necessarily follow that it must become poorer nor because a country is densely populated, that therefore it must be poor. Says Macaulay: "England is a hundredfold more wealth

hile it is tenfold denser." The following figures speak for themtives:

Countries.	,	7	Inhat	oitauts per sq. mile about 1890,		Income per inhabitant (Mulhalis Dictionary of Statistics, 1886).
Belgium	•			487	***	£22·1
England				478 (1886)		41 (1882)
Holland			•	315		26
Italy .				257		12
British Indi	æ			229	•••	2
Germany				217		18.7
Austria				191		16.3
France				184		25.7
Switzerland				184		16
Ireland				153 (1886)		16 (1882)
Denmark				132		23.2
Scotland	_			128 (1886)	***	32 (1882)
Portugal				126		13.6
Turkey				120 (Mulhall)		4 (Sir E. Baring)
Spain .			-	85	••••	13.8
Greece.				69		11.8
Russia in E	irone	-		41	,,,	9 9
Sweden	Jpu	_	•	27		- •
Norway		•	:	15}	•••	16.5

The densest province of British India is Bengal (443). Thus here re countries denser and thinner than British India, but every one of iem has a far better income than British India. Belgium, denser 1an the densest presidency of British India, is eleven times more ealthy; England, as dense, is twenty time; more wealthy. re some very thinly populated countries: Mexico, 13 per square ile; Venezuela, 4.7; Chili, 8.8; Peru, 18.6; Argentine Reublic, 2.6; Uruguay, 7.8; and several others. Are they therefore so such richer than England or Belgium? Here is Ireland, at your About its people the Duke of Argyll only a few weeks ago 22nd of April last), in the House of Lords, said: "Do not tell me 1at the Irish labourer is incapable of labour, or energy, or exertion. lace him in favourable circumstances, and there is no better workan than the Irishman. I have myself employed large gangs of cishmen, and I never saw any navvies work better; and besides that, ley were kind and courteous men." The population of Ireland is ess than one-third as dense as that of England; and yet how is it 1at the income of England is £41 and that of Ireland only £16 per shabitant, and that the mass of the people do not enjoy the benefit 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 Bird-ood testifies, it will be quite able to produce a large income, become s rich as any other country, and easily provide for an increasing opulation and increasing taxation, if left free scope.

Lastly, a word about the educated classes, upon whose devoted eads Sir Grant Duff has poured down all his vials of wrath. Here re some fine amenities of an English gentleman of high position:

Professional malcontents: busy, pushing talkers; ingeniously wrong;

foggers, chatterboxes; disaffected cliques; the crassa ignorantia, little exteries of intriguers; silly and dishonest talk of Indian grumblers; politicizing sophists threaten to be a perfect curse to India," &c.

I leave 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 consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion." Secondly, on the auspicious day of the Jubilee demonstration the Viceroy 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 allesides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose diearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an Administration so peculiarly situated as ours their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs."

Look upon this picture and upon that!

Two Indian national Congresses have been held during the past two years—the second great one, at Calcutta, having 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 are the pivot upon which all Indian problems turn. 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 Jubilee once more proclaims to the world and assures us, in response to the Bombay Jubilee Address last June, "It had alv been, and will always be, her earnest desire to maintain unswervingly principles laid down in the proclamation published on her assumpt the direct control of the government of India." We ask no more