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OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC
COMMENTS

ON

THE DANGER ARISING FROM
AGRICULTURAL POVERTY IN INDIA,

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE,

BY

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N O T E.

This compilation may be said to owe its origin to a desire to dispel the ignorance which apparently seems to prevail to no inconsiderable an extent on the more serious aspect of the economic circumstance to which Mr. A. O. Hume earnestly drew public attention in March last. The principal burden of his impassioned appeal to Indians was the urgency of frankly recognising the fact of the deteriorating condition of the agricultural masses, and the probability of the serious political embarrassment to which a too stolid neglect to adopt as speedily as possible the remedial measures imperatively called for may give rise. Whatever the objections may be to the form in which he endeavoured to convey the central fact, it would be difficult to deny the fact itself, and the probability of the occurrence against which he raised his warning voice. That probability rests on no mere imagination. Neither has its origin in hysteric fear or alarm. It is founded on the evidence which is being afforded for some years past by certain localities in the empire where the economic phenomenon is painfully existent. Under the circumstances, it is a matter of profound regret that a subject of such vast importance to the permanent well-being of the country should have been allowed to be almost wholly obscured by Mr. Hume's critics. Instead of criticising the subject matter of his circulars they simply decried the tone and temper in which they were couched. Thus, unfortunately, they clutched at the shadow when they should have seized the substance. Had even one-tenth of the energy, which was warmly expended in criticising the form and expression of the circulars, been calmly and patiently bestowed on an impartial appreciation of his facts, the time and labour devoted to them would have been a great gain. Such an impartial survey of the facts and

an examination of the probabilities of the serious consequences to the empire, as portrayed by that true and disinterested Englishman, might have constrained our rulers to divert a greater portion of their public time and attention from the consideration of the questionable policy of external aggression, which is fast sowing the seeds of great political disasters in the near future, to that of devising measures for improving the condition of the indigent masses and securing greater internal contentment and tranquility to the country at large.

Thus the main object of the circulars was quite thrust aside. The aspect to which Mr. Hume feelingly endeavoured to draw the attention of all Indians of light and leading was entirely obscured. Nay, the criticism revealed the depth of the ignorance of Indian leaders of thought on this burning problem of the day. However excusable that ignorance might be on the part of Anglo-Indian publicists generally, it was simply amazing on the part of Indians. It displayed a deplorable want of knowledge of past events and past history. They seemed to be almost unaware of the fact that other competent authorities than Mr. Hume, both official and non-official, had referred to the same danger, namely, the possibility of a passive or active agrarian rebellion, *years before* his circulars saw the light of day. It is written in black and white. It is public property. On the one hand, there are the minutes and utterances of distinguished statesmen and officials of large and mature experience, and of great foresight and accurate knowledge, pointing out the probabilities of the same danger,—statesmen of the character of the late Lord Lawrence and the Earl of Mayo, and the Duke of Argyll,—and officials of the character of the late Sir Louis Mallet. On the other hand, there are the declarations of distinguished and well-known English experts, like the late Sir James Caird and Mr. Giffen which fully support that view. There

have, again, been non-official Englishmen, such as Mr. Wilfred, Scawan Blunt, Mr. A. K. Connell, and Anglo-Indian publicists like the late Robert Knight and Colonel Osborn, who have sounded the same note of warning. Even the benevolent English lady, whose name is a household word in all parts of the civilized globe, has not been backward to express her own fears on the question. We mean Miss Florence Nightingale. If again, a search for English organs of public opinion was made it would be found that a leading Liberal journal like the *Spectator*, and even the *Times* itself, have raised their warning voice in years past against the possibility of an agrarian insurrection. Here and there thoughtful Natives, too, have not been wanting in their duty. Lastly, there is the opinion of the Government of India itself and some of its well known officers, such as Messrs. Irwin and Cotton. Mr. Hume himself, as the Home Secretary in charge of the Agricultural Department thirteen years ago, covered the whole ground in a remarkable brochure which might still be read with profit and instruction. The testimony of all these and a few others, I have endeavoured to bring together in the compass of this pamphlet. The selections, it is to be hoped, will convince even the most sceptic that Mr. Hume was not speaking without the book. In fact, it is the ignorance of his critics that is much to be deplored. In their impatience to find fault with his language they ignored the accuracy of his principal statement. It is to be hoped that in their calmer and soberer mood they will recognise the service he has rendered to the country by endeavouring to rivet the attention of all keenly interested in the welfare of the Indian ryot on this grave economic problem, which is certain to embarrass the Government and plunge the country into untold disasters, if its solution be retarded or delayed for any length of time. It cannot be ignored, or even indifferently treated, as the Government of India unfortunately seems to have done in

that superficial departmental survey taken under its instructions in 1888, the results of which were embodied in the form of a Resolution in the *Gazette of India* of 20th October 1888. It is the latest and most authentic record of the condition of the people in the different provinces of the empire; and though far from exhaustive, and profusely tinged as usual with official optimism, it still reveals a condition which no alien Government, with the responsibility of ruling nearly three hundred millions of subject races, could fail to take serious note of and adopt suitable remedies in time.

Perhaps, one of the earliest, but the most emphatic, pronouncement on the agrarian problem was that of the *Spectator*. It will be seen from its article of 6th January 1883, headed, "The Great Indian Danger," that it had rung a warning note in no uncertain tones. Notwithstanding the general prosperity prevailing at the period, and the growth of trade, it wished that English politicians would seriously bestow their attention, even for a week of Parliamentary Session, to the most absorbing of all Indian topics. "All accounts, *independent and official*, show that the ultimate difficulty of India, the economic condition of the cultivator, is coming to the front in a most disheartening way, and is exciting among the most experienced officials, a sensation of positive alarm." The Pubna riots had no doubt exercised at the time the minds of the highest authorities. The Bengal Tenancy Act was the outcome of it. So, too, the imperial resolutions on suspensions and remissions of revenue, loans to cultivators, limitation to survey settlements, and inexpediency of taxing ryots' improvements. They did not go to the root of the problem. What it was well discerned by the shrewd critic of the *Spectator*. "Such accounts as these are the more distressing because no attacks upon the Government will remedy the evils described; because

they despair of dealing with the grand economic cause, the increase of numbers; and because they realise, what no Englishman can realise, that while India is a continent, and not a country, and has in it, therefore, many prosperous and a few unusually happy regions, "distressed districts," though only "districts," may be so wide and include such huge masses of feeble people, that they may be as difficult to deal with as ruined kingdoms." The writer then goes on to describe how the Government was appalled by the colossal problem "They are faced on every side by impossibilities or rather by a *compulsion to pass small measures*, when they know that only large measures could succeed, and doubt their right to sanction them." The view is indeed a most despondent one. Even now small measures are from time to time passed, but they are of little avail. At the present moment, the Land indebtedness Commission has recommended measures to legitimately relieve the indebted peasantry of the Punjab and the Deccan from their embarrassments. But after all, they are palliative measures, and those for limited tracts. The seething mass which annually presses on the soil in Bengal, in Northern India, in the Central Provinces, and elsewhere, for means of subsistence, cannot be relieved at all. The Government seems to be appalled at their condition which any day may create the gravest anxiety. But the writer in the *Spectator* seemed to have well grasped the entire situation. Answering the optimists who jump to the conclusion, from the prosperity of presidential and other towns, that on the whole the country fares well, he observed how the despondent views about the Indian cultivator could be reconciled with this prosperity. "Just as we reconcile the condition of Donegal with the price of shares in the Bank of Ireland, or the condition of Essex farmers with the general state of British trade. There are states of society in which every class will prosper except the

cultivator of the soil, and that state, *as officials warn us*, begins to exist over large sections of India. Tens of millions of persons there either can do or will do nothing but cultivate; and if cultivation does not pay, what hope have they? • • • New occupations would save them but they must be occupations for millions and where are they?" All these economic facts are as true to-day as they were ten years ago. If at all, they are being emphasised. To Mr. Hume's mind these phenomena appeared to be so full of future danger that his action in drawing public attention must be said to be amply justified. Is it not true even to-day, as the *Spectator* observed ten years ago, that "five people cannot live and pay a direct tax in money and the interest of old debts at sixteen per cent. upon five acres of over-cropped soil, without danger, in bad years of a catastrophe. This is the position of whole districts in India, and a comparative wealth of districts is nothing to the purpose." So despondent was the Liberal journal that it wound up its article as under: "Let the statesmen say what they will or face the consequences, which in India will either be recurrent famines, or a *bewildering passive insurrection of men whom Government cannot blame or shoot down.*" Can any fore-cast be stronger than this? And in what way can Mr. Hume's critics say that it is less alarming than his own?

Let us now submit another testimony of a different character. It is of a statesman of experience who once held the high office of Secretary of State for India. Writing nine years ago on the economic condition of the Highlands, his Lordship observed that it is an error to suppose that the multiplication of people owes its origin *invariably* to abundance and prosperity. The propagation of the species may continue with even the very opposite factors, as in the case of India. Says the Duke: "In regard to the great majority of these growing

and crowding millions the only abundance they possess is little more than a bare subsistence. A few handfuls of rice with a little salt, and a little ghee, is all they ever eat, and all they can ever hope to eat. *There is no occupation of new territory; there is not much even of land hitherto unoccupied, and which it is possible to reclaim. There are no manufactures on any scale which can bring imported food. Nor have the people any stores—any accumulated wealth.* It will be seen from the table at the end of this "Note" that while fully thirty millions of souls have swollen the population during the decade, the acreage of waste land brought under cultivation was barely sufficient for their needs. No doubt manufactures have increased and a few thousands of the hungry mouths found employment. But their aggregate number is like a drop in the ocean of surging Indian humanity. As to surplus stores, even to last a fortnight, there are none. Sir James Caird computed, that at the best the people have not more than ten days' stock of food grains. Having regard to the fact of the growth of population, is it possible to suppose that there are now grown two blades of corn where before there grew one? And if that be not the case, is it unreasonable to presume that with three hundred millions now to feed, the stores even for ten days may be non-existent? What did the scarcity, bordering almost on famine, in Southern India in 1890-91, reveal? Is it possible to suppose that thousands would have turned out in the plains, in the fields, in the streets, to beg for a mouthful to allay the pinch of hunger? Did not the scarcity prove to demonstration that the famished had no stores of food grains of any kind to live upon? And yet optimists of the type of Sir Richard Temple never tire of observing that the poverty of the masses in India is relatively not so intense or dire in its effects as the poverty to be witnessed among a few thousands in East End! But the comparison is on the face of it fallacious. The fallacy may be

perceived from what the Duke of Argyll himself says on this point, and the Duke, it will be admitted, is an infinitely better and sounder authority than the tribe of Sir Richard Temple. "We have indeed poverty and destitution, more or less temporary, among individuals, more or less numerous, in European countries. *But of chronic poverty and of permanent reduction to the lowest level of subsistence such as present only too widely among the vast population of rural India, we have no example in the Western World.*" Can testimony of Indian poverty be stronger than this, coming from a statesman of the experience of the Duke of Argyll? His full observations will be found in the series of extracts here appended. It will be perceived from these that even as back as 1853 the condition of the people in his opinion was a source of danger. We quote his words and draw the attention of the reader to them: "Thus it is shewn that the mere growth of numbers in any country may be no indication of prosperity, *but on the contrary, of weakness and great danger.*"

Let us now turn to the testimony of another weighty authority, that of the late Sir Louis Mallet, who for years occupied, with credit to himself and advantage to this country, the post of permanent Under-Secretary of State for India. Sir Louis Mallet emphasises the Duke of Argyll's statement regarding the marked absence of any adequate accumulation of capital on the soil. But he goes to the very root of the inadequacy and hesitates not to ascribe it to the system of raising the revenue from the land. In that most thoughtful and elaborate minute on the subject, which forms one of the appendices of the Famine Commissioners' report, he lays bare with a master hand the evils of the system. Sir Louis was no doctrinaire, and the views embodied in the minute have none of the sterility of academic discussion. Like the practical statesman that he was,

he bases his conclusions on the vast number of facts which he acquired on the question of the Indian land revenue during the incumbency of his office. Sir Louis observed: "On the one hand, we see a system which sweeps into the coffers of the State 50 per cent. or more of the net produce of the soil, *thus diverting a fund which, in countries where property is absolute, would, to a great extent, find its way back again into channels of agricultural improvement.*" Here lies the whole mischief. The statement really explains the mystery regarding the poverty of the agricultural masses. Could tillers of the soil flourish anywhere under the conditions described in the pregnant sentence above which we have italicised? But Sir Louis is not content only with pointing out this one potent cause of agricultural impoverishment. He adduces another. "The amount of produce thus diverted is not only large—*it is also uncertain.* The percentage itself is uncertain, varying with the views of successive governments, and the amount actually assessed, even with the prescribed limits, is uncertain, varying with the accidents of seasons, with the character of the cultivators, and with the judgment and knowledge of the Settlement Service." The evil consequences arising from this cause are too manifest to require any lengthened description here. Still, it may be as well to allow Sir Louis Mallet to speak in his own words. "A marked absence of adequate accumulation of capital upon the soil, and (as a consequence) of any sufficient appropriation of such capital to purposes of agricultural improvements, deficiency of stocks, of manures, of roads, of tanks, often of seeds and implements." Could it be said that the above economic condition has undergone a change for the better since Sir Louis penned his minute? Has the low condition of existence improved? Sir Louis not only perceived the economic evils but apprehended great political danger from the situation. Here is another of those wise but awfully pregnant warnings

to which he gave timely expression. "By a perpetual interference with the operation of laws which our own rule in India has set in motion, and which I venture to think, are essential to success—by a constant habit of palliating symptoms, instead of grappling with disease—may we not be leaving to those who come after us a task so aggravated by our neglect or timidity, that what is difficult for us may be impossible for them?" What a better warning could there have been? Can it be said that the British Indian Government has remedied the economic conditions arising from its own ill considered land revenue system by any thing more than *palliatives*, which simply aggravate the original malady. It is like the concealment by the incompetent physician of the cancer which gnaws the very vitals of his patient. A radical change in the land laws of India has been systematically opposed by the Indian authorities. Speaking from his close and intimate experience, Sir Louis observed: "Indian opinion does not always go for much, and much is in the power of the all-embracing and powerful bureaucracy, with the press in its hands, and with a Government at its back, which may be any day at its wits' end for money, and which can hardly undertake an object on which it has set its heart, without a loss on the land. *From this point of view, the policy of further taxing the land might easily become a political danger.*" But who is not familiar with the ways of the Survey Settlement Department and the way in which land assessments are periodically enhanced in various provinces of the empire? The bureaucracy which has the press in its hands is never tired of contradicting this charge of enhancement when brought forward, though ample evidence exists in their own reports to demonstrate the fallacy of their contradiction. So few, however, are the enlightened Indians who, having leisure on their hands, care to dive deep into the Survey Settlements, as embodied in annual blue books, that it

is a matter of profound regret these statements of the bureaucracy should be allowed to pass unchallenged. Undoubtedly, the labour involved in compiling the mass of statistics, duly authenticated, is great. But if the real poverty of the agricultural masses is to be demonstrated, it is to be hoped some systematic and strenuous efforts will be made to compile and digest the materials which exist. Sir Louis Mallet had no doubt in his own mind that the net effects of this mistaken land revenue system in vogue in this country tended "*directly to a progressive pauperisation of the community.*"

A more authoritative witness than Sir Louis Mallet could not be cited in support of the statement of the pessimists who loudly assert the growing poverty of the country. But let us see what another authority and an equally able expert has to say from his own personal observations. The views of the late Sir James Caird, as embodied in his separate report made to the Secretary of State in India on 31st October 1879, are now well known. But it may not be uninteresting to quote a few sentences from that report in support of all that Sir Louis Mallet stated in his minute. "*An exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead lock. No reduction of the assessment can be more than a postponement of the inevitable catastrophe and no attempt by the Government and its officers merely to shift the burden will meet the two fold difficulty.*" What could be more expressive of the economic condition of the ryot than this? Does it not clearly imply the danger arising from a continuance of it? In a country, where according to this great authority, there is no accumulation of food grains to last for ten days, is it the policy of wise statemanship, to neglect the evil or apply only palliatives which simply retard the final catastrophe?

Coming now to the testimony of individual officers of

State, let us point out what Mr. H. J. S. Cotton (now member of the Legislative Council of Bengal) has said with regard to the "feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction" *growing into a political danger the magnitude of which can hardly be over-estimated.*" His utterances are not antiquated. They are only seven years old and recorded in black and white in that remarkably popular work called "The Land Revenue of India." Here is a pregnant statement. "A blind adherence to theoretic symmetry will always lead to practical confusion; and so it has come to pass that the action of the Government has occasioned the most widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, that in hundreds and thousands of cases, the Government has been plunged into litigation with its own tenantry, that the principal officers of the Revenue Department have been mobbed by despairing ryots in the streets of Calcutta, and that it has become necessary to revise these statements, reduce the assessments and remit revenue demands which ought never to have been made." Can it be said after such an event as the one described in the above paragraph, during the viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, that Mr. Hume's warning was uncalled for or that it was founded on imagination or hysteria? But let the reader peruse the Noabade settlement case at Chittagong described in the same book by Mr. Cotton. No officer condemns in stronger terms than he the land revenue policy of the Government and the constant shifts it is subjected to. Says he, "I deprecate the shifts and changes to which it is so often proposed to subject our revenue policy as *inevitably exercising a most injurious effect upon the people who are the victims of our experiment.* Is it to be supposed that such changes will play innocuously, so to speak over the heads of the agricultural classes? This is assuredly the only aspect with which true statesmanship would concern itself; but by our revenue authorities it is too often wholly ignored or buried away in a multitude of

circular instructions which lead only to the increasing harassment of an already over-burdened peasantry." Here is another highly confirmatory view of the situation.

A great deal has been said on the subject of the light character of the land assessments levied by the British compared with those levied by the Moguls. The supporters of the British system are never tired of dinning in our ears its mild and beneficent character. Is it possible to conceive of *anything* being said in favour of the Mogul system? Let us state one matter at least what Mr. Cotton has urged in its support. "By vigorously asserting the false principle that a party of foreign occupiers who choose to call themselves "the State," have become the proprietors of the actual soil of India, we have destroyed all other rights of property therein, from the talookdar down to the ryot; we have subverted the entire organisation of the village communities; we have torn up by the roots the economical fabric by which the agricultural classes of the country were held together, and we have substituted in its place a costly and mechanical centralisation. *Our Mogul predecessors were content to levy the State demand by simple processes which had grown imperceptibly with the administration and were sanctioned by immemorial usage. The harshness and cruelty of the Mogul tax-gatherers, on which we are too prone to dwell, were tempered by the contingency of migration which effectually acted as a check upon oppressive landlords. The rapacity of oriental despotism was restrained by the self-interest of those who were employed on the assessment and collection of the taxes.*" In short, comparing the Mogul with the British system, Mr. Cotton observes: "We aimed at an impossible perfection and mastery of detail; we have succeeded only in creating disturbance. . . . There is no sense of security which alone will attract capital and intelligence to agriculture. A here

margin for subsistence alone remains, and the result is that indebtedness extends year by year, and that famines recur with ever increasing frequency and severity. . . . The ryots cry aloud for bread, and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them. The Statute book grows exceedingly. From an object of wonder it has become an object of suspicion and distrust." And what will be the end of this all, asks Mr. Cotton. He prefers to predict in the prophetic words of the ever to be lamented Lord Mayo. "My belief is that the continuance of that feeling (of discontent and dissatisfaction) is a political danger, the magnitude of which can hardly be over-estimated."

Let us turn to the opinion of another able and impartial official of the State. Mr. H. C. Irwin, of the Bengal Civil Service, is well known for his great knowledge and experience of the condition of the Oude peasantry. These were embodied in 1880 in a large book called the "Garden of India"—a book the contents of which every Indian interested in the agricultural condition of the United Provinces should not fail to read, mark and inwardly digest. The condition of the peasantry, especially of the agricultural field labourer, as therein described, is indeed most woeful. Unbiased individuals cannot but be impressed with the depth of the pauperism into which the provinces have been plunged, owing to the mistaken land revenue system introduced there since the days of the acquisition of Oude. Though in his report of 1888, called forth by the departmental inquiry instituted during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, Mr. Irwin has spoken of the state of the peasantry now prevailing there in a somewhat hopeful tone, still the following single observation from his pen in the "Garden of India" will suffice to show his own apprehension as to the possible contingency of great agricultural catastrophe by a

too rigid adhesion to the system of assessment prevalent in Oude. "The great evil of rural Oude is, * * * the insufficiency of the produce of the soil to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying their rent and the cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to anything but direct action on the sources of the evil? *While the millions suffer from chronic hunger, it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation, or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want.*" In substance, are not the observations almost identical with those of Mr. Cotton as to the inefficacy of mere ornamental legislation? "The ryots cry aloud for bread, and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them. The statute book grow exceedingly!" But it is unnecessary to make a further comparison between the thoughts of the two able civilians. Still the warning which Mr. Irwin gave twelve years ago should be well laid to heart by the State. "Let not the latter end of our rule in Oude so wholly forget the beginning as to perpetuate and stereo-type that degradation of the cultivators to remedy which we professedly annexed the country. *The mutiny should have been treated as an interruption of our policy, charged, indeed, with grave lessons worthy of being laid to heart, but not as a new revelation changing its aims and objects.* Let it not be said of us by the future historian that, with all the means in our hands of raising the peasantry of Oude from the squalid poverty and debasement which for centuries past have been their lot, we ignobly suffered them to perish for mere want of an enactment that they should be saved."

But the *official* testimony is not yet exhausted. It is meet

at this stage to remind the reader of what Mr. Hume publicly stated about the peasantry, not as the Secretary of the Indian National Congress which he called into existence in 1885, but as *a friend of the ryot*, fully relating his experience of their condition derived prior to 1880 in his capacity as the head of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India, a post which he filled with infinite credit to himself and advantage to the country. Immediately on his retirement, the first public act of his was to describe the real condition of the masses. Unfettered by official etiquette, untrammelled by any official restraint, he simply related facts as they came to his knowledge while serving his Government. So remarkable were the facts brought to light and so woeful the revelations regarding the true condition of the peasantry, that they formed the subject of comment in the press generally, and no press did its duty more honourably, impartially, and in the true interests of the State and the people alike, than the *London Statesman*, edited by that prince of Anglo-Indian Journalists, no other than the late Mr. Robert Knight. None will dispute the disinterestedness of that Bayard of Indian Journalism. None will dispute the earnestness with which he battled for the improvement of the Indian ryot. It was indeed the combat of the righteous David against the whole phalanx of the optimistic Goliaths of the Indian Government. Here is the very first sentence of the *Statesman* (Nov. 1, 1880) on the brochure of Mr. Hume. "It happens very opportunely that the head of the late Agricultural Department in India (Mr. Secretary Hume) has made the abolition of his office the occasion for publishing a remarkable pamphlet on the condition to which the masses of the agricultural population in India have been reduced under British rule. *Mr. Hume's contentions are precisely those which I have myself long pressed upon the Government, and it is, perhaps,*

desirable that I should show how fully Mr. Hume *confirms all I have said* as to the condition of the soil and the position of the cultivator." Mr. Knight then enters into an exhaustive review of the pamphlet, taking point by point, such as the exhaustion of the soil, the diminution of manure and of the agricultural cattle, the contraction of grazing ground for cattle, the effects of irrigation, the character of the ryot, and his general condition. It would be tedious and tiresome to even briefly allude to the many telling points made by Mr. Knight under each head. All that we can say here is this, that no Indian sincerely interested in this the greatest problem of the day,—a problem with which is indissolubly bound up the reputation of the Government of India, as the responsible rulers of the country, keenly alive to the welfare of millions of its peasantry who are the backbone of their finance,—no Indian interested in this problem should remain ignorant of the contents of that "remarkable" pamphlet of Mr. Hume and of the just and judicious criticisms passed thereon by the experienced Mr. Knight. All that could be pointed out here is this. That Mr. Hume said *nothing new* in the much criticised March Circulars which he had not said in 1830, when he was universally held in high estimation by official and non-official India alike for his close and intimate knowledge of the agricultural condition of the country. Speaking of the deterioration of the soil, he observed: "It is impossible for Government to disbelieve this; they may think, and perhaps rightly, that it will last their time, but they cannot doubt as to what they are preparing for their successors.....*It is its own land that Government is allowing to go to ruin, its own financial blood that it lets run to waste.* This is the sole goose that ever would or could lay golden eggs for us, and we are smiling as it is slowly starved before us, and will not make a single effort worthy of the name to arrest the catac

trope." Again, after describing the true character of the ryot and defending him from the gross exaggerations of the official apologists, who excuse their own shortcomings by laying wholly at the door of the peasantry the impoverishment in which they are plunged, Mr. Hume says:—"The picture is not all black or how could we or any one hold the country? But withal their lives are very hard and toilsome, and through it all too many are pressed with debt. Good crops ease the pain a little, and the village merry-making brings a temporary forgetfulness, *but the sore is always there* and except in very good seasons, *multitudes for months in every year cannot get sufficient food for themselves and their families. They are not starving, but they are hungry: they get less than they want and that they ought to have.*" May it be asked whether the number of those who are hungry and get less than they want has increased or decreased during the decade? Let the Government of India honestly answer the question. But here is the moral of the observations of Mr. Hume just quoted: "No doubt they make the best of it, and keep cheerful under pressure that would crush men of more advanced races; *but this very childlike nature involves danger*, and we may see from the Deccan riots and sporadic cases occurring constantly everywhere, that, *quite independent of the necessities of agricultural reform and quite apart from the duty of ameliorating a lot on the whole so unenviable, cogent political reasons exist for grappling with the growing evil of indebtedness.*" The Land Indebtedness Commission, who have just issued their report, have undoubtedly recommended certain proposals for ameliorating that condition in the Punjab and the Deccan, but after all what are they? They are *mere palliatives* which may temporarily mitigate the hardships but are no remedies which will prevent the ultimate agricultural catastrophe. Mr. Hume minutely went into the

whole question of the Government land revenue system and came to this painful conclusion. "I fear that there is not one who would not condemn in terms stronger than I have the heart to use, *the cruel blunders into which our narrow-minded, though wholly benevolent, desire to reproduce England in India has led us.*" And here is his parting dirge: "Let others write panegyrics on those who first planted the seeds of a civilised system of jurisprudence in India, I looking sadly now on the Upas tree that has crowned their labours, can only say:

Ille et nefasto posuit die,
 Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
 Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
 Fœniciem, opprobriumque pagi.*

Commenting on this, Mr. Knight, observed: "No one can doubt the sincerity and earnestness which make this extract so mournfully eloquent. * * * * I have been affirming it and calling the attention of the Government to it *until sick at heart of my fruitless toil.* Here is the true picture, then, of the condition to which British rule has reduced the noblest dependency a nation was ever permitted to possess; and this picture is painted, not by the *melancholy pessimist* of the "Statesman," but by the Civilian Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, now that his office is abolished."

Let us now give the testimony of another publicist, no other than that of the late lamented Colonel Osborn, the *bête noir* of the India Office and the unrelenting critic of the ruling elders who sit in camera at Westminster and hold the destinies of the people of India in their hands. A close and careful observer of men and things, one who by his intimacy with the people, had been able to gauge their inmost depths and feelings,

* He, too, on an unholy day, planted thee, oh! tree, with a sacrilegious hand. Whoever it was that planted thee brought disaster on the offspring and disgrace on the village.

grain quoted below will show that rice is now dearer in almost all the districts than it was 15 years ago:—

RICE—QUANTITY SOLD PER RUPEE IN SEERS.

	Decade ending 1875.	Decade ending 1890.
Backergunge ...	19 56	16 42.
Burdwan.....	20 35	19 48.
Calcutta	15 13	15 14.
Chittagong	21 07	12 40.
Cuttack	24 32	17 93.
Dacca	21 73	16 89.
Dinapore	26 63	20 07.
Hazaribag	16 84	19 26.
Midnapur	20 42	20 34.
Monghyr	20 75	16 44.
Muzaferpore ...	17 58	17 71.
Patna	22 41	19 74.
Purneah.....	22 16	19 23.
Murshidabad ...	19 02	18 31.

Coupling the above statistics with the condition of Western Bengal as described by the Government of India, itself in 1888, can it be denied, as the *Times* observed ten years ago, that "where once land competed for cultivators, cultivators now compete for land."

Speaking on the same question, namely, of the condition of the Bengal peasantry, that philanthropic Englishwoman, Miss Florence Nightingale, shrewdly observed (vide *East India Association Journal*, vol. 15th, 1883). "If the condition of the peasantry had not been set to rights in the Punjab by John Lawrence, when the mutiny broke out, *where should we have been*"? She adds significantly, "*our own safety is a reason for solving this tremendous problem.*" The problem of the Bengal peasantry is no better now than what it was before the passing of the Bill. Government is appalled. It knows not what heroic remedies to apply. How are the hungry millions pressing on the soil of Western Bengal to be fed? Do we not come back to the

sagacious reflection of the writer in the London *Spectator*,— that there will be either recurrent famines or “a bewildering passive insurrection of men whom the Government cannot blame or shoot down”!

The reader may turn and twist as he may, the facts collected in this brochure, he cannot but be dismayed like the Government itself at the appalling agrarian problem. As Dr. Giffen says, the growth of the population each decade makes it *more* difficult of solution. Every evidence we have here quoted points to the same difficulty and warns our Government that unless it is boldly taken into hand, it may prove a source of the greatest danger to the empire. We might pile evidence on evidence, but it would be simply a dismal and wearisome task. We have refrained from commenting on non-official evidence of the kind revealed in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review* (1884) by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt or in that valuable separate report of Sir James Caird (1879). Neither do we cite the evidence of some thoughtful native gentlemen. The literature is vast but buried in obscurity. We have faintly endeavoured in this place to bring to light some of it with a view to convince those who still refuse to accept the facts of Mr. Hume, that many Englishmen, statesmen, experts and philanthropists, as well as officials, had, even years before Mr. Hume, placed on record their views regarding the deteriorating condition of the growing peasantry of the land and the danger arising from their going hungry from year's end to year's end. These views have received ample confirmation from the Government of India's own Resolution of 24th October 1888. The extracts printed in the Appendix are ample and it would be superfluous to burden these introductory pages with reference to them. Still it may not be amiss to describe the condition of certain tracts. Speaking of the Bengal province, it is observed: “In Midnapur the first note of distress is

struck." Again, "there is evidence furnished by the Native Settlement Officer which suggests that the condition of the ryots in a part of the district is unsatisfactory. Land and cattle are both stated to be deteriorating—the former from impoverishment of the soil—the latter from want of fodder. . . . The ryots live from hand to mouth. *Two full meals of coarse rice per day are a luxury to them.* They cannot afford dal and vegetables daily. . . . The increase of salt duty is a great hardship to them. . . . Their physique has deteriorated from insufficient food and constant attacks of malarious fever." In Behar the condition is no better. The picture is dismal and should be studied in its entirety as portrayed by the Collector. Says he: "The conclusion to be drawn is that, of the agricultural population, a large proportion, say 40 per cent., are insufficiently fed, to say nothing of clothing and housing. *They have enough food to support life, and to enable them to work, but they have to undergo long fasts, having for a considerable part of the year to satisfy themselves with one full meal in the day.*" The Government of India remarks generally on Behar as under: "Sufficient has been quoted to show that in the seven districts of the Behar Province the *struggle of existence is very severe.*"

In Orissa accounts differ but in Pooree, Dr. Sandel, Civil Surgeon, not an inexpert authority, observes: "that the *poorer classes are not properly fed or clad. They barely subsist on coarse rice and a spinnage curry cooked without oil. As a rule they do not have more than one meal a day.*" Coming to North West Provinces, the Government of India contents itself with the observations generally of Sir Auckland Colvin. "Sir Auckland Colvin disclaims optimistic view, and points out that when an officer speaks of the more indigent class of the people, as being always on the verge of starvation, the meaning is not that they are living on insufficient food

but that they run the risk in view of a failure of the rains losing employment and consequently losing the means of obtaining food." Comment on this sufficiently gruesome picture is superfluous.

Punjab is no better. "In the Delhi division," says the Resolution, "which contains tracts of lands which are distinctly insecure, *there appears to be no actual want of food, but the standard of living is perilously low.*" The officers of the division admit that "there is an unsatisfactory mass of low diet in the country even in normal conditions," but they maintain "that there is no evidence to show that poor feeding is on the increase." This is only a way of turning away from the grim picture of the reality even as it now exists.

In the Julundur division, there are 33 villages in the Ferozpur district where "many of the people lie down hungry in the evening and *seldom get sufficient for both meals during the twenty-four hours.*"

Speaking on the whole situation, the Government of India is obliged to confess with regard to the Punjab, in spite of its apparent optimism, that "the greater portion of the population does not suffer from a daily insufficiency of food, but in times of unusual scarcity, not amounting to famine and high prices, *the poorer classes, whose standard of living is very low are no doubt reduced to great straits and do not get a sufficiency of food.*"

Coming to Bombay, of course, it has to be acknowledged that as far as the Deccan is concerned, 33 per cent. of the area with a population of 1,727,250 (according to the census of 1891) "is *chronically liable to famine.*" Taking the Carnatic division, the condition is even worse. "Sixty-one per cent of its population is chronically liable to famine." In the Konkan, *Ratnagherry is the only district about which there need be*

anxiety. : : : : : Near the Ghats the people subsist largely on roots and wild vegetables, mango and jack fruits They do not save and seldom have an ornament of any kind and ninety per cent. of them are in debt." A more dismal picture to create anxiety cannot be drawn.

As to the Central Provinces, which the facile writer of the Resolution considers to be in a more prosperous state than the other provinces, its Chief Commissioner says: "there is no doubt in this Provinces a great deal of poverty, but there is very little distress."

Madras, according to the precise writer, is not very bad., "No considerable proportion of the population suffer from a daily insufficiency of food in ordinary years" which is as much as to imply that no sooner scarcity occurs than distress prevails. The inference is not unwarranted. It was verified by the circumstances of Southern India in 1890-91.

The foregoing extracts from the latest State paper on the condition of the masses, the majority of whom are, of course, persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, speak for themselves.

Taken as a whole they fully emphasise the popular belief, entertained for years past, regarding the impoverishment of the peasant classes. It is, however, considered by some a moot question whether the impoverishment of the ryot is growing or decreasing or stationary. The optimist class of official apologists repudiate the notion of poverty and point out to India's larger trade and the growth of industrial establishments in presidential and other towns as a sign of prosperity. On the other hand, there is the class of non-official pessimists, especially Native gentlemen of knowledge and experience, who aver to the contrary. Most of these are of conviction that poverty is neither stationary nor decreasing, but

growing Under such circumstances, the wisest course is to institute a full, frank, and open inquiry in each province by means of Commissions or Committees of officials and nonofficials on whom the public may place the greatest confidence. As a rule, the means hitherto adopted for inquiry into the condition of the country are departmental Committees or Boards of Revenue or Revenue Commissioners. This is hardly a satisfactory mode of investigation. District Collectors and Assistant Collectors make reports on inquiries which they themselves have instituted. The public are not aware of the witnesses they may have examined or of the questions put to them. Neither is there the semblance of a cross examination. In short, it is all one sided, and, like all one sided evidence, it fails to command respect for accuracy. Collectors are aware that at the head quarters of the Government of India, all unfavourable reports, however true and dismal, are discouraged. So that the tendency naturally is to minimise the ugly facts and put on such a gloss over them as the Collector's conscience, in each case, may prompt. Moreover, the responsible authorities at head quarters, with whom rests the preparation of the precis, on which is eventually based the resolution of Government, further boil down the original reports, varnished as they generally are. So that it is not inaccurate to observe that much reliance cannot be placed on such State papers. Nay, the Government of India itself is so unwilling to face the ugly economic facts presented to it, that in drafting its resolution, it invariably attempts to minimise the intensity of the dark picture; while it never fails to paint with a large brush and in the loudest colours such portions as present themselves in a bright light. A reference to the extracts published at p.p. 52-70 from the State paper already referred to, on the condition of the masses, will show the accuracy of our observation. For instance, let the reader mark the signifi-

cance of the following paragraph which summarises the whole situation.—

“It may be stated briefly that, over the greater part of India, the condition of the lower classes of the agricultural population is *not one which need cause any great anxiety at present*. The circumstances of these classes are such as to secure in normal seasons physical efficiency for the performance of agricultural work, though in the tracts classed as “insecure” there is always a risk in the event of a failure of the rains, that the more indigent class of the people may be overtaken by distress in various degrees and forms, and be deprived of the wages ordinarily provided by the agricultural operations on which in normal seasons they depend for their livelihood. There is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt owing to reckless expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies, and in consequence of this indebtedness and of the fact that their creditors, the middlemen, intercept a large proportion of the profits of agriculture, does not save, and has little or nothing to fall-back upon in bad seasons. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, there is no sufficient cause for the direct interference of Government.

“In one or two parts of the country, however, there seem to be grounds for anxiety. In Behar, it is believed, that *40 per cent.* of a population of 15,313,359 is in a state of agricultural degradation”

It will be seen that in teeth of the evidence which points to the conclusion that “in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth,” the Government would have it believed by the public that “the condition of the lower classes of the agricultural population is not one which need cause any great anxiety at present!” So the evil day is put off! And such is the indifference of the Government that nothing meanwhile will prompt it to allay that anxiety. It will not do anything but sit with folded hands till it has realised the catastrophe! It is this attitude of

Government which is causing a feeling of intense uneasiness, if not irritation, among the more farsighted of the Indian population. And it was to the same attitude that Mr. Hume vigorously endeavoured to draw public attention. All that he did was to sound a note of alarm loud enough to awaken the responsible rulers of this country from their state of semi-lethargy and egg them on to concert such measures for improving the condition of the mass of the agriculturists as may tend to avert the coming danger. The bugbear of Russian invasion of India which the authorities have for years past placed in the foreground of Indian polity, under the mischievous inspiration of their short-sighted military advisers, is a bugbear pure and simple. It has no foundation in fact. If at all, it exists only in the heated imagination of the püssant hierarchy at Simla. But the deteriorating condition of the masses is a dismal fact. It is a stern reality. It is *the* skeleton in the bureau of the mighty Government of India, because it is the great inevitable *internal* danger to which the empire is exposed—a danger which is sooner to overwhelm it than any external aggression of the character with which the official jingoes and their inspired organs from time to time pretend to threaten us. From the accompanying tables A and B the careful reader who is intent on ascertaining the fact, whether the condition of the masses at present is worse or better than what it was in 1880, will perceive, that while on the one hand the density of the population has increased, there has been no corresponding augmentation of the area under food crops. No doubt the acreage of cultivated area in each province is somewhat larger. But the increased acreage is in no sense larger in proportion to the head of the population. Excluding Bengal, for which later statistics are unfortunately unavailable, it would seem that the quantity of cultivated area per head of the population in 1891 was just the same, say a little over one

acre, as in 1880. But the condition appears to be even worse when we come to compare the acreage per head of cultivated area under food crops during the two periods. Excluding Bengal and Lower Burmah, we find that whereas the quantity of the land per head in 1880 averaged '90, it was only equal to '71 in 1890. Again, there is scarcely any improvement in the principal implement of agriculture. The number of ploughs is a trifle less per head of the population than before.

These statistics are indeed most disquieting. For they conclusively demonstrate the dismal fact that while population is increasing the acreage for feeding them with the most ordinary food grains is decreasing! In short, in the words of Dr. Giffen, "the problem thus brought before the Indian Government is in what way and by what means so to develop the character of the people that their industry may become more efficient upon practically the same soil." That is *the* problem of internal administration to which it should seriously apply itself instead of preparing larger and larger estimates as how to spend the monies rigidly wrung from the cultivators of the soil on fireworks and explosives on the trans-frontiers.

Thus, while on the one hand there is *less food* for the growing population, there is on the other a fatal tendency to bleed the cultivators more and more by enhanced assessments which in many provinces they are hardly able to pay. Is it a wonder if indebtedness is increasing among the starving peasantry—that large class of cultivators who own from one to five acres? The recent report of the Land Indebtedness Commission has in no way shewn that indebtedness is decreasing either in the Punjab or the Deccan. On the contrary, it recommends for the latter district larger remissions of revenue and more convenient dates for the payment of the assessment demands. These facts seem to derive further corroboration from

what was stated in the course of their speeches, in support of the observations of that Commission, by some of the delegates assembled at the Fifth Provincial Conference held in Poona on the 7th and 8th November. It would seem that the Survey Settlement is doing infinite mischief. Enhancement of assessments is going on as mercilessly as ever. While to add to the grimness of the situation, one delegate described the disingenuous method by which the Khotes of Rutnagherry—the very district about which the Government of India stated, there existed great anxiety—were being deprived of their vested rights! The method, which can only be considered as synonymous to confiscation, is certain in years to come to reduce this class of holders of land to penury, if not positive starvation. Thus, when we come to review the whole situation and calmly consider the causes of the growing impoverishment, we are again and again driven to the conclusion that it is the system of land assessments and the land laws which are mainly at the root of the evil. This is not the place to go into the vexed question, whether the State is the proprietor of land in the country. A clearer and more logical exposition of the entire question could not have been stated more tersely than it has been by the late Sir Louis Mallet in his minute of 3rd February 1875, parts of which will be found in the Appendix. Suffice to say, no person has more emphatically condemned the various systems in vogue in different parts of the country. Commenting on the economic evils resulting therefrom, he observed that “the amount of produce diverted from the soil is not only large—it is also uncertain. The percentage itself is uncertain, varying with the views of successive governments, and the amount actually assessed, even within the prescribed limits, is uncertain, varying with the accidents of seasons, with the character of the cultivators, and with the judgment and knowledge of the Settlement Service. Whether the Government or the Assessor

leans to the side of indulgence or to that of severity, all the consequences of uncertainty are equally involved. What those consequences are likely to be, it is needless to enumerate. It is enough to say that *security and permanence are the essential conditions of productive energy.*" But these are the very conditions which the Governments of the provinces have set at naught. What else could be the outcome of this evil system than "a marked absence of any adequate accumulation of capital upon the soil, and (as a consequence) of any sufficient appropriation of such capital to purposes of agricultural improvement, deficiency of stocks, of manures, of roads, of tanks, often of seeds and of implements." But it is of no use enlarging on this aspect of the question. We think we have adduced ample testimony in support of the task we undertook to discharge. Mr. Hume observed that there was great danger in allowing the present condition of the masses to remain unameliorated. We have brought forward adequate evidence to show that his main proposition is absolutely correct and could not be denied. And we must here rest content with quoting one more significant extract from the same minute of Sir Louis Mallet with a view to pointing out to our rulers how urgent is the expediency of taking on hand a reform of the entire land system of India at this juncture which shall induce a healthier and sounder state of affairs. Palliatives are perfectly useless. They are simply a means to retard rather than remedy the cure. Said Sir Louis: "By a perpetual interference with the operation of laws which our own rule in India has set in motion, and which, I venture to think, are essential to success, by a constant habit of palliating symptoms, instead of grappling with disease, *may we not be leaving to those who come after us a task aggravated by our neglect or timidity, that what is difficult for us may be impossible for them?*" Failing any speedy and thorough reform, we are quite convinced that the prospect seems inevi-

tably to be what Dr. Giffen has sagaciously forecast. "That in India, from decade to decade larger and larger masses of the semi-pauperised or wholly pauperised, the landless classes, will grow up, requiring State subventions to feed them, and threatening all attempts to reform Indian finance, *while raising social and political difficulties of the most dangerous kind.*" This then is the danger. Meanwhile who will not join with Mr. Hume in repeating the sorrowful dirge :—

" Ille et nefasto to posuit die,
 Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
 Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
 Perniciem, opprobriumque pagi."

DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA.

Bombay, 15th November 1892.

A—Density of Population in British India in 1891 compared with that in 1881.

Administrations.	Area in square miles.		Population.		Density of Population to square mile.		
	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	Increase in density in 1891.
Ajmire.....	2,711	2,711	542,358	460,722	199.8	169.9	29.9
Berar.....	17,718	17,711	2,897,491	2,672,673	163.5	150.9	12.6
Coorg.....	1,583	1,583	173,055	178,302	109.0	112.6	3.0
Andamans.....	...	880	15,609	14,628	...	16.6	...
Madras.....	141,189	139,900	35,630,440	30,827,113	248.2	220.6	27.6
Bombay.....	125,202	124,192	18,901,123	16,505,967	150.4	132.7	17.7
Bengal.....	151,543	150,588	71,346,987	66,750,520	473.5	442.8	34.7
N. W. Provinces.....	107,503	106,111	46,905,085	44,150,507	442.2	415.6	26.6
Punjab.....	110,667	106,632	20,866,847	18,843,186	187.3	176.7	10.6
Central Provinces.....	86,501	84,445	10,784,294	9,838,791	127.5	116.5	11.0
Assam.....	49,004	46,341	5,476,833	4,881,426	116.9	105.3	11.6
Lower Burmah.....	87,975	87,220	4,658,627	3,736,791	52.4	42.8	9.6
Upper	83,473	...	2,946,933	...	43.2	...	...
Quetta.....	...	...	27,270	...	...	...	...
Andamans.....	...	...	15,609	...	...	...	...
Total.....	965,059	858,314	22,11,88,561	19,88,60,626	229.8	228.9	19.4

**B—Cultivated area under Food crops in British India
in 1891 compared with that in 1880.**

Provinces.	Cultivated area in millions of acres.				Cultivated area under food crops in millions of acres.			
	In 1880-81.		In 1890-91.		In 1880-81.		In 1890-91.	
	Total.	Acres per Head.	Total.	Acres per Head.	Total.	Acres per Head.	Total.	Acres per Head.
Punjab	21	1·114	25·8	1·236	18·50	·981	20·4	·977
N. W P. & Oudh	36	·815	37·	·788	31·	·702	36·4	·776
Bengal	54·5	·816	...	...	48·50	·726	...	...
C. Provinces ...	15·5	1·575	17·1	1·685	13·	1·321	13·6	1·226
Berar	6·5	2·432	7·7	2·657	3·75	1·403	3·68	1·27
Bombay	24·5	1·472	36·1	1·909	19·25	1·105	24·53	1·297
Madras	32	1·03	28·8	·808	29·	·94	21·78	·611
Lower Burmah	2·7	·725	5·7	1·223	...	...	4·79	1·028

OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC COMMENTS
ON
DANGERS ARISING FROM AGRICULTURAL
POVERTY IN INDIA.

THE GREAT INDIAN DANGER.

(From London "Spectator," January 6th, 1883.)

Externally, everything in India is at peace just now. Lord Ripon is governing sensibly and well, with unusual appreciation from natives, and with little criticism, except from those who think that he presses the work of decentralisation too fast and too far. It is felt, however, by all experienced men, that if India is to be permanently benefitted by our rule, this process must be commenced; and after the first plunge has been made, opposition will slowly die away. After all, the Indians established municipalities and worked them successfully while their present rulers were tattooed savages; and as they continue to do so in Native States, they cannot have lost the art. The frontier troubles are nearly over, the Burmese troubles never come to a head, and in the length and breadth of India, with its population of 250,000,000, there is no local insurrection. The budget of the next financial year will be a fairly good one, if Egyptian expenses are small; and the Government has recurred with success to the older and wiser plan of raising necessary loans in the country itself, at rates calculated and paid in silver currency. All these are reassuring facts, as are also the growth of Indian trade, and the consequent enrichment of the trading class; but nevertheless, we wish it were possible for English politicians to attend, if it were only for a week of the Session, to one Indian subject. All accounts, independent and official, show that the ultimate difficulty of India, the economic situation of the cultivator, is coming to the front

in a most disheartening way, and is exciting among the most experienced officials a sensation of positive alarm. In Bengal proper, the mainstay of the British sovereignty, the increase in the numbers of the people, the consequent competition for land, and the enhancements of rent by landlords, have all become so great, that the responsible officials are suggesting changes far more radical than the Irish Land Law. *They, in fact, dread lest the spirit of resistance to rent already manifested in Pubna and other fertile countries should become general, and end in a movement, a passive insurrection, with which the Government could not cope, and which might break the sheet-anchor of Indian finance, the Land Revenue of Bengal.* They, therefore, propose laws which will seriously diminish the landlords' power of evicting and of raising rents, but will not, we fear, relieve the pressure arising from increasing population, which has already absorbed all the good land in the country, and converted Bengal into a warren, swarming with people of whom one-third are, for their wants, well off; one-third struggling, but not in despair; and one-third perpetually on the verge either of famine or of bankruptcy, both being averted only by excessive labour, and an economy extending to an insufficient consumption of food. *There must be many millions of people in the Presidency now, including, of course, Behar, who could not stand up against two bad harvests, but must be fed, through remissions of rent or direct grants, either by the landlords or the State.*

That is not a safe position, and in the Mahratta country matters are even worse. Mr. Hunter's speech on the condition of the peasantry there, wisely telegraphed *in extenso* to the *Times*, was uttered before the Viceroy in Council by a servant of their own, and was uncontradicted. Mr. Hunter declares that in the wide Mahratta country, filled by the people who once conquered Central India and defied us, people made for guerrilla war, the situation is going from bad to worse, till the peasantry, by the admission of the special Judges appointed to examine their debts, not only cannot pay them, but cannot pay the Government assessment—their only rent—and have, in fact, "not enough to support themselves and their families throughout the year." This means that in these great districts, which are fertile, though possibly overcropped, the population lives in bad years upon the verge of starvation, and is perpetually increasing its permanent

debt, which can never be paid except by the surrender of the fields, without which Indian peasants consider their case desperate. The Mahrattas in particular have absolutely no other resources. *On the last occurrence of such pressure, they broke out and overflowed Central India as soldiery, but they cannot do this again, for the British sword is in the way.* They have lost their carrying trade, killed for ever by the British railways. They have lost their village manufactures, killed, probably for ever, by British competition. And they have lost, we must add, though Mr. Hunter does not, their "wild" lands, lands, that is, of third-rate quality, formerly left uncultivated, except in times of pressure, but now absorbed in the increasing numbers. They are, therefore, reduced to the soil, and the soil cannot yield enough for all they have to pay. *This is at least the official statement, supported by official reports specially ordered from most experienced men, whose direct and pressing interest it is to justify the Government in taxing heavily.*

To old Indians, such accounts as these are the more distressing, because they know well that no attacks upon the Government will remedy the evils described; because they despair of dealing with the grand economic cause, the increase of numbers; and because they realise, what no Englishman can realise, that while India is a continent, and not a country, and has in it, therefore, many prosperous and a few unusually happy regions, "distressed districts," though only "districts," may be so wide and include such huge masses of feeble people, that they may be as difficult to deal with as ruined kingdoms. If the fault were that of the Government, it could readily be cured; but what are the group of statesmen who constitute the "Government of India" to do? They can pass, and probably will pass, a law restoring the fixity of tenure to which in Bengal great sections of the peasantry have a clear historic right. They can, and certainly will, warn the Government of Bombay that its collectors must abstain from "enhancing" the assessments,—that is, the quit-rentals of the people. They may restrict severely the money-lenders' power of recovering old debts, and this they have done, and are doing. But, should these measures fail, as they readily may fail—for in the growth of population, the landless peasantry hire from "fixed ryots as well as from landlords, and essay to live on im-able patches of soil—what more can the Government attempt? They can-

not surrender all revenue. They cannot in Bengal, confiscate all Zemindars' rights. They cannot, in Bombay, pass the sponge over all mortgage debts. They cannot establish a self-working and permanent Poor-law, for taxation cannot be increased, and no grant the Treasury could make would seriously relieve the masses who would rightfully claim a share. They cannot force the people to emigrate, even if there were lands at their disposal fit for emigration. They cannot, in short, reduce the population, or increase the fertility of the soil, which, except in the Deltas, is racked already, and is much better cultivated than Englishmen believe; and they cannot give up all claim to a share in the produce, and so make the preservation of order and the distribution of justice simply impossible. They are faced on every side by impossibilities, or rather by a compulsion to pass small measures, when they know that only large measures could succeed, and doubt their right to sanction them. They could, for example, quiet Bengal, if not improve it, by declaring all tenants whatsoever to be *khodkhas*, or hereditary tenants beyond eviction or enhanced rents, but would not that be a breach of faith? The landlords say it would, and the Government evidently thinks so also. They could in Bombay remove distress for the present by reducing assessments one-fourth, sweeping off all mortgage debts, and, as the old Princes did, declaring cultured land inalienable for debt. But where is the remitted taxation to come from? Can a Christian Government declare debts contracted under its laws unrecoverable? Ought a civilised Government, even with the consent of the people, to declare to a whole population that its only available property shall be no longer available as a pledge?

We shall be asked how we reconcile these despondent views about the Indian cultivator with the admitted prosperity in many departments of Indian affairs. Just as we reconcile the condition of Donegal with the price of shares in the Bank of Ireland, or the condition of Essex farmers with the general state of British trade. There are states of society, as we see, in which every class will prosper except the cultivator of the soil; and that state, as officials warn us, begins to exist over large sections of India. Tens of millions of persons there either can do or will do nothing but cultivate; and if cultivation does not pay, what hope have they? The traders do not buy more food of them for being rich, and they have only food to

sell. They can get their "clothes" cheaper through free-trades and railways, but they have reduced clothes to such an inappreciable minimum, that the saving is not a rupee a year per house. They need nothing else save only land, and land, under the pressure of numbers, becomes so dear, that either the profit per acre will not keep them, or they get too few acres for a maintenance. New occupations would save them, but they must be occupations for millions, and where are they? Emigration would save them, but even the British Government dare not force them to emigrate, and voluntarily they will not go, except into neighbouring Native States, where they are not wanted, or neighbouring districts, which they speedily reduce to the old condition. Indian trade might be doubled, and all Indian traders made rich, and yet the pressure of ever-increasing multitudes upon the soil of Bengal and the Deccan might in a bad year produce famine, or a distress amidst which society would dissolve. *Five people cannot live and pay a direct tax in money and the interest of old debts at sixteen per cent., upon five acres of overcropped soil, without danger in bad years of a catastrophe. That is the position of whole districts in India, and the comparative wealth of other districts is nothing to the purpose.* All, however, that we want is thorough examination of the subject by men who can lead opinion. We have no course to recommend, and no law to oppose. We believe ourselves firmly that in India, as in Ireland, fixity of land tenure is the sheet-anchor of society, because it binds the majority closely to the State, but even fixity will not meet the economic danger. *Let the statesmen say what will, or face the consequences, which in India will either be recurrent famines, or a bewildering, passive insurrection of men whom the Government cannot blame, or shoot down.*

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL
ON
THE INCREASING POPULATION OF INDIA
BECOMING A SOURCE OF "WEAKNESS
AND GREAT DANGER."

(*Extract from his article in the "Nineteenth Century," of February 1883, on the ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE HIGHLANDS.*)

The Duke of Argyll, commenting on the law determining the increase of mankind, refers as under to the condition of India :—

The human race possesses immense breeding powers as can be easily ascertained from the increasing population of the world in various countries under conditions widely different—for instance, America and India. America's soil is exuberant. It is infinitely rich, and apart from emigration, the population in the United States alone since 1870 has *doubled itself* every 25 years. But the case of India is different. We have not the means of knowing, with any accuracy, the earlier stages of growth through which the present results have been arrived at. But these results are indeed tremendous. Ten years ago, the population of the province of Bengal alone (including Behar and Orissa) equalled 64,444,000 souls. I have reason to believe that the new census for 1882 will show the same population to have risen to more than 69,183,000. That is to say, the increase in this Province alone in 10 years has been 4,739,000 or nearly one million more than the whole population of Scotland by the census of 1881.

Now these facts are of the class and rank which reveal a law. They prove the existence of what physicists would call

“ a potential energy” in mankind to multiply and fill the world. So far we are on safe ground. But to the full understanding of it some other questions must be asked. What are the conditions which bring this tremendous power of multiplication most powerfully into play? Probably the answer which first suggests itself would be, in general terms, that they are the conditions of prosperity and abundance. But are they really so? In United States these conditions exist to the fullest; in United Kingdom and other European countries somewhat less. But how does India stand? What is the kind and measure of abundance upon which the single Province of Bengal is breeding in the numbers quoted? The answer must be that in regard to the great majority of these growing and crowding millions, the only abundance they possess is little more than a bare subsistence. A few handfuls of rice with a little salt and a little ghee is all they ever eat, and all they can ever hope to eat. *There is no occupation of new territory; there is not much even of land hitherto unoccupied, and which it is possible to reclaim. There are no manufactures on any scale which can bring imported food. Nor have the people any stores—any accumulated wealth. On the contrary, they are for the most part deeply in debt to the money-lender.* We know only this too well; for this is the fact which gives such tremendous meaning all over India to those terrible words “failure of the monsoon.” In the wonderful meteorology of the Indian ocean and of the Indian mountain chains, if one great current fails, if one great mass of vapour is not lifted, and precipitated at the usual time, there is the total failure of at least one crop, and this is a loss which may reduce millions to beggary and many thousands to starvation. We feel ourselves to be in the presence of great natural forces over which we have no control. Anyhow it is quite certain that the increase of population in Bengal is not due to abundance in any proper sense of that word. *Where there is no store, no accumulation, no wealth; where the people live from hand to mouth, from season to season, on a low diet, and*

where, nevertheless, they breed and multiply at such a rate, there we can at least see that this power and force of multiplication is no evidence even of safety, far less of comfort. Perhaps the facts may even suggest to us the opposite conclusion—that the recklessness and improvidence of extreme poverty and of corresponding ignorance may be a greater stimulus to population than comfort and abundance. If so, it gives us much to think about. We know, indeed, of poverty and of destitution, more or less temporary, and among individuals more or less numerous, in European countries. But of chronic poverty, and of permanent reduction to the lowest level of subsistence such as prevail only too widely among the vast populations of rural India, we have no example in the Western World. It has arisen, amongst other causes, from a powerful and civilised government arresting or mitigating the action of wars and of pestilence, and of famine. But it looks as if sometimes nothing short of these can hold in check the multiplying force. It proves that, when wars are stopped and pestilences are abated, population may so swell and grow that millions and millions of men can be permanently reduced to a condition of extreme poverty, and of exposure by the ordinary vicissitudes of the seasons to the eminent danger of actual starvation.

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Thus it is shown that the mere growth of numbers in any country may be no indication of prosperity, but, on the contrary, of weakness and of great danger.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT
ON
THE AGRICULTURAL DANGER.

(Extracts from "The Fortnightly Review," 1st August 1884.)

India is without doubt becoming the great question of the day, and although for a moment the lesser one of Egypt stands more prominently in the political foreground, it is by far the most important which Englishmen will have to solve in the present generation. For good or for evil our fate as an empire is bound up with that of the Indian people, and we have duties to perform towards them and precautions to take which, if we neglect them, will involve us in complete Imperial ruin. The tendency of the present day is to procrastinate in politics, but the lesson of Egypt may well have taught us something, and my object in these pages will be to convey a warning of evils now ignored but growing every day greater, and which may at a given moment assume proportions far beyond the power of any Government which may be in office to deal with or assuage.

* * *

I passed next through the famine districts of the Presidency. There I was able, imperfectly indeed, but still to some purpose, to test the accuracy of what I had learned in the towns as to the condition of the Deccan royt,* and to form some conception of his agricultural needs and fiscal grievances. It may be thought that this would be impossible for a stranger passing rapidly through an enormous district, but I did not find it absolutely so. Land tenure in Asia is all much on the same plan, and India forms no exception; and to one who has travelled through the Ottoman empire with observant eyes, the

* I use the term "Deccan" in its broader and, I believe, original sense of the south Country, not as it is sometimes applied to the dominion of the Nizam only.

burdens laid upon the Indian peasantry are very apparent. My plan was to visit a few villages wherever I made a halt, and put a certain series of questions to whatever intelligent cultivator chance might direct me to. It may be said that I did not hear the truth, inasmuch as I did not know the various vernaculars, and inasmuch as all Orientals seek to please, and it might have been my pleasure to hear the worst. But I guarded against this by taking a local interpreter in each new place, who could not have been in collusion with the last, and who, if he suspected my sympathy with the ryot, was unable to warn him of the special answers I had before received. Nor will any one, I think, maintain that the same stories on the same subjects could have been constantly told me in villages remote from each other, unless those stories had been true. I was able thus to compare the accounts received and contrast the peasant of the Deccan, who is the poorest in India, with the peasants of Bengal and other more favoured districts, till I feel satisfied that I have a fair general knowledge of the subject, far of course from complete, yet infinitely more real than could be acquired at home by any amount of study or inquiry. Also *I am prepared to challenge further examination on this point of the agricultural distress*, being convinced that my conclusions would be come to by any other independent traveller adopting the same impartial method of judging. *Official information, it may be, contradicts me. But I am strong in the testimony of the people themselves.*

* * *

I believe it to be an axiom in politics that all social convulsions have been preceded by a period of growing misery for the agricultural poor, combined with the growing intelligence of the urban populations. Certainly this was the case in Europe at the time of the Reformation, and again, following the lead of France, in the last century; and, most certainly and immediately under our own observation, it has been the case in Ireland and in Egypt at the present day. Where there is complete

ignorance, misery may be accumulated almost without limit by a despotic power. Where the mass of the population is prosperous, no growth of knowledge need be feared. *But it is at the point where education and starvation meet that the flame breaks forth. This is a truism. Yet there are few who recognise how absolutely true it is of India.*

* * *

In every village which I visited of the British Deccan I heard complaints of poverty resembling most closely those to which I was accustomed in Syria and Egypt. Complaints of overtaxation of the country, increase and inequalities of assessment, of the tyranny of local overseers (not necessarily Englishmen), charged with levying the rates, complaints of the forest laws, of the decrease of the stock of working cattle, of their deterioration through the price of salt, of universal debt to the usurers. The only complaints conspicuous from their absence were those relating to insecurity of life and to conscription, the two great evils of Western Asia. And I will say at once before I go further that immunity on these heads goes far in my opinion towards counterbalancing the miseries which our rule would otherwise seem to have aggravated in the condition of the Indian ryot. The special evils which we have imposed upon him are, however, only too apparent.

* * *

The condition of British India under the modern system is a striking instance of the evils of absentee ownership. For the last hundred years it has been the constant aim of the Madras government to destroy all ownership in land but its own, and it has so far succeeded that it stands now alone throughout the greater portion of the Presidency face to face with the peasantry. If these were happy the result might be good. But in their actual circumstances of chronic starvation it seems to me a very dangerous one.

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If the natives themselves are to be believed, there are other causes of poverty directly due to the British connection which have had a far more disastrous effect upon the prosperity of the country than any taxation has produced. The reason, these say, why the ryot of the present day is poorer than his predecessor of fifty years ago is this. Under the ancient system of native rule, and during the early days of the Company, the agricultural population was not wholly dependent on agriculture. It had certain home industries which employed its leisure during those seasons of the year when labour in the fields was useless. There was the carrying trade which could be engaged in with the bullocks used at other times for ploughing. There was peddling of ghee and other home-made wares; and above all there was the weaving industry, which employed the women and the men, too, during their idle time, and helped them to pay their rent. But modern improvements and modern legislation have altered all this. The railroads have very much destroyed the carrying trade; native industries have been supplanted by foreign ones, and the introduction of machinery and of foreign cottons have broken up every hand-loom in the country. The ryot, therefore, is reduced to the simple labour of his fields, and this does not suffice him any longer to live and to pay his assessment—therefore he starves. This account of the matter has been very ably set before the English public by Sir William Wedderburn, and I do not propose to argue it out here. But I can testify that it is the account also given by the natives themselves, and that I have no doubt that it is strictly true. The official account is different. According to apologists of the Strachey schools over-population caused by the security of our rule is the sufficient reason of all distress, and it is possible that this may be correct of Bengal and other districts enjoying more prosperous conditions than those of which I am now speaking. But as applied to the Deccan it is manifestly untrue. For nothing like the whole area of cultivable land is taken up, and the population is scanty rather than excessive. *The causes of distress and famine must be*

looked for rather in the growing impoverishment of the existing population, than in its numerical excess—in its enforced idleness during part of the year, and in the disappearance of the whole class of large proprietors who in former times used to lay up stores of grain to keep their peasantry alive in the droughts.

* * *

Other modern grievances of the peasant are, first, the new Forest Laws. These were introduced some years ago in consequence of the growing famines which, it was argued, were caused by the irregularity of the monsoon rains, which in their turn were caused by the denudation of the forests. Admitting as true all that can be said of the necessity of strong measures to prevent destruction in these, and to increase the area of vegetation, the *modus operandi* seems to have been needlessly violent, and most injurious to the people. One would have supposed that so wide an object as the regulation of the rainfall would have been provided for out of Imperial funds. But this was only done in part. The bulk of the loss fell on individual peasants. Wherever I went in the Madras and Bombay presidencies I heard of common lands enclosed and rights of pasture withdrawn, and this without any compensation at all being given to the possessors. The plea seems to have been that, in the days of the Mohammedan Empire, the Mogul was lord of all uncultivated lands, and that therefore although time and custom had intervened for generations, the land might be resumed. The effect in any case has been disastrous. The leaves of trees are largely used in India for manure, and the supply is now cut off. The pasture has been reduced and cattle are dying of hunger. Where wood had been free from time immemorial, so much a load now has to be paid. In the Ghauts of Bombay matters seem to have gone farther still, and after the great famine of 1877-78 Sir Richard Temple had whole districts enclosed, evicting the ryots and destroying their villages. The ryots in turn set fire to the forests, and but for his timely re-

signation of office it is said the whole country would have been morally and physically in a blaze. *I know that the ill-feeling caused by his high-handed action, which reminds one of that of William Rufus when he enclosed the New Forest, has left behind it memories bitter as those in Ireland to this day. Bad or good, necessary or unnecessary, the Forest Act has much to answer for in the present state of discontent among the peasantry.*

* * *

Allied to this, and even *more general in its pressure on the poor, stands, secondly, the Salt tax.* Its oppressive character has been much disputed; but in the Madras, Deccan and the poorer districts of Bombay there should be no doubt whatever upon the matter. It is the one great theme of complaint, the one that touches the people most nearly and is most injurious in proportion to the poverty of the sufferer by it.

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Lastly, and this is the case all over British India, the peasantry is deeply, hopelessly in debt. It is curious to find this prime cause of the Egyptian Revolution faithfully reproduced in India under our own paternal and enlightened rule, and through the same causes. *Agricultural debt came into being in either case with European methods of finance.*

* * *

Admitting the general fact of India's growing agricultural poverty, what should be our remedy? I confess to being a little sceptical of the legislative nostrums partially applied and proposed to be applied by the Imperial Government to a patient manifestly in want of a complete change of treatment and a long period of financial rest. Nor do I see my way to accepting such alleviations as the Bengal Rent Bill, or the founding of agricultural banks, or even local self-government, though all these things may be good, as a sufficient check to the evils fast accumulating. At best they may succeed in shifting the burdens of the people a little on this side or on that. They will

not lighten them really by a single pennyweight, nor restore the confidence of the people in the humane intentions of the Government, nor put off even for a year the trouble which on the present lines of policy must certainly ensue. I do not believe in legislative remedies for the starvation of the ryot or in the possibility of relieving his position except at the sacrifice of interests too strongly represented both at Calcutta and in London to be assailed with any chance of success. Finance, not legislature, is the cause of all the evil; and until that is put upon a sound footing, the rest is of no real value. We have seen the results of an unsound finance in Egypt: and we shall see them repeated in India before the world is many years older; and unless I am much mistaken, in precisely the same form. *Given anything in the shape of military disaffection (and who shall say that this is improbable!), and nothing is more certain than that an appeal will be made to the peasantry on the simple grounds of relief from debt, and reduction of the land tax, and that it will not be made in vain.* Finance in Egypt declined all warning on this head, and finance in India I fear will equally decline it. *But the danger is nevertheless there; and will assert itself when the time comes in spite of the financiers, and doubtless, too, as in Egypt, to the financiers discomfiture.*

MR. CUST ON THE
"TERRIBLE" CONSEQUENCES TO INDIA.

[Extracts from *Linguistic and Oriental Essays* of MR. R. N. CUST (Third Series. Trubner & Co.) India, Part II. Chapter VII.]

There exist, no doubt, serious evils in the present system, but it is difficult to see how they can be remedied: the superb albocracy,

which seem to get worse and worse, and every mean white, or European maid-servant or railway official, is considered as something superior to the Rajput noble of a hundred generations, with great nobility of bearing and character. There is a constant drawing away of the wealth of India to England, as Englishmen grow fat on accumulations made in India, while the Indian remains as lean as ever. The same kind of thing went on in Ireland from the reign of Charles I. to that of Victoria. Every post of dignity and high emolument, civil and military, is held by a stranger and foreigner; Akbar made fuller use of the subject races: we make none: it is the jealousy of the middle-class Briton, the hungry Scot, that wants his salary, that shuts out all Native aspiration. The Russians avoid this error, and allow men of the subject races like Colonel Alkhanoff to rise to high commands. All native aspirations are crushed, and there is a daily-increasing estrangement between the two races. The officers of the old native army, and the old class of civilians, who lived among the people, who loved them, and spoke their language, are gone. There are not many now, round whom, in the hour of peril, the chiefs and better classes would rally, and who by their own personal influence could raise a regiment; *the lower classes seem to be getting poorer and poorer.* The public officer lives more and more a European life, surrounded by family comforts, and constantly backwards and forwards to England. This may be more moral, more comfortable, and more respectable, *but it is not the way, in which the Empire of India was founded and maintained in past decades.*

If the state of India were to become such as that of Ireland is now, if we were fools enough to jeopardize our Empire to enable the absentee landlords to levy exorbitant rents from the hereditary resident tenants of their purchased estates, if no attempt be made to interest the better class in the maintenance of our rule, the end will be near. The consequences to India will be terrible.

SIR JAMES CAIRD
ON
THE CONDITION OF INDIA.

(Extracts from the official Report made by him to the Secretary of State for India, dated 31st October 1879. Vide Parliamentary Blue Book on the Condition of India. Report by JAMES CAIRD, ESQ., C.B.; with Correspondence.)

The available good land in India is nearly all occupied. There are extensive areas of good waste land, covered with jungle, in various parts of the country, which might be reclaimed and rendered suitable for cultivation, but for that object capital must be employed, and the people have little to spare. The produce of the country on an average of years is barely sufficient to maintain the present population and make a saving for occasional famine. The greatest export of rice and corn in one year is not more than 10 days' consumption of its inhabitants. Scarcity, deepening into famine, is thus becoming of more frequent occurrence. The people may be assumed to increase at the moderate rate of one per cent. per year. The check caused by the late famine, through five million of extra deaths, spread as it was over two years and a half, would thus be equal only to the normal increase over all India for that time. In 10 years, at the present rate of growth, there will be 20 million more people to feed, in 20 years upwards of 40 millions. This must be met by an increase of produce, arising from better management of the cultivated area, and enlargement of its extent by migration to unpeopled districts, and by emigration to other countries. We are dealing with a country already full of people, whose habits and religion promote increase without restraint, and whose law directs the sub-division of land among all the male children. As rulers, we are thus brought face to face with a growing difficulty. There are more people every year to feed from land which, in many parts of India, is undergoing gradual deterioration. Of this there can be no stronger proof than that the land revenue in some quarters is diminishing. It is unsafe

to break up more of the uncultivated poor land. The diminution of pasture thereby already caused, is showing its effect in a lessening proportion of working cattle for an increasing area of cultivation.

* * *

The pressure on the means of subsistence is rendered more severe by the moral disorganization produced by laws, affecting property and debt, not adapted to the condition of the people. In most parts of India, as shown by the late proceedings in the Legislative Council, on the Deccan Ryots Relief Bill, and as is plain to any careful observer in the country, the people are not only dissatisfied with our legal system, but, while the creditor is not much enriched, the debtor is being impoverished by it. Those British officials who see this, feel themselves powerless to influence a central authority far removed from them, subject to no control of public opinion, and overburdened with details with which it is incapable of dealing.

* * *

The right of the cultivator to mortgage the public land has made him the slave of the money lender. Government rent must be paid on the day it becomes due, it is rigorously exacted by the officials, and as the Bunyia is the only capitalist within reach, the cultivator gives a charge on the land, and hands over all his crop to the Bunyia as a security for cash advances. An account is opened, the cultivator is credited with the value of his crop at the low price prevailing after harvest, and from week to week, as he requires food or seed, it is doled out to him, and he is charged at the retail price fixed by the seller, with interest at a rate proportioned to the risk. Difficulties and disputes arise, the courts are appealed to, litigation begins, the pleaders find employment, and the time and attention of the civil officers, European and Native, is occupied in adjusting questions which otherwise would not have arisen. The law necessarily enforces contracts, and in all parts of India the courts are crowded with litigants, the losing parties being generally the cultivators, who, when reduced to extremities, sometimes resort to riot and bloodshed, as in Southal and the Deccan.

* * *

Having parted with these two sheet anchors, the native village

organisation and the self-adjusting principle of land tenure with produce rents, Indian statecraft has fallen upon the quicksands of legal chicanery. In consequence of this, at much cost to the State, a large proportion of official strength is kept constantly engaged upon questions of law, which harass and impoverish the people.

* * *

Whatever form land tenure takes, prosperity is seldom found where it is not reasonably definite and secure. Success can be obtained only by such an amount of labour and thrift as will enable the cultivator to pay his rent with regularity, or if a free-holder to keep himself out of debt. The greater the prosperity among the cultivators the larger will be their power to give profitable employment to their hired labourers. It must be constantly borne in mind, in considering this question, that a large portion of the population of India are now of the labouring class, dependent on employment, and the more the land becomes sub-divided, and then more exclusively cultivated by its possessor, the more dependent becomes the condition of the landless labourer. Though wages have risen at the centres of industry, this is not the case in the purely agricultural parts of the country. In such localities the labourer gets the same dole that he got in the last generation. The numbers of such people are increasing, and their condition is becoming every ten years more desperate.

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Thus, *the greatest difficulty with which the Indian statesman is confronted is over-population*, with constant increase, and his first and main duty will be to carry out a policy under which the people may be enabled to provide themselves with food. Every other consideration should be subordinated to this.

* * *

An exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead lock. No reduction of the assessment can be more than a postponement of the inevitable catastrophe, and no attempt by the Government or its officers nearly to shift the burden will meet the twofold difficulty.

MR. H. J. S. COTTON, C.I.E., BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,
ON GENERAL "FEELING OF DISCONTENT AND
DISSATISFACTION" GROWING INTO "A POLI-
TICAL DANGER THE MAGNITUDE OF WHICH
CAN HARDLY BE OVER ESTIMATED."

(Extracts from Mr. Cotton's "New India," 1885)

A blind adhesion to theoretic symmetry will always lead to practical confusion; and so it has come to pass that the action of Government has occasioned the most widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, that in hundreds and thousands of cases the Government has been plunged into litigation with its own tenantry, that the principal officers of the Revenue Department have been mobbed by despairing ryots in the streets of Calcutta, and that it has become necessary to revise these settlements, reduce the assessments, and remit revenue demands which ought never to have been made. To one particular case I may be allowed to refer, for it is a case of which I possess a particular and exceptional knowledge. A controversy has lasted for many years regarding what is known as the Noabad settlement of Chittagong. For more than a century one invariable uniform procedure has been followed in regard to the assessments of waste lands brought under cultivation in this district. During this long period the Government has concluded about 50,000 petty settlements on one consistent principle. But that principle has now been completely reversed, and when I protested against the change I was called upon to show that Government was in any way pledged to follow the old procedure in future settlements. I replied then, as I reply now, that I am not concerned to meet this challenge. If it is admitted that all these settlements have been concluded on one basis, it does not rest on any one to show that future settlements should be conducted on the same principle. I claim

that there should be some continuity in administration, and that present and future Governments should show some respect for precedent, customs, and rights invariably recognised by their predecessors. *I deprecate the shifts and changes to which it is so often proposed to subject our revenue policy as inevitably exercising a most injurious effect upon the people who are the victims of our experiment.* Is it to be supposed that such changes will play innocuously, so to speak, over the heads of the agricultural classes? This is assuredly the only aspect with which true statesmanship would concern itself; but by our revenue authorities it is too often wholly ignored, or buried away in a multitude of circular instructions which lead only to the increasing harassment of an already overburdened peasantry.

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Even more serious cause for anxiety than the arbitrary decisions of a bureaucracy, which apparently considers that the vital interests of thousands of individuals are to be disposed of by means of logic-chopping, is the suppressed premise which runs through all our revenue policy that the soil of the country does not belong to the inhabitants of the country, but to Government. There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to 'the State' when the State is only another name for the people, but it is very different when the State is represented by a small minority of foreigners, who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land on the remuneration of their own servants, and who have no abiding-place on the soil and no stake in the fortunes of the country. It is because we have acted on this principle all over India, with the exception of the permanently settled districts, that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty. By vigorously asserting the false principle that a party of foreign occupiers who choose to call themselves 'the State' have become the proprietors of the actual soil of India, we have destroyed all other rights of property therein, from the talookdar down to the ryot; we have subverted the entire organisation of the village communities;

we have torn up by the roots the economical fabric by which the agricultural classes of the country were held together, and we have substituted in its place a costly and mechanical centralisation. Our Mogul predecessors were content to levy the State demand by simple processes which had grown up imperceptibly with the administration, and were sanctioned by immemorial usage. The harshness and cruelty of the Mogul tax-gatherers, on which we are too prone to dwell, were tempered by the contingency of migration, which effectually acted as a check upon oppressive landlords. The rapacity of Oriental despotism was restrained by the self-interest of those who were employed on the assessment and collection of the taxes. The old records of our English Government are full of evidence that the fixed and unbending system which we introduced in the place of existing arrangements was profoundly disliked by the people. *We aimed at an impossible perfection and mastery of detail: we have succeeded only in creating disturbance.* It is only in Bengal, which for the most part has received the boon of a permanent settlement, that the people are not impoverished, and that measures of relief are not necessary. If, so surely as production increases, the Government demand be increased also, it is impossible to expect that the peasantry will labour for the improvement of the land or the extension of cultivation. *There is no sense of security, which alone will attract capital and intelligence to agriculture. A bare margin for subsistence alone remains, and the result is that indebtedness extends year by year, and that famines recur with ever-increasing frequency and severity.*

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In a country like India, where almost the entire community is agricultural, all questions relating to land are of the most engrossing interest to the people, and the attitude of Government for good or evil is capable of exercising the most wide-reaching influence. There is no sphere in which, during the present period of transition, it is more necessary to abstain

from interference. *The most urgent need is the conservation of order. To this end we should allow free scope to the natural tendencies of the people to lean on an aristocracy above them for consolidation and guidance; we should forbear from casting about for every opportunity of exacting from the cultivators more and more of the fruits of their labour, and we should desist from fanciful innovations which always imply harassment and disturbance.*

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The imposition of local cesses is rightly or wrongly regarded as a direct breach of faith on the part of Government towards the most influential section of the native community in Bengal. Resettlements and survey, with their symbols of oppression, the measuring rod and compass; the irritation of invariable enhancement, and of incessant local inquiries for land under-assessed, however small; the realisation of Government demands by summary process and the unbending severity of the sale, warrant, and certificate procedures—all these are measures now resorted to with greater frequency than formerly, with greater harshness and more persistence. *The ryots cry aloud for bread, and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them. The statute-book grows exceedingly. From an object of wonder it has become an object of suspicion and distrust. It is vain to appeal to our good intentions. The people judge those intentions by what they see of their effect in practice, and find them bad. 'A feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction exists among every class, both European and native, on account of the constant increase of taxation which has for years been going on. My belief is that the continuance of that feeling is a political danger, the magnitude of which can hardly be over-estimated.'* These words of Lord Mayo should be engraved on tablets of brass over the council-chambers of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Simla, as the speech of the Emperor Claudius was engraved at Lugdunum.

"GOVIND GURU"

ON

"THE GREATEST DANGER OF BRITISH RULE."

(Extracts from an article on *Native Thought and Opinion concerning British rule in India.* London "Statesman," October 1880.)

The greatest danger to the British rule is from sources which the Indian Government seem disposed to conceal—the discontent of the miserable and half-starved populace, whom they have subjected to a most extortionate taxation at a time when they have scarcely recovered from the effects of a great famine. The Indian population is the most submissive and law-abiding on the face of the earth, but there is a limit even to Job's patience, and the English public may be sure that the sufferings and distress which the Indian population has passed through during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, approached well-nigh to the limits of human endurance. During the months of November and December last, when the district of Agra, as well as others adjoining, were being devastated by a virulent fever, almost the whole body of *hamals* (the bearer class) was impressed by a benevolent Government, and despatched to the seat of war, there to die from cold or by the Pathan dagger. The water-supply of the historical town of Agra entirely depends on the industry of these people, and yet a paternal Government left the weak and the dying to help themselves with water as best they could. This state of things is hardly likely to foster kindly feelings between governor and governed, and the idea is already beginning to dawn on the minds of many that they are paying too much for the whistle. *Believe me, there is a great convulsion going on in the national mind, and the lull which at present exists is simply a precursor of the storm which the Deccan riots and Rumpa insurrection have presaged.*

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The Government would do well not to place too much reliance on the disarmed condition of the people, and on the large army which is expressly maintained to prevent any popular demonstration. On the 14th of July, 1789, the great arsenal of the Invalides supplied arms to a disarmed but infuriated mob of Paris, and the veterans of the monarchy remained awe-stricken and passive; and it would be no wonder if history repeats itself after a century. If the miserable condition of the Native population continues much longer, I would warn the Anglo-Indian Government against the next famine. The ancient monarchy of the Bourbons, linked in the mind of the people with numerous endearing associations, and supported by its hereditary adherents among the nobles, succumbed to the violence of a mob infuriated by hunger. *It would not, therefore, be astonishing if the famishing population of this country, embittered by long years of suffering and driven by starvation gives some trouble to the Anglo-Indian Government in the next famine.* It is, however, within the power of the English public to avert from this country all the evils and miseries which such a social upheaval must entail. The whole population of India look to England for redress, and wait with anxious expectancy the results of the new Parliament. The Indian Empire is too poor to be able to pay the expenses of a war waged for the personal glorification of a Viceroy, and is ill-adapted for the experiments of an Administration whose sole and *grandest object was to produce a theatrical and evanescent effect.*

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On behalf of the dumb millions of India, I appeal, therefore, to the conscience and sense of justice of the British nation, and if I appeal in vain, I can only tell it, in the words of the unfortunate Francesca—

Dark will thy doom be;
Darker still thine immortality of ill!

LETTER FROM "AN OFFICER OF HIGH STANDING
IN INDIA," DATED, DECCAN, 28TH AUGUST 1880,
TO MR. ROBERT KNIGHT, ON THE AGRICUL-
TURAL MISERY OF THE PEOPLE.

I cannot let a mail pass without writing to express the pleasure with which I read your papers on the Condition of India and Indian Finance. . . . I am going to retire at the end of the year; the service is too degrading to stay in. I shall leave it, knowing that the only obstacle to my own success has been that I would never condone what was false. *The sure road to ruin in this country is to tell the truth. I conscientiously aver that if I had been deaf, dumb, and blind, I might have risen to the highest honours.* Nearly all who rise crawl up stairs on their knees, kissing the footsteps of the Secretary.

You may quote the enclosed extract as the opinion of a man who has witnessed the agricultural misery of the people for twenty-three years, and who, as a sportsman, has seen their private life, and received the confidence of hundreds of them. We are in a fool's paradise. Our rule is hated, and so anxious are the people to see any change, that there will be a general uprising, unless we speedily restore our prestige in Afghanistan.

MR. HUME ON THE AGRICULTURAL CONDITION OF
INDIA—CRITICISM THEREON BY MR. R. KNIGHT.

(*London "Statesman," Nov. 1st, 1880.*)

It happens very opportunely that the head of the late Agricultural Department in India (Mr. Secretary Hume) has made the abolition of his office the occasion for publishing a

remarkable pamphlet on the condition to which the masses of the agricultural population in India have been reduced under British rule. *Mr. Hume's contentions are precisely those which I have myself long pressed upon the Government*, and it is, perhaps, desirable that I should show how fully Mr. Hume confirms all I have said as to the condition of the soil and the position of the cultivator. And first, as to the *Exhaustion of the Soil*, Mr. Hume writes :—

Agriculture in India has become, and becomes daily, more and more what Luebig happily designated a system of spoliation. Deep as the purse may have been, and rich as much of our soil unquestionably was, it is clear that a time must arrive when, by continually taking out a great deal and putting back very little, both purse and soil are exhausted. Unlike the European peasant, the Indian husbandman more or less fully realizes the evils of this system; it is only on compulsion that he robs his mother soil, and it is only in comparatively quite recent times that this spoliation has acquired the alarming intensity that now characterises it. Only fifty years ago, when jungles and grazing grounds abounded, when cattle were more numerous, when much wood was available as fuel, there was actually a much greater amount of manure available and a very much smaller number of fields on which to spread it. The evil is a growing one, it is one of gigantic magnitude, and though, like all great causes, it operates slowly, no one who has really watched agriculture for years in this country, can doubt that its effects are already showing far and wide; no one who understands the question can doubt that they will develop with most disastrously increasing virulence as years run on.

Here, again, is a question in regard to which there can be no doubt. How quickly or how slowly a perpetually cropped and rarely, and then only scantily, manured field will become thoroughly exhausted and unculturable, depends, of course, on what we may term the original capital of that field, and on the proportion that may exist between the disbursements and receipts; but it being admitted that the former are and have been for years greatly in excess of the latter, and that this disproportion is increasing, the ultimate result is certain. That the gradual (and perhaps later suddenly rapid) deteri-

oration of the major portion of our cultivated land is, unless a totally new system be inaugurated, inevitably impending, can be denied by no one conversant with the subject.

It is impossible for Government to disbelieve this; they may think, and perhaps rightly, that it will last their time, but they cannot doubt as to what they are preparing for their successors. And it is not as in other countries, where the land is private property. It is its own land that Government is allowing to go to ruin, its own financial blood that it lets run to waste. This is the sole goose that ever would or could lay golden eggs for us, and we are smiling as it is slowly starved before us, and will not make a single effort worthy of the name to arrest the catastrophe.

EFFECTS OF IRRIGATION.

Notwithstanding the enormous additional areas brought under cultivation, notwithstanding our vast irrigation schemes, and our improved and really admirable systems of settlement, our land revenue (excluding Burmah, still almost virgin soil, and making allowances for annexations, such as those of Oudh, the Punjab, &c) has, if the rise of prices be taken into account, remained stationary, if it has not actually decreased. *Yet the agricultural masses (there are more of them, no doubt) are, to say the least, neither wealthier nor better fed, taking the country as a whole, than they were seventy years ago.* The sole explanation is, that the older tilled lands, as a body, yield now lighter crops than they formerly did

This is what almost every experienced and intelligent cultivator in Upper India will tell you is the fact in regard to all but that little circle of fields skirting each inhabited site, which gets the great bulk of what little manure is available. This, too, might be gathered by comparing what was reckoned in the "Ain Akbari" as a full yield for several descriptions of crops in the Agra, Muttra, Mynpooree, and Etawah districts (in regard to which the Emperor's information must have been accurate), with the known yield in these same localities at the present time.*

* As the result of scores of careful personal experiments carried out in the Allyghur, Mynpooree, and Etawah districts, the writer would state fourteen bushels an acre of wheat to be a high average for good fields, i. e., fields with

Yet again, from another and distinct source, ruin and desolation more palpable and speedy in its course, though more limited in its operation, await vast tracts in Northern India, unless the voice of reason can gain a hearing and science be allowed to guide agriculture. In Oudh, the Punjab, and the North-west Provinces, the soils mostly contain an appreciable admixture of saline particles. With the construction of high-level canals, the subsoil water-level is raised, the surface flooded, the earth yields up its soluble salts to the water, which again restores them (but on the surface) as it passes away in vapour. At first the result may be good, and marvellous are the crops that have been raised in the Doab on the first introduction of canal irrigation, owing to the first slender doses of potash and chloride of sodium.

But nature works on blindly and unceasingly. The water below searches out one by one each soluble particle in excess of the particular soil's capacity of retention, and, as it slowly creeps up by capillary attraction, leaves these ever behind it on the surface. Time passes on, some crops begin to be unprofitable; in the hottest time of the year, a glimmer, as though of a hoar frost, overspreads the land. The land grows worse and worse, but ever night and day nature works, slowly on, and the time comes when, abandoned by the cultivator, the land glitters white and waste, as though thickly strewn with crisp, new-fallen snow; never, alas! to melt away, except under the rays of science. Along the little old Western Jumna Canal, thousands of fields are to be seen thus sterilised. Along the course of the mighty Ganges Canal—a work, as it were, but of yesterday—the dreary wintry-looking rime is already in many places creeping over the soil. Come it quickly or come it slowly, the ultimate result here also is certain; and, unless a radical change is effected in existing arrangements, we know, as definitely as we know the sun will rise tomorrow, that the *time must come when some of the richest arable tracts in Northern India will have become howling saline deserts.*

which their cultivators are fairly satisfied; in other words, for the more successful fields, of the best land, which alone is used for wheat. The "Ain Abkari" gives nineteen bushels as an average yield in those days. I need not say how far both these figures fall short of the yield of well-tilled first-class lands, in East Norfolk for instance.

It is impossible for me to heighten the force of this statement by a word ; and it is that, be it remembered, of the Government itself, speaking by the head of its own so-called Agricultural Department. The soil of India, except in its Deltaic regions, is being steadily and rapidly exhausted, *and if the nation closes its eyes to the fact, preferring still to live in the fool's paradise created for it by lecturers like Dr. Hunter, and certified to by the "Times," I, for one, do not care to contemplate the future.*

And now, as to the character of that poor, improvident, thriftless creature, the Indian ryot, for whom the Famine Commissioners are so concerned lest the State should do too much. Let us see what Mr. Secretary Hume says about him :—

A theory is at times gravely maintained, even in India, that the ryot is a thriftless, reckless fellow ; that no matter what he gets, he will always spend more than his income ; that it matters nothing whether the rent he has to pay is high or low ; that he rather likes than otherwise having a balance *against* him at his bankers ; and that do what one will, he *will* always be in debt. Nothing can convey a more thoroughly and utterly false conception of our agriculturists as a body. That these, in common with the entire population, high and low, do, in accordance with immemorial custom, spend a great deal more upon marriages than, according to *English* ideas, any similarly circumstanced sane man ought to or would, may be at once admitted. Any real, vigorous, and persistent action to check this common form of extravagance, taken under sound native advice, would be a real blessing to the country. But, after all, this is the poor fellow's only extravagance ; these are almost the only white days in his dull-coloured life of toil and pinching, and unless he is singularly blessed (or unblest !), there are not many of them, and for the rest, a more careful frugal being is not to be found on earth. He hates debt ; he hates the usurer's name ; let any stroke of luck befall him, and see how soon the monstrous account against him is settled. This is not the case merely with individuals ; the population of whole provinces (like Guzerat and Berar, owing to the abnormal profits from cotton during the American War) have similarly cleared themselves.

Fools are scarce nowhere, but only show our ryots how to free themselves from the toils of the money-lender, and how to keep out of his books, and none need fear that the great mass of them will long remain plunged in their present comparative misery ; for misery of a kind it is.

A very happy natured, contented race, as a whole, are our village husbandmen, and they have their little amusements and festivals, and when harvests are very good, pretty much all that, with their simple habits, they need. The picture is not all black, or how could we or any one hold the country ? But withal their lives are very hard and toilsome, and through it all too many are pressed with debt. Good crops ease the pain a little, and the village merry-making brings a temporary forgetfulness, but the sore is always there, and except in very good seasons, multitudes for months in every year cannot get sufficient food for themselves and their families. *They are not starving, but they are hungry ; they get less than they want and that they ought to have.*

No doubt they make the best of it, and keep cheerful under pressure that would crush men of more advanced races ; *but this very childlike nature involves danger*, and we may see from the Decan riots and sporadic cases occurring constantly everywhere, that, *quite independent of the necessities of agricultural reform*, and quite apart from the duty of ameliorating a lot on the whole so unenviable, *cogent political reasons exist for grappling with this growing evil of indebtedness.*

It is due to the patient, frugal, and not unintelligent husbandmen of India to admit freely that, looking to the conditions under which they labour, there ignorance of scientific method, and their want of capital (and all that capital enables a farmer to command), the crops that they do produce are, on the whole, surprising. So far as rule-of-thumb goes, the experience of three thousand years has not been wholly wasted. They know to a day when it is best (if only meteorological conditions permit) to sow each staple and each variety of each staple that is grown in their neighbourhood ; they know the evils of banks and hedges, dwarfing the crops on either side and harbouring vermin, and will have none of them ; they accurately

distinguish every* variety of soil, and, so far as the crops they grow are concerned, the varying properties and capacities of each; they fully realize the value (though they can command but little) of ordinary manure, ashes, and the like, and recognize which are most required by which kind of crops; they know the advantages of ploughing, in most cases as deep as their imperfect implements and feeble teams will permit, and of thoroughly pulverising the soil; and they also recognize where, with a scanty or no supply of manure, it would be folly to break the shallow-lying pan. As for weeds, their wheat-fields would, in this respect, shame ninety-nine hundredths of those in Europe. You may stand on some high old barrow-like village site in Upper India, and look down on all sides on one wide sea of waving wheat broken only by dark-green islands of mango groves—many, many square miles of wheat, and not a weed or blade of grass above six inches in height to be found amongst it. What is to be spied out creeping here and there on the ground is only the growth of the last few weeks, since the corn grew too high and thick to permit the women and children to continue weeding. They know when to feed down a too forward crop; they know the benefit of, and practise, so far as circumstances and poverty permit, a rotation of crops.

* Nothing, indeed, is more perplexing than the enormous number of names applied by Native agriculturists to soils, the more so that probably almost every district rejoices in at least a dozen purely local names which are unknown elsewhere. There is no real confusion, however. Native cultivators as keenly appreciate the smallest differences in the relative qualities of different soils as do the best European farmers; but the fact is that, independent of names indicative of the quality of the soil (and often to the entire *exclusion* of these), they make use, in describing their land, of names having reference to external conditions, the frequency or recency of cultivation therein, its situation as regards inhabited sites, &c., its position as upland or recently formed alluvium, its occupation for pasture, fields, or gardens, its external features, &c., &c. Nothing is more common than to hear soils referred to, as such, by names which really only indicate features or circumstances altogether external to the soil itself and independent of its intrinsic quality. This is no doubt inaccurate, but it is very natural, since the value to the agriculturist of any land will often depend far more on these external circumstances than on the inherent quality of the soil, which latter, moreover, will, as time goes on, be often greatly modified by the former, as where "bhoor," or light sandy soil, becomes in course of time, by proximity to a village, constant cultivation and manuring, a kind of "do mus" between garden mould and rich loam.

They are great adepts in storing grain, and will turn it out of rough earthen pits, after twenty years, absolutely uninjured. They know the exact state of ripeness to which grain should be allowed to stand in different seasons; in other words, under different meteorological conditions, to ensure its *keeping* when thus stored; and equally the length of time that, under varying atmospheric conditions, it should lie upon the open threshing-floor to secure the same object.

Imperfect appliances, superstition, money troubles, and the usurer's impatience, often prevent their practising what they do know, but so far as what may be called non-scientific agriculture is concerned, there is little to teach them, and certainly very few European farmers could, fettered by the same conditions as our ryots, produce better, if as good, crops.

Vitally connected with the exhaustion of the soil, and the character of the ryot, or peasant cultivator, is the diminution in the agricultural stock of the country. Here, again, I simply reproduce what Mr. Hume says upon the subject, in confirmation of my assertions:—

The paucity of cattle is due almost entirely to the incredible losses of stock sustained from starvation and different forms of cattle disease. The consumption of their droppings as fuel is due to the impossibility, in some places, or expense, in others, of procuring wood.

Over a great portion of the empire, the mass of the cattle are starved for six weeks every year. The hot winds roar, every green thing has disappeared, no hot weather forage is grown, the last year's fodder has generally been consumed in keeping the well bullocks on their legs during the irrigation of the spring crops, and all the husbandman can do is just to keep his poor brutes alive on the chopped leaves of the few trees and shrubs he has access to, the roots of grass and herbs that he digs out of the edges of fields, and the like.

In good years he just succeeds; in bad years, the weakly ones die of starvation. But then come the rains. Within the week, as though by magic, the burning sands are carpeted with rank luscious herbage, the cattle *will* eat and over-eat, and *millions* die of one form or other of cattle disease, springing out of this starvation, followed by sudden repletion with rank, juicy, immature herbage.

Many years ago, the writer, when advocating the establishment of Veterinary Colleges, estimated *the average annual loss of cattle in India by preventible cattle disease of one form and another, at fully 10,000,000 beasts, roughly valued at £7,500,000*, and subsequent experience and inquiry have led him to believe that this estimate materially understated the case.

The Indian climates, varying as these do, appear to be specially favourable to cattle. Every one who has kept cattle here knows that if moderately fed, and given plenty of work and kept away from contagion, they never seem to be sick or sorry, but work on, hardy and healthy, from youth to extreme old age. They are very prolific too. If our poor beasts only had reasonably fair play, the whole empire would swarm with cattle, and cattle able to work the heaviest ploughs, and, in soils and situations where this was necessary or desirable, to plough as deep as you like.

But what can be expected under existing conditions? Annually a rigid Lent, too often merging into actual starvation, followed by a sudden gorging with unwholesome food. The people are keenly alive to the dangers of such alternations, and labour hard to prevent the latter, or they would not keep a single head alive; but despite all their care, their losses are enormous. In bad years, whole provinces are devastated. But a few years ago more than half the cattle in Oudh were lost during two successive bad seasons.

And be it noted that it is not only the supply of manure that this fearful mortality amongst the cattle, and their resulting paucity, so greatly restricts; it is the little hoarded capital of the peasant, the very mainspring of agriculture in India, that is thus flung away. There is nothing new in all this; everybody in India, Government and people, all know it, after a fashion, but beyond putting a single veterinary surgeon in a couple of provinces to try and train a score of native cow doctors, nothing is done. Nothing ever will be done until there is a special and properly organized department, whose sole business it is to look after it.

Mr. Hume says nothing about the deterioration that is so manifest in the quality of the stock. The bullocks, over wide tracts of country, are dwindling to the size of sheep, under the stress of chronic starvation. *Now, these are the facts of our*

position, as opposed to the fictions with which this country is constantly amused as to the blessings of British rule. I shall make one more extract from Mr. Hume, to show how all this has come about. The extract is lengthy, but its importance precludes my making any apology for its introduction :—

It is necessary to realize the radical changes that our courts and revenue systems combined have wrought in the position of our agriculturists. Previous to our rule no private person had, broadly speaking, any property in the soil.* All proprietary right, in the sense in which we at home understand the word, vested directly in the State, or vicariously in some powerful chief or official. All that the people as a body enjoyed were a high class of occupancy rights, heritable but not transferable. A man might be deep in debt, but you could not interfere with the land he held, for that was not his, but his ruler's ; and such rights as he possessed therein were personal to himself and family, or, in some cases, clan ; and if any outsider had obtained possession, the State would have stepped in and resumed the property. No doubt, if sufficiently bribed, the local officials would, and often did, wink at transfers, but these were opposed alike to custom and tradition, which then constituted the law, such as it was, on this subject. There was, therefore, in those days no great inducement to money-lenders to advance money to landholders or cultivators of any degree, still less was it their interest to tempt those to take money, which they really did not want, in order to make an extra display at a wedding or a durbar.

They lent money, but only at enormous rates of interest ; but this was not unfair, as they never hoped even to recover the principal, while for such interest as they were to get (a widely different thing from what was written in the bond) they were dependent on the will of their debtor, or the rare, paternal interference of some superior, who, appealed to with suitable presents, would say, "Come, Ram-buksh, you owe the Sahoo Sahib a lot of money, and you have paid him nothing for two years ; you just satisfy him by some proper payment and account, or it will not be well for you."

* We must perhaps except lands given to Brahmins, saints, &c., for temple, mosque, or other religious or charitable purposes, but even these were, properly speaking, inalienable.

And even such interference was rarely needed, for the people are naturally very honest; the creditor had no object in cheating, because he could, as a rule, only expect to get what he could convince his debtor was justly due; while as for the debtor, though he had no intention of paying off his creditor, whose debt was perhaps six generations old, and who moreover never expected this, still neither had he any objection to make, from year to year, such payments on account as he could afford, and as, according to custom (everything was custom in those days), were fair and right. It was a point of honour with him, and the Natives of India had a very keen sense of honour; they saw many things from a different point of view to what we do, but they kept, I think, as a whole, closer to their standard than we as a nation have ever kept to ours.

It was almost a point of honour with them to defraud the State, to make false statements to superiors, &c., just as it used to be for boys to rob their master's garden, and mislead him whenever possible; but it would have been as base in their eyes to cheat or bilk their friend, the family banker, as it would have been for the schoolboy to steal from one of his own companions.

So there was debt in those days too, but it hurt nobody; the banker got his annuity so long as things went well, and even if in bad times he got little or nothing, he knew that there were always strong arms and sharp swords ready to defend him if things went wrong with him; each party was dependent more or less on the good offices of the other, and so far from being enemies, they were friends, bound together by the remembrance of many acts of mutual kindness; and if by chance they could not agree,—and men, though both honest and wellmeaning, will at times fall out and differ,—they called in a party of respectable neighbours and friends (whose intervention only cost a good dinner), who heard all both had to say, effected a wise compromise, and settled the matter. There was no appeal; the brotherhood, or mixed jury, as the case might be, had spoken, and the matter was at an end.

But with the enlightened rule of the British Government all this was to cease. Brimful of philanthropy, we could not let well alone, or, indeed, believe that anything could be well for others which was not in accordance with what we thought good for ourselves. With

our innovations, our exotic systems of land and law, we have dissolved the bonds of society, we have turned peace into war, we have arrayed every class against that on which it was most dependent, capitalists against landowners, landlords against tenants, every man almost against his fellow. There is not, I believe, a single wise and good Native of India who will not freely admit that, whatever the failings and shortcomings of individual officers, the motives and intentions of the British Government, where India is concerned, have, on the whole, been pure and noble. But I fear that *there is not one who would not condemn, in terms stronger than I have the heart to use, the cruel blunders into which our narrow-minded, though wholly benevolent desire to reproduce England in India has led us.*

We began by conferring proprietary rights (the poor people, no ownership in the soil, mere serfs !); or where, as in Bombay, we stopped short of this, we gave additional strength to occupancy rights, and made these transferable. Every one knows the European arguments about enhancing the value of rights by making them transferable. Such a great thing to enable them to be brought into the market! Buying and selling, as a wise writer once said, is an Englishman's idea of Paradise, and in the most unselfish spirit we desire to introduce our Native fellow-subjects into this same Paradise.

No one saw that the people were, on the whole, happy and contented as they were; that their past sufferings, where they had suffered, were due not to any defects in their position or rights as established by custom, but to those rights having been ignored, and that custom having been over-ridden.

No one seems to have realized that the tenures of a country are the outcome of its whole past history, ever, as time rolled on, adjusting themselves to the varying conditions and relations of the different classes of the community; that they must necessarily, therefore, be, under the circumstances, those best suited to the country; that though they may require change as these conditions and relations vary, it must be

“Change that broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent;”

and that any sudden and arbitrary, externally imposed, change must, however noble the impulse that prompted it, involve new and nece-

early unsuitable combinations. Human institutions, to be healthy, must grow where they are to stand.

Not so reasoned our predecessors. They gave a new value to the land, by rigidly limiting their demand on the soil—a good thing, quite in accordance with the people's ideas of what a good prince should do,—and they conferred partial proprietary rights (which no one wanted or appreciated) wholesale, and they made all the rights they created or acknowledge in the soil transferable.

Up to our time such rights as existed were entailed in the strictest fashion; creditors could not get hold of the land, even during the lifetime of the debtor. We raised the character of the rights, but cut off the entail without the consent of the heirs. At first this did no great harm. Nobody understood the change; our people then were no lawyers, courts were few, and administered simple justice according to equity and good conscience; and the majority of civil disputes continued to be settled by the people amongst themselves in the old fashion.

But as time passed on new and new laws were continually made, and courts were multiplied and gradually multiplied into courts of law, where justice sat fettered by codes, and whence equity and good conscience had been banished for contempt of court, and a swarm of professional pleaders (good and bad, but specially the latter) spread over the length and breadth of the land, and village verdicts ceased to carry weight; and in the simplest matter, which formerly would have been settled on his own village platform by his own brethren and elders, and rightly settled in an hour, a man now had to put up with wrong, or walk twenty miles to court, and see pleaders, and waste a week or more, and many weeks' earnings and all as often as not merely to see the wrong triumph; or, if successful, to be dragged yet another fifty miles, on appeal to a higher court, where there were even more expensive pleaders to see, and more time and money to waste, danging about the court-house steps or compound, dogged by peons and emissaries of the underpaid native subordinate officials, all threatening loss of his case, unless he bribed, bribed, bribed. And if he,—*O fortunatus nimium*,—gained his case here too, and prepared to start for his neglected fields, a half-ruined and yet partly happy man (for Natives acquire a passion for litigation, just as Eu-

ropeans do for drink or gambling), lo and behold, a second or special appeal on some miserable quibble of law, evolved out of clumsily drawn statutes, and he is dragged away yet another one, two, or three hundred miles to the provincial capital, where, after wasting months, and spending all he had with him or could borrow, in fees to lawyers and bribes to hangers-on of the courts, he, as likely as not, finally loses his case. Constituted as our civil courts are, the chances on each hearing do not preponderate largely in favour of real justice being done. What exactly the chances are of this happy event occurring three successive times in one case, I leave those who make "the odds" their study, to calculate.

Winning or losing, he often returns utterly demoralised to his home; he has heard all the pleadings—quibbles and fictions on his side, quibbles and fictions on the other side—and he has listened to many other cases besides his own, and has been impressed with the fact that, on the whole, *dishonesty* is the best policy, and henceforth this conviction shapes his dealings with his banker and his neighbours. His banker, on his part, is in no way behind his debtor; indeed, having necessarily more to do with the courts, he earlier, as a rule, became a convert to the gospel of fraud; and the temptation to him was immense, for lands are saleable now, and the impossible rates of old bonds entered as a matter of form, when no one dreamt of repaying capital, are now enforceable, and the principle can be recovered too, and every landholder of every degree can be sold out of house and home.

And perhaps our man is sold up, and the banker buys his land, and takes possession, and then—now and then the inherent love of his ancestral lands, his strongest passion, is too strong for the poor homeless wretch, and one evening in the dusk, when the unwary usurer, who has paid a visit to the village to see his new purchase, is wending his way homewards, there is a rush and the heavy thuds of a club, and the gallows ends the tragedy which our blundering philanthropy has so elaborately prepared.

And similarly, be it noticed, though it is a digression, that our laws and courts have set landlord against tenants, and converted too many of both classes into sad rogues. In the old days there was no talk of tenants-at-will, and tenants with occupancy rights, and so on.

No doubt every landholder, where such really existed, *could* evict any tenant he chose ; and if a man seduced his neighbour's wife (they were poor ignorant creatures), or otherwise insulted or offended the community, evicted he was ; but custom barred, and far more effectively than any British law or court, any arbitrary exercise of this power ; and the landlord who might any day have to defend his Penates against a Maratha inroad, an imperial functionary, or a band of dacoits, was obliged to keep good friends, on the whole, with the mass of his cultivators, on whose strong arms the safety of his property and the honour of his house might at any moment become dependent. Both classes were bound together by ties of mutual obligation and inter-dependence ; but we, *with our ill-starred views for exact systems of law, have dissolved the bonds, and have converted into antagonists the two great classes on whose harmonious co-operation not only their own welfare, but in many parts of the country the progress of our land revenue, so materially depends.*

Let others write panegyrics on those who "first planted the seeds of a civilized system of jurisprudence in India." I, looking sadly now on the Upas tree that has crowned their labours, can only say :—

*Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicumque primum, et sacrilegâ manu,
Produxit, arbor, in nepotum
Perniciem, opprobriumque pagi!*

No doubt it may startle some to propose that we should in these respects retrace our steps, and eschewing the highly seasoned and artistic messes of civilization, revert to the simple fruit and herbs of our unenlightened predecessors. But the case stands thus : The country is on the high road to bankruptcy : sudden and arbitrary reductions in all directions, not impossibly really wasting more money than they seem to save, will of course be resorted to, and a nominal equilibrium restored for a while.

No such measures, however, can restore the finances of a growing country to a healthy condition any more than cutting off strips from the ends of the legs to let in as gussets into the seat, is calculated to place the trousers of the growing boy in a permanently satisfactory condition. He is bound to outgrow them, and the coun-

try is bound to outgrow the existing revenue, snip and patch, botch and tinker as you will.

The only source from which you can derive that large increase of revenue which the empire must have hereafter if it is to continue to flourish, or even exist, is the land; and from the land this increase is not to be got so long as throughout wide provinces all classes of agriculturists are crippled by poverty and debt.

No one can doubt the sincerity and earnestness which make this extract so mournfully eloquent. Pity is it that Mr. Hume did not say it all before. I have been affirming it, and calling the attention of the Government to it, until sick at heart of my fruitless toil. Here is the true picture, then, of the condition to which British rule has reduced the noblest dependency a nation was ever permitted to possess; and this picture is painted, not by the "*melancholy pessimist*" of THE STATESMAN, but by the Civilian Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, now that his office is abolished. A crucial proof of what our rule is, is to be found in the little province of Mysore. With but 5,000,000 of inhabitants, and a square mile of water to every fifteen square miles of land, Mysore has become, under our Civilian rule of the last fifty years, an epitome of what all India is becoming; and the all-important question is—the remedy.

To hope that the people will ever be redeemed from their misery by the bureaucracy which has produced it, is to hope for the impossible. I would steadily diminish the strength of this body, and gradually substitute an educated Native Civil Service for the officials by whom we are attempting to administer the affairs of a people from whose social life they are separated by an impassable gulf. I would contract steadily the area of our direct rule, and divest ourselves wherever we could of everything but the military supremacy of the country. Thus we ought to hail the opportunity that gives Mysore back to the young Rajah coming of age, and stamp out the opposition there is in India to the transfer. In the same way, the Berars should

go back to their rightful owner, the Nizam. I would extend the jurisdiction of every well-governed Native State in the country, forming new treaties with them, readjusting their tributes, and dividing the Imperial pecuniary responsibilities amongst them. I would reward conspicuous Native merit by the creation of new feudatory States. Thus we might well acknowledge Travancore's admirable rule by extending his borders, and keep steadily in view the policy of retiring from the direct administration of the country. The process could only be gradual, of course; and, simultaneously, I would establish a new governing body of Englishmen in India, side by side with the Civil Service, but with distinct duties.

COLONEL R. D. OSBORN

ON THE

DANGER OF "THE COMBINED WRETCHEDNESS
AND RAGE OF THE PEOPLE" DRIVING THEM
TO "AN INSURRECTION AGAINST OUR
BENEFICENT BRITISH RULE."

(*London "Statesman," October 1880.*)

When I began to write these papers on the "Peasantry of India," the thesis I undertook to prove was that *British rule, so far from giving security to landed property, had been the most potent destroyer of ancient rights, and all sense of security ever known in that or in any other country.* That position, I think, I may claim to have established beyond reach of question. British rule in the North-west Provinces has sunk the whole agricultural body into a state of the direst misery; and it has done so in the interests of a single small class, which, while they cause us to be hated throughout the length and

breadth of the land, neither could nor would afford us the smallest assistance if that hatred expressed itself in corresponding action. *That eventually the combined wretchedness and rage of the people will drive them to an insurrection against our "beneficent British rule," no student of history or human nature can doubt for a moment. The issue is as certain as that the sun will rise in the morning, and the sole element of uncertainty has reference to the time when it will occur. No one, so far as I know, either denies the danger or the consequences that must eventually proceed from it.*

* * *

Great as, under any circumstances, would be the political danger caused by the ruin which, under our administration, has overtaken the most influential and manliest class of our Indian subjects, *that danger is infinitely aggravated by the cruel wrong and injustice whereby that ruin has been effected.* With blind perversity and reckless disregard of consequences, we have fashioned our administration of justice as if we had but one object in view, and that the advantage of the money-lender.

* * *

In short, the whole machinery of an intricate and refined system of law—elaborated by men in an utterly different stage of moral and intellectual progress from those for whom it is framed, and consequently entirely unsuited to the feelings, instincts, and traditions of the latter—is placed at the disposal of a class so keen, shrewd, and guileful, that even in fanatical countries where they are treated as dogs, and labour under every possible disability, they trade and lend money, and prosper, and cheat with impunity the Mohammedan masters who oppress them.

MR. J. T. MACKENZIE
(GLEN. MUICK, ABERDEENSHIRE,)

ON THE
"REAL DANGER" IN INDIA ARISING FROM THE
GOVERNMENT BEING "TYRANNICAL, OPPRES-
SIVE AND UNGENIAL."

(*"Daily News," November 1880.*)

Our danger in India is not from opposition from internal military organization. By refraining from unnecessary interference with the fighting mountain races, half our present army could march through India. Our real danger lies in the fact that our Government is tyrannical, oppressive, and ungenial. *A continuation in that system will compel a social rising of the people; and what adds to this danger is that the enormous home requirement we extort from India is now regarded by the people as a tax paid by them to the Queen of England, and as the cause of their distress.* Indian officials may deride the possibility of such a combination; not those who have witnessed Mohammedan and Hindu tenantry uniting and by force resisting some of the more than usually oppressive exactions of their much-dreaded landlords. If this occurs, it will be a repetition of the rising of the serfs in the middle ages. Why do we tolerate these abuses, and run the risk of losing an empire, the envy of Europe, so beneficial to England, her trade and commerce? Because Indian topics are as distasteful to us, as a people, as Mr. Gladstone states they are to the Cabinet. The generous sympathies of England are given to other oppressed nationalities. Self-vanity makes her shrink from an inquiry which would prove there is as much misrule in her government of India, as in that of other Eastern potentates. There is one chance for India and for the averting from England one of the greatest disasters she may ever sustain, by the spread

of intelligent Liberalism. If remorse could be aroused for the criminal abrogation of our duties, the effete administration, sinecures, and highly-paid, inefficient officials who are ruining and impoverishing India, would be abolished, and the substitution effected of some real and efficient government there.

MR. H. C. IRWIN, BENGAL C. S.
 ON THE
 "GRAVE LESSONS" TAUGHT BY THE MUTINY AND
 THE WISDOM OF LAYING THEM TO HEART IN
 CONNEXION WITH THE CONDITION OF
 THE INDIAN AGRICULTURISTS.

(*Irwin's "Garden of India," 1880.*)

The great evil of rural Oudh is, as has been already observed, the insufficiency of the produce of the soil to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying their rent and the cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to anything but direct action, on the sources of the evil? *While the millions suffer from chronic hunger, it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation, or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want.* While the one thing greatly needful is left undone, mortuary statistics, and crop statements, and wholly uncalled-for alluvion and diluvion reassessments, and all the similar inventions on which the energy and patience of district officers are at present expended, can be little better than so many pretentious futilities.

* * *

But security of tenure at a fixed rent must not be deemed a privilege of the cultivator; its maintenance is one of the very first and most binding duties of the State. In our accurate survey, in our field maps and settlement statistics, we have facilities for attaining this great ideal such as no previous rulers of Hindustan—Hindu, Pathan, or Mughal—ever possessed. *Let not the latter end of our rule in Oudh so wholly forget the beginning as to perpetuate and stereotype that degradation of the cultivators to remedy which we professedly annexed the country. The Mutiny should have been treated as an interruption of our policy, charged, indeed, with grave lessons well worthy of being laid to heart, but not as a new revelation changing its aims and objects.* Let it not be said of us by the future historian that, with all the means in our hands of raising the peasantry of Oudh from the squalid poverty and debasement which for centuries past have been their lot, we ignobly suffered them to perish for mere want of an enactment that they should be saved.

THE "TIMES" (13TH Nov. 1882)

ON

"QUESTIONS WHICH TOUCH THE VERY
FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY."

In an able article on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, the *Times* observed in its preamble as under:—

We are now "concerned with *questions which touch the very foundations of society,*" "*questions of enormous difficulty as well as of enormous importance,*" and that we "must rejoice that the Government of India is making an honest and earnest effort to settle them." "The British *raj* will be weighed in the same scales as the dynasties it has supplanted, and if found wanting will share their

fate." "The impoverishment of the Indian cultivator" is discussed, and it is said "that, in view of the fact that life has been made harder for the tillers of the soil by a Government which has honestly laboured to benefit them, and has, in fact, remedied many grievous evils formerly suffered by them. . . . where once land competed for cultivators, cultivators now compete for land." . . .

"But these unavoidable difficulties, inhering in the very nature of our civilization, are aggravated by causes due to, and therefore removeable by, legislation."

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

ON THE

"SAFETY" OF BRITISH INDIAN RULE DEPENDING
ON THE SOLUTION OF THE "TREMENDOUS"
LAND QUESTION.

(Paper on the British Tenancy Bill. Vide East India Association's *Journal*, Vol. XV., 1883.)

If the condition of the peasantry had not been set to rights in the Punjab by John Lawrence, when the Mutiny broke out, where should we have been?

At the outbreak of the Mutiny, in the west of Bombay Presidency, the chiefs tried to make the ryots join the revolt. And they refused. They said: "When we were under you, what did you do for us? Therefore, we will not rise against the English who have improved our condition."

Our own safety is a reason for solving this tremendous problem.

MR. A. J. DONNELL

"THE HISTORY OF A POPULAR REVOLUTION" OF
WHICH THE STATE IS THE REAL ORIGIN.

(Paper on Indian Pauperism, Free-trade and Railways,
March 1884.)

Historians, whose ideas have been largely coloured by those of the governing classes, have depicted the short-lived horrors of popular revolutions as the most part been sketched with faint touches. *And the latter type of revolution leads to more disastrous consequences than the former. The vital forces which in the one case ever working towards a new social equilibrium, are in the other case not brought into play till the Government is itself overthrown. If India is to escape such a catastrophe, it can only do so by the Indian Government and the British Parliament showing more consideration than hitherto for native wants and ways. It is not more scientific, but more sympathetic that is demanded of us by an ancient civilization like that of India. This is the lesson which may be read up and down the pages of British Rule in the East. All the well-recognized and splendid successes of our countrymen in dealing with Orientals are due to the observance, and all their less known, but none the less ignominious, failures, are due to the breach of this principle. Wherever we have superseded, instead of supervising, native officials and headmen, wherever we have poisoned the social organism with English reforms, instead of purifying it by the light of the best native traditions, there the seeds of demoralization and disaster have been sown broadcast. The wisest men in India are beginning to recognize this fact, but we in England are oblivious of it, and especially in those points where commercial self-interest blinds our eyes.*

SIR LOUIS MALLET

ON THE

"ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS" OF THE
INDIAN LAND QUESTION—"A POLITICAL
DANGER," "WHAT IS DIFFICULT TO-DAY
MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE TO-MORROW."

(Extract from the Minutes on Indian Land Revenue.
Commission Report, Appendix I. Miscellaneous
papers on the condition of the Country and
India. Pages 135 and 142.)

...ver conditions may be held as to the
...ain facts, are, I think apparent. Principles of land
...e one hand, we see a system which
...the State 50 per cent. or more of the
...thus diverted fund which, in countries produce of
...roperty is absolutely sold, to a great extent, elsewhere private
...again into channel for rural improvement, its way back

But the amount of produce thus diverted is
—it is also uncertain. The percentage itself is certain, but
...ing with the views of successive governments and the
...actually assessed, even within the prescribed limits, is uncer-
tain, varying with the accidents of seasons, with the charac-
ter of the cultivators, and with the judgment and knowledge of
the Settlement service.

Whether the Government or the assessor leans to the side
of indulgence or to that of severity, all the consequences of un-
certainty are equally involved. What those consequences are,
likely to be it is needless to enumerate. It is enough to say
that security and permanence are the essential conditions of
productive energy.

This system, moreover, is one in which proprietary rights are so confounded, or so confusedly divided, that they are separated from their corresponding duties, and such is the dislocation of the forces engaged in this artificial mechanism, that these rights as often serve to maintain and perpetuate inefficiency as to rouse and stimulate industry and the spirit of improvement.

Such are a few of the salient features of the system; that, on the other hand, do we find as the characteristics of industry and of the people to which that system has been

... the absence of any adequate accumulation of capital upon the soil, and (as a consequence) of any sufficient appropriation of such capital to purposes of improvement, deficiency of stocks, of manures, of tools, of implements.

In the prevalent habits among the high, and indolence, and among the lower, a prodigal dependence on Government, extreme poverty of the people, very low conditions of existence. Nowhere do we generally find of enterprise, of initiation, or of progress.

see 4 I do think that this is an overstatement of the impression which it makes on the mind of an outside observer like myself by a study of the accounts which reach us from different parts of India; and when it is remembered that the state of things, which I have very briefly described, is precisely that which the science and experience of modern societies would have predicted as the inevitable result of the economic conditions which have prevailed, I think it must be allowed that, if there be no relation of cause and effect between them, it is at least a strange coincidence that they should be the foundation of this.

I have confined my remarks (of the ryots.) social aspects of this question, but I am used the fact that in political point of view, it not even not impeached a point beyond

By a perpetual interference with the operation of laws which our own rule in India has set in motion, and which, I venture to think, are essential to success—*by a constant habit of palliating symptoms, instead of grappling with disease—may we not be leaving to those who come after a task so aggravated by our neglect or timidity, that what is difficult for us may be impossible for them?*

* * *

So long as the exactions from the land by the State were levied by the Company as the inheritor of despotic Governments, and frugally dispensed in the several functions of administration, or even sent in form of tribute to England, I can understand the Indian people accepting their fate without dangerous impatience, as a customary incident in their condition. But when the sums so taken are largely spent, as they now are, for the avowed purpose of benefiting the Indian Empire and people at large, on public works, education, health, famine, and all the objects which under the influence of modern ideas fall within the province of State expenditure, and attempts are made more and more to resist and remove taxes such as income tax and Customs, which fall on other than the land-holding classes, while to meet the increasing burdens of the State additional charges are laid on the land, may they not awaken to the fact that they are being made the subject of an experiment, which, I venture to think in spite of Sir H. Maine's criticism, can only be appropriately described, wherever it is found, as "communistic."

It is, I think, impossible to deny that there is some danger in this direction, and it cannot, I believe, be safely met by temporizing, and by leaving to the enemy so formidable a weapon as the theory of State landlordism. Nearly all modern Anglo-Indian writers, as far as I have seen or heard,—the whole generation of public men and economists trained by Mill, and the influence of a free trade tariff,—would in principle support in principle the largest possible

appropriation of the rent of the land. What degree of support their policy would now obtain, or may hereafter obtain in India, I cannot pretend to say, but *Indian opinion does not always go for much, and much is in the power of an all-embracing and powerful bureaucracy, with the press in its hands, and with a Government at its back, which may be any day at its wit's end for money, and which can hardly undertake an object on which it has set its heart, without a cess on the land.*

From this point of view, the policy of further taxing the land might easily become a political danger, and the large margin on which under the rent theory, the State has a right, if it be not a duty, to encroach, lends itself too easily to such an extension.

In an economical point of view, I regard such a policy as especially mischievous.

The function of rent is to restrain the undue pressure of population on the soil. The presence of rent is the result of the demand for land pressing on the supply. To take the rent and divide it among the whole population, which is done when it is substituted for taxes, is to counteract and neutralize the operation of the law of supply and demand, by stimulating the demand anew without increasing the supply, and *tends directly to a progressive pauperization of the community.*

THE CONDITION OF THE MASSES.

BEING

(Extracts from the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 24th October 1888, in reference to the Parliamentary Inquiries into the question of the general condition of the masses.)

The census taken in 1881 discloses that in India the pressure of population had re-

which further increase would be attended with danger. In Bengal eight districts had a village population of more than 700 souls to the square mile, and the mean of the eight districts was reported to have "reached the astonishing figure of 802.66." In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh twenty-one districts had a population of more than 500 to the square mile; and in Benares, Ballia, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Lucknow the mean density of population per square mile exceeded 700. In the Punjab no such figures were attained, but in eight districts the rural population varied between 300 and 400 per square mile—a condition of things which suggested the remark that "in the most populous districts the capacity of the soil to support agricultural population had been strained to the utmost."

Madras had no single instance of an entire district in which the density exceeded 600, and in the ordinary settled districts the extremes of density varied from 583 per square mile in Tanjore and 515 in Vizagapatam to 91 in Kurnool; but in certain taluks of the Tanjore district aggregating an area of 1,323 square miles the density of population was 877 per square mile. In Bombay the density of normal population nowhere reached a high figure; but the census taken in that Presidency indicated that in some districts the struggle for subsistence was severe.

As was to be expected, the density of the rural population was found to a great extent to depend on the fertility of the soil and on a favourable rainfall. In one district a population even of 800 to the square mile may live in comfort, while in another 200 to the square mile may mean starvation. *But there can be little doubt that even in the most fertile districts of India, in some of which, as in Azamgarh, the population amounts to over 1,000 to each square mile of cultivation, the situation must be perilous.*

* * *

In anticipation of the detailed analytical examination of agricultural tracts, which it is the duty of the Departments of Land Records and Agriculture eventually to provide but which

may not be fully worked out for many years to come, His Excellency next considered it desirable that an enquiry should be made into the condition of the lower classes of the population, with a view to discovering what localities are on account of the pressure of population and insufficiency of produce in urgent need of relief.

* * *

It may be stated briefly that, over the greater part of India, the condition of the lower classes of the agricultural population *is not one which need cause any great anxiety at present*. The circumstances of these classes are such as to secure in normal seasons physical efficiency for the performance of agricultural work, though in the tracts classed as "insecure" there is always a risk in the event of a failure of the rains, that the more indigent class of the people may be overtaken by distress in various degrees and forms, and be deprived of the wages ordinarily provided by the agricultural operations on which in normal seasons they depend for their livelihood. There is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt owing to reckless expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies, and in consequence of this indebtedness and of the fact that their creditors, the middlemen, intercept a large proportion of the profits of agriculture, does not save, and has little or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, there is no sufficient cause for the direct interference of Government.

In one or two parts of the country, however, there seem to be grounds for anxiety. In Bebar, it is believed, that *40 per cent.* of a population of 15,313,359 *is in a state of agricultural degradation*.

* * *

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh there is now no evidence of marked agricultural degradation, and even in

districts such as Ballia, where the density of population is over 700 to the square mile, the fertility of soil which is the cause of the density of population secures general prosperity. Still the census figures, which show that in twenty-one districts there is a population of more than 500 to the square mile, suggest the inference that *the time may not be far distant when it may be necessary to relieve over-population* by some comprehensive scheme of emigration. This remark especially applies to the districts east of Lucknow.

* * *

BENGAL.—It is to be noticed that there is far more prosperity in the eastern than in the western districts of Bengal. In the Chittagong Division the cultivators and agricultural labourers are described as being in a state of at least comparative comfort. The people of Chittagong are mostly agriculturists; and even day-labourers, domestic servants, &c., have their patch of land, which is cultivated by them or their families.

* * *

Their houses are larger and better than the houses in Western Bengal; they wear better clothes; they eat better food, not infrequently flesh—and can afford to remain idle, and to amuse themselves for days together. Several reasons are given for the prosperity in Chittagong:—the low assessment of land revenue; the security from failure of the principal crop—rice; the fertility of the soil; and the facilities of water-carriage. *One opinion is given by a Native official, which is utterly opposed to that given by all the other officers of the division.* He considers that the struggle for existence is becoming harder; that the rise in wages has been more than counterbalanced by a rise in the price of provisions; and that the export of rice is an evil.

* * *

In Midnapur District the first note of distress is struck, and, although the Bengal Government in its review states that

symptoms of chronic poverty appear in Bankoorah District, it can hardly be concluded from the Collector's report that the situation in Bankoorah is at all unfavourable. He writes: "the cultivators and other people including labourers are generally beyond the power of heartless money-lenders and live more comfortably off than their forefathers. Debts are incurred for marriages and other ceremonies. Agricultural labourers get on an average $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day, which is barely sufficient to meet their daily expenses; but there is no want of work for them." In Midnapur District, however, *there is evidence furnished by the native Settlement Officer which suggests that the condition of the ryots in a part of the district is unsatisfactory.* Land and cattle are both stated to be deteriorating—the former from impoverishment of the soil; the latter from want of fodder. The grazing grounds have disappeared before the weavers and other castes, who have now taken to agriculture for their subsistence. *The ryots live from hand to mouth. Two full meals of coarse rice per day are a luxury to them. They cannot afford dal and vegetables daily: salt is their ordinary condiment and kalmi (a kind of aquatic plant), and boiled brinjal form their daily vegetable diet. The increase of salt duty has been a great hardship to them. They think themselves fortunate when they get fish and dal at dinner: this they hardly do more than once a week. Their physique has deteriorated from insufficient food and constant attacks of malarious fever.*

* * *

But on passing into the province of Behar, which includes the districts of Monghyr and Bhagulpur as well as the Patna Division, the scene changes. Excluding Champaran and Shahabad districts where land remains to be broken up, the Behar Province comprises seven districts, Patna, Gya, Muzzafarpur, Durbhunga, Sarun, Bhagulpur and Monghyr, with a population of 15,313,359. Wages are low; the highest wage is 2 annas a day: employment is insufficient: rents are high and tenure is insecure.

The facts included in the following extracts apply generally to all the seven named districts of Behar :

The Settlement Officer, Mr. Collin, writing with special reference to two villages examined by him in the district, observes :—“ From the foregoing description of the condition of the agricultural classes in this pergunnah (Daphor), it appears that *they need not at present cause any apprehension*, and that in ordinary years they have sufficient means of subsistence. The picture which I have drawn does not, however, show any great prosperity, and shows that the lower classes, which, including the weaving class, amounting to 25 per cent. of the population, have little chance of improving their position, and that *they would have no resources to fall back upon in time of scarcity.*” The Collector of Monghyr remarks that he has come across many inhabitants who were thin and apparently in want of due nourishment. The Collector of Patna writes of ryots holding less than four local bighas, or two and a half acres :—“ Their fare is of the very coarsest, consisting to a great extent of *khesari dal*, and the quantity is insufficient during a considerable part of the year. They can only take one full meal instead of two. They are badly housed, and in the cold weather insufficiently clothed.” As to labourers, he adds, that their condition is rather worse : “ They are almost always paid in kind, the usual allowance of a grown man being 2 to 2½ seers of the coarsest and cheapest grain, value about 1¼ annas. Women receive about half this rate, but their employment is less regular. Ordinarily, male labourers do not find employment for more than eight months of the year. The conclusion to be drawn is that, of the agricultural population, a large proportion, say 40 per cent., are insufficiently fed, to say nothing of clothing and housing. They have enough food to support life and to enable them to work, but they have to undergo long fasts, having for a considerable part of the year to satisfy themselves with one full meal in the day. With regard to Gya, the Commissioner accepts a statement made by the Collector that 40 per cent. of the population are insufficiently fed. Dr. Lethbridge, the Inspector General of Jails, writes :—“ In Behar, the districts of Mozufferpore and Sarun, and parts of Durbhunga and Chumparun, are the worst, and there is almost constant insufficiency of food among those who earn their living by daily labour.”

The remarks of the Bengal Government on the measures which suggest themselves for relieving the pressure in Behar should be read. A survey and record-of-rights under the Bengal Tenancy Act, emigration and popular education, are all mentioned; but of these, emigration which is now rendered possible on a large scale by the annexation of Upper Burma, appears to be the most practical and expedient.

Sufficient has been quoted to show that *in the seven districts of the Behar Province the struggle for existence is very severe*; but a few statements made by the Collector of Bhagulpur and the Settlement Officer of the Banaili and Srinagar estate may be added. The former writes: "the mass of ryots are not under-fed, but the labourer is under-fed for about a fourth of the year. His wage as quoted in cash is miserably low, and varies from five pice in the south and extreme north to six pice over most of the district. Cash payments are rare, and although the labourer benefits to a small degree by the rise of prices, *viz.*, to the extent that his wage on grain exceeds his actual consumption thereof, the system of grain payment is a real danger to the population. For directly a crop shows signs of failing, the grain store is husbanded, and the labourers are under-fed. *The weaver is the worst-fed man in the village community,*

The Settlement Officer of the Srinagar estate gives interesting details as to the employment and food of labourers. Employment is forthcoming for six months in the year; *for the remainder of the year it is fitful or entirely wanting.* The villagers do not purchase oil except for rubbing on the head and body occasionally. It would be a luxury if they could get some oil to cook their vegetables. The conclusions of this officer are summed up thus:—The working classes with or without small holdings are *badly clothed, badly housed*; do not enjoy luxury of life; *live from hand to mouth, but do not suffer* actual want of food *in ordinary years.*

The Chota Nagpur Division covers an immense area and contains races whose condition varies from little more than savagery to orderly and civilized communities. The Inspector General of Jails remarks that the only parts of Bengal on which there need be anxiety regarding sufficiency of food, are Behar and Chota Nagpur. In Manbhoom District it is stated that among the labouring classes there is a section, under one-fifth, which is well to do, but the majority have to put up with a standard of living which is *barely half as high as that common among the cultivators*. In the Singhbhoom District there are no indications of want, and in some parts there is distinct prosperity. In the Lohardugga District there is good evidence to show that two meals a day is the rule, and the number of cattle and utensils argues a comfortable state of things. Emigration and employment in the local tea gardens also assist to keep up the standard of living.

* * *

The reports for the Orissa Division are written by officers of whom many are new to the districts. As regards Pooree District, however, there is the evidence of Mr. Taylor who possesses considerable experience, and he seems to think that the poorer classes are not under-fed. Even after three successive years' failure of the rice crop there was no sign of actual starvation or serious distress. *Dr. Sandel*, Civil Surgeon, however, is of opinion that the poorer classes, are not properly fed or clad. They barely subsist on coarse rice and a spinnage curry cooked without oil. *As a rule, they do not have more than one meal a day.*

* * *

ASSAM.—In Sylhet as in the Brahmaputra Valley the staple food is rice, of which there are six principle varieties grown. *The ordinary economic condition of the people is not so good as it was a few years ago*; their wealth consists of land and cattle principally. The great object of every man is to own his homestead and piece of land,

There is no such class of people who solely depend upon their earnings as hired labourers. The land revenue in Sylhet is lighter than in the Assam Valley and the district produces more rice than is needed for its own consumption.

The conclusion drawn from the evidence, taken as a whole, seems to be that while the peasantry in the district are well above anything approaching distress, *their condition cannot at this moment be said to be prosperous.*

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.—Mr. Crooke observes that the sanitary evils, under which the agricultural population suffer, in particular the prevalence of malaria due to canal irrigation when unrelieved by drainage are severe, and in many cases render the agriculturists unfit to consume the varieties of grain, which are their usual food. In many villages the interruption to work produced by malaria is very serious. Mr. Alexander, Collector of Etawah, saw a good many people in March last, whose appearance showed *that they had been suffering from an insufficiency of food*; but writing in May, he says that *none except actual paupers are in real distress.*

After a careful enquiry Mr. Alexander is of opinion that the bulk of the cultivators in the villages, selected for investigation, have not been suffering from want of food, and do not ordinarily do so; but that owing to high prices the labourers and a few of the smaller or exceptionally unfortunate cultivators have been pressed between December 1887 and March 1888. Mr. Porter, Collector of Shahjahanpur, writes:—"The poorer classes eat only the coarsest and cheapest grains and can eke out the subsistence as long as these are procurable, at not less than 14 seers to the rupee."

Mr. Holderness, writing of the Pilibhit District, says "that the landless labourer's condition is not all that could be desired. The *united earnings* of a man, his wife, and two children *cannot be put at more than Ra. 3 per month.* When prices of

food-grains are moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing, and occasionally a thin blanket. *The small cultivator* is slightly better off, but he *has not always enough to eat, or sufficiently warm clothes.*"

The Commissioner of Allahabad remarks in a general way that *there is very little between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation*; and the Collector of Banda writes that a very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by their poor physique that either they are habitually half-starved, or have been in their early years exposed to the trials and severities of a famine. It may be observed that the districts of the Allahabad Division are peculiarly subject to a very precarious rainfall.

* * *

The information from Jhansi is meagre. The Commissioner thinks that the scantiness of the population precludes the idea of starvation, and he notices that labour is always in demand. The Deputy Collector of Kalpi, a native, is emphatic in denying the insufficiency of food.

The following accounts are given in respect to Oudh :

Mr. Boys, Commissioner of Sitapur, appeals to the evidence of his own eyes. The cultivators in Oudh are far better off than they were 25 years ago.

They are in better condition; they have more household effects, and of a better kind in shape of cooking vessels and utensils of kinds: "they are happy and contented."

Mr. Harrington, Commissioner, Fyzabad, thinks otherwise. He quotes articles from the *Gazetteer* and articles of his own, and *maintains that the assertion that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food* is "perfectly true as regards a varying but always considerable

proportion of the population, for a considerable part of the year in the greater part of India." Mr. Harrington's experience, however, extends only to his own Province, in respect even to which his broad assertion must be qualified by other evidence.

* * *

Mr. Irwin, Deputy Commissioner of Rae Bareilly, is like Mr. Harrington, regarded by his own Government as a pessimist, and his opinions expressed in his "Garden of India" certainly favoured the impression that there was a widespread want of food. He now takes a more cheerful view of the situation: "the mass of the agricultural population in ordinary times and the *elite* always do get enough to eat: a considerable minority in bad seasons feel the pinch of hunger, and a small minority, consisting of the sickly, the weak, the old, and the childless suffer from chronic hunger except just about harvest time when grain is plentiful." Mr. Irwin incidentally notices the decreasing productiveness of the soil and the gradual deterioration of the country cattle. He advocates the stopping of the exportation of grain from India when prices in any large portion of the country reach a certain point. Recent experience, however, proves that a high price in India does, as a matter of fact, in itself act as a powerful and speedy check to exportation.

* * *

Sir Auckland Colvin disclaims optimistic views, and points out that when an officer speaks of the more indigent class of the people, as being always on the *verge of starvation*, the meaning is not that they are living on insufficient food, but that they run the risk in view of a failure of the rains of losing employment, and consequently losing the means of obtaining food.

* * *

PUNJAB.—In the Delhi Division which contains tracts of land which are distinctly insecure, a systematic enquiry was set on foot. There appears to be no actual want of food, but the *standard of living is perilously low*. Green crops, herbs and even

berries, are consumed in quantities larger than is good for health, but the officers of the Delhi Division consider that it is erroneous and misleading to say that any considerable portion of the population of the Punjab, whether urban or rural, suffer habitually from any degree of hunger. They admit that *there is an unsatisfactory mass of low diet in the country even in normal conditions*, but they maintain that there is no evidence to show that poor feeding is on the increase. On the contrary, they believe that the standard of general comfort is higher now than before annexation, and doubt whether the poor of India are normally worse off as regards food than in western countries. This opinion is of value inasmuch as the officers who give it are all men of experience and habits of observation and if the assertion now under discussion were true in any part of the Punjab, it would be in the districts of the Delhi Division.

The rest of the province may be dealt with very briefly. In the Lahore Division the two pounds of flour ration eked out by pulse, vegetables and condiments, is available to the vast majority. The diet is plentiful and of as good a quality as the peasantry care for.

In the Jullundur Division it is untrue to say that the greater part of the population suffer from an insufficiency of food. Rai Maya Dass, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, speaking of 33 exceptional villages in the Ferozepore District, says that *many of the people lie down hungry in the evening and seldom get sufficient for both meals during the 24 hours.*

* * *

Ghulam Farid Khan, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Shahpur District, holds that *½ per cent. of the Hindus live at starvation point, and that 10 per cent. have an insufficient quantity of food, while ¼ per cent. of the Muhammadans are at starvation point and 20 per cent. do not obtain sufficient food.*

The Commissioner of the Derajat Division scouts the idea that in ordinary times there is an insufficiency of food, and

the Deputy Commissioners of the Division support this view. In Dera Gazi Khan District, generally speaking, all classes appear to be well fed. In one insecure tract of the Dera Ismail Khan District, now deserted by the people, the inhabitants were reduced to the unwholesome berries of bushes and trees, but elsewhere the people have as much as they can eat.

* * *

Briefly it may be said that *in the Punjab*, in ordinary times, the greater proportion of the population does not suffer from a daily insufficiency of food; but in times of unusual scarcity, not amounting to famine and high prices, the poorer classes, whose standard of living is very low, are no doubt reduced to great straits, and do not get a sufficiency of food.

* * *

RAJPUTANA.—In Rajputana the population do not suffer from a daily insufficiency of food. Whenever there is any distress the Durbars make advances, which keep the people going until the crops ripen. In late years there has been a greater tendency to store fodder and the staple food of the masses, collected in years of plenty, to be expended when hard times come, than used to be the case.

* * *

BOMBAY.—Gujarat is the richest division of Bombay. The dark-folk form 53 per cent. of the total population, and they all drink. The standard of living has changed but slightly within the last 15 years, and many of the early tribes live during the hot weather more or less on roots, and mowra-flowers, are miserably clothed and housed, and degraded by drink.

But it is explained that *a diet of forest products does not necessarily imply an insufficiency of food*, and it must be remembered that with the early tribes *these products are articles of normal diet*.

The causes of indigence among these classes are drink, dislike of steady work, and to some extent the restraint imposed

upon them by the "Forest and Excise laws." "The high prices at which liquor is sold have added a great deal to their wretched condition. *The hard struggle to obtain the usual quantity of drink, even at the sacrifice of other necessities, has thrown them completely into the clutches of the local money-lenders and liquor-sellers.*"

* * *

In the Deccan 33 per cent. of the area with a population of 1,727,250, is chronically liable to famine. The Deccan has no sea-board or navigable rivers, but has excellent communications by road and rail. The population is sparse, only 148 per square mile, and the lower stratum is only 23 per cent. of the total population. Employment is constant, and it is considered that there is no widespread distress anywhere in the Deccan.

The Commissioner of the Deccan remarks at the end of a graphic letter :—

The observant among us who have passed the best part of our lives in the country, who are in sympathy with the people knowing their language, respecting them for their docility and patience and their wonderful charity to each other, we who have watched all this come to pass, and have marked this steady advance, do not assert that our agricultural and labouring classes are prosperous. We know that they are poor, in the sense that they have few possessions, and those mostly their carts and bullocks and ordinary necessaries. We know that they have little money. *We know that they habitually live from hand to mouth; but we also know that they are not in any sense poverty-stricken, that there is no widespread distress among them, and that they have no difficulty in "filling their bellies" every day.* We know that their earnings and resources have increased and with them the standard of their living.

The Karnatak or Southern Maratha country comprises the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur; *61 per cent. of its area is chronically liable to famine.*

Mr. Timalrao Vyankatish estimates that 5 per cent. of the Dharwar population is insufficiently fed, and there is supposed

to be some want in the Ghat villages of Belgaum. The Commissioner, Mr. Probert, however, knows of no class who endure absolute want, though he estimates that *poverty is universal*.

"Poverty" amongst the labouring classes of the mofussil most certainly exists, and not only does it exist, but represents the normal condition of those classes. Their houses are poor, their belongings are poor, their food is poor, their clothing very poor. "Poverty," however, and "want," at any rate in India, are two very different things, and after many years' residence amongst the people of the country, I have no hesitation in saying that while "poverty" is the rule (I still speak of the lower classes), actual "want" is the exception.

The Konkan includes the districts of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri, and the district of Kanara has also been discussed under this Division. *Ratnagiri is the only district about which there need be anxiety*. It has a dense population and a severe landlord system known as the Khoti tenure under which a rent is exigible, by the khot amounting to from one-third to one-half the gross produce. The reports on Ratnagiri are depondent. *The Ghat cultivators for the most part cannot get enough to allay hunger in the hot weather*. Mr. Raud says one-fifth cannot, and according to Mr. Candy one-fourth cannot. Mr. Crawford, who before the Famine Commissioners said "there was not a single monsoon, however favourable, in which the people do not suffer without a murmur most of the hardships incidental to a famine" now maintains that the development of the country has been so great, that there are very few isolated or inaccessible spots in the whole Southern Konkan where chronic distress exists. Families resort to the Bombay labour market, and 9,000 Konkans are annually employed in the Army. On the whole, in spite of the above assertion, it is to be feared that in Ratnagiri District there is distress. *Near the Ghats the people subsist largely on roots and wild vegetables, mango and jack fruits*. They do not save, and seldom have an ornament of any kind; and *90 per cent. of them are in debt*.

* * *

- CENTRAL PROVINCES.—In Saugor investigations of a general character conducted by the Deputy Commissioner (Colonel Repton), convinced him that the average net income of a tenant was about Rs. 70, and that the smallest sum on which a family could subsist for a year was Rs. 36, when ordinary food had to be supplemented for some months of the year by wild fruits, berries and roots. Speaking generally he seems to have found amongst the tenantry a great deal of indebtedness, but no poverty to speak of.

In Damoh a considerable number of the smaller tenants seem to be hard pressed, though the Deputy Commissioner makes no mention of any cases of distress. There is a serious amount of indebtedness in this district. The Deputy Commissioner admits that "the greater part of the insolvency in the district seemed to arise from causes under the people's own control," that "few instances of harsh treatment" were found, and that the people seemed "quite cheerful owing Rs. 1,100 or Rs. 1,200."

In Jabalpur a very large proportion of the tenants was involved to greater or less extent in debt, but the excellent crop of the last season has enabled a large portion to pay off their creditors. The labouring class was found in enjoyment of little beyond a bare subsistence, but it was exceedingly difficult to get anything like reliable information from them. Village servants and artizans were better off.

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As regards Nima the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Ismay) is of opinion that in the open parts of the district there is no poverty among the agricultural classes, though there is a very great amount of indebtedness, due very largely to extravagance. The artizans and village servants are fairly well off, while the labouring classes in villages, the open parts of the district, appear to be rather better off than in any other parts of the Provinces.

In Betul the tenants are fairly off, and they are well supplied with cattle. Indebtedness is however very great. Village servants and artisans are reported to live very comfortably, while field labourers in regular service receive from 10 to 20 maunds of grain and Rs. 12 or 15 in cash. Their wives earn something in addition to this, and they can generally make both ends meet.

* * *

A report on the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States has also been furnished. The Political Agent (Mr. F. C. Berry) writing of the Bastar State says, "that the aboriginals are hardy, active, and possess a physique which certainly does not indicate that they are habitually under-fed." In the Patna State the condition of the agricultural population is reported by the Superintendent to be comfortable, while speaking generally of the lower classes in the Sarangarh State, the Superintendent says, "I should say that in average seasons they obtain an adequate subsistence, but in a season of deficient harvest they feel the pressure of high prices, which however, would rarely amount to actual want in the portions of the State where the forests are still abundant." "To sum up the facts given in the reports of these States as tested by my own experience," writes the Superintendent, "I should say that the majority of the population comprised in the lower classes subsists with ease under normal conditions, a large portion manages to subsist and to make both ends meet, while a small portion leads a hand-to-mouth existence, which in seasons of high prices passes from mere poverty into distress."

Mr. Mackenzie's general conclusion on the whole enquiry is that—

"there is no doubt in these Provinces a great deal of poverty, but there is very little distress. The people are well fed and the only section of them who can be said to be hard pressed for bare subsistence are the hill tribes, who are but little more provident than the beasts of the forests, and have to undergo similar vicissitudes in daily

food. The volume of wealth is rapidly increasing, and there is no lack of employment for those who wish for it. If only more of the money which the Provinces are receiving reached the producers and less was intercepted by money-lenders and middle men, the condition of the people might be described as prosperous. But over them hangs the grip of the usurer and the shadow of the Civil Courts."

* * *

MADRAS.—The Madras-report is preliminary, and the enquiry will be continued. The opinions of the district officers are not supported by concrete instances, but in many cases they reflect the views of men who have for years observed the conditions of agricultural life in Madras. The conclusion of these officers, which is concurred in by the Board of Revenue and by the Madras Government, is, that no considerable proportion of the population suffer from a daily insufficiency of food in ordinary years.

In the Ganjam district, though the income of agricultural labourers only, just meets their expenditure, they have enough to eat.

In Vizagapatam, the Collector says, the agriculturists live miserably, and cannot afford a sufficiency of food. With two and sometimes three meals a day, a cloth to cover himself, and a hut to live in, "the labourer is probably the poorest creature in the world." But, as pointed out by the Madras Government, the Collector admits that the inhabitants are an unusually sturdy and muscular class of men; and this is hardly compatible with a want of food. Further, it may be added that two or three meals a day is quite up to the average; that clothes in the Madras climate are a superfluity; and that the hut is the customary and traditional house of the peasant.

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In Nellore the Collector denies any insufficiency; but the Civil Surgeon supports the insufficiency dictum, on the ground that criminals always increased in weight after they had been in jail sometime, and that a large number did not get sufficient

food to develop their muscles to their full extent. The Board of Revenue remarks that the Madras jail dietary is the most liberal in India, and that the hard labour of a prisoner in jail is by no means such hard work as that undergone by the labourer in the fields. This question of rise in weight during incarceration is one of some importance, and has been noticed in other Provinces. Mr. Crooke in the North-Western Provinces suggests that a newly admitted prisoner has just passed through the ordeal of arrest, and that he has probably been remanded more than once or marched about the country after a Magistrate in camp. A man like this naturally loses weight in the interval between arrest and conviction. The Indian convict is not in solitary confinement: he is well dressed and lightly worked. If he is a cultivator, he is free from the labour and anxiety of field watching at night. He is promptly attended to for the most trifling ailments. Dr. Lethbridge, Inspector General of Jails, Bengal, also considers that the deep anxiety and often distress which precede conviction cause loss of weight. It may be added that a convict does not indulge in tobacco and opium.

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In Chingleput the Collector thinks the mass of the people live from hand to mouth, and in adverse seasons are seriously hampered. But the Government of Madras believes that the condition of the people has improved in a marked degree within the last ten years.

* * *

In North Arcot the Collector in a burst of rhetoric suggests that grinding poverty is the widespread condition of the masses; and two missionaries state that many poor people, who though they do not actually starve, go through life on insufficient food.

MR. GIFFEN
ON
INDIA FOR MANY YEARS TO COME" BEING "AN
INCREASINGLY DANGEROUS PROBLEM" IN
REFERENCE TO AN INCREASING POPU-
LATION AND INADEQUATE MEANS
OF SUBSISTENCE.

(Essays in Finance, Second Series, 1886.)

Still continuing the use of the most common statistics of population, I propose next to direct attention to one of the most formidable problems which have to be dealt with by our imperial government, and for the knowledge of which we are mainly indebted to statistics. I refer to the growth of the population of our great dependency—India. I have already referred in the most general terms to the peculiar and complicated relations which are likely to grow up between nations of the European family and the races or nations of different types. At no point are these relations more interesting than they are in connection with the supremacy the English race has gained over the subject races of India. The point of interest in these relations for our present purpose lies, however, chiefly in this—that the Roman peace we have established in India appears to be effective in removing many obstacles to the growth of population which formerly existed—what Malthus described as the natural checks—so that under our rule the Indian population is growing in numbers from year to year, and trenching with *alarming rapidity* on the means of subsistence. I believe I am within the mark in saying that there is no more anxious subject for the consideration of our public men. The late Mr. Bagehot I know was profoundly impressed by the fact, and repeatedly wrote his impressions, though I do not remember

whether anything he wrote is collected among his published writings. Others of our leading public men and economists are also deeply impressed by the fact, though it is considered almost too delicate for public discussion. There can be no doubt, however, of the formidable nature of the problem. India has now on its 1,400,000 square miles of territory a population of 240 millions—I am dealing in round figures—or about 170 to the square mile: not an excessive proportion according to formal comparisons with other countries, but in reality *leaving the people no margin*. It appears, from the most careful studies, that whatever the number of people to the square mile, *there is very little new and fertile soil to appropriate*; that much soil has been so appropriated during the last century of our rule; and that the population continues to grow fast without any increase of the land revenue, or any other sign that land is being rapidly taken into cultivation—with signs on the contrary of exhaustion in the agriculture, and of an approach to the limits of production according to the means at the disposal of the population. So much is more or less accurately known by statistics; and of the cardinal fact—the magnitude and increase of the population—it is statistics from which we learn everything. The broad figures are here not so clear as they might be, because improved methods in taking the censuses have from time to time revealed larger populations than could be accounted for by taking the totals of one previous census and adding the probable or possible increase of population meanwhile; but of the actual fact of increase between two census periods there is no doubt, while the rate of increase, if we are successful in coping with famines, proves to be nearly 1 per cent. per annum. In ten years, therefore, there will be 20 millions more people in India to feed; in twenty years upwards of 40 millions more; and the problem thus brought before the Indian Government is in what way and by what means so to develop the character of the people that their industry may become more efficient upon practically the same soil. Failing any speedy alteration in the cha-

racter of the people, *the prospect seems inevitably to be that in India from decade to decade larger and larger masses of the semi-pauperised or wholly pauperised, the landless classes, as Sir James Caird calls them in the Famine Commission report, will grow up, requiring State subventions to feed them, and threatening all attempts to reform Indian finance, while raising social and political difficulties of the most dangerous kind.* It seems certain, then, that India for many years to come, will be *an increasingly dangerous problem* for our statesmen to deal with—the more dangerous perhaps because any change in the character of the people, bringing with it increased energy of production and increased strength of character altogether, will also bring with it a rise in the scale of living, *tending to make the masses discontented instead of submissive to their lot.* Whatever course events may take, our rule in India must apparently for generations become a problem of increasing difficulty and complexity. The problem is analogous to what seems to lie before a government like that of Russia, with this difference, that the government is in Russia a native institution, whereas in India it is that of an alien nation governing a host of subject races,

AVERAGE PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS—1866 to 1890.

(Vide 25th No. of the Statistical Abstract of British India) 1880-1 to 1889-90.

Districts.	Quantities Sold Per Rupee in Seers (One Seer = 2·057 lbs)											
	Average 10 Years, 1866 to 1875.				Average 10 Years, 1876 to 1885.				Average 5 Years, 1886 to 1890.			
	Rice.	Wheat.	Jowar.	Bajri.	Rice.	Wheat.	Jowar.	Bajri.	Rice.	Wheat.	Jowar.	Bajri.
BENGAL.												
Backergunge	19·56	11·67	...	...	18 73	...	...	...	16·42	...	...	...
Burdwan	20 35	15·56	...	...	19 96	14·40	...	...	19 48	14·05	...	...
Calcutta	15·13	14 88	14 59	...	13 20	14·12	20 04	...	15 14	13 71	17 58	...
Chittagong	21 07	14 59	...	...	17 50	11·07	...	...	12 40	12 58	...	...
Cuttack	24 32	13 99	...	...	19 82	15 29	...	...	17·93	14 15	...	...
Dacca	21·73	13 68	...	...	19 30	13 90	...	...	16 89	14 36	...	...
Dinajpore.....	26 63	11 95	...	...	20 81	13 87	...	...	20 07	14·50	...	...
Hazaribagh	16 84	13 47	24 06	...	18 33	15 43	...	...	19 26	14·94	...	...
Midnapur.....	20 42	11 96	...	...	20 75	13 52	...	...	20 34	14 14	...	...
Monghyr	20 73	20 29	30 19	...	16 09	18 20	...	...	16 44	13 68	22 02	...
Murshidabad	19 02	17 67	...	...	18 12	15 69	...	...	18·31	15 86	...	...
Muzafferpore	17·58	15 76	16 00	...	15 53	17 16	...	...	17 71	16 34	...	...

Patna	22-41	18 15	28 02	...	17-79	19 55	29 38	...	19 74	18 26	22 95
Purneah	22 16	17 75	32-49	...	19 80	16 66	...	...	19 23	17-19	...

**NORTH-WEST
PROVINCES.**

Agra.....	12 56	17-47	23-12	21 53	11-21	17-71	23-21	21-77	10-34	14 84	19 11	17-89
Allabad	14 34	15-55	21-47	19 96	15 54	17 53	26 36	25-42	12 83	14-37	20 25	19 09
Bareilly.....	9 17	17-59	20 05	20-67	13-09	18 48	24-15	21-62	12 66	15-34	19 53	17-38
Cawnpore.....	14-45	17 83	24 50	22-24	13 51	18 98	26 99	25 00	13-47	16 88	21-08	20 31
Meerut.....	10 33	21-18	22-43	21-65	12 87	18 96	24 06	21-59	13 10	16-38	22 69	18 75
Mirzapore	14-47	15 83	20 92	19 77	14-34	16 60	25-20	23 13	13 76	14-53	18 99	18 15
Muzafarnagar	12 39	20 24	22 75	20-26	13-42	19 81	25 24	21 90	12 62	17-31	21 26	18 10
Saharanpur	13 08	19-96	23 75	21-79	11-77	19-72	23-02	22 56	11 69	16-77	20 93	19-06

OUDH.

Fyzabad	14-66	18 42	27-19	17-08	15 52	18-21	29 92	19 76	14-80	15-58	19-41	17-93
Lucknow	13 80	17-49	21-64	20-41	13 64	18-81	26-89	24 58	13-41	16-14	20-16	18 61
Sultanpore	15 27	17-93	22 80	19-42	17-03	20-33	28-29	25-34	15 35	17 00	20 56	18 51

PUNJAUB.

Amritser	12-13	19-52	23-78	21-21	11-75	21-50	28-78	22-07	11-15	18-56	22 51	17 64
Delhi	10-70	20 33	23 18	21-91	12-46	19-12	24-66	22 20	12-24	16-43	20-35	18-06

Districts.	Quantities Sold Per Rupee in Seers (One Seer = 2·057 lbs.)											
	Average 10 Years, 1866 to 1875.				Average 10 Years, 1876 to 1885.				Average 5 Years, 1886 to 1890.			
	Rice.	Wheat	Jowar.	Bajri.	Rice.	Wheat.	Jowar.	Bajri.	Rice.	Wheat.	Jowar.	Bajri.
Ludhiana.....	9·94	21·21	24·46	22·95	11·05	21·93	29·77	24·17	11·82	19·52	24·37	20·42
Multan.....	9·58	15·81	21·17	20·00	9·05	15·77	22·19	20·01	10·80	14·79	21·60	18·01
Peshawar.....	8·73	17·89	24·69	20·76	9·77	18·11	26·14	21·51	10·81	16·62	24·34	18·24
Rawalpindi.....	7·98	19·09	25·10	23·81	9·78	21·54	24·64	29·71	10·09	17·46	24·03	21·92
CENTRAL PROVINCES.												
Jubbulpore.....	12·76	18·66	21·79	14·53	15·17	19·28	24·65	17·81	11·84	15·68	19·07	...
Nagpur.....	13·88	16·24	21·37	13·56	13·82	18·12	23·86	19·75	11·99	17·76	21·28	...
Rajpur.....	27·66	34·03	...	...	28·59	31·88	...	...	18·07	23·36	...	...
ASSAM.												
Cachar.....	18·63	8·65	...	...	17·60	9·99	...	...	15·25	9·13	...	...
Goalpara.....	19·93	21·93	...	...	16·17	18·14	...	...	16·38	18·55	...	...
Lakhimpur.....	13·08	9·58	...	...	11·51	8·11	...	...	13·69	8·42	...	...
Sylhet.....	23·45	11·41	...	...	20·83	11·59	...	...	17·05	12·11	...	...

MADRAS.

Bellary.....	11-83	9-45	23-92	20-28	11-66	12-88	25-15	20-64	13-17	14-63	29-15	23-94
Coimbatore	11-43	8-27	19-05	19-84	12-41	10-16	20-75	24-45	13-63	11-39	21-95	23-96
Ganjam	19-02	10-12	23-49	24-90	16-21	11-14	18-50	...	13-58	10-13	...	...
Madras.....	...	...	...	21-92	...	...	20-03	20-16	...	...	21-11	20-78
Salem	13-77	8-71	24-53	22-05	12-48	9-10	20-82	19-92	13-79	10-54	25-51	24-27
Tanjore	14-55	7-52	23-87	24-25	15-02	8-20	24-77	24-59	15-84	9-24	22-68	25-80
Tinnevely	11-25	6-66	20-69	16-06	12-53	7-77	...	19-08	12-60	9-37	...	...
Vizagapatam	14-99	11-70	25-94	27-41	11-07	12-63	21-30	23-35	10-67	12-51	22-89	24-71

BOMBAY.

Ahmedabad	8-66	10-99	17-02	16-17	9-73	12-85	18-04	16-18	9-97	12-01	16-66	15-63
Ahmednagar	8-09	14-17	25-39	22-21	9-48	12-90	20-01	16-92	9-16	13-24	20-58	16-95
Belgaum	11-21	12-12	19-37	18-75	10-98	12-11	19-27	18-19	11-68	15-99	20-72	20-80
Bombay	8-28	9-86	15-98	13-05	10-39	9-65	16-44	14-01	10-93	10-06	17-20	13-96
Karachi	11-92	12-85	19-76	16-69	11-96	11-74	17-67	15-06	12-24	11-67	17-58	15-21
Khandeish (Dhulia)	7-62	11-94	20-64	16-28	10-08	14-75	19-97	16-78	9-45	13-99	21-57	24-47
Shikarpur	15-10	15-71	22-52	24-68	13-32	13-01	18-68	21-39	11-19	12-42	20-04	21-73
Surat	7-20	9-71	14-02	13-50	7-99	11-31	15-18	13-39	9-13	12-16	16-06	15-09

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With Compliments

Rare section

Budgets and Legislative
COUNCILS

BEING AN IMPORTANT EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

OF

FEBRUARY 1871. 1

Madras.

PRINTED AT THE LAWRENCE SALAM PRESS, MOORE ROAD, BY G. W. TAYLOR.

1888

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FEBRUARY 1871.

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1885.

TO
all who entertain the opinion
THAT
the popular demand for the reform
and extension of the Legislative Council
AN
premature, unreasonablc, and revolutionary

This Pamphlet

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

P. S.



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INTRODUCTION.



THE most important reform advocated by the National Congress has been the extension of the Legislative Councils, the introduction of a representative element into those bodies, and the submission to them of the annual budgets for discussion. It is the most important, as the Congress has identified itself with this question more than with any other included in its programme, and believing it to be essential to all real political progress has pledged itself to press its demand on the attention of the authorities, till it is granted. It has excited an opposition corresponding to its importance from a misguided section of the Mahomedan community and a sycophantic fraction of the Hindu community, and has run the gauntlet of very severe criticism from the official world. It was lately denounced by Lord Dufferin as an attempt to reduce the Executive Government into subjection to the Legislative Council by means of the proposed control over the purse, as one which will serve only the interests of the microscopic minority of educated men, as one totally unsuited to the circumstances of the country, and as one therefore which no Government can be reasonably expected to concede. Later still it was said by the Ex-Viceroy that he had endeavoured to teach the educated classes of India to read their own thoughts, and distinguish what is visionary from what is practical.

Inconsistent charges are often brought forward against the Congress; sometimes, that its demands are novel and sometimes, that they are stale. With regard to the question of placing the budgets for discussion before the legislative councils, we gladly accept the reproach of staleness. It is a matter which has been very carefully considered by officials as well as non-officials in

times past, and has commended itself to the approval of all. In this juncture of affairs, it would be peculiarly interesting to know what was thought of the question about 20 years ago by men occupying high and responsible positions in the service of the State. We hope therefore that the publication of extracts from the discussion which took place on the subject in the Legislative Council of Madras in February 1871 will be welcomed as a contribution of some value towards the solution of this question. The occasion of the discussion was the Towns' Improvement and Local Funds Bills which afterwards became the Madras Town's Improvement Act (III of 1871) and the Madras Local Funds Act (IV of 1871) respectively. Many of the members of the Madras Legislative Council were at first opposed to the bills, as they involved fresh taxation in addition to a heavy income-tax then existing, and as there was no guarantee, that the funds raised by local rates would be devoted to local purposes alone, and not diverted by the Supreme Government for imperial purposes. The Financial Decentralization scheme inaugurated by Lord Mayo in 1871 assigned certain services to the Provincial Governments, allotted fixed annual sums to the Local Governments, for the management of those services, leaving them entire freedom within those limits as to the distribution of the expenditure, and virtually gave a guarantee to the Local Governments that the income derived from local rates would not be made a pretext for further reductions of the Imperial grants. The objections entertained by the members of the Madras Legislative Council were thus in great measure obviated. One of the paragraphs of the Decentralization Resolution provided, that the annual financial exposition of each Government should be made before the Local Legislative Council. The bearing of this provision on the Towns Improvement and Local Fund Bills was considered by the Legislative Council in the discussions on those

bills. The construction placed upon this passage by all the members of the Legislative Council was, that the Provincial Budgets should be brought into the Legislative Council in the shape of Appropriation Bills. The whole discussion in the Council proceeded on this view. It is unnecessary to inquire, whether the construction was a proper one. One Advocate-General thought it proper and another held it improper. We are more concerned with the views expressed as to the advisability of investing the Legislative Council with the right of criticising the Budget. The Council was unanimously of opinion at the first meeting that it was a good, safe, and salutary measure. At the next meeting a new Member took his seat in the Council, Mr. J. D. Mayne, the Acting Advocate-General, whose illiberal views towards the natives are notorious. He was of opinion that the proposal was dangerous and revolutionary and all the stock objections to the concession were urged in as forcible a manner as the distinguished advocate could command. At the second and third sittings, Mr Mayne was in the glorious minority of one. His speech provoked a reply from Mr. Arbuthnot which for ability, breadth of view and true statesmanship has not been surpassed in the annals of the Madras Legislative Council. Mr. Arbuthnot was one of the ablest and most experienced officials in the Presidency, and the opinion of no one commanded more the respectful attention of all thoughtful men. He was at the time member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, and afterwards became a member of the Vice-regal Council. That he could be accused of no undue partiality to the Natives of the country is evident from his attitude on the Ilbert Bill, for instance. His Excellency Lord Napier followed Mr. Arbuthnot with cogent arguments and pronounced his opinions no less strongly. He said that the measure could not be embodied in the Bills before the Council as there might be technical difficulties in the way, as they did not fully know

the views of the Government of India, and as the association of this measure with the Bills might possibly subject them to a veto. But he gave a pledge on the part of the Government to press the subject on the Government of India and the Secretary of State and obtain the concession of the privilege. With the solitary exception of Mr. Mayne, the Council was therefore practically unanimous on this momentous question. We may add that this measure was strongly advocated by Mr. Laing, the Finance Minister in 1861, by Sir Charles Trevelyan his successor, by Sir Thomas Pycroft member of the Executive Council, Madras and by Mr. Arbutnot in 1868 and 1869. After the two bills referred to above were passed, the Government of Lord Napier sent up a despatch to the Government of India on the expediency of granting the right of passing the budget to the Legislative Council. But the supreme Government thought that the Indian Council's Act did not render the step necessary and that it would be inexpedient in the circumstances of the Country. If, in the opinion of wise and experienced men having an intimate knowledge of this Presidency and a full sense of the responsibilities of Government, the Madras Legislative Council could be entrusted with the right of discussing the Budget about 20 or 30 years ago, could it not now be so entrusted? Are the Natives less fit now, or the Anglo-Indian officials more prejudiced? The changes advocated in the constitution of the Legislative Councils by the Congress are not intended to deprive the Government of a majority or of the right of over-ruling the decisions of the Council. Is the circumstance that some of the northern provinces are comparatively backward any reason, why a liberal treatment should not be accorded to the advanced presidencies? Our rulers are fond of talking of India as a vast continent of associated nationalities, and yet persist in the application of an inflexible, Procrustean system of Government to all the countries composing, what they call, a continent.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Victoria, Cap. 67.

THE Council met at the Council Chamber in Fort Saint George, on Friday the 17th day of February 1871.

PRESENT :

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, LORD NAPIER, K.T.,
presiding.

The Hon'ble A. J. ARBUTHNOT, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble J. D. SIM, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble J. B. NORTON.

The Hon'ble MIR HOOMAYOON JAH BAHADUR.

The Hon'ble A. F. BROWN.

The Hon'ble P. MACFADYEN.

The Hon'ble V. RAMIENGAR.

The Hon'ble G. N. GAJAPATHI RAU.

* * *

The Hon'ble Mr. ARBUTHNOT, in presenting the Reports of the Select Committees on the Towns' Improvement Bill and the Local Funds' Bill, and moving the further consideration of those Bills, said:—

* * *

“ My Lord, I am aware that many different opinions are entertained with reference to the Resolution on this subject* recently issued by the Governor-General in Council. I am aware that there are persons who regard it as a measure of no practical value, and who regard the concessions made in it as a drop in the ocean in comparison with the concessions which ought to be made. Others again, dissenting entirely from the principles on which it is based, consider it to be a political blunder, and look forward with dismay to the prospect of the various Presidencies and Provinces of India carrying on the administration, each in its own way, each one pushing its particular crotchets, legislating according to its own views, and entirely freed from the check and control now exercised by the Central Government. Others, again, regard the measure as a real

* Financial decentralization.

advance in the path of administrative and financial reform, which there is every reason to hope will lead to further measures in the same direction, and which will confer great advantages on the country.

"My Lord, I entertain a strong conviction that the last view of the matter is the correct view, I do believe that this measure of the Supreme Government is a real and valuable measure of reform, and that, as such, it ought to be accepted and carried out. I do not deny that more might safely have been conceded; and here perhaps I may be permitted to state what my views are—views which have long been formed and recorded—on this subject of decentralization. I wish it however to be understood, that in what I am about to say on this point, I speak simply in my capacity of an individual member of this Council, and not as in any sense representing the views entertained on this subject by the collective Government; I hold, then, that each local Government ought to be furnished with a motive, not only to economize its expenditure, but to develop the revenues from which that expenditure has to be met. Under the system hitherto in force, the expenditure side of the account has been subjected to a system of minute checks, which, it has now been admitted, has failed in its object and has not worked well. But on the receipt side, there has been no check and no stimulus beyond that which the moral sense, the political conscience, of the local authorities has supplied. Each local Government has been practically unfettered in the matter of the remission of revenue. It has had no practical stimulus either to abstain from needless sacrifices of existing revenue, or to develop new sources of revenue. When scarcity threatens, remissions are made with an unsparing hand, the effect of which, it is to be feared, is too often to enrich subordinate officials without benefiting those for whom the boon is intended. On the other hand, in the resettlement of the land assessment, sacrifices have more than once been made, which would hardly have been permitted, if a reduction in the aggregate revenues of the Presidency meant a certain reduction of the sum available for its administration and improvement. For these reasons, I cannot but regard a reform which deals only with the expenditure side of the account, so far as the general revenues are concerned, as, to a certain extent, an incomplete reform. My view is that, instead of determining what sum each Province is to

be at liberty to expend on the provincial administration, the Supreme Government should determine what sum each Province should contribute for imperial purposes, and should leave to it the remainder, whatever it may be, for provincial purposes. There would then be a definite incentive to each Province, not only to economise its charges, but to increase its receipts; and such a system, I am persuaded, might be introduced without in any way diminishing the power of the Governor-General in Council over the finances of the Empire.

“These, my Lord, are briefly the views which I entertain on the subject of financial decentralization. This is the policy which for some years has formed one of the leading articles of my political faith. But while I hold these views and advocate this policy, I do not lightly value the step which has been taken by the Supreme Government. In a matter of so much importance much may be said in favour of measures of a tentative character; and, in my opinion, he is no true friend to good government who rejects a reform of which he approves as far as it goes, because in his opinion it does not go far enough. It were indeed to be wished that some of the other changes which have been introduced into India during the last twelve years, had been equally tentative; for, if similar caution had been observed, many a step, the error of which is now admitted, would have been avoided, or might more easily have been retraced.

“My Lord, the Executive Government have accepted this Resolution of the Supreme Government as a valuable administrative Reform; and they are sanguine that this Council will ratify the decision at which they have arrived. I need not on this occasion go into the details of this Resolution, but there is one point to which I wish to draw attention, and to which I attach a high degree of importance. *I refer to the provision that under the new system the Provincial Budget shall be discussed and passed in the Local Legislative Council. I regard this as an exceedingly valuable provision.* It has often been a subject of remark that the functions of the Members of the Local Legislatures are comparatively unimportant, that except on rare occasions the business is insignificant, and that the duties are rather nominal than real. But this can hardly be alleged when the duty of examining and passing through the Council a

Provincial Budget which will deal with the whole of the police and public education of the Presidency, with the whole of the communications of the Presidency except Railways, with the whole system of prison management, with a considerable portion of the medical establishments, with the provision of buildings for purposes of civil administration, with the registration of deeds, and with the whole of the funds raised by Municipal and other local taxation, shall have devolved on them. Ten years ago, when the Act for the establishment of Local Legislative Councils was about to be passed, Mr. Laing adverted to the plan of assigning to them the duty of passing the Local Budgets as one which would give them an appropriate and dignified position and considerable opportunities of usefulness. I hold in my hand an extract from Mr. Laing's Financial Statement of the 27th April 1861, which, with permission, I will read to the Council."

Mr. Laing said—

"By enacting local budgets the Government hope, not merely to meet a temporary difficulty, but to inaugurate a permanent improvement.

It has long been a standing complaint with the other Presidencies and Provinces that they were deprived of their fair share of self-government, and kept in a state of galling and humiliating dependence on the bureaux of Calcutta.

Well, Sir, the power of the purse is the ultimate power, and so long as local Governments are absolutely subservient to Calcutta in financial matters, it is evident that they can have no real independence.

But if, without sacrificing in any way the unity of the Empire and imperial control in imperial matters, we give them local budgets, their position is altered.

We propose to give them, not only powers of local taxation, but possibly to credit them with a liberal share of reductions of expenditure, which they may be able to make on the estimates of the general budget.

Each Government will, therefore, have a direct interest in economy, in order to increase the fund applicable to local works, and I cannot fancy that Madras, for instance, will long continue to spend £160,000 a year in Public Works establishments to look after £460,000 a year of expenditure upon actual works, when it is apparent that every £1 extra spent on establishments means £1 more to raise by local taxes, or £1 less to spend on roads and canals.

It is obvious that such a system of local budgets would harmonise extremely well with what I hope soon to see adopted, viz., local Legislative Councils at the Presidencies.

It would at once give them an appropriate and dignified position,

and I can imagine nothing more useful than that the details of a local budget, such as that of Madras or Bombay, should be submitted to the intelligent scrutiny of a Council, comprising both experienced officials and picked representatives of the mercantile and native communities."

"My Lord, I am persuaded that very great benefit will result from the arrangement which, after ten years of waiting, is now about to be carried into effect. I am satisfied that the liability of the Provincial Budget to criticism in a Council, the proceedings of which are practically public, and the Members of which are fully competent, from their own local knowledge and from the opportunities they have of obtaining local information, to criticise that Budget, will prove most salutary.

The Hon'ble Mr. NORTON said :—

The fact is, that the British Empire in India has out-grown, even geographically, the possibility of good Government and administration, by any one centralized authority, however paternal and well intentioned. Its subjects, too, have so increased in intellectual stature, that they cannot any longer be treated as mere children. Both these considerations point to the wisdom of making the Supreme Council somewhat more representative, and taking care that all the Presidencies in India should be efficiently and sufficiently represented in it. Such a measure would go far towards securing a steady proportionate contribution by all the Presidencies to Imperial revenues.

* * *

"This Order lays the foundation of a real public opinion; it gives the Legislative Council a voice in the matter of the public purse, vests it with vital functions, and greatly increases its power and importance. I entertain no doubt that time will prove incontestably the superiority of local administration over that of a controlling power at a distance, which cannot have as intimate a knowledge of our wants as we ourselves; or be actuated by an equal sympathy, promptitude, and discrimination.

This indeed is fully admitted by the Order, and is the very foundation of its whole superstructure. It says :—
 'The Supreme Government is not in a position to understand fully local requirements, nor has it the knowledge necessary for the successful development of local resources. Each province has special wants of its own, and may have means for supplying them which could not be appropriated

for imperial purposes. A tax adapted to the circumstances of one part of the country may be distasteful or inapplicable elsewhere; and, everywhere, rates may be proper for provincial or local purposes, which could not be taken for the Imperial revenue.'

* * *

"It rests with us, as it appears to me, so to improve the opportunity afforded us, as to render as necessary as prudent the further concession of the whole administration of local affairs. *I think I see that this Decentralization will lead to the association of a Native or Natives with the Executive Government, a measure, I believe, fraught with hopes and promises of good. Nor can it be said that no Native is fit for such a post, while we see before us such men as Sir Dinker Rao, Sir Madava Itow, and others whom it would not be difficult to name.*

* * *

The Hon'ble Mr. MACFADYEN said:

* * *

"So much for the Resolution in its broader aspect. But there is another point of view from which it must be regarded, and that is in relation to the Bills under consideration. Prior to the issue of the Resolution referred to, it was an open question whether new local taxation should or should not be imposed. Now we are saved the trouble of discussing this, for there is no doubt the Government of this Presidency cannot be satisfactorily carried on with the amount allotted from the Imperial Exchequer. I hope my nature is not a factious one, and that when circumstances change, I am not incapable of realizing such change and of shaping my course accordingly. I, therefore, admit freely that the action of the Government of India has rendered some kind of local taxation a necessity, and that I am quite prepared to support this Government, so far as I can, in carrying out loyally the terms of the order—for it is no less—that has been sent them. *I am the more disposed to do this, as it seems to me that in future the Budgets for local funds must be incorporated with and brought in this Council every year along with the Budgets for the grants from Imperial funds; that is to say, that the Financial Secretary of this Government, who will also be a Member of this Council, will, in the annual statement that he submits, have to deal with all the money that*

he expects to receive, whether that money is to be raised by local taxation or is to be allotted from Imperial revenues. It seems to me idle to pretend that any good result can follow from submitting a Budget that deals only with the money received from the Imperial Exchequer. The local taxes are to be spent on precisely the same objects, and it will be impossible to criticise effectively a Budget that does not include them. *I do not know how this question appears to the Members of Government, but to my mind it is perfectly clear that the Bills now before us must come up each year for consideration along with the annual Bill that will be introduced to sanction the application of the Imperial grant.* This is why I have the less hesitation in assenting to the necessity of some fresh local taxation, because the burdens we impose will be subject to a yearly revision, and the people affected by the taxes will be able to petition this Council in the event of our being so foolish as to lay on them the last straw. It is an old suggestion of mine, that the Bills, if passed, should be merely for a limited period. I am indebted to the Imperial Government for making it a matter of course that this limited period shall be a year only. This annual budget also does away with any necessity of specifying in the Bills the percentage of the funds intended to be spent on each of the several objects, for this will be discussed in, and fixed by the Council from year to year. I see that in the amendments to the Local Funds' Bill proposed by Mr. Arbuthnot the percentage to be spent on Roads is mentioned, but in the event of the Bill being an annual one, I see no occasion for this.

* * *

The Hon'ble Mr. BROWN said that he quite agreed with Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Norton and Mr. Macdadyen as to the advantages to be expected from the recent measure of decentralization. ** He approved of the proceeding to take the Bill into further consideration, if the Council received an assurance that the Bills would not be passed without a Budget Statement being laid before them showing the amounts that were to be raised and the purposes to which the money would be applied.

* * *

The Hon'ble Mr. ARBUTHNOT said, that the Budget to which Mr. Brown referred could not be brought in until the Bills had been passed. If the Council approved of, and

passed the Bills, the assent of the Governor-General would have to be obtained. The Government would then, in communication with the District authorities, prepare a Provincial Budget, which would include, on one side, the aggregate sum recently granted by the Government of India for the services which had been placed under the more exclusive control of the Local Government, and the estimated amount derivable from local funds; and, on the side of expenditure, would exhibit the estimated disbursements. When this Budget was brought before the Council, they would have an opportunity of criticising it in detail, and would be in a position to determine whether the collections which it was proposed to make under the Bills now before them were unduly high, or were not high enough, and also to criticise the proposed expenditure, and consider whether the proposed distribution of that expenditure was proper or otherwise. He did not see how the passing of the Bills could be postponed until the Budget had been prepared. It was desirable that the Budget should be brought before the Council before or as soon as possible after the commencement of the official year. The passing of the Bills was in his opinion an essential preliminary to the preparation of the Budget, and the Budget could not be framed until the Bills had become law. It seemed to him that the course suggested by Mr. Brown would entail great delay and inconvenience, while the benefits aimed at by him would be equally secured by the ample opportunity which the Council would have of checking and controlling the Budget itself. He also wished to correct a misapprehension which Mr. Macfadyen appeared to have fallen into. He did not understand, and he knew it was not the view of the Government, that the annual resolutions in respect to the budget would bring Bills of a character such as the present under the annual review of the Council. The Provincial Budget itself would have to be passed by the Council each year, but it would require a distinct Act of legislation to procure the repeal of any existing law. *As he understood the matter, the course on each occasion would be, that the Budget would form a Schedule to an Appropriation Bill, the contents of which would have to be voted section by section.* The Council would thus be able to check any unduly high collections or improper expenditure. For instance, the Bills provided for the imposition of certain taxes, and certain rates of taxation, but these taxes could

not be imposed until the Government had issued a Notification directing their imposition and fixing the rates. When the Annual Budget came before the Council, it would be competent to the Council to resolve, in regard to any particular rate of tax, that it was too high or too low for a particular district, or that particular items of expenditure ought not to be increased, or that particular services had not been sufficiently provided for; and it would be open to a majority of the Council to decline passing the Appropriation Bill until the Government had issued a fresh Notification, or had revised the Budget in accordance with their views.

The Motion was put and agreed to; and the consideration of the Bills, as proposed to be amended by the Hon'ble Mr. Arbuthnot, was postponed to the next meeting of the Council.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Victoria, Cap. 67.

THE Council met at the Council Chamber in Fort Saint George, on Monday the 20th day of February 1871.

PRESENT :

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, LORD NAPIER, KT.,
presiding.

The Hon'ble A. J. ARBUTHNOT, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble J. D. SIM, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble R. S. ELLIS, C.B.

The Hon'ble MIR HOOMAYOON JAH BAHADUR.

The Hon'ble A. F. BROWN.

The Hon'ble P. MACFADYEN.

The Hon'ble V. RAMIENGAR.

The Hon'ble G. N. GAJAPATHI RAU.

The Hon'ble J. D. MAYNE

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The Hon'ble Mr. MAYNE said, this was the proper occasion to call the attention of His Lordship and the Council to a question of much importance, as it appeared to him, which deserved serious and earnest deliberation,

but which had been hitherto both ignored and taken for granted in the course of the debate on the present Bill. He referred to the pledge given by Mr. Arbuthnot in his opening speech, to the effect that the Act should be worked by passing an annual Act of Appropriation, in which the Local Fund Budget should appear as a Schedule, the whole of which was to be voted, modified, or negatived by the Legislative Council; and His Lordship would remember that that pledge had exercised a material influence upon various sections of the Bill, and was used as an argument for leaving some of the clauses in a less definite form than would otherwise have been desired. He thought it right to call the attention of the Council to the fact that the Bill, as presented by the Select Committee, or as amended by Mr. Arbuthnot, would not admit of any such proceeding as was contemplated by the pledge; indeed, the sections which had been passed, established an entirely contrary mode of proceeding. If they turned to page 12 and looked at the amended sections, it would be found that the Local Fund Boards were to submit an estimate or supplemental estimate of the probable receipts and expenditure to His Lordship in Council, that is to say, in the Executive Council; and His Lordship in Council would pass such orders as should be thought fit upon such estimate or supplemental estimate; which orders were to be binding upon the Local Fund Boards, and were to be carried out by them. According to the amended Section at page 10, all the resolutions of the Local Fund Board were to be carried into effect by the President, who was to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the purposes of the Act, in whom the control of the Funds was vested by Section 35, and who was authorized to pay out all moneys to be expended in carrying out the Act. According to the Bill, the process would be this: the Local Fund Board would submit their estimate; His Lordship in Council would pass it; and the moment it was passed, it would be obligatory upon the Local Fund Board to carry out the instructions of the Government: the instructions of the Government would be carried out by the executive head of the Board, namely, the President, who had authority to draw cheques upon the Funds. Unless the Bill were amended, there would be no opportunity for presenting such a Budget or passing such an Appropriation Act as was contemplated by Mr. Arbuthnot's pledge, for there was nothing for the Appro-

priation Act to operate upon. Long before the Appropriation Act could be passed—the moment the Budget was passed by his Lordship in Council, the order of the Government would be a binding instruction to the President of the Local Board, who would be bound under the Act to carry it out, and who would have funds to enable him to do so. Therefore, if the pledge was to be redeemed, it could only be done by an express alteration of the sections which now occupied the place of Sections 28 and 29. It would be necessary to remodel them, and to insert sections directing that the Budget should be submitted to the Legislative Council, to be passed by them with such alterations or modifications as might seem proper to the Council, and directing that until the Legislative Council had passed an Appropriation Act, the Budget should not be binding upon the Local Fund Boards, and that they should have no authority to pay money in pursuance of it.

Then arose the question whether any such clause in the Act would be desirable—whether such a provision was one which was ever contemplated by the Government of India, or the Secretary of State, in passing the Act under which the Council sat—whether any such proviso would not lead to the Bill being vetoed, if not in Calcutta, at all events by the Secretary of State. *To hold that the Council could exercise any useful supervision over the details of a Budget, would be, he apprehended, to indulge in a delusion.* The Budget would be prepared by the local authorities, who had personal knowledge of the wants of the District and of the appropriate remedies. It would be checked by the Collector, who would bring the maturity of his experience and local knowledge to bear upon it. It would be passed by the Government, probably under the inspection of a special department which would have all the materials for revision before it. To suppose that the Members of the Council, with their own occupations to attend to, could usefully revise the budgets—that they could decide what number of dust-carts were required for Tanjore—what number of schools were required in Madura—whether it was desirable to make a road between one village and another, the names of which they would have heard for the first time—would indicate an amount of omniscience or arrogance not likely to be possessed or exhibited by them. Upon matters of principle, no doubt, the Members of the Council might fairly

enforce their opinions. For instance, it had been frequently suggested that they might bring pressure to bear upon the Executive Government by refusing to pass the Budgets at all, if the Government adopted a wrong or injudicious policy, or exhibited imprudence in the exercise of the discretion confided to it; so that where, as in numerous parts of the Act as proposed, they gave the Government a large discretion in doing certain acts, they might once a year review the manner in which that discretion had been exercised. If, for example, the Government were of opinion that, on account of the discontent in one District, or the poverty of another, it was inexpedient to impose a particular tax in that District, the Members of the Legislative Council might assume to themselves the prerogative of overruling that discretion and directing the Government to do that which they deemed it unsafe or impolitic to do. That would amount to the transfer to themselves of an executive authority which the Act under which they sat never contemplated, and which it most carefully guarded against their arrogating to themselves. But they might go further than that. It might be that a considerable number of the Members of Council would be of opinion that the Government ought not to contribute at all to the higher departments of education; and if the majority were of that opinion, they might refuse to pass the Budget, that is, might stop the administration of the country, unless the Government consented to withdraw all grants from the Madras University and the Presidency College. It might be, too, that a number of the Members of the Council would be of opinion that wherever there was a great trunk line of railway established, it would be advantageous to give up all expense upon the parallel trunk road, leave it to go to decay, and expend the money upon the feeders to the line of railway; and they might refuse to pass the Budget unless the Government adopted this policy. Other Members might hold the opinion, which was that of the late Sir William Denison, that all sanitation was a popular humbug, and refuse to expend any, or but a small portion of what His Lordship in Council proposed to expend for this purpose. So that if the Budget were presented to the Council to be passed as a legislative enactment, they would be meeting together, not to pass a single law, but to discuss, modify and, perhaps, over-rule the whole executive policy of the Government and the principles of practical administra-

tion upon which, rightly or wrongly, the Government had proceeded during the previous year, and intended to proceed during the next year. *They should be seizing for themselves the position which the House of Commons had seized in England; and, practically, though indirectly, they would become to a great extent the executive administration of the country, because, by means of the power over the purse, they would have the means, not merely of influencing the principles, but of regulating the practice of the executive administration.* Their voice, once, heard, would have to be listened to, and would amount to an imperative command, because the administration of the country would come to a stand still if they refused the supplies; and they might, and it would be their duty, to refuse the supplies, if they were of opinion that the Executive Government was not governing in the way they deemed best for the interests of the country. That might be a reform, or it might not; but there was very little doubt it would amount to a revolution. This Presidency would be no longer governed by his Lordship and his responsible advisers, but practically by the Legislative Council. *The result would be, what he considered to be, the worst form of Parliamentary Government, for it would become which would provide no constitutional contrivance for reconciling conflicts of opinion in the conduct of the business of the country.* Where a difference of opinion existed in England between the ministry and the majority of the House of Commons, it was terminated by a change of ministry, or a dissolution. But no such alternative existed here. The Council could not turn his Lordship out, and his Lordship could not turn out the Council; and the result might be experienced which was once brought about in the Colony of Victoria, where the administration of the country was brought to a stand still, and because the Governor would not do that which he was forbidden by the Crown to do, the Legislature refused to pass the supplies. He was not prepared to say that it was not within the letter of the Act under which they sat, to pass a law the effect of which would be to assign to themselves a great part of the administration of the country; but he thought it unlikely that such a law, if passed, would ever be sanctioned either by the Governor General or by the Secretary of State. *It did not appear that such a course was ever contemplated by the Government of Great Britain in the proceedings set forth in the Decentral-*

ization Order. The 19th paragraph of that Order was as follows:—

“Each Local Government will publish its own yearly estimates and accounts in the local Gazette, together with a financial exposition (which should, where possible, be made before the Local Legislative Council) analogous to that annually made in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. The several estimates and accounts will be compiled, and a general statement for all India published as a supplement to the imperial estimates and accounts.”

It was evident that it was not intended that this scheme was to depend for its validity upon its adoption by the Legislative Council. In the first place, it was not necessary that the exposition should be made before the Council at all. In the next place, it was to be an exposition analogous to that annually made before the Council of the Governor-General. Now, they knew that the Governor-General did place before his Council a Budget annually, but he did not submit to the scrutiny or action of the Council any single part of that Budget, except the particular law which was passed at the time the financial exposition was made. The exposition was made when some amendment of the law was taking place; for example, when an Income-tax Act was required, or a Customs Act, and the financial exposition was given as a reason why the particular Act required should be passed; but the exposition did not come under the control of the Council at all. The Council might negative an Income-tax Bill, and the Government would have to withdraw it and present another, or fall back upon the existing ways and means; but the Council could not say to the Governor-General—“You shall expend so much on Education, Sanitation, Soldiers’ Barracks, or anything else.” If in this Council, therefore, a financial exposition was presented, which they were to vote or to negative, and especially if, by adopting that course, they were enabled to direct his Lordship to alter or modify the executive administration, that would be a proceeding not analogous, but directly contradictory, to any thing which took place in the Governor-General’s Council.

What he imagined that the Government had intended to do, was to make an annual financial exposition similar to that made to the Council of the Governor-General, similar to that made by the Secretary of State in Parliament at a time when no law was being considered at all, so that any member, who thought that the state of the

evidenced by that statement required legislative action, might on his own responsibility bring in a Bill to alter that state of things. But it was never contemplated that this Council should once a year put themselves in the position of the Executive Council, review the manner in which the administration had been conducted during the past year, and direct the course to be adopted in the coming year. *Such a proceeding would in another aspect be in conflict with the decentralization scheme, the essence of which was, that, as regards particular heads of expenditure and particular description of funds, the Government of India said—*“We divest ourselves of all control over them, and of all the responsibility in respect of them; you are to manage them as best you can, but you are not to come to us for assistance.”

Now, if the Council passed an annual Appropriation Act, it would have to go through all the appointed stages. It would have to be passed by the Council, to receive the sanction of his Lordship, and be sent to the Governor-General for sanction and revision. The Governor-General might say—“I am not to be troubled every year with a Bill sent up to me, which I am expected to consider, and which thereby makes me indirectly responsible for the whole financial administration of the Presidency of Madras, upon points which we have already washed our hands of, and upon which we intend for the future to leave you free from control.” It did seem to him (Mr. MAYNE) that any proposition for placing the whole executive administration every year under the cognizance of the Council and soliciting their interference—not merely their advice—was giving to the Council an executive power of the very character which the Indian Councils' Act guarded against the Council possessing; and that the effect of passing any law of that character would be considered by the Governor-General and the Secretary of State so revolutionary, momentous and dangerous, that it would call for a veto of the enactment.

He made the observations because, throughout the debates, it was assumed that such a supervision would be annually exercised by the Council as he had described, and it was desirable that his Lordship and the Council should take the whole matter into consideration; for if the Council should be of opinion that the insertion of clauses giving effect to the present intention might endanger the Bill, it

would perhaps be desirable to reconsider the pledge given, and all the arguments that had been used, founded upon the assumption that that pledge could be carried out.

The Hon'ble Mr. ARBUTHNOT moved the adjournment of the debate. The question raised by Mr. Mayne was an important one, and it was desirable that the Members of the Council should have an opportunity of considering it.

The Hon'ble Mr. SIM seconded the motion, which was adopted.

The Council then adjourned until the 23rd February 1871.

(By Order.)

P. O'SULLIVAN.

MADRAS }
The 20th February 1871. } Acting Asst.-Secy. to Govt.;
Legislative Department.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament 24 and 25 Victoria, Cap. 67.

THE Council met at the Council Chamber in Fort Saint George, on Thursday the 23rd day of February 1871

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, LORD NAHIEE, K.T.,
presiding.

The Hon'ble A. J. ARBUTHNOT, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble J. D. SIM, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble R. S. ELLIS, C.B.

The Hon'ble A. F. BROWN.

The Hon'ble P. MACPADIEN,

The Hon'ble V. RAMIENGAR.

The Hon'ble G. N. GAJAPATHI RAU.

LOCAL FUNDS' BILL.

The further consideration of the Local Funds' Bill was resumed.

The Hon'ble Mr. ARBUTHNOT said: -My Lord, having moved the adjournment of the debate which was commenced towards the close of the last Meeting by the speech

of the Acting Advocate-General, it is my duty now to state the conclusions at which the Government have arrived on the important question raised by the Honorable and learned gentleman on that occasion. I regret to learn that Mr. Mayne's professional engagements prevent his appearing in his place at this Meeting: I regret this for several reasons, but more especially because it will be my duty to advert to one point connected with the legal bearings of the question raised by the Honourable and learned Member, which it appears to me he has overlooked. The question raised by Mr. Mayne had reference, as the Council are aware, to the construction put by me upon the 19th paragraph of the Resolution recently received from the Government of India which has been frequently referred to in the course of our recent debates. The paragraph in question, which was quoted by the Honorable and learned Member is to the following effect :—

“ Each Local Government will publish its own yearly estimates and accounts in the Local Gazette, together with a financial exposition (which should, where possible, be made before the Local Legislative Council) analogous to that annually made in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. The several estimates and accounts will be compiled, and a general statement for all India published as a supplement to the imperial estimates and accounts ”

Now, My Lord, the construction which I put on that paragraph was, that the Estimates would not only be laid before the Legislative Council, but that it would be the province of the Legislative Council to comment upon and criticize those estimates, and, in fact, to pass them; that it would be open to the Members of the Council to offer objections on particular points; and that it would be open to a majority of the Council to over-rule the proposed distribution of the estimates. I stated, in answer, or rather with reference to a suggestion which was offered by my Honorable colleague Mr. Brown, that this, as I understood the matter, would be the course which would have to be taken; and that, in order to bring the estimates before the Council in a regular manner, the proper course for the Government to adopt would be, to bring in an Appropriation Bill, in a Schedule to which the Estimates, as framed by the Executive Government, would be set forth. I will state presently my reasons for thinking this course necessary and, in fact, the only legal way of giving effect to the instructions of the Government of India as conveyed in their Resolution. I may remark here that the Honorable

and learned Member in the course of his speech treated the remarks I made on this point as a pledge. I think that the term 'construction' would have been the more correct phrase; in other words, that the statement which I made was the construction which I put on the Resolution of the Government of India. That statement was not put forward in the form of a pledge, though doubtless it did influence the course taken by the Council in respect to the several Sections about which debate subsequently arose. I believe, however, that the Government, or a majority of the Government, are perfectly willing that that statement should be regarded as a pledge and as an authoritative exposition of the views which the Government entertain.

Mr. Mayne's objections to the construction which I put on the paragraph to which he referred were, first, that the course which was indicated was inconsistent or would be inconsistent with the course which would have to be taken under certain Sections of the Bill which we had already passed, and that in consequence it would be necessary for the Government, if they adhered to their expressed views, so to modify those Sections as to vest the duty of sanctioning Local Fund Budgets, not in the Executive Government represented by the words "the Governor-in-Council," but in the Council of the Governor for making Laws and Regulations. Mr. Mayne's second objection was, that if that course were followed, it would, in his opinion, entail a serious risk of the Bill being vetoed either by the Governor-General or the Secretary of State. Lastly, Mr. Mayne argued that it would be most undesirable and inexpedient that such powers as were contemplated should be entrusted to the Legislative Council.

My Lord, I shall endeavour to deal with the last objection first. It is argued by the Honorable and learned Member that this Council is so constituted that it cannot exercise the power of reviewing, criticizing and, possibly, altering the Provincial budgets with any degree of efficiency, and that there would be serious risk of great embarrassment to the administration of public affairs in this Presidency if such powers were vested in this Council. Now, it appears to me that the argument advanced by my Honorable and learned colleague either goes too far, or does not go far enough. It appears to me that the arguments which he has advanced apply, if not quite, almost equally, to the

existence of a Council of this character for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations; that if this Council cannot be trusted with the powers which we contemplated that it should be entrusted with, in pursuance of the recent Resolution of the Government of India, it is a serious question whether the establishment of Councils of this character for the purpose of legislating for the minor Presidencies was not and is not a serious mistake. In the first place, I desire to say a few words with reference to the assertion made by my Honorable and learned colleague that the powers with which it is proposed to entrust this Council are powers which it cannot exercise with efficiency. On this point the Honourable and learned gentleman said—

“To hold that the Council could exercise any useful supervision over the details of a Budget would be, he apprehended, to indulge in a delusion. The Budget would be prepared by the local authorities, who had personal knowledge of the wants of the District and of the appropriate remedies. It would be checked by the Collector, who would bring the maturity of his experience and local knowledge to bear upon it. It would be passed by the Government, probably under the inspection of a special department which would have all the materials for revision before it. To suppose that the Members of the Council, with their own occupations to attend to, could usefully revise the budgets—that they could decide what number of dust-carts were required for Tanjore—what number of schools were required in Madura—whether it was desirable to make a road between one village and another, the names of which they would have heard for the first time—would indicate an amount of omniscience or arrogance not likely to be possessed or exhibited by them. Upon matters of principle, no doubt, the Members of the Council might fairly enforce their opinions. For instance, it had been frequently suggested that they might bring pressure to bear upon the Executive Government by refusing to pass the Budgets at all, if the Government adopted a wrong or injudicious policy, or exhibited imprudence in the exercise of the discretion confided to it; so that where, as in numerous parts of the Act as proposed, they gave the Government a large discretion in doing certain acts, they might once a year review the manner in which that discretion had been exercised. If, for example, the Government were of opinion that, on account of the discontent in one district, or the poverty of another, it was inexpedient to impose a particular tax in that District, the Members of the Legislative Council might assume to themselves the prerogative of overruling that discretion and directing the Government to do that which they deemed it unsafe or impolitic to do. That would amount to the transfer to themselves of an executive authority which the Act under which they sat never contemplated, and which it most carefully guarded against their arrogating to themselves.”

The Honorable and learned Member goes on to indi-

cate various modes in which an indiscreet exercise of the powers which would thus be vested in the Members of the Legislative Council might lead to very serious embarrassment. Now, My Lord, I submit that in the remarks I have just quoted from the speech of the Honorable and learned Member there is a considerable amount of overstatement. I do not believe that it can have been contemplated or supposed by any Member of this Council that any Member of this Council or any section of it would endeavour or think it possible for him to enter upon an elaborate scrutiny of every item included in the Provincial budgets. We all know that in this matter a great deal must be left to the discretion of the local authorities. In the scrutiny exercised by the authorities in Madras, whether it be the Members of the Executive Government, or the Board of Revenue, or the Secretaries to Government to whom the Government might delegate the duty of reviewing and revising the budgets—it will be necessary to attach a great deal of importance and to give a great deal of credit to the personal knowledge and experience of the local authorities. All that the Government look for—all certainly that I look for—in the way of a useful exercise of review and criticism on the part of the Members of the Legislative Council, as well as on the part of the Executive Council, is this; that it is probable that, with respect to certain administrative questions and certain local details, certain Members either of the Executive Council or of the Legislative Council will have an opportunity of obtaining useful information, that where omissions are made by the local authorities, where possibly an irregular mode of action has been commenced or practised in any particular district, where, for instance, the important principle of duly localizing the expenditure of funds might be disregarded, where the wants of one part of a district might be neglected in favour of another part of the district—in such cases, it has appeared to us that a useful check and a valuable control would be exercised by the mere fact that the budgets would be submitted to the scrutiny of a body whose proceedings are conducted in public, and which contains gentlemen possessing local knowledge or the means of obtaining local knowledge with respect to various parts of the country. For example facts important to be known have been mentioned here more than once by the Mercantile Members of the council whose avocations bring

them into connection with particular parts of the Presidency—who have agents in the Districts in which their business is transacted, and who, perhaps, have themselves resided in those Districts—and who consequently have the means of obtaining a considerable amount of information which possibly might not be possessed by the Government or by the official Members of the Council. From the Native Members of the council we might also obtain information upon various questions of importance of a very valuable character. For instance, my Honorable colleague Mr. Ramiengar has a considerable knowledge of the districts in which he has served and from which he is still probably in the habit of receiving communications, and in regard to which he would often be able to give us accurate and useful information. I may say the same as to my other colleagues, the Native Members of this Council. Mr. Gajapathy Rau no doubt will be able to furnish us with information which it is desirable for us to have in the event of questions arising with reference to the district of Vizagapatam; and the Honorable Mir Hoomayoun Jah might do the same with reference to the district of North Arcot, where he has property and has the means of obtaining useful local information. *The mere knowledge that criticism of this character could be brought to bear upon the local budgets in this Council, where the proceedings are practically public would exercise a useful check and control, and give a stimulus towards ensuring the careful preparation of the budgets by the District officers, and especially towards ensuring that the claims of every part of the various districts, and of every section of the population, should be fairly considered in the appropriation of the local funds.*

The second objection which has been urged by the honourable and learned Member assumes that this Council would be liable to do very unreasonable things, and this objection, if there be any force in it, is, as I have already remarked, equally applicable to matters of legislation as to matters of executive administration. If, as is argued by the honourable and learned Member, it is reasonable to suppose that, in the event of the views of a majority of this Council prevailing, it might be requisite to abolish the University of Madras, or to curtail the usefulness of the Presidency College by the withdrawal of the whole, or a part, of the grant now made to that institution from the general revenues, *it is equally possible to suppose that there*

is equal danger of this Council voting against the Government with regard to some important and necessary project of law; that, for instance, there was an equal risk, when it was deemed desirable to renew the Act for the suppression of outrages in Malabar, that a majority of the Council would have refused to give the Government the power which the question affords. But, my Lord, I am persuaded that in all our legislation we must assume that the gentlemen who will hold a place in the Legislative Councils of the minor Presidencies, as well as in the Council of the Governor-General, will be men who, as a general rule, will take a reasonable view of public questions; that it is in the highest degree improbable that a majority of this Council will ever sanction any course which is clearly embarrassing to the cause of good administration. In my opinion it is not necessary that our legislation should be so framed as to guard against such a risk as that which I have now alluded to, and which seems to have been present to the mind of my honourable and learned colleague when he raised the question now under consideration.

Another point which seems to have been overlooked by my honourable and learned colleague is the peculiar constitution of this Council. *The Honourable and learned Member appears to have overlooked the fact that, according to the constitution of the Council, there is always likely to be a majority of official persons in the Council.* My Lord, this fact is one to which I drew the attention of the Council about a year ago in connection with a question then raised, and in the course of the discussions which have since taken place, I have been more than once taunted in the public prints with the tenor of the remarks made by me on that occasion. My Lord, I am not sorry to have this opportunity of explaining what my meaning was, and what the object was which I had in view, in the remark which I made on that occasion, although I feel that, as regards any of the Members of this Council, such explanation is hardly required. The members of this council know that when I made that remark, I made it in defence of a proposal which I had submitted for placing at the disposal of the non-official Members of the Council certain correspondence which had passed in the Executive Government, and which it seemed to me desirable that they should peruse. It was not made for the purpose of keeping in check or threatening or intimidating the non-official Members of this

Council. I am certain there is no Member of this Council who supposes that I or any Member of the Executive Government would wish to treat the non-official Members in such a manner; and I think that in our proceedings, ever since this Council was established, there has been quite enough to show that the Members of the Executive Government, past and present, have all along attached, and do attach, considerable value to the aid received from the non-official members, and that the last thing which we should desire would be that an opinion should be entertained that we are prepared to carry out our views in defiance of, or without respect to, the convictions of the non-official Members of this Council. But when a Member of this Council points out risks which it appears to me there is no reason to apprehend, and when he adverts to possible dangers to the Executive administration from vesting increased powers in this Council, I think it right and proper to remind the Council that it is so constituted that even supposing that by an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances the whole of the non-official Members of the Council were men who would be disposed to exercise their powers in the manner my honourable and learned colleague apprehends, still there would remain in all probability a majority, composed partly of the Members of the Executive Government and partly of the other official Members, the latter being persons who have experience of the country and of the several districts, who are in close official relations with the Members of Government, and in reference to whom it is difficult to suppose that they would offer to the Executive Government any thing that could be regarded as a factious opposition.

Now, my Lord, the Council will remember that in my opening speech on Friday last I took the liberty of quoting certain remarks of Mr. Laing, made by him when holding the office of Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council, in support of a project which he then entertained of vesting in local Legislatures the power of dealing with local Provincial budgets. Mr. Laing's remarks were made ten years ago, the year in which the Indian Councils' Act was passed. With your Lordship's permission I will now read to the Council an extract from an address delivered a few months ago by Mr. Laing's successor in the office of Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council and

one of your Lordship's predecessors in this Government. The address from which I am about to read was delivered by Sir Charles Trevelyan before the East India Association and has probably been read already by some of the Members of this Council. I believe that those who have read it will agree with me in regarding it as one of the most valuable papers which have ever been written on the affairs of India. Sir Charles Trevelyan, after stating what his views are in reference to the proper mode of carrying out an efficient system of decentralization of Indian finance, which views, I may observe, are entirely in accord with the remarks made by me in my opening speech on Friday last, and which met with the concurrence of several Members of this Council, goes on to explain how the local budgets of the Government should be dealt with, in these words:

The Supreme Government and the Local Governments would each make up an annual Budget of its own, which would be fully discussed in their respective Councils. An essay might be written to describe how that full discussion in the respective Councils would lead to the practical development of the intelligence, public spirit, and power of self-government of the natives; and how it would act in the most effectual manner in enabling us to fulfil our great mission of teaching India how to manage its affairs, public and private. The whole of these Budgets, local and supreme, might be consolidated by the Supreme Government, and submitted to the home Government with such remarks as they might think proper to make, but the responsibility of the Supreme Government would be only for its own expenditure. The rest would be merely reported, just as the annual Local Funds Budgets now are or ought to be.

This is the true principle of Indian government, and all our principal difficulties would be solved by the adoption of it. The finances would be localized in the quarters where the details are best understood, and where the strongest possible motives exist to secure their proper administration. Those who are immediately and directly concerned best know, both what they want, and how provision can be most conveniently made for their wants. If there is wasteful or excessive expenditure, it will be their own fault, for they will have the remedy in their own hands. If the necessary funds are raised by a bad unpopular tax, they will only have to choose a better. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. And, to return to public Works, we have at last disinterred Sir Bartle Frere's Civil Engineer and man of business employer from under the mountain of useless, mischievous, expensive officialism. We have got at "the authority entrusted with spending the money who has some very considerable direct interest in economy." We have arrived at real, direct, personal action and responsibility. We have got rid of the scramble and the uncertainty, and have vindicated the principle of individuality against that of a vast unmanageable aggregate.

My Lord, the Council will see that two late Members of the Governor-General's Council, whose special department it was to manage the finances of this country, one of whom was for a time at the head of the Government of this Presidency, regard the project which we have had in view of entrusting the local Legislatures with the power of reviewing and passing these Provincial budgets as a good, safe, and salutary project. If further evidence be needed, I would ask leave to refer to the opinion of one of the public men of this Presidency, whose opinion on any matter relating to its affairs will, I believe, for a long time to come, be regarded as an opinion of the greatest weight. I refer to the opinion entertained by my predecessor in this Council, Sir Thomas Pycroft. My Lord, I believe it will be the opinion of most of the Members of this Council that there never was in this or any other Indian Council, a man who possessed a calmer judgment in reference to the administration of public affairs, who was less disposed to rush rashly into ill-considered reforms, who was less disposed to make changes for the sake of change, who was better acquainted with the people of this Presidency and with the measures which were likely to redound to their advantage or which might be safely carried out, than Sir Thomas Pycroft. *My Lord, I am at liberty to say to the Council that it is within my knowledge that the project of submitting Provincial Budgets to the local Legislative commands the unqualified approval of Sir Thomas Pycroft.* Some time ago I sent him a paper stating the views which I entertained on this subject, and which I have already communicated to this Council. In his answer, referring to this question, his words were, that he thought the suggestion of submitting annual Budgets to the local Legislatures was a most valuable one, and one which it would be very desirable to carry out.

My Lord, another objection which my honourable and learned colleague took was that, if we provided by law for the project which we have in view, we should be imposing upon the Governor-General in Council a duty and responsibility of which he had expressly divested himself in the Resolution lately passed by the Governor-General. Here, again, I think that my honourable and learned colleague has somewhat overstated the actual facts of the case. It appears to me that the Governor-General in Council has not entirely divested himself of all responsibility in connection

with the administration of affairs in the departments of the public service which have been made over to us. Several reservations have been made in the Resolution in question, which show, as I believe, that the Government of India do not intend to divert themselves of responsibility or to preclude themselves from the exercise of supervision over the affairs of the minor Presidencies. I am in a position to state that the Government of India expect to be furnished with returns, which will afford frequent information as to the manner in which the affairs of the several Provinces and Presidencies are being carried on; and the annual submission to the Governor-General, for assent, of a Bill embodying the Resolution of the local Legislative Council, in reference to the administration of Provincial and Local Funds, would be, according to the view which I take, in no sense contradictory of, or opposed to the policy which the Government of India have framed and which they desire us to give effect to.

Now, my Lord, I come to the legal aspect of the question, and here I am free to admit that, as the honourable and learned Member told us, it would be necessary, in order to the object which we have in view being effectually carried out, that the particular sections to which he has drawn attention should be modified, and that it would be right, if these powers are to be given to the Legislative Councils, that they should be provided for by law. Our honourable and learned colleague apprehends that if we so alter the sections to which he has alluded, as to give those contemplated powers to the local Legislative Council, we shall expose our Bill to the risk of being vetoed either by the Governor-General or the Secretary of State. The honourable and learned Member also argued that the power which we contemplated entrusting to the Council and the arrangement proposed with that object were entirely opposed to the terms of the particular paragraph of the Resolution of the Government of India which deals with this matter. Now I am not prepared to admit that this latter view of the question is altogether correct; I am not prepared to admit that the project which we have in view would be entirely opposed to the terms of the paragraph in question. That paragraph says, not that the annual financial exposition is to be *similar* to the financial exposition annually made in the Council of the Governor-General, but that it is to be *analogous* to it. Now, when I read this paragraph,

it appeared to me that if the views of the Government of India were what my honourable and learned colleague supposes them to have been, the term 'analogous' would hardly have been used. The course of procedure in the Council of the Governor-General is familiar to the Members of this Council. When the annual statement is made by the Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council, it is preceded by a motion to bring in a Bill dealing with some one of the financial subjects which are about to be brought under their consideration ; and this brings me to the legal point which appears to have been overlooked by my honourable and learned colleague. Under Section 19 of the Indian Councils' Act the local Legislatures are debarred from discussing any matter which is not connected with a project of law immediately before them. Now the barrier which that section would interpose in the way of having the financial budget brought before the Council of the Governor-General is met by the practice which is annually observed of preceding that exposition by the introduction of a project of law dealing with some one department of Indian finance ; and it is very easy for the Government of India to deal with the subject in this manner. The Government of India has to deal with the whole finances of the country, and, among others, with the whole subject of the Customs duties. If an Income-tax, or a tax of that description, has to be proposed, it must be passed or altered by the Council of the Governor-General, but the Customs duties are in themselves sufficient to furnish the Governor-General's Council with the requisite subject which is necessary to a discussion in that Council of the annual budget ; for it is hardly possible that a year can pass without some small change being deemed advisable in the Customs tariff. The consequence is, that it is easy for the Governor-General's Council to meet the requirements of the Indian Councils' Act. But this is not so easy to the Councils of the minor Presidencies. The matters of legislation which we have to deal with are much more limited in their scope and character, and it is not advisable that we should every year be bringing before the Council and the public of this Presidency some alteration in the law regulating its finances. Such changes will, I trust, be of rare occurrence ; and therefore it has appeared to me, from the time I first read the Resolution of the Government of India, that the only legal manner in which

we could give effect to that particular paragraph in the Resolution which deals with the Provincial budgets would be, by incorporating the budgets with an Appropriation Bill which might be presented to and dealt with according to law by the Legislative Council. And it did appear to me, when I saw that the word 'analogous' instead of the word 'similar' was used, that it was not improbable that the Government of India had in contemplation the adoption of some such course as that to which I have referred. But I am unable to state explicitly what the views of the Government of India are on this subject. We have not yet been favoured with any definite exposition of those views; but it so happens that, while my honourable and learned colleague was delivering his speech on the last day of our Meeting, the Chief Secretary handed to me a letter received that day from the Madras Member of the Governor-General's Council, in which Mr. Robinson mentioned that a legal difficulty had been discovered in Calcutta with reference to the particular paragraph already mentioned, the difficulty being the one to which I have referred. Therefore, my Lord, it is the opinion of this Government, arrived at after very deliberate and careful consideration of the question, that it would not be right for us, in any law which we may now pass, to hamper the action or the decision at which the Government of India may eventually arrive in reference to this matter. We think it in the last degree improbable that, after having announced that the exposition of the local budgets should take place in the local Legislatures, the Government of India will retrace their steps; that they will not enable us to give practical effect to the views which we have propounded in this matter, or that their Resolution will not have the effect of enabling us to give this Council a practical means of criticising and dealing with the Provincial budgets. But as matters now stand, we feel that there is some force in the remarks made by our honourable and learned colleague, and that it would not be wise or proper to introduce into the Bills now before us any sections which would hamper the future action of the Governor-General in Council—that this question is one which we must leave to be dealt with by the Government of India hereafter, and that our best course is to pass the Bills as they now stand, *this Government engaging to use their utmost endeavours to arrange with the Government of India some definite and practical means of invest-*

ing the local Legislatures with the power which we think should be entrusted to them. We hope and think that in this matter there will be no serious difficulty, though possibly some delay may occur. Possibly the first budget, that for the ensuing official year, may have to be prepared in a form different to that we had contemplated, for the Governor-General in Council may deem the question to be of such importance that it ought to be referred for the consideration of the Secretary of State. Entertaining this view, we do not think that it would be right for this Council to take any step which might hamper the higher authorities in the decision of the question, and we hope the Council will agree with us in thinking that the best course will be to pass the Bills as they now stand, relying on our assurance that the Government, or the majority of the Government, are determined to urge to the utmost of our ability upon the attention of the Government of India and, if necessary, of the Secretary of State, the views which we entertain and which we have announced to the Council on this matter.

The Hon'ble Mr. ELLIS would not trouble the Council with any lengthened observations, but he thought he represented the feeling of most of the Members when he said that the exposition of Mr. Abuthnot must have removed from their minds any feeling of danger which would arise from the fulfilment of the intention which they had that the budgets should come before the Council, should be fully discussed, and the appropriations contained in them should be determined by the Council. He thought the Acting Advocate-General would on reflection be sensible that there was a certain amount of exaggeration in the gloomy picture which he had sketched of a Legislative Council in rebellion against the Executive Government. But the Acting Advocate-General had brought vividly before them the technical difficulty which might be experienced in bringing the budgets for discussion before the Council. It seemed to him (Mr. ELLIS) that the difficulties were not insuperable. They had the Viceroy strongly in favour of the course proposed; that was, that the budgets should be submitted to the Legislative Council. The Madras Government was also strongly in favour of that course; and the Legislative Council were unanimous on the question. Under these circumstances, he had no doubt means would be devised for overcoming the difficulty pointed out by Mr. Mayne. It seemed to him there was every reason why the Council

should place entire confidence in the Government in the matter. The assurance given by the honourable mover, was, in itself, from his character, a sufficient guarantee of his earnestness in that direction, and it would be easy, if necessary, to convince the Council that the question of submitting Provincial budgets before the Legislative Council, was long ago strongly present in his mind, and that he was disposed, so far as in him lay, to give effect to that policy before the Bills were introduced.

The Hon'ble Mr. BROWN asked, supposing the course suggested were adopted, was it the intention to bring in an Appropriation Bill ?

The Hon'ble Mr. ARBUTHNOT replied that the course intended to be taken was, as soon as the Bill was passed, to address the Government of India in its executive capacity on the entire subject. The course which the Madras Government would take would be, to ask permission to bring in an Appropriation Bill; and either in that, or in a short separate Bill, to make the requisite provision for a similar course being adopted in future.

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HIS EXCELLENCY desired to offer a few observations to the Council upon the question then under discussion. In common, he believed, with other Members of the Council, he heard the reflections of his honourable and learned colleague the Advocate-General with surprise and pain. *He could not concur at all in the arguments by which his honourable and learned colleague had sought to establish that the Members of the Legislative Council were powerless for good, though powerful for evil. He thought they possessed elements in the Council which might be employed in the discussion of the budgets of the Provincial services with great advantage to the public, not, it was true, in matters of detail, but as to the general lines of action which ought to be followed. They possessed in the constitution of the Council and in the materials of which it was composed every possible security that their discussions and resolutions would never be disfigured by anything like factions opposition or disaffection. After the observations of his honourable colleague Mr. Arbuthnot on this part of the subject, he did not think it necessary he should enlarge upon it; but he felt it was desirable that he should give the Council and the public every possible warranty of the good faith and of the earnest and serious convictions of the Execu-*

five Government in the course which they had taken, and especially with reference to the assurances given respecting the future prerogatives and functions of the Legislative Council—assurances which had not been without influence upon the Resolutions of the Council up to the present time. It might not be known that questions relating to decentralization had been mooted on more than one occasion in confidential communications between this Government and the Government of India. The Government had been called upon, on two occasions, to give their opinion on plans which the Supreme Government had in contemplation for attaining the object referred to. On both occasions his honourable colleague (Mr. Arbuthnot) took the initiative in embodying his individual opinion in the form of a Minute which showed how constantly he had before his mind the expediency of calling in the assistance of the Legislative Council in framing and appropriating the Budgets of the Provincial services. He might be permitted to read extracts from the Minutes of 1868 and 1869 made by Mr. Arbuthnot on this subject. In 1868 Mr. Arbuthnot expressed himself as follows :—

“ With the view of establishing a thoroughly effective check over the expenditure of the Local Governments, each Local Government should be required to submit annually to the Local Legislative Council a Budget Estimate exhibiting the probable amount of revenue which, under the orders of the Government of India, will be left at its disposal, and the expenditure which it is proposed to incur. The votes of the Council should be taken on the Budget, section by section, or item by item, it being open to any member to move the omission or reduction of any particular item of expenditure which he might deem unnecessary or unduly high, or an increase of charge when he might regard the Budget provision too low, or the insertion of any new charges which he might deem called for. On all such amendments the votes of the Council should be taken, and the Budget should be finally passed, and embodied in an Appropriation Act, as voted by the majority of the Council; such votes, however, being subject to the following restrictions.—It should not be in the power of the Council to vote the creation of any permanent charge exceeding a certain amount, say Rupees 1,000 per mensem at first perhaps a lower limit might be imposed), or to raise any existing charge of a permanent character above that amount, or to vote the abolition or reduction of any permanent charge exceeding that amount, unless the permission of the Governor-General in Council had been previously obtained. In all such cases the power of the Council should be limited to passing resolutions, affirming that such and such changes were desirable, and it should be the duty of the Governor and his Executive Council to forward the resolutions so passed to the Governor-General in Council with any remarks they might think proper. It would of course be open to

any Member of the Council, as indeed it is under the present law, to bring forward measures of local taxation. It would probably be expedient that the power of raising loans for the execution of reproductive works should be restricted to the Supreme Government."

Again,—

"I am aware that the proposal to assign to the Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, a control over the administrative measures of the Executive Governments, even to the limited extent indicated in the foregoing suggestions, is one which has not hitherto been advanced, or, if advanced, has not as yet been seriously entertained. The view hitherto taken has been that in a country, the Government of which must more or less partake of the character of a despotism, it would not be safe to entrust to an independent body, however small, any power of interference with, or control over, the executive administration. It was in conformity with the principle upon which this view is based, that up to 1854 all legislative power was restricted to the Executive Government, and that the admission of non-official persons to take a share in the legislative business of the Empire was not sanctioned until 1861. It is, I take it, an admitted fact that the practical working of the latter measure has very fairly met the expectations of its authors, and that the presence of non-official persons in the Legislative Councils has been a source of strength, and not a source of embarrassment to the Government. I cannot think it probable that a different result would follow from conferring upon these Councils the additional duty of revising and passing the annual estimates, subject to the restrictions above provided for. The effect of the change would be, not to diminish the power and responsibility which must necessarily be reserved to the Executive Government, but to ensure that that power should be exerted, and that responsibility discharged under the salutary influence which would be exercised over every head of a department and over every member of the Executive Government, by the knowledge that his administration, and especially those parts of his administration which in any way affect the financial position of the Presidency, would be liable to criticism in a Council, the proceedings of which are public, and the members of which are more or less competent from their own local knowledge, and from the means available to them of obtaining local information, to form an intelligent judgement on the various questions which may arise. That some such check will be necessary in the event of larger powers being conferred on the Local Governments, does not, I think, admit of a doubt, and I question whether any better agency can be devised for the purpose than that which is ready to our hands in the existing Legislative Councils."

In 1869 when the same question was again agitated Mr. Arbuthnot remarked :—

"I also think that the measure would be much improved by making it an essential part of the new system of finance that the Provincial Budgets shall be subjected annually to the revision of the Local Legislative Councils. There is no check on extravagance, or on mal-administration of any description, so effective, as that which is imposed by the knowledge that every act

of Government which in any way affects its finances; every omission to utilize its resources to the best advantage, is liable to be subjected to public discussion and criticism, conducted by persons who either have, or have the means of obtaining on the spot, an accurate knowledge of local facts, and of local wants and requirements. I dare say that at the commencement no very marked consequences would result from the adoption of this arrangement. Possibly the first Provincial Budget would pass through the Council with but little comment or questioning, on the part of the unofficial members. For a time the novelty of the work would deter them from doing much, but before very long questions would be asked, and amendments moved. One member would urge that a certain line of road or a particular bridge, the want of which had long been recognised, should be inserted in the Public Works Budget for the ensuing year. Another would bring forward the claims of a rising town to a higher and more efficient grade of judicatory. A third would draw attention to the irrigation wants of District or Talook. A fourth would bring under notice the inadequacy of the provision made for educational grants-in-aid. And inasmuch as the expenditure on the latter must be restricted within the limit imposed by the Central Government, unless additional resources can be provided, no proposition which involved an increase of charge in one direction, could be adopted, unless it could be shown that the additional cost could be met, either by retrenchment in another direction, or by the imposition of a new tax, or by some better method of administering an existing source of revenue: and in this way discussion would be promoted, followed by criticism in the public press, and an impetus would be given to an economical, and at the same time a judicious prosecution of public improvements, for which it cannot be said that there is any adequate guarantee under the existing system. Another very valuable effect of the change would be, as Mr. Laing observed in his *Financial Statement of the 27th April 1861*, an extract from which I appended to my former Minute, to add materially to the dignity and to the sense of responsibility of the Local Legislative Councils."

Such were the opinions expressed by Mr. Arbuthnot in 1868 and 1869—opinions which he continued to advocate with the most perfect consistency and with equal earnestness at present. He (HIS EXCELLENCY) did not embody his own opinions at the same length, but at the risk of fatiguing the Council, he would venture to read a short extract from the Minute which he submitted, in connection with that of Mr. Arbuthnot, to the Government of India—

"It has been suggested by Mr. Arbuthnot, that, under the proposed order of financial administration, the repartition of the lump sum, awarded by the Supreme Government for the use of the Presidency, should be discussed and settled in the Legislative Council. The measure appears to me to be recommended by several reasons. *The motives of Government in the application of the revenue to specific objects would be better understood by the public. The native members of Council would have some voice in the distribution of funds which are almost exclusively supplied by the classes which these gentlemen*

opinion. The Legislative Council would gain in public consideration by this addition to its functions. The Government would be protected against influences brought to bear upon it by the India Office, or by class interests here.

These were the opinions which he expressed in 1869, and to which he adhered at the present time; and he thought that, from the extracts he had read, the Legislative Council could gather the most perfect assurance that the majority of the Government would continue to press their opinion in every legitimate form upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

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The Hon'ble V. RAMENGAR observed that the most prudent course would be to proceed with the Bills in their present shape. The Council could not anticipate the decision of the Government of India and of the Home Government with reference to the increased powers proposed to be entrusted to the Council. He thought it was a great mistake to suppose that the Council would ever find itself placed in antagonism—dangerous antagonism—to the executive Government. The constitution of the Council forbade such a supposition. It was equally a mistake to say that the Council could not exercise their limited powers with good results. The advantage of an annual financial exposition before the Council would be to evoke useful criticism and to bring to bear upon the discussion, the information which that Council, comprising a mixed body, undoubtedly possess and have the means of obtaining.

The Hon'ble Mr. MACPHERSON did not intend to oppose the motion for proceeding with the consideration of the Bills. Like Mr. Brown, he was under the impression that when they resumed the discussion on the Bills, they had two pledges. The first was that the annual Budgets should be submitted to their criticism, and the second, which influenced the change of opinion avowed by Mr. Norton, was that the Bills would not be proceeded with, so long as the present high rate of Income-tax was continued. It seemed, however, to be impossible for his Lordship's Government to redeem these pledges; and the resolution of the Government of India seemed to have placed beyond discussion the necessity of raising fresh taxes. The Government of the Presidency could not be carried on, unless they passed some Bills like those before the Council. But he would suggest

whether having reference to the probability that the first Provincial Budget would be prepared by the Executive Government and possibly the next Budget also, it would not be wise to pass the Bill for a year only. His Lordship had hinted that the Bill would probably have shortly to be submitted to the Council for amendment; and it seemed to him (Mr. Macfadyen), while not doubting in any way the sincerity with which the views expressed that day would be pressed on the Supreme Government, that it would be better if the Bill were passed for a year only.

The Hon'ble V. RAMIENGAR, thought the introduction of such a Bill annually would tend to unsettle the minds of the people, and he did not consider it would be expedient to limit it in the way suggested.

The Hon'ble Mr. MACFADYEN, explained that he did not propose that the Bill should be brought annually before the Council, but that its operation should be limited to one year in the first place, and when the rules were framed as to the submission of annual Budgets, it might be passed permanently.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT would not feel it to be in his power to assent to the course suggested. He never regarded the passage of the Bill as absolutely contingent upon the discussion of the Provincial Budgets by the Legislative Council, though he had always himself advocated that course. He might mention that when the Bill was first brought under discussion in the Executive Council, Mr. Arbuthnot proposed to insert provisions rendering it obligatory on the Government to introduce the Local Funds Budgets in the Legislative Council. He (HIS EXCELLENCY) opposed that proposal for this reason, that he did not then know that such provisions would be acceptable to the Supreme Government, and he deemed it inexpedient to insert anything which might lead to the rejection of the Bill. When they found that the Supreme Government were in favour of the course referred to, he would have been happy to see the provision inserted in the Bill, if he thought it could be done with safety; but he did not think it could at the present time. He could only repeat the expression of his strong conviction that it was desirable that provision should be made for the introduction of Budgets into the Legislative Council.

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ADMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES

INTO THE

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

BY

L DADABHAI NAOROJI, M. P.

Read before the East India Association on 17th April 1868.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE "COMMERCIAL PRESS."

1893.

COMMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES

INTO THE

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B o m b a y :

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ADMISSION OF EDUCATED NATIVES INTO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

GENTLEMEN—Since our deputation waited on the Secretary of State for India with the Memorial¹ relative to the Indian Civil Service, and several objections urged from different quarters; and, as I see that Mr. Fawcett is going to move a resolution, I beg to submit for your consideration my views on those objections. They are, as far as I have met with, principally these:—

1. That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy.
2. That Europeans would not like to serve under natives.
3. That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and that when a native is placed in any position of eminence, his fellow-countrymen all around him are ready to backbite and slander him.
4. That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life.
5. That though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fit to be placed at the head of any department.
6. That natives who seek for admission into the Civil Service should be Anglicised.
7. That natives ought not to be put in positions of power.
8. That the places obtained by the natives will be so many lost to the English people.
9. That natives are already largely employed.

To avoid confusion, I give hereafter the replies to these objections separately, but it is necessary to guard against being drawn into a discussion of these objections, and thereby missing the *real* point at issue. Whatever may be the weight or value of these objections, they are now altogether beside the question. The real position of the question at present is simply this: That, notwithstanding *all these* and other such objections, after a searching inquiry, and after taking

¹ Appendix B.

them all into very careful consideration, Parliament has decided and publicly enacted, "That no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, decent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." This enactment by Parliament in the year 1833 was again confirmed in distinct, honest, and emphatic terms by our gracious Sovereign in the year 1858: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." The tests of qualifications, character, and health are laid down. Now the question simply is, whether these solemn Royal declarations and enactments of Parliament are to be *fairly* and *honestly* carried out or whether they are only to be a mockery and a delusion as far as the British subjects in India are concerned. This is the whole question. I have not the least doubt that the intentions of our Sovereign and Parliament are honest, and the only course open is, not to subject any one class of British subjects to greater difficulties and sacrifices than another. Every obstacle left or thrown in the way of the natives of India is equivalent to making the Royal word and Parliamentary enactment, as far as they are concerned, a dead letter and a mockery. The only way in which natives of India can be put on an honestly equal footing with Englishmen is by holding examinations in India also. I trust that in the debate in Parliament this important issue will not be lost sight of, and will be distinctly pronounced upon.

The questions which will have to be necessarily discussed in connexion with this point are—1st. Whether it is practicable to hold examinations in India. It is evident that there can be no insurmountable difficulty. I need hardly take up your time on this point, as you are all well aware that there are competent staffs of examiners in India. I would only throw out one or two suggestions. If it be considered necessary that *all* the candidates both of this country and of India should be subjected to the *same* examination, papers for both written and *visà voce* examinations can be sent from here, to

opened in India in the examination rooms on the same day as they are opened here; and in the case of the *visu voce* examinations, whether papers are sent or not, or questions additional to those given on the papers are put by the examiner for obtaining fully the object of the *visu voce* examinations), if the examiners are required to write down all the questions put and the answers given, with such remarks as may occur to them as to the manner of the replies of each candidate, the Commissioners here will be well able to control the whole examination, and bring it to a common standard. If, on the other hand, the Government of India be left to carry out the examination in India, there will be no difficulty whatever in finding a competent staff of examiners. It is neither desirable, nor should it be expected, by the natives, that the English portion of the service should not be larger than the native; and a small portion of the annual appointments left to be competed for in India is all, I think, that they can present fairly ask. In that case the latter plan of leaving to the Government of India to conduct the examinations would be preferable. The chief objection to this latter plan is that by a separate examination a native may come in who may be inferior to the English candidates rejected here. To avoid this difficulty either the first plan of "same papers" must be adopted; or, if the Government of India adopt a sufficiently high standard of examinations and a high minimum, considering that the number of appointments will be very small indeed compared with the number of candidates who are likely to compete in such a large population, the successful candidates will not only be comparatively, but absolutely, good and superior men. Again, on the other hand, the chief objection to the "same examination for all" is that as the number of candidates will be in the course of time much larger in India than here, on account of the immensely larger population from which they will come, there is some chance that the Commissioners may find a much larger number of natives coming high than the Secretary of State may think desirable to give appointments to. If, therefore, any natives are then rejected and their English inferiors are selected, the cry of injustice will naturally arise, which contingency ought, I think, to be avoided. Upon the whole, therefore, I think leaving the examination to the Government of India, with a sufficiently high standard, will be the most practicable plan, as the chance is very slight of inferior men passing in a very large competition. Again, whether the examinations should be held in some one place only, or at all the Presidency towns,

is another question. This can be well left to the Viceroy. Each Presidency is so large a country by itself that, if a distribution of the appointments were made among them, the work of the examiners will be ample, and the civil servants being thus drawn from these different localities of India, a larger and more varied experience will be introduced into the service than if they were all or most of them drawn from one province only, which I think will be an advantage. These details, however, had better be left to the judgment of the Secretary of State.

As to the general character of the candidates, the certificates will be mostly from the English heads of their colleges, about whom certainly nobody can object that they would not be as conscientious and honest as the heads of the colleges here. The weight of any other certificates that may be produced by the candidates can easily be judged of by the examining authorities. In short, Government may adopt such rules as they may deem necessary to get the Indian candidate of the same level with the English, whether in acquirements, character, physical energy, or in any other particular. If the natives fail in coming up to a fair standard, it would be their own fault: *they only ask a fair trial*. Now suppose any inefficient person by some accident found admission into the service (which is very unlikely in a large competition for very few places), or suppose after admission the integrity of any was not found satisfactory: there is no difficulty for Government in discharging such a person. By his appointment once he does not become a permanent fixture. Nor is it incumbent upon Government to promote any servant who does not prove his fitness for promotion. So there is no reason whatever why the enactment of Parliament or the proclamation of our Sovereign should not be fairly carried out, and the mere bugbear of the fear that some native employé may misbehave himself be allowed to interfere with a necessary act of justice and policy.

As to the locality for the examinations, Clause XXXII. of the Act of 1858 does not fix any. The Secretary of State for India is not prevented from holding examinations where he may think necessary.

The second question will be the necessary expenditure, but it is only natural and quite evident that the natives would only be too glad to have any necessary portion of the revenue devoted to such purposes.

I need not here do more than simply state that the two requests

made in our memorial have been by some confounded with each other as alternatives, but you are aware they are not so. The very wording of the second request and the speech of Sir H. Edwardes shows that the two requests have two different objects : the first to give a fair, free, and impartial chance to the natives to enter the Indian Civil Service on the same footing as Englishmen, and the second to send out natives in various independent professions to India, "where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers."

When I moved the memorial, I did not go further into this matter than pointing out that our Sovereign and the Parliament, and the press as representing the people of this country, and the present Government were of the one opinion which is expressed in the words I have quoted before from an Act of Parliament and from the proclamation of our Sovereign. Even now the press of this country, while commenting on the blue-book of the comparison of the British and native rule, have almost unanimously declared that a fair field for the aspiration of natives of ability and character is one of the most important wants of the British rule both to make it beloved as well as efficient. I also then urged that the best interest of the service required that the first competition for selection should take place in India, in order that the selection of qualified natives may not be made from a small body only, but to select the *best* talent and character from the *whole* talent and character of the country.

With such a clear case of law, justice, and necessity, we may think, and properly too, that I should have nothing more to say, and that my paper should end here. So I had thought on the occasion of proposing the memorial, but as some objections have been since started from quarters, no matter of whatever character, and as it is likely that some members of Parliament may desire to know the value of these objections, though, as I have explained before, they are all now quite irrelevant, I now discuss them one by one.

1. "That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy."

The reports of the Education Department of India and of the administrative Departments show what the abilities and acquirements of the natives are, and how offices of trust and responsibility hitherto entrusted to educated Indians have been discharged by them.

The testimony as to the ability and intelligence of the natives is now complete, that the intellect of the natives of India is equal to that of any other people. Its ancient literature speaks for itself, and the result of modern education is that its universities declare, year after year, that their work is successful, and that graduates begin to number by hundreds, and undergraduates by thousands. I shall revert to this point again, shortly, in connexion with the question of integrity.

With regard to the general integrity and character of the whole nation, it would be too long to go over the ground I have once treated in my paper on the European and Asiatic races. Nor is it at present necessary for me to do so, as the question now before us is not the indiscriminate employment of natives generally in high offices of trust and responsibility, but only of that class which proves itself qualified by its high education, ability, and character. Now, it would be a strange commentary on the educational results of the English colleges in India (which are very justly regarded, both by the English nation and the natives, as one of the greatest boons and blessings conferred by England upon India), and on the character of all English intellectual, moral, and scientific literature, if the highly educated youths of these colleges did not also attain to high moral character. But as in the immutable order of nature a good seed can never produce bad fruit, especially in a soil that has once proved itself fertile, it is not the fact that the education of these colleges does not raise the sense of moral duty of the students. I might here reason out a long argument to show why the natives ought to be and are as good as any other people under similar circumstances; but, as any length of argument or number of assertions will not carry conviction home to those who have now to pronounce on this point so completely as a few actual facts, I applied myself to this task. Before I give you the result, I have to make one observation. I do not do this in any spirit of recrimination, or ill feeling, nor do I wish to urge the delinquencies of any one class as any justification for those of another; but it is only in simple fairness and justice that I ask English gentlemen to make proper allowances. Those gentlemen who so often cast stones at the want of integrity and the corruption of the natives, should not forget how some Englishmen in India, in former days, were suddenly transformed into rich Nawobs; how Mr. Drake got his Rs. 280,000; or how a number of others got their lacs to side with one or other of the contending native princes,

to the tune of some millions sterling within nine years, from 1757 to 1766,¹ and how, after selling their power and influence in India in the above manner, the Company bought their power in the English legislature, by bribing in the legislature to something like 90,000*l.* in the year 1793 ;² how the Company's servants cheated their own masters ; how, in Mr. Mills' words, in one matter, "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame."³ It is natural for gentlemen who have received a high education, and who begin their Indian service or life with high pay or profits, and high prospects, to feel indignant at the bribery and corruption of the poor people with low education, low pay or profits, and low prospects, and exclaim how such things can be. But if those gentlemen would only observe a little more around themselves, observe the amount of fraud and "doing" in this metropolis, if they would only remember the cry very recently raised against butchers and grocers, and discounts for servants, the convictions for false weights, the puffs of advertisements, the corruption among the 'independent and intelligent electors,' and their respectable corruptors, that, as said above, English gentlemen bought and sold power, and that several Englishmen from the lower classes are not behaving quite creditably in India now, &c. they will then see that such things not only can be, but *are* to be found even in this country under similar circumstances, learn to make allowances for similar phenomena among other people, and agree in the "decided conviction" expressed by the Court of Directors,⁴ that "we have no right to calculate on them (the natives) resisting temptations to which the generality of mankind in the same circumstances would yield."

The real question now, gentlemen, is whether, when natives are as highly educated as Englishmen, they attain to the same character for integrity or not, whatever may be the difference of opinion about the character of the whole nation, or of native agency generally.

I have collected a large amount of testimony with regard to native agency. Here I have in my hand a pamphlet of ninety-five pages, entitled "Evidences relating to the Efficiency of Native Agency in India, published under the superintendence of the British India

¹ Mills' *British India*, vol. iii. ed. 1826, p. 326.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. ed. 1826, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iii. ed. 1826, p. 300.

⁴ Letter to Bengal Government, dated 23rd July, 1824.

Society, reprinted with a supplement by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, 1853." This pamphlet contains a collection of the testimony of Indian officials up to 1853. We have further in the Parliamentary reports of the same year a large amount of evidence on the same subject, and also a good deal scattered over in different works, or in periodical literature. But for our present purpose nearly the whole of this mass of evidence is inapplicable; and therefore useless to lay before you. All this evidence has been chiefly upon the question of native agency *generally*, but the present question is not the efficiency and integrity of the natives generally, but of the particular body who can pass the ordeal of a high examination and produce satisfactory testimony of character. I therefore thought proper to request several Indian officials now resident in this country to give me their opinion. I addressed the following letter:—

"I shall be exceedingly obliged if you would kindly give me your opinion as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian service in offices of trust and responsibility."

To this inquiry several gentlemen have kindly replied. I give you all these replies in Appendix A, and leave you to judge for yourselves. Out of the testimony already published I give you a few extracts only in the same appendix, which directly bear upon the present question. It will be observed that the appended testimony represents *all* parts of India. Sir W. Denison's opinion appears unfavourable. He admits that there *are*, even though as exceptions, some natives who *are* serving the State with efficiency. Now it is only for men like these, and who can also prove their character, no matter whether they are few or many, that our memorial ask for free admission. It is only those natives who can prove their ability by passing through a severe ordeal, and who can also prove their character by satisfactory testimony (and not natives indiscriminately), that we ask admission for. And even after such natives are admitted, if any is found wanting, either in efficiency or integrity, there is nothing to prevent Government from dismissing him. Nor is Government bound to promote, unless satisfied with the merits of any servant. Against Sir W. Denison's opinion representing Madras, we have on the other hand a different opinion from Lord Harris, Sir C. Trevelyan, and General Briggs. On a fair estimate of the whole evidence, I venture to conclude that the educated natives of India, when employed in the public service, *have* proved their efficiency and integrity. My

humble testimony may be worthless, especially in a matter in which I am one of the petitioners ; but I think I may at least say what I conscientiously believe, that as a native, and therefore having good opportunity of knowing the private character of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, many of whom were my students, fellow-students, friends, acquaintances, or fellow-labourers in public movements (without undertaking to give an opinion as to their efficiency, though I know well their ability), I conscientiously believe that their integrity is undoubted, and that they actuated by a true and genuine sense of moral duty in their good conduct and public spirit. Among them a spirit of condemning any lapse of duty, to the want of which, among natives generally, Sir R. Wallace alludes, is getting very strong, and the severest reproach that any one administers to another is, to tell him that he did not behave in a way worthy of his education. The feeling among them is very strong, that their high education demands from them a high moral character, and a performance of their duties. I can give extracts of open censure from the native press. Our present rulers may well be proud of such result of their educational establishments, and point to it as one of their strongest claims upon our loyalty and gratitude. It only now remains for our rulers to let such results bear good fruit, instead of running into discontent and mischief, by giving a fair and reasonable scope for the talent evolved. The question is simple : either the natives must be allowed to have a fair share in the administration of the country, or the nation must be kept ignorant, and the rulers take the chances of the results of such ignorance and hatred for foreign rule combined therewith.

I am glad to say that as far as I am aware of the views of some of the English principals and professors of the colleges in the Bombay Presidency, they are the same with mine, and it is with much pleasure I find that Sir S. Grant, the present Director of Public Instruction, has distinctly recorded his opinion as follows. In his report as Principal of Elphinstone College,¹ for 1862-63, he says, "As far as my experience goes, nothing can be more untrue than the common notion that English education is injurious to the moral principle of natives. In the College, I have invariably found that students improve in trustworthiness and respectability in direct ratio to their improvement as scholars." Any doubts about the physical energy or pluck of the

¹ Bombay Education Report, 1862-63, p. 94.

candidates can easily be removed by requiring any tests for the purpose. Certainly the people with whose assistance, as the native army, the British Indian Empire has been mostly built up, cannot be pronounced as wanting in physical power and energy. They ought to have a fair trial. From the political cause of long subjection to foreign rules, and several religious and social causes, it cannot be denied that the people of several portions of India are enervated,—those of Lower Bengal I am told especially; and some Englishmen, observing the effeminacy of these people, have drawn the general conclusion with regard to all India. But about this very people Mr. Anstey told us the other day: ¹ “Who were the Sykhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starving fugitives from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, ‘I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.’ In comparison with the great dignity of Aurungzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle.”

Let therefore the natives once feel that it is time for them to shake off this effeminacy, and that, under the blessing and ægis of the British rule, there is full scope for the head, heart, and hand, and I have no doubt that, they will prove themselves worthy of the power and civilization they once possessed, and of the blessing of the new regeneration now bestowed upon them by the light of the higher enlightenment and civilization of the West by their British rulers.

In short, whatever may be the value of the objection as to the efficiency, integrity, and energy of the natives, the very fact that none can find admission into the service who are not qualified as required removes the objection altogether. I once more wish to impress that it is not only the willingness of a native to be examined that will find him admission into the examination-room, but he will have to prove to the satisfaction of Government that he is a person of character, in the same way as the candidate is required to do here; that his further promotion will be entirely in the hands of Government, and his failure will bring dismissal.

2. “That Europeans would not like to serve under the natives.”

This I cannot help considering as a libel on the English character. I have a much higher opinion of it than to believe that

¹ Journal of the East India Association, No. 2, p. 182.

Englishmen are not capable of appreciating and respecting true merit. Moreover, facts disprove this objection. The native judges of the high as well as the subordinate courts, and natives in any other position of eminence, are respected by English subordinates. Englishmen serve both here and in India native masters with every respect. In the Bombay dockyard, Englishmen served under native superiors. In short, it would be strange if it were otherwise, for Englishmen are especially alive to merit. Why if there be any Englishmen in service, who should be so lost to their sense of duty and appreciation of true merit as to be reluctant to serve under natives of merit, they do not deserve to be in the service at all.

3. "That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and are envied and slandered."

This objection can only be the result of the ignorance of the feelings of the natives towards officials of real merit, be they Englishmen or natives. The gratification of seeing their own countrymen rise in dignity and honour is naturally as great among the natives as among any other people. That narrow-minded or interested people will envy others is a trait which can be met with as much among any other people as among the natives of India. Only some weeks ago I read in the *Hindu Reformer* of Bombay, of 15th January last, "We hail with excessive joy the selection of Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, M.A., L.L.B., Niayadhish of Kolapore, to fill the chair of English Literature and History in the Elphinstone College The honour which is thus conferred on Mr. Ranade is as much deserved by him as it is suggestive of his superior accomplishments as a scholar, and we have not the slightest doubt that it will cause much satisfaction to all who take an interest in the cause of the education of the youth of this Presidency." This is a fair specimen of the feelings of the natives towards their countrymen of merit. I can give more extracts if necessary. When I was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the same College, I can candidly say that I think I was looked upon with very kindly feelings by my countrymen around me generally, as well as by the students of the College and the masters of the school departments. The feelings of my European colleagues were so kind towards me that I shall always remember them with pleasure and gratitude.

Turning to official testimony, I think none can be more satisfactory and complete than the following :—

In one of the Government Gazettes of Calcutta, of last year, the

following paragraph appeared :—“The Governor General in Council has received, with sincere regret, official intimation of the death of the Honourable Shamboonath Pundit, one of the Judges of Her Majesty’s High Court at Fort William. The Honourable the Chief Justice in communicating this intelligence to the Governor-General has said, ‘So far as Mr. Justice Shumboonath Pundit was concerned, the experiment of appointing a native gentleman to a seat in the High Court has succeeded. He had a considerable knowledge of his profession, and a thorough acquaintance with the natives. I have always found him upright, honourable, and independent, and I believe that he was looked up to by his countrymen with respect and confidence.’ The interest which both in India and England attaches to the experiment of placing a native gentleman in the highest judicial situation in the country has induced the Governor-General in Council to make public the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice, in which his Excellency entirely agrees.”

Certainly the above extracts prove anything but envy. They also disprove the first objection as to the ability and character of the natives. Sir A. Grant is no ordinary judge of scholarship, and that he should appoint a native as Professor of English Literature and History speaks volumes. The testimony of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice about Pundit Shamboonath speaks for itself.

The Court of Directors say “The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen,” &c.¹

The North-West Provinces report that the Courts of Honorary Magistrates appear to possess the confidence of the people.²

4. “That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life.”

This is also contrary to facts, and has its origin in superficial observation, or in the knowledge of particular localities. That they should look to Government appointments, and wish to aspire to a share in the administration of their own country, is only as natural with them as with Englishmen here. Until lately there were very few openings

¹ Educational Despatch of 1854, p. 77.

² Return, Moral, &c., Progress, 1867, p. 88.

for educated men. The legal profession being now open to them, many are going to it. The medical profession is availed of as far as it can be, in spite of the prejudices against dissection. But, except at the Presidency and some other large towns, an educated doctor can hardly get practice suited to his position ; the number, therefore, of well-educated practitioners who can at present pursue this profession with profit is limited. The fact that European doctors chiefly confine themselves to the Presidency and some few other towns, shows that the field for educated medical men is not yet very large. The educated theological profession has yet to be created, except among native Christians. The Gujarati Hindus of India have been merchants from time immemorial, and they are still as enterprising as ever. There is a large internal commerce carried on by the natives. Many among educated natives would gladly become merchants, or follow other professions if they had the requisite capital or means. During the years 1862-64, when there was such a rush for trade and speculation, many natives left Government service. The manufactures of England, especially textile, have broken down very much the corresponding industries of India ; and now, as the establishment of manufactories is a question of large capital, it is naturally shut to those who do not possess it. Still, several natives get employment in such as are established. In railways and other works they are ready to be employed. Besides, civil and marine engineering is adopted by several.

In short, this objection may be answered briefly in this way, that there are only about 400 natives in Government service at a salary above 300*l.* per annum and upwards (see Return 201—206, 1858, 223 ; sec. ii. 1859). What do all those other thousands of natives do who are also earning as much ? So far as the native finds an independent opening, he does not fail to take advantage of it. I know from my experience of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, that they are very glad to have independent careers.

So far was I convinced of this and of the necessity of affording facilities for new careers, that I made an attempt in 1864 to adopt some means to enable highly-talented natives to continue their studies for professional careers *after* completing their college education. One of the natives of Bombay offered a lac, and some others Rs. 175,000 for two fellowships of Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 per month respectively, and asked Government to contribute as much ; but unfortunately the offer was not accepted by Government.

In addition to these fellowships, which were intended to encourage high education and high independent careers, there was also started for the less educated, and the enterprising spirits generally, a "Students' Loan Company," to lend money at moderate interest to persons wishing to visit England and other places, to complete their education or to learn any trade, art, or profession. The Rs. 300 fellowship and the Students' Loan Company were intended for the benefit of all India. The commercial crash broke down all these proposals. I don't think that there can be any question that the natives do *not* look to Government employments any more than the people of any other country in similar circumstances. Supposing, however, for argument's sake that there was among the natives some tendency to look a little too much to Government employments, that certainly can be no good reason that they should therefore be debarred from aspiring to a reasonable extent to a share in the service of their own country when *qualified* by their ability and character. It is said that this tendency was observed in Lower Bengal, but, even in that part of India, the tendency, if it ever existed to any unreasonable extent, is now changing. The body of independent barristers, solicitors, and vakeels, doctors, and merchants shows that even the Bengalees are not blind to the advantages of independent careers as they become open to them.

5. "That, though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fitted to be placed at the head of any department."

Without giving a fair trial, such an objection is, to say the least, very unreasonable. Besides, the objection is not borne out by facts. In any instances in which natives have been put in positions of trust and responsibility, they have shown themselves equal to their duties, as you must have seen from the evidence I have read to you. If, in any case, Government found inefficiency, there could be no difficulty in removing it, just as it does with English servants. Moreover, after getting admission into the service, the natives would not be put at the head all at once. They will have to show their efficiency, and to work their way up; and Government will have every opportunity of testing whom they can trust and whom not with higher positions.

6. "That natives who seek for admission into the civil service should be first Anglicised."

The education that natives receive in India is in itself a process of Anglicising them, with this advantage, that they retain the sympathy and knowledge of their own country; and if a native is

required to visit this country after his selection by the first competition, the object of the visit to this country will be realized. If it be thought that two years' visit to this country is not enough, there can be no difficulty in arranging and requiring the native successful candidates to spend a little longer time here ; because the reason why English candidates are required to go to India at an early age do not apply to the natives, as the natives do not require to be acclimatized, nor do they require the same time to learn the character, thoughts, and habits of the people that foreigners do.

I do not mean to say that young boys should not also be brought here for education. But there are many difficulties and troubles for taking care of them. Unless good care is taken to keep them within the charm of the circle of good society, there is some danger of evil instead of good resulting. When those educated in India come here at a mature age, everything they see is novel to them, every moment of their sojourn here is valuable, and spent in comparisons ; they return to India *enthusiastic*, and do much good. We know what good a Karsondas Moolji or a Dosabhoy Framjee has done to their country by their visits here. Now it is not to be understood that the objections given above to very young boys coming here, or what I have said in favour of visits at a greater age, apply generally. There are some youths under my care for several years, who I am sure will do credit to themselves and benefit to their country. I give the above *pros* and *cons* not as a speculation but the actual result of my experience during the past twelve years, during which time a good many youths have been under my care, coming here at different ages from about ten to twenty-one. Upon the whole, I think that the necessity of coming here at an early age cannot be reasonably urged against holding examinations in India. There is much to be said in favour of both early and late visits to this country, and the best course will be to have a proper proportion of both. As I shall point out hereafter, there are strong objections urged to making compulsory any visit at all to this country, either before or after selection, on account of the caste difficulty for the Hindus, who form the majority of the native population.

7. " That natives ought not to be put in positions of power. "

If the British rule is to be based on willing consent and sincere loyalty, it is necessary that means be adopted to give the natives an interest in and a gratitude for the British rule, by giving them

a reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country. If India is a trust for the good of India, that trust ought to be faithfully discharged. It is rather strange that there should ever have been at this day a necessity to ask whether the British or native rule was more liked by the natives. The question should have been by this time put beyond all doubt. There is no comparison between law above sovereign and sovereign above law. I must wait for another opportunity to give my views fully on this subject. If, instead of fearing to give a reasonable share of power to the natives, our rulers would do what remains to be done, they may well challenge the whole world to say whether they have not acted nobly. Unless the people are taught what British rule and machinery of administration are, and are brought up with the idea that the British rule is a blessing to them, it is simply unreasonable to hope that they could appreciate what they do not understand. We may as well expect the blind to appreciate a painting. If with this knowledge, by national education, is associated a gratification of the high aspirations and patriotic feelings of the educated native for a voice and share in the government of his country, and if the material prosperity of the mass is promoted by a bold policy for public works to develop the resources of the country, and if the princes and the aristocracy be sure of good faith with them, and receive the benefit of good advice, Britain may well point to its handiwork with pride, and India may for ever remember with gratitude the hand that raised it. If, in consideration of the interest which England has to retain her power in India, it gave India the benefit of all her influence and credit, by guaranteeing the Indian debt, the relief to India of some two millions a year will go far to the attainment of the other objects. Great indeed would that statesman be, the benefactor of India, who would achieve this glorious work of regenerating a nation of 200 millions. If the British don't prove better rulers, why should they be in India? However, be the value of the above remarks what it may, one thing is certain, that among the remedies pointed out, and those I think as necessary to make the British rule popular and beloved, this one at least, of giving freely and impartially to the natives a share in the administration of the country, is admitted on all hands, by those who have given the opinions to the Viceroy, and their reviewers in the press and Parliament. I will just remark here that, in connexion with the necessity of giving a voice in the application of the revenues, the very modest proposal made in a petition by the

British Indian Association of Calcutta, reported in the *Times of India*, Summary, of 7th March last, will, I hope, have due consideration from the Secretary of State for India.

That there is no danger in entrusting power to educated natives is proved by the well-known fact that they understand and appreciate *most* the benefits of English rule, and in the words of Sir B. Frere, "And now, wherever I go, I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India, among the ranks of the educated natives," &c. &c. I also showed this at some length in my paper on "England's Duties to India."

8. "That the places obtained by the natives will be so many less to the English people."

The mere statement of this objection is its own condemnation as to its selfishness and want of a due sense of justice, statesmanship, and the high moral responsibilities of the British in India. It is the plain duty of Government to secure the most efficient service they can get, and for that purpose let the words proclaimed in the name of the Sovereign be honestly fulfilled, "that as far as may be our subjects of whatever race or creed be *freely* and *impartially* admitted to our services in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge." To compel the natives to come to England for competition for service in their own country is no more reasonable, free, or impartial, than it would be to compel Englishmen to go to India or Australia for admission into the Civil Service in England,

9. "That natives are already largely employed."

The facts, however, are these. There are above 1,700 Europeans in the covenanted services in India at a cost of above three millions per annum, at a salary of from 240*l.* to 25,000*l.* per annum (Return No. 1860). There are 849 Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the uncovenanted service, at salaries of 300*l.* and upwards, while of natives there are only about 600 at a salary at and above 240*l.* a year (Return 201—vi. 1858, 223, sec. ii., 1859), of whom about 350 are between 240*l.* and 360*l.* per annum. This return will also show how very few—only about a dozen—natives there are at salaries at and above 840*l.* a year. Since these returns there have been some few more high positions given to the natives, but I cannot say whether there is yet any or more than one or two above the salary of 2,000*l.* per annum.

In my remarks, of course, I don't mean to say that there are not, and would not hereafter be, found black sheep among the educated natives as among any other people, but that in a fair trial the natives will come up to the average of ability and honesty of any other people.

There is only one more point to which I wish to draw your attention. To the Hindoo the caste question is socially of great importance till the system is broken down. It may be said that a candidate for the Civil Service ought to show that he has the moral courage to break through such trammels. This he would do by his visit to this country *after* his selection, but it is certainly not reasonable to expect that any one should subject himself to great sacrifices both of money and social position on the risk of the uncertain result of his venture. If he succeeds in his competition in India, he acquires a certain position of respect, and he can then well undertake the journey to this country with the 100*l.* for the first year, and 200*l.* for the second year, which will be allowed to him by Government, with the double object of completing his qualifications and of giving a finish to his education, and of dealing with the trammels of caste with advantage. It is not proper to sneer at the cowardice of submitting to the caste system. The English even now have their trammels in other shapes, as of fashions, society, &c. and had till very lately their exclusive guilds. The English ought also not to forget at what cost reformation has taken place in Europe, and what previous preparation and the revival of knowledge has been necessary, and has led to them. The Hindu institution of caste has a growth of centuries, and over a people numbering above a hundred and fifty millions. It is intimately mixed with some of the most important social relations of births, deaths, and marriages, that due allowance ought to be made for the difficulties and sacrifices of overcoming its difficulties.

Some English and native gentlemen, with much effect, urge that the Hindus should not be subjected to this sacrifice at all, by being required to come to this country even *after* selection. When I consider the advantages of travelling in foreign countries, which is so much considered of for the youth of this country even, when I see the necessity of the natives in high positions being able to deal with English officials on a footing of equality in the knowledge of the world, especially of the English world, I cannot help still urging that the visit to this country after the selection should be insisted on; though I think the first Hindus coming here even *after* the selection will

have to put up with much inconvenience and sacrifice, and be something of martyrs in a good cause.

I am also emboldened to adhere to this opinion by finding that some of the native papers of Bombay, conducted by *Hindus* themselves, have also expressed their views that the visit to this country after selection is desirable. Moreover, in the petition from the Bombay Association, adopted at a large and influential meeting at the house of its President, the Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy, and by last advice being extensively signed by *all* classes of natives, it is also proposed, "that if necessary they (the selected candidates) may be required to proceed to England to receive a course of special training, prescribed by the existing regulations, for which there are greater facilities in Europe than in India." Besides, though there may be some inconveniences to the first native civilians, the respectability of their position, and the certainty of the number of such officials increasing every year, will give them in time sufficient weapons to fight their battle against losing caste. Also, if I am not mistaken in my impression, I think the following circumstance has already met the difficulty, or at least prepared the way for the visitors to this country *after* their selection being able to deal with some ease and power with the question of losing caste. I remember, whether from reading or from conversation I cannot tell, that His Highness the Holkar intended to send some pundits to this country. He called a meeting of the learned Brahmins, and asked their opinion. It was decided, in that assembly, that persons going abroad for *State* purposes do not lose caste, because in the glory and height of Hindu power, ambassadors went to different courts for *State* purposes. If so, that will be just the proper argument for the *selected* candidates. After their selection, being servants of the *State*, and being required by their Sovereign to visit this country for qualifying themselves for *State* purposes, they cannot lose caste.

It is said by some that if Government grant the second part of our memorial, by conferring scholarships upon youths after a certain competition, those youths will be able to study for the service and compete here; and the object of opening the service freely and impartially to the natives of India will be gained. Nothing can be a greater mistake, I think. Now it must be borne in mind that the scholarships are intended to leave the scholars holding them free to pursue whatever professional study they like, in order especially to create an independent class of educated native gentlemen. If the

stipend of these scholarships is sufficient to enable youths to come here, its natural effect will be that most of them will prefer other independent professions, as certain in their results, to studying for the Indian service with the risk of failure, and the want of opportunity to learn any profession afterwards. Then to the Hindu the failure in the competition here will be the greatest injury possible; for having first incurred the penalties of losing caste, and the displeasure of his friends, the mark of failure on his forehead, no matter whether deserved or not, would render him an object of ridicule among his countrymen. Such an amount of sacrifice it is utterly unreasonable and cruel to exact. But after he is selected in India, and is sure of his position, it is reasonable for important purposes that some sacrifice and inconvenience should be asked from him. There is another way in which mere dependence upon these scholarships will not secure the free admission of the *best* talent of the country. We must remember that it is not the horse who makes the best start that always wins. So by this plan of scholarships, if even all studied for the Indian service, contrary to the real object, the State will be spending money upon good starters only, whether they may ultimately succeed or not. But by allowing the competition in India, the State without this expenditure gets the actual winners of the race in a competition of a large number, who have proved their mental calibre as well as their character by their stay through a trying college course and by fulfilling all the conditions of ability and character for admission, and who at an advanced age can be left by their friends to act as they like, and are able to take care of themselves. While the boys are very young, many parents would be unwilling to allow their sons to go to a distant country out of their own care, and thus again the area of selection for the scholarships will be much limited, but young men at the age required for the competition are more free to act and more able to take care of themselves. So that we then have a competition among all who have proved talent and character. You will see, therefore, that though this scholarships may remove the obstacle of money, there are, in the case of the Hindus especially—who, it must be borne in mind, form the principal population of India—other most serious obstacles, which can only be dealt with by transferring the examination for a portion of the selection to India.

The Governor-General in his resolution last year admits that "he is fully alive to the urgent political necessity that the progress of

education has created, for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India ;” and, as the remedy, his Excellency recognises the eligibility of natives for only some higher grades in the non-regulation provinces. First of all, the natural effect of this will be, that those serving and living in those provinces will very likely have in time the little benefit thus held out, while in the regulation provinces—those in which education has advanced most—the natives of which have the greatest claim for a share in the administration as British subjects of long standing, should be required to incur all the sacrifices and risks (which to the Hindu are of no ordinary order) involved in a visit to this country for several years as youths. If the political necessity is so emphatically admitted by the Viceroy, I do not see how it is possible to rest satisfied with offering a few situations in the non-regulation provinces. Mark again, it is only to men of ability and character. If so, how can anything short of a free competition in India give a satisfactory fulfilment to this political necessity, and an honest performance of the promise of our gracious Sovereign ?

Such honest and candid declarations of necessity and justice, when followed by poor and inadequate fulfilment, naturally create dissatisfaction and irritation.

It is said that high appointments in the uncovenanted service may be given to natives in the regulation provinces also ; but if qualified natives are to be trusted with such high appointments in the uncovenanted service, in regulation or non-regulation provinces, why are they unfit to enter the covenanted service ? Certainly no one means to say that high uncovenanted appointments require less trustworthiness, responsibility, respect, or confidence than covenanted appointments. Has the word “uncovenanted” such a charm that it at once removes all those objections which are urged against the free and impartial admission of qualified natives into the covenanted service ? If the declarations of Government are sincere, of which I have no doubt, then I see no escape for the honest fulfilment of the words of our Sovereign and Parliament, from holding examinations in India, as proposed by us, so as to put all Her Majesty’s subjects on a fairly equal footing.

Again, in the uncovenanted service also, the principle of appointment or promotion should be fitness, no matter whether the right person be European or native, only that the principle should be

honestly adhered to. It is sometimes urged that natives do not learn for learning's sake. It is strange anybody could be expected to appreciate a thing before he knows what it is. Educated natives fully appreciate learning.

I hope, gentlemen, I have satisfied you that educated natives have already shown ability and character as among any other people (and which is tacitly admitted by the Viceroy himself), and that the only honest way of fulfilling the promise of our Sovereign and Acts of Parliament, of securing the best talent for the service, and of increasing the loyalty and gratitude of India, is by giving a free admission to such natives of ability and character by competition in India.

You will have observed that I have not entered into any discussion of the great benefit to the administration and of the encouragement and inducement to high education, not only among the people generally, but among the higher and aristocratic classes, by the granting of our petition. The whole of India will by this concession be quite electrified. But as on this point there is no doubt or question, it is unnecessary for me to take up your time, nor could I enter on it fully in this paper.

Now, gentlemen, I have said my say, and leave to you to say or act as you think proper. I conclude by moving the resolution of which I have given notice:—

“That a letter be addressed to the Secretary of State for India, with a copy of this paper, to request him to take it into his consideration, and in reply to Mr. H. Fawcett's motion to accede to the memorial presented on 21st August last by a deputation from this Association.”

APPENDIX A.

Reply from Sir R. MONTGOMERY, 23rd March, 1868.

I have not had any experience of the educated natives of India. I conclude you mean those who have received a European education at the Presidency towns.

But I have been associated for years with natives who have risen to positions of trust under the Government in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab, and I have a very high opinion of their efficiency and integrity.

I like to see such a class brought more and more into the Government—men who have proved themselves to be good servants of Government.

I enclose a memo. that may interest you, and which I wrote a few days ago.¹

Reply from Sir HERBERT EDWARDES, 23rd March, 1868.

In reply to your note of the 21st, I do not clearly understand what you mean by the term "educated natives." I have been employed in civil and political duties since 1846, and have wide experience of native officials in India, mostly educated in the native course of study. Their ability and general efficiency in the administration of affairs is *very great indeed*; but I grieve to say that I cannot give the same testimony to their integrity. The one great difficulty in the civil administration of India, judicial, fiscal, or police, is the readiness of the people to corrupt, and of the native officials to be corrupted. The daily and hourly task of English officers is that of saving the people from themselves. The conviction which I have derived from a life in that country is that the Indian intellect is of the highest order, and that the sole want of India is a *moral regeneration*. He who will help this on is the real friend of India.

Measures which are not in this direction will turn out to be whitewash.

Second Letter to Sir H. EDWARDES from DADABHAI NAOROJI, 24th March, 1868.

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday. Kindly excuse for troubling again. What I desire to know is, whether, as far as you are aware, that particular class of natives who have received education in the English colleges of India have discharged with integrity or not the duties of trust and responsibility with which they have been entrusted.

Reply from Sir H. EDWARDES, 25th March, 1868.

In reply to your note of the 24th, I can certainly say that I have found among those native officials who had been educated in the English Colleges of India more trustworthiness and a higher moral sense than in the mass of native officials who had received the ordinary education. Indeed the only two native

¹ This memorandum is printed in the *Times* of 30th March, 1868.

officials that I can recall whose integrity I considered as unimpeachable and reliable as that of English gentlemen were of this class. Both were educated at the Delhi College. Both were Brahmins, but one became a Christian in after life.

Reply from Sir HENRY RICKETTS, 29th March, 1868.

I think the best answer to your last note is the inclosed copy of my reply to an address presented to me by natives of Bengal when I left India.

Extracts from Mr. (now Sir) HENRY RICKETTS' Reply to an Address by the Natives of Bengal, Calcutta, January, 1860.

"Neither do I desire to claim credit for having been guided by duty only, for I soon learned to like intercourse with the people, and my labour, as it is called, became one of the pleasures of my life.

"And now, how is it when I look back? What has been the return I have received for treating the people of this country with consideration?

"The return has been confiding trust, regard, and genuine gratitude.

"You speak approvingly of the settlements of Cuttuck and Chittagong. They were useful works. They have now stood the test of years, and the soundness of the proceedings is more than admitted—it is proved by the condition of the two Provinces and the temper of the inhabitants. But those works were not accomplished, and never could have been accomplished, without the assistance of native officers, without their intelligence, their industry, and their honesty. I emphatically repeat that last word—their honesty. The experience of others, may differ from my experience; but wherever I hear of failure in the employment of native agency I cannot help surmising that there must have been some mistake in the management; for I declare that, throughout my long experience, the more I have trusted native officers the more faithful they have been found. I do not say that I have never been disappointed, but I hope I have avoided the too common mistake of doubting the many because a few failed. I would not have it supposed that I consider it desirable to place natives immediately in high executive posts.

The time is not come for that, but with good government it will come, and I hope that before long some, if not all of the offices, that I have recommended should be opened to all classes, may be held by the East Indians and natives.

You may be assured, my friends, that the Queen's Proclamation will not become a dead letter. Your interest and your rights will always be considered, and as you show yourselves to be improved in fitness, I trust you will obtain an increasing share in the administration of your country.

I shall gladly meet your wishes that I should sit for my portrait. I shall like, though it be in effigy, still to be among a people who have kindly appreciated all my good intentions, indulgently tolerated all my mistakes, and forgiven all my faults, and often times have patiently, any more, have contentedly submitted

to what they must have considered injury at my hands, from a sure conviction that, had it been avoidable, they would have been spared.

And now, gentlemen, farewell ! I feel assured that a bright future is in store for this country ; and be assured that it is England's wish that, in that future, India's interest, no less than England's, should be exalted—they are the same.

Reply from Sir EDWARD RYAN, 23rd March, 1868.

I think in asking me to answer your questions relating to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian services and offices of trust and responsibility, you have not recollected that it is twenty-six years since I left India, and that all my *actual knowledge* of the conduct of natives can only apply to a period when their employment in the Civil Service was very limited ; but I entertained a strong opinion of the efficiency and integrity of those whom I then knew to be in the public service.

Reply from the EARL OF KELLIE, 23rd March.

I have much pleasure in replying to your letter of the 21st.

Though a military man I was in civil employ for eighteen years, and the last eight as Commissioner of Saugar and Nurbudda Territories in Central India, and having had many natives assistants in that time, drawing from Rs. 100 to Rs. 700 a month, I had fair opportunities of judging of the fitness of educated native gentlemen for civil employment.

Many natives work themselves up to be the head clerks of offices, and are very painstaking and industrious, often able and willing to assist their official superiors with advice, but who if left to run alone would utterly fail.¹ These men have all a smattering of education, and are generally very ambitious, and fancy themselves ill-used if not promoted out of the office, and I may say the same of most of this country born Christians. There are no doubt some exceptions, but in general these men are unfit to become assistants out of their superior's office. On the other hand, where native gentlemen of *birth and education* were employed by me as assistants to the District officers, and even placed in charge of subdivisions of Districts where there were no resident Europeans, I found them to be excellent, intelligent, painstaking, upright officers, and many were in charge of treasure. It is my belief that a native gentleman who has been well educated in India is fit for a subordinate charge, or to be judge of a court where he will not come in contact with Europeans ; but until a native of India has been in England, and mixed for some years with Europeans of character, and finished his education in England, I would not make him the sole judge of a court in which Europeans might appear as plaintiffs, defendants or criminals, nor place them in charge of a district where Europeans reside.²

¹ Such will be the case with uneducated and lower English servants also.—D. N.

² Our Memorial also prays that the selected candidates be required to visit England for two or more years.—D. N.

I think that our administration in India would be greatly improved by the introduction of native gentlemen into our service, and by employing men of intelligence, rank, and family, along with European gentlemen, in our councils and high courts.

The *izzet* of the Indian (representing honour, dignity, and proper pride) will generally keep him straight when confidence is reposed in him.

Of course there are exceptions, but so there are amongst Europeans, and my experience tells me that we do not place sufficient confidence in our native officers.

I may be thought prejudiced, but I am convinced our great fault in the Government of India is in endeavouring to introduce too much red-tape and form, and in fancying what is good for the Englishman is good for the Indian.

We should have well-educated English gentlemen to superintend, and intelligent native subordinates and coadjutors. Honesty and simplicity in our courts, and no long codes and complex forms and reports, which at present take up the entire time of the heads of offices and departments.

I had native assistants of both the Mahomedan and Hindu religions, and as a rule excellent men and officers they were, even in time of trouble, 1857-58.

A few of both religions were not faithful under heavy trial; but they were very few, and the majority were true to their salt. The Hindu I think is, by the whole, more attached to our rule than the Mahomedan is, but perhaps the latter is, of the two, generally the better officer, in time of peace at any rate.

Of the Parsees, Sikhs, and other religions in India I cannot speak from my own knowledge, as I had none, but no one will deny the great ability, intelligence, and integrity of the Parsee, nor the bravery of the Sikh.

I write this for your own eye only, and hurriedly, but I do not object to any one hearing my opinion.

Reply from LORD HARRIS, 24th March, 1868.

In reply to your inquiry, I have the pleasure to inform you that I had reason to form a high opinion of the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India, so far as my experience went when resident there.

My position did not afford much opportunity for personal examination; but the testimony of others who possessed better means of judging led me to conclude that the educated natives were well worthy of trust and responsibility in the various departments of the service.

Reply from Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, 25th March, 1868.

I have had the pleasure of receiving your note, asking my opinion as to the fitness of the educated natives of India for offices of trust and responsibility.

I have always advocated the extended public employment of the natives of India, and have thought highly of their qualifications. The time has now, in my opinion, come for a decided step in advance, and for placing the whole subject

on a clear and well-understood footing. A great deal would have to be said to do justice to the question. I cannot enter upon it now, but I shall do all that is in my power to forward the object.

Reply from General JOHN BRIGGS, 25th March, 1868.

On receipt of yours of the 21st this morning, I re-perused your excellent paper, read before the Ethnological Society on the 27th March, 1866, on the observation in the paper read by Mr. John Crawford on the 14th February of the same year, and I perfectly coincide with all that you have stated in refutation of that gentleman's statements and opinions.¹

I have long since come to the conclusion of the Abbé Raynal in his "History of India," that "Mankind under *similar circumstances* in all parts of the globe will act alike."

I find among my acquaintances who have long resided in India, that after travelling over Europe they have reason to think more highly of the natives of India every day.

Reply from Sir W. DENISON, 1st April, 1868.

I do not see how I can give a satisfactory answer to your very general question. You ask for my opinion as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India employed in the various departments of the public service. Of course there are differences among them as among others; there are good and bad, efficient and non-efficient; and all are, to a certain extent, as the term is, "educated." I should not call them efficient absolutely, but relatively they do their work fairly. As regards integrity you must be content with the average integrity of the people. I do not think that education has done much to change the moral character of the natives. Indeed, apart from religion, the inducements to put on the exterior of morality are purely selfish. The educated man may have a more correct appreciation of what decent conduct may effect than the uneducated man, but he has also more ability to throw a veil over his breaches of the moral law, but he is not therefore better than his neighbours.

Second Letter of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI to Sir W. DENISON, 2nd April, 1868.

I thank you for your kind courtesy in replying to my letter, and hope you will kindly excuse me for troubling you again. I am sorry I did not make my inquiry a little more clearly. Kindly say whether your remarks apply to *all* the natives in the service who are called educated because they know English, or that particular body of natives in the service who have received their education in the English Colleges in India, and have been for some time past entrusted

¹ Mr. Crawford asserted that the natives of India had neither intellect nor morals, and I gave in the above paper my reasons for saying that the assertion was quite incorrect, and that the ability and integrity of educated natives was no more a matter of any doubt.—D. N.

with the responsible duties of deputy collectors, or placed in the charge of subdivisions of districts where there are no resident Europeans or judges of small cause or high courts, &c. The object of my inquiries is to ascertain whether the latter body of natives, with the ordinary exceptions as among any other people, have or have not in general, as a matter of fact, discharged their duties with integrity and efficiency.

On the more difficult question whether a body of natives is actuated by a less genuine sense of the moral duty or more selfishness than a similarly circumstanced body of any other people a difference of opinion may arise; but it is not my object to trouble you with this controversy.

Sir W. DENISON's *Second Reply*, 3rd April, 1863.

I am sorry that you compel me to express an unfavourable opinion as to the effect of education (so called) upon the natives of India. I was in hopes that my last letter would have led you to infer that my opinion was not favourable, and that you would have not have pressed for a more definite statement of opinion; as, however, you wish to know whether the natives of India employed as deputy collectors, or placed in charge of subdivisions of districts where there are no resident Europeans, or judge of small cause, or high court, &c. have, with the ordinary exceptions as among any other people, discharged their duties with integrity and efficiency, I must say that according to my experience they have not done so; that there are some who have done their work efficiently I am aware, but I am afraid that these are the exceptions to the general rule.

Reply from Colonel FRENCH, 23rd March, 1863.

In reply to your note of the 21st inst. as to my opinion of the integrity and efficiency of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian service, I can only say, from personal knowledge, that I have been associated with none of your countrymen who are what I presume you mean by the expression "educated natives," and, therefore, can give no opinion of them in the manner described, from personal knowledge.

But I must add I have always heard them highly spoken of, and at the same time—while reminding you of being always an humble follower of yours in endeavouring to afford to the people of India the best education that could be—I was quite satisfied with the natives as I found them in integrity and efficiency in the various offices I have held during nearly thirty years' service in India, though they were not what you call educated.

I know not your object in now writing to me, but be it what it may I only wish I could express myself as I feel regarding very many natives of India I have served Government with, their integrity, zeal, and efficiency. why, what would we be without them, their experience and knowledge of the languages and habits of the people governed? My own firm belief is that had we had some natives of India in the Executive as well as Legislative Councils, the

Mutiny, brought on in the main by the Dalhousie Annexation Policy, might have been averted.

I may say, in conclusion, that the late Mr. Thomason, when governor of the North-West Provinces, gave, on my recommendation, to Lall Khan the position of joint collector and magistrate in Nimar, and surely, if I did not hold him in high estimation, I would not have so recommended him. That fine old Mussulman, Lall Khan, was in Nimar Sheristidar when I joined the agency, so he was there in the then highest position in the agency.

Finally, I may say an educated native of India should be, and I am pretty sure always will be, far more efficient than any European officer can be in almost any sense for the discharge of the duties of a servant of the State.

Reply from Sir ROBERT WALLACE, 24th March, 1868.

You ask for my opinion on the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India employed in the Indian service in offices of trust and responsibility. This is a large and important question, to which full justice cannot be done in this letter. I am an advocate for the thoroughly *impartial* employment of natives of India in all (*the very highest*) offices, according to their individual efficiency and integrity—their title to employment does not, with me, rest on the fact of their being *natives*, but on the benefit that will accrue to India by putting the best men into their proper places.

As regards their intellectual qualifications, their industry, their *business* faculties, the natives of India are, in my opinion, fully equal to any Europeans. Their acquired qualifications depend on the educational advantages they receive, and in that respect they will gradually be put on an equality with their European competitors. To be quite frank, I am also of opinion that integrity is as yet the weak point of my native fellow-countrymen—they are now, I think, under considerable disadvantage—integrity, to my mind, is a quality apart from intellect; and until the mass of native society has reached a higher position in morals than it has at present, no intellectual culture will place individual natives, as a class, on the same level as Europeans.

You will understand that I am not saying that no natives are at present on that level, but that they are not in sufficient numbers to give a character to the class. The difference appears to me, from my experience, to be this:—individual Europeans have proved corrupt and individual natives have been proved corrupt, but the reprobation of the latter among their kinsfolk and acquaintances is not by any means equal to the disgrace which falls on the former; and until the moral sentiment of native society becomes as high as it is in English society, we cannot expect, as a general rule, that the individuals of the former will be as trustworthy as the latter.¹

¹ Supposing this assertion to be correct, the free and impartial admission which Sir R. Wallace advocates will be the best means of raising the general tone of native society. Among the educated it is already high.—D. N.

For it is a peculiar temptation to the native that the public opinion of his own circle not only does not act on him as a constant check, but that it draws him the other way.

For the interests of India, therefore, it appear to me that the co-operation of European integrity with native intellect and other good qualities is and will long be essential ; and while it is for the public advantage that natives should be *impartially* employed in *every* office for which the individual proves himself fit, it is *not* advantageous that they should be so employed merely because they are natives.

I should not have the slightest repugnance to see a native of India Lord High Chancellor of England if he proved himself fitted for that post, and for the sake of India, which I love, and for its people, many of whom I have loved, I hope that there will ever be what our French neighbours call a complete *solidarit * between England and that splendid country.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROI'S *Second Letter to Sir R. WALLACE, 24th March, 1868.*

My sincere thanks for yours of this morning. Excuse me for troubling you once more. What I desire to know is whether that particular limited class (and not the whole native or natives generally) who have been educated in the English Colleges in India have discharged the duties of trust and responsibility intrusted to them with integrity or not, as a matter of fact, as far as you are aware.

Second Reply from Sir R. WALLACE, 9th April, 1868.

I have to apologise for not have replied to a short note which you wrote me, but which did not reach my hand at the time, as I have been absent from home.

I take this opportunity to add in reference to it, that I believe the recently educated native gentlemen who have entered the English service to be generally persons of integrity and trustworthiness as far as my information goes.

Reply from General LE GRAND JACOB, 23rd March, 1868.

I am sorry to tell you my brother-in-law General Jacob is so ill with a severe cold as to be quite unable to answer your letter, but he hopes to reply to it as he rallies.

Meanwhile he would refer you to a speech of his in the last number of the "E. I. Association Journal," in which you will see his opinion of educated Indian gentlemen.

Extract from General JACOB'S Speech.¹

"There are nearly 200 millions of human beings in India : of course the great mass have no idea beyond filling their bellies, as they say ; but there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of deep-thinking, far-sighted men, in addition to whom there is all the rising generation, many of them quite equal in intellectual ability and moral worth to any English gentleman. I have the

¹ "Journal of the East India Association," No. 2, p. 137.

pleasure of calling several such men my personal friends, with whom I correspond, and I have very few English friends superior to them in attainments or character. This class is rapidly rising all over India in thousands,—men who have reflected and reasoned, and have every year more and more influence over their countrymen.”

*Second Letter to General LE GRAND JACOB, from Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI,
24th March, 1868.*

I am very sorry to hear you are unwell. I would not have troubled you, but I am in need of something more specific than what you have said at our meeting. What I want to know is not only the intellectual ability and moral worth of many of the educated natives of the rising generation, but especially of that class of them who are employed in the public service in offices of trust and responsibility.

Second Reply of General LE GRAND JACOB, 10th April, 1868.

The note written for me in reply to your first of the 21st ult. will, I trust, have explained the delay in reply to your second note.

I have been very ill and unable to attend to anything, and the brief moments that I might have replied to you I had no one at hand to select your notes from a mass of unanswered letters lying on my table, and to read them to me, for I am now blind.

You say, “What I want to know is not only the intellectual ability and moral worth of many of the educated natives of the rising generation, but especially of that class of them who are employed in the public service in offices of trust and responsibility.”

I do not see that there is any room for doubt, when a class of men can be described as possessing intellectual ability and moral worth, as to the fitness of portions of that class for public employ; but, as you want the result of my experience regarding the last, I am happy to say that it is entirely in favour of the extensive use of their services.

During the last thirty years that I have been at the head of a province or provinces, or a political officer at a foreign court, I have made it a rule to select men for employ under me from the different colleges and schools of the Presidency, from Ahmedabad in the north to Ratnagiri and Sawuntwaree in the south, both Mohomedan and Hindu, and there are numbers who have been so selected who are now filling high and responsible appointments in the different parts of Western India. The accounts that have reached me of them since my return to England bear testimony of their usefulness and trustworthiness. In all my selections (which, however, were made with care,) only one may be said to have failed, and he more from the caprice and faults of others than from his own. I certainly should not have expected so large a proportion of good men and true even from the educated classes of my own country.

Reply from General W. LANG, 28th March, 1868.

In acknowledging the receipt of your note of the 25th instant, which only reached me this morning, I beg to inform you that I did not meet many of the well-educated natives before I left India, but I am very happy to be able to tell you that the few I did know in the Government service were most efficient and trustworthy, and two of them are now employed in offices of trust and responsibility, and give, I believe, the greatest satisfaction.

Educational Despatch of the Court of Directors of 19th July, 1854, No. 49, to the Governor-General.

"3. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a high degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust," (Public letter to Bengal, 6th September, 1827,) in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State.

Next the Court express their satisfaction of the attainments of the natives as follows :

"10. We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science, which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India."

"29. Some years ago we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education, and transmitted to us with the recommendation of your Government, for the institution of an University in Calcutta. The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of Universities in India," &c., &c.

Next the Court bear testimony to the ability and integrity of the native officials as follows :

"77. We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service of India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which prevades the general literature of Europe. Nor is it among the higher officers alone that we have direct evidence of the advantage which the public derives from the em-

ployment of educated men. We quote from the last report of Dacca College with particular satisfaction, as we are aware that much of the happiness of the people of India depends upon the honesty of the officers of police :—'The best possible evidence has been furnished,' says the local committee, 'that some of the ex-students of the College of Dacca have completely succeeded in the arduous office of darogha. Krishna Chunder Dutt, employed as a darogha under the magistrate of Howra in particular, is recommended for promotion, as having gained the respect and applause of all classes, who, though they may not practise, yet know how to admire, real honesty and integrity of purpose.' "

Sir BARTLE FRERE's *Speech at the Convocation of the University of Bombay,*
11th April, 1864.

"When a mighty emperor, who a few short years ago was reckoned one of the ablest as well as one of the most powerful potentates of modern Europe, desired to describe his wish to discuss matters with perfect frankness and confidence, he wished to discuss them "as a gentleman," and he used an English word to express a character not peculiar to any country or race, but which his sagacious observation had shown him plays in England a more important part than in any other country of the world.

"I cannot give you a better proof of the high estimation I have ever had of the capabilities of those natives of India who are trained at this university than by speaking to you as capable of bearing the stamp of 'gentleman and scholar,' and I earnestly and confidently hope that, as a rule, it will be borne and deserved by all who claim degrees from the university of Bombay."

Extract of a Letter from the Bombay Government to the Revenue Commissioners,
dated 31st October, 1865.

"His Excellency the Governor in Council (Sir Bartle Frere) is most anxious that sufficient inducement should be offered to natives who have received a liberal education to enter the public service. Any general and lasting improvement in the administration of the country must, in a great measure, depend upon our securing the co-operation of this class of men, who are rapidly increasing in number and importance."

Evidence of Sir G. B. CLERK, Select Committee of House of Commons, 1853 (224 I.)

"2278. Looking at the long experience you have had of natives, what is your opinion of the standard of morality among the best of the native population, those with whom you have come in contact, and in whom you have placed confidence among the higher classes?—I should say that the morality among the higher classes of the Hindus was of a high standard, and among the middling and lower classes remarkably so; there is less of immorality and less of extreme poverty than you would see in many countries in Europe. In all their domestic

¹ Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1851-52, p. 72.

relations, and their charity to their neighbours, they are superior to what you will find in many countries ; it is not so much so perhaps with the Mahomedans, but still I should say that there is no striking degree of immorality among them.

"2279. Is it your opinion that confidence might be placed in the natives for the performance of the duties of many higher offices than they are now employed in in those districts ?—Certainly, if allowed salaries sufficient to place them on a respectable footing.

"2280. You mean that if their allowances were such as to maintain them in the relative station in which they ought to be, as compared with Europeans, confidence might be placed in their honest and straightforward conduct ?—Certainly, for official business of most kinds."

Evidence of Sir G. R. CLARK, First Report, Select Committee, 1853 (224 I.), Commons. Native Judges—their efficiency and Integrity.

"2348. *Mr. Fitzgerald.* Are the decisions of the judges between the lowest class and the Zillah judge looked on as equal to the decisions of the Zillah judge ?—I have had but little opportunity of comparing them, but I should say that they are. The decisions of all the native judges are considered, I believe, to have fully answered the expectations formed of their capacities for administering justice.

"2349. Have you ever taken pains to inquire into the questions which have been raised upon appeal from the decisions of the native judges, and the result of those appeals ?—I have read their decisions.

"2350. Have you formed a judgment upon the subject yourself, as to whether the decisions of the Zillah judges are superior to those of the native judges ?—I should not say that they are superior. The decision of the native judge is as good as that of the European judge."

Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1851-52, p. 13 (Sir E. PERRY, President of the Board).

"But the unexpected stimulus afforded by Government at a later period of the year, when out of eight new appointments to be conferred on natives in the revenue department half of the whole number was reserved for educated young men of distinction, although without departmental knowledge, appears to us to be the most beneficial step ever taken in this Presidency for the encouragement of superior education.

"We trust sincerely and are very sanguine that the deputy-collectors thus appointed, Messrs. Dadoba Pandoorang, Naoroji Beiramjee, Venaik Wasudew, and Nanabhai Moroji, will not only exhibit sufficient official aptitude in their new careers, but also such an amount of rectitude and trustworthiness as, to do credit to the Government institutions in which they have been trained."

¹ These expectations have been, as far as I know fully realized.—D. N.

Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1859-61, p. 25 (Sir E. PERRY, President).

"In the island of Bombay, however, where superior education has been much more widely extended, the fruits of it are displaying themselves at an earlier period and in a more pleasing form than possibly the most sanguine educationist could have anticipated. It does not, perhaps, lie within the province of the Board to record the spontaneous efforts which are being made by the educated youths of Bombay for the diffusion of knowledge amongst others less fortunately circumstanced than themselves. But it is impossible for the Board to ignore the great facts occurring within their ken—the female schools, publications for diffusing useful information, and vernacular lectures on science, all conducted by young men educated in the Elphinstone Institution, all denoting both the soundness of the system that had been adopted within those walls, and the true means of diffusing popular instruction on a large scale in India. Advantage was accordingly taken by the Board of this excellent spirit," &c., &c.

SIR ERSKINE PERRY'S *Speech at the Annual Meeting for the Distribution of Prizes (see Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1851-52.)*

Page 99. "But so much I take upon myself to say that, whether in respect of numbers attaining academical education, or of scholastic attainment either in science or literature, I perceive no inferiority whatever on the part of the youth of Bombay, and in one important particular I place them above those of all India, namely, in the exhibition of some of the best qualities of citizenship—good sense, good conduct, and, above all, philanthropics and public spirit, that leads them to promote the interest of others as well as their own.

"In the Bombay Board's Report for 1844, it is stated (*page 105*):—'On the other hand, with those who boldly contend that the sound practical information which the Government seek to convey to their schools has no moralizing influence on the native character, we find impossible to agree. Ignorance in all ages has been the fruitful mother of vice in a great degree by the undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility which it affords to the crafty and designing, of preying upon the ignorant masses Wherever we find gross intellectual darkness, we are sure to meet with grovelling superstition, and the worst forms of priestcraft: a lax morality is the inevitable forerunner of such unholy union, and it is only by the introduction of light as a short of moral police that any effectual warfare can be expected to be waged against these enemies of the human race:—

"For truth has such a look and such a mien
As to be loved needs only to be seen."

Page 106. "The next point on which the French historian needs information is as to the results of an English education, and as to the kind of men we produce

by our European mode of training. Here I am in a position to offer testimony of a positive and very satisfactory character. With respect to native Professors, it was a matter of deep satisfaction to Mr. Lumsden and myself on a recent visit to the New Poona College, to listen to Keru Luxemon (pupil of Professor Orlebar) and Mahadew Shastri, well known in the Elphinstone Institution, lecturing on astronomy and the positive sciences of Europe to their brother Brahmins of the Deccan. With regard to medical science the important testimony of the head Medical Board, my respected colleague Dr. McLennan, to the attainments of the native students when they obtained their diplomas at the Grant College in the last year, will not speedily be forgotten. These attainments were pronounced equal to any exhibited by students trained in the best medical schools of Europe, and the testimony is all the more valuable, because Dr. McLennan had not been disposed, as he informed us, to anticipate the high capacity for digesting and applying acquired knowledge which the severe examination these students passed exhibited. But the writer asks also as to performances on the judgment seat. Here also most important testimony during the past year has been elicited. All the civil business in the Company's courts is conducted, speaking generally, by native judges; they are what the French would call 'judges of first instance,' and from their decisions appeals lie to European judges, from whose judgments, again, an appeal lies to the Sudder Adawlut. It naturally follows, that on these latter appeals a close comparison is made between the decisions of the native and the European functionary. Now I learn from the judges of the Sudder Adawlut that it was publicly stated in open court, by the two leading members of the Bombay bar that with a few distinguished exceptions the decisions of the native judges were, in many respects, superior to those of the Europeans. I could multiply examples of this kind, but I will content myself with one more short citation, which, coming as it does from the highest authority in the Government of India, renders any more evidence as to the effects of English education and capacity of the native mind superfluous. In a speech replete with good feeling and wisdom, delivered by the chairman of the Court of Directors to the students at Haileybury, on the 15th December last, I find the following arguments used by him in order to stimulate the young English collegians to additional exertions:

“And on this point let me call your attention to the exertions making by the natives of India in the present day: European science and European literature are now studied in India not only with diligence but with success. The examinations on those subjects passed by native students show little, if any, inferiority in comparison with Europeans. They have become competitors on our own field of action, and on ground hitherto untrodden by them, and, unless you sustain the race with additional zeal and energy, they may pass you. Should this occur, should the natives of India surpass us in intellectual vigour and qualifications, can we hope to remain long in the possession of the powers and the privileges we now enjoy? Certainly not.”

"If I might be allowed to add one additional comment to the conclusion drawn by the honourable chairman, I would say,—and it is the deep expression of the most solemn conviction I have formed in India, the one piece of evidence I feel competent and bound to give—that the true way to preserve British power and privileges in the East, to make them conducive to the happiness of India and to the honour of England, is to share this power and these privileges largely with all such distinguished natives of merit and acquirements as the honourable chairman places in competition with their youthful fellow-subjects at Haileybury.

Evidence of Sir FREDERICK HALLIDAY, Parliamentary Papers, 1853'(224, VI. p. 63).

"8820. You stated in answer to a previous question that sufficient encouragement has not been given to the admission of natives into the service of the Government: in what respect has that been shown?—I am not perfectly distinct in what I should wish to see done, but I feel that something is wanting to connect, more naturally and certainly than at present, distinctions in the Government schools and colleges with honourable and liberal employment in the public service. At present a young man must trust very much to interest, and to the chance of obtaining the favour of persons who know very little and who care very little about his academic career."

Parliamentary Papers, 1867, No. 88.—Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India for 1865-66.

Page 22. "A careful inquiry has been instituted by the Sudder Court of the North-Western Provinces into the character for integrity of the subordinate judicial agency, and the result has been generally favourable.

"It is gratifying to find that a generally favourable opinion in regard to the growing efficiency of these unpaid officers (honorary magistrates) is entertained by the magistrates, and that their courts appear to possess the confidence of the people."

Page 24. "There are 60 honorary magistrates in the Central Provinces, who disposed of more than one-fifth of the criminal trials during the year. Their work, as a general rule, is done extremely well."

APPENDIX B.

DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

A DEPUTATION from the East India Association, consisting of Colonel Sykes, M. P., Mr. R. N. Fowler, Captain Powlett, Captain Harby Barber, Mr. S. P. Low, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, &c. waited on Sir Stafford Northcote on Wednesday, August 21, for the purpose of presenting a petition. Colonel Sykes explained the objects of the memorial, and dwelt upon the absolute necessity of the successful native candidates for civil appointments visiting England. He enlarged on the change which contact with English society, English industry, English influence, produced on the views of a native. He told how, when in Durbar, all the Nepal chiefs clamoured to be led against the English during the mutinies, Jung Bahadoor alone declared such a course to be a fatal one, because from what he had seen in England, and from his personal intercourse with Englishmen, he was certain that, however successful an attack might be for a time, the English in the end would prevail. Colonel Sykes went on to speak of the ability of the natives to pass high examinations, as the examination in the Indian universities proved. He pointed out that the proposal to award scholarships for competition in India, to enable natives to come to England to complete their education, emanated from Sir Herbert Edwardes, who, from his experience and ability, must carry weight in such a matter.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said he had the question under consideration, and had conversed with Sir Herbert Edwardes and others on it, and Sir Herbert had furnished him with a paper on it. Two plans were suggested—the one proposed that appointments should be assigned for competition in India, the other that scholarships should be given to enable natives to come to finish their education in England. The first would manifestly be the most convenient for the natives themselves; but it was urged in favour of the second, that it would secure a more enterprising class than the first—men with more back-bone and he admitted the force of that. Moreover, he quite saw the advantage to India of a more efficient class which had had an English training. He took a very great interest in the matter, and was inclined to approve both proposals. He was corresponding with Sir J. Lawrence and the Indian Government on the subject.

Sir Stafford Northcote then conversed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other members of the Association on the Gilchrist Scholarships, which are worth 100*l.* annually, and are tenable by the natives of India for five years. He thought it would be feasible to give the scholars a free passage in the Government transshipments. He further questioned Mr. Dadabhai about the expenses of the Indian students under his care.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT thought it was very important that natives should be

brought to this country when young, before their habits and prejudices were confirmed; he hoped that both proposals would be approved. He dreaded the disposition to look upon Government office as the one thing needful, and he hoped that steps would be taken to encourage the growth of an English-trained independent class. He was of opinion that experience has shown that something more than mere scholastic education is needful by the natives of India; they had shown great receptive power, but they had not shown the love of learning and independence of thought that it was expected the universities would develop, but he believed that early training in England would do much to arouse them.

MEMORIAL.

"We, the members of the East India Association, beg respectfully to submit that the time has come when it is desirable to admit the natives of India to a larger share in the administration of India than hitherto.

"To you, Sir, it is quite unnecessary to point out the justice, necessity, and importance of this step, as in the debate in Parliament, on May 24th last, you have pointed out this so emphatically and clearly, that it is enough for us to quote your own noble and statesmanlike sentiments. You said—'Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India; but we ought to consider on what conditions we hold it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like Akbar, availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship, and ability in the Indian character.'—(*Times*, of 25th May, 1867.) With these friendly and just sentiments towards the people of India we fully concur, and, therefore, instead of trespassing any more upon your time, we beg to lay before you our views as to the best mode of accomplishing the object.

"We think that the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian civil service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as you may think proper. What portion of the appointments should be thus competed for in India we cannot do better than leave to your own judgment. After the selection is made in India, by the first examination, we think it essential that the selected candidates be required to come to England, to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates of this country.

"In the same spirit, and with kindred objects in view for the general good of India, we would ask you to extend your kind encouragement to native youths of promise and ability to come to England for the completion of their education. We

believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examination in India to native candidates between the ages of 15 and 17, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian civil service, while others would return in various professions to India, were by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence of native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers.

"In laying before you this memorial we feel assured, and we trust that you will also agree with us, that this measure, which has now become necessary by the advancement of education in India, will promote and strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the British rule, while it will also be a satisfaction to the British people to have thus by one more instance practically proved its desire to advance the condition of their Indian fellow-subjects, and to act justly by them.

"We need not point out to you, Sir, how great an encouragement these examinations in India will be to education. The great prizes of the appointments will naturally increase vastly the desire for education among the people."

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,
ROOMS, No. 1, LARKIN'S LANE,
CALCUTTA, March 16th, 1868.

To CAPTAIN BARBER,
Secretary to the East India Association, London, &c., &c.

SIR,

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, I have the honour to convey to you the best thanks of the Association for your exertions for the removal of the present obstacles to the admission of the natives of India to the civil service. For the last fifteen years this question has engaged the attention of the British Indian Association; they petitioned the Imperial Parliament on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the late East India Company in 1853, praying for the abolition of the patronage system, and since then they had the satisfaction of witnessing the introduction of the competitive principle; they had more than once petitioned Parliament and her Majesty's Government, praying that the examination for Indian candidates be held in India, but, they are sorry to state, hitherto without success. They are, however, glad to see the question revised under the auspices of your Association, and they need hardly add that they have availed themselves of this opportunity of again submitting their prayer to her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JOTUNDRU MOHUN TAGORE,
Honorary Secretary.

INDIAN POLITY.

EXTRACTS

FROM

MAJOR EVANS BELL'S WORKS,

ON

THE TRUE IMPERIAL POLICY

WITH REGARD TO

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE "COMMERCIAL PRESS."

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NOTE.

At this critical juncture, when a policy of repression and retrogression seems to threaten the empire and put back the progress made by Indians, it is highly necessary to recal to mind what many a disinterested Anglo-Indian official, of great far-sightedness and practical statemanship, has observed in reference to the *true imperial* policy which the British should pursue towards India. It need scarcely be said that it is the same which the foremost statesmen of England laid down in charters and gave expression to in parliamentary speeches over half a century ago. Of the many who have referred to that liberalising and progressive policy perhaps none has given more vigorous expression to it than the late Major Evans Bell, once Resident at Mysore. He speaks with a peculiar emphasis, derived from his close and intimate experience of Indians. And as such his utterances become not only most valuable but important at present when there is just beginning a severe conflict between the bureaucracy on the one side and Parliament on the other, as to supremacy of authority, and between the same bureaucracy and the enlightened and self-respecting Indians on the other. Under the circumstances the following extracts from Major Bell's political works will no doubt be found eminently interesting and instructive. As such they are heartily commended to all who would take a calm, unbiassed and broad survey, free from all factional spirit and partisan interest, of the present and future of the politics of this great empire the government of which an inscrutable Providence has entrusted to the hands of the generous and freedom-loving British.

31st March 1896.

D. E. WACHA,

MAJOR EVANS BELL,
ON
INDIAN POLITY.

**Parliamentary Authority Absolutely Essential
to correction of Constitutional Defects
of Indian Bureaucracy.**

Parliamentary Government has been reviled on the ground of its introducing an element of uncertainty and vacillation into the action of the Executive. I am inclined to think that this is one of its great merits. I have a profound disbelief in the administrative infallibility of individuals or of parties. Too long a tenure of office inoculates statesmen with the constitutional defects of the permanent Civil Service.

**Party Politics necessary Condition of
Indian Reforms.**

If the extreme crisis, so often predicted and dreaded, were to arrive, and India were to become the battle-field of the two great Parliamentary parties, I am not of opinion that any very awful consequences would ensue. It would at least put an end to the impatience and apathy with which Indian affairs are now usually treated, and would make them a subject of universal attention and discussion.

**Equality of Races before Law and
Government Imperative.**

It is by the awakened convictions of Great Britain and not by such concessions as can be expected from official sources,

that harmonious relations can be established between the Imperial Power and the people of India, and the progress of civilisation be made compatible with the equality of races before the Law and in the Government, and with the corporate rights of the allied and protected States.

England's High Mission can never be fulfilled by the Officials and Interlopers.

The high mission of Great Britain in the East can never be fulfilled by an uninstructed nation and an officially instructed Government. The real wants of India, the dangers, failings and temptations of Great Britain, can be more clearly perceived and more fairly appreciated by an independent observer in these cooler regions, than by a professional functionary or a mercantile adventurer in the atmosphere of Calcutta. The lesson of Indian politics involves no transcendent mystery; it is easily learned by Englishmen, and the necessity for their learning it becomes more pressing every day.

Imperial Policy must be Liberal and Progressive, not Retrograde and Repressive.

The Imperial policy towards India, which the Duke of Argyll has defended, is not only unjust in the abstract, but narrow and retrogressive in its practical results, I am convinced that the Duke has been betrayed by a conscientious desire to promote the good of the people. He believes that it would lead to the elevation and enlightenment of the vast population subject to our supremacy, if they were all placed under the direct rule and tutelage of highly educated and selected Englishmen. Unfortunately for this benevolent theory, the facts of human nature are against it. Neither the ideal Hindoo nor the ideal Briton exists. Neither the average Hindoo nor the average Briton is a being of pure intellect. The Natives of India, of every caste and creed, are men of like powers and

passions with ourselves; and in obedience to the universal law, —as true in social science as in physiology,—the healthy development of their civilisation cannot proceed without space and range for the exercise of all their faculties. Too much constraint, too much assistance,—however benevolently intended —will but distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course, and drive the stream into dangerous channels.

Canonisation or Apotheosis of Undeserving Administrations.

The most painful incident in political criticism is when we are compelled to refuse to the memory of some deceased statesman that meed of fame and honour which his friends and followers demand. But if admiring coadjutors and disciples propose the canonisation of a false saint, the apotheosis of a false hero, it surely becomes one of the highest religious or social duties to deny the pretended achievements, and to protest against the posthumous honours.

Official Mendacity.

If every narrative of political transactions is to be compiled exclusively from the papers carefully sifted and selected for publication by the accountable persons themselves, national and historical judgments will be lenient truly! If the Minutes of a close and secret conclave are to be humbly accepted as an exhaustive discussion; if plenary inspiration is claimed for Blue Books, and prophetic infallibility for the decrees of a Council of five, there will be small scope for political criticism.

The Governing Guild of "White Brahmins."

It is the professional spirit,—the tendency of every organised body of officials, and of every separate Department, to magnify its own value and importance, and to enlarge the sphere of its authority. The Civil Service of India, from its

great emoluments, from the peculiar independence and irresponsibility given by its "covenants" and its statutory privileges, from the frequent intermarriages, and close family ties with the Directors and great Proprietors of the East India Company, which had made it almost a caste, was the proudest and most powerful official hierarchy recorded in history. Though somewhat shorn of its beams by the disappearance of the Company, and the recruitment of its ranks by competition instead of patronage, the Indian Civil Service still possesses the virtual control of every Department in its ordinary workings, and a virtual monopoly not only of all the judicial, financial and administrative offices of any consequence, but of every post equivalent to that of Minister or Councillor of State in a European Government. No other Civil Service in the world, unless it be the Chinese, approaches so nearly to the character of a Governing Guild. The tendency to self-exaltation that assails the members of such a peculiar body,—bad enough if they were subject to all the social influences of a free national life,—is immeasurably aggravated by their position as highly educated strangers, in the midst of an inferior civilisation, withdrawn by their habits and tastes, as much as by language and religion, from all but official relations with the people around them. Naturally and inevitably they are practically indifferent to any public opinion but that of their own class. With equal certainty, and almost in proportion to each one's honest consciousness of good work performed, comes the feeling that whatever is "good for the Service," must be good service for the country. Hence arises an extraordinary confusion of official aggrandisement with national advantage, which has always prompted the Indian Civil Service, like those officials of whom the Duke of Argyll complains, to promote the establishment of "their expensive and vexatious management" all over India, not merely "for the sake of extending business," but with a thorough conviction that it was the true panacea for all political disorders, Imperial and local, that it would fill the British treasury, and make the

country prosperous. Constituted as the Government of India has been since the consolidation of our supremacy, it has ever stood in need of vigilant supervision and restraint by the Executive and Legislative powers of Great Britain, and of an enlightened statesman at the helm as Governor-General, to save it from degenerating into mere officialism.

Extensive Employment of Native Agency.

As regards the past, I think any Native of India must feel that, even under the present law, much more might be done to employ competent Natives in high office, if those who have the distribution and control of patronage were really in earnest in their professions of anxiety to see Native agency more extensively used.

Unsympathetic Character of Indian Government.

I cannot think that the spirit in which the subject is handled in many of the papers forwarded to us by the Government of India, indicates any sense of the only means whereby the great gulf between European and Native *employes* of Government can ever be bridged over.

Paternal Government Doomed to Failure.

If the Paramount Power is not content to be the Head, but will also insist upon playing the part of hands and feet, and lungs and digestive organs,—if every centre of municipal and social life is to be sacked or starved to nourish an official metropolis at Calcutta and another in London,—there may, for a time, be a deceptive appearance of plethora, but the constitution of the Empire will not be permanently strengthened. There will be constant danger of convulsive fits, if not of a fatal apoplexy.

True Basis of a Magnanimous Imperial Policy.

We shall never arrive at an Imperial policy, until we entirely abandon these crude notions of attempting political experiments, even upon such a *corpus vile* as India. But have we a *corpus vile* there, upon which we may play tricks and try experiments with impunity? The people of India may be an inferior race, backward in civilisation, degraded by superstition, and incapable of attaining to the intellectual grandeur and social purity of European nations, though these assertions are open to many qualifications. Before absolutely relegating them to a much lower grade in the scale of humanity, we might reflect a little upon the superstition and corruption that are so rife in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Russia, and ask why the moral and political progress of Hindoo communities is to be considered more hopeless than that of European nations. Whatever we may consider *a priori* ought to be the case, neither the criminal statistics nor the social phenomena of India, as compared with our own, entitle us to place ourselves at an immeasurable height above the Indian races. And surely their mere numbers entitle them to some little respect. The Asiatic population under British supremacy, including the Native States of India, nearly trebles that of the whole Russian Empire. The Queen has more Mahomedan subjects than the Sultan of Turkey. Surely it would not be unjust, unreasonable, or imprudent to pay some little attention, to give some kindly consideration, to the wishes and opinions, and even to the prejudices and ambitions, of nearly two hundred millions of human beings. What can be ultimately expected from a policy of contempt, except that judgment which is pronounced against him who shall call his brother 'Thou fool'?

No Dry-nursing of Natives Needed.

'The capabilities of India can never be fully developed by a process of perpetual dry-nursing. Our pupils, without being

released from tuition, or allowed to run riot out of bounds, must be allowed to grow, to use their limbs and faculties, and to exercise the arts and accomplishments that we may be proud of having taught them. And as they prove themselves able and willing to carry on the good work which we have planned and initiated, we may, with great relief and advantage to our own over-strained establishments, enlarge their bounds, and place more confidence in them.

Growing Strength of Indians and Administrative Foresight to Conciliate it.

In the survey of India's growing strength and consciousness, and of our prospective difficulties, we must not omit to estimate the invisible and silent effects of political experience, and the patient remonstrances of a nation's foremost men. "Serving and suffering," says Bishop Hall, "are the best tutors to Government." Nor must we overlook the startling results that are produced, when the hour has arrived, and a man of genius makes his appearance upon the scene. A mere military despotism—should we ever be tempted to resort to one as an escape from political agitation,—or even a much longer continuance in the exclusion of natives from all share in the Government, and from all the higher branches of administration, may soon drive all the moral and mental energy of the Hindoo race into hopeless and incurable hostility.

The great want of the rebels in 1857 was a leader of commanding ability and recognised position, with his own material resources, his own basis and centre of operations, and a distinct and intelligible cause of his own, a leader whom they could obey and trust, who would relieve them of individual responsibility, and make them feel as if the law was on their side. Not a single native prince of any importance saw his way to taking part in the movement. But this may not always be the case. We may be very sure that the next rebellion—if we are to have one—will not break out exactly as the last one did.

Peaceful Government of India possible only on English Principles.

What if the game of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi in Italy—which will probably be imitated by some German prince or leader before many years are over,—should be repeated in India at our expense, with assistance from some great rival power, with all continental Europe, all America and half England sympathising with the rebels and the invaders, until Bombay and Calcutta became our Rome and Venice! It may be ten, or it may be a hundred years before our quiet is disturbed; but events move rapidly in this nineteenth century; and if we follow the despot's example, we deserve and can expect no other but the despot's fate. We do not deserve it yet; we are not perceptibly moving in that direction; but unless we steadily set our faces in the opposite quarter, unless we determine to govern India on English principles, is there not some danger that we shall in a few years be driven by some antagonistic outburst to resort to Austrian devices and mere coercion? The educated natives are learning every day to contend with our weapons, the platform and the press, and if we do not enlist them on our side, we shall soon have them arrayed against us.

Selfish Blindness of Government may lead to Disasters.

It is our duty not to do evil that good may come; and it is equally our duty not to omit to do good from a fear lest evil should come, or rather lest what we in our selfish blindness *suppose* to be evil, should come.

The world will not stand still. During that process of social development and intellectual expansion, of which the English supremacy has been the chief source and agent, India must pass through that period of throes and paroxysms which we have witnessed, or are witnessing, in Europe, Arabia, and

China. This last country, the hackneyed type and illustration of stationary and immovable conservatism, is now agitated by a religious and social revolution, the consequences of which are incalculable. We cannot tell how it may come or commence—as a revolution in some Native State, as a new faith, as a Wahabee, a Sikh, or a Christian reformation,—or as a reverberation from Java, when the Dutch forcing-pump explodes,—we cannot tell when it will come,—in ten years or in a century,—but come it will; the stimulus has been given; the ferment has been introduced; the inorganic mass has become vascular and sensitive. It remains for us to decide whether we will be prepared for it or not, when it does come; whether we will comprehend, co-operate and guide, or strike and struggle blindly.

Mischief arising from Ignoring Native Opinion.

A candid exposition of native feeling and an occasional discussion of native claims would be of the greatest advantage and assistance to our rulers. The centralised despotisms of Europe are worshipped by officials, because the views and commands of the Sovereign and his Ministers are in ordinary times carried out with promptness and effect; but we know how liable they are to tremendous convulsions, because they trust to physical force, and ignore and disregard the feelings of the middle class, the educated minority, the living and active elements of the nation. But what should we think of a Government which habitually ignores and disregards the views and feelings of an overwhelming majority! Has not the British Government of India sometimes fallen into that danger? Nothing could so effectually avert that danger, nothing would invigorate the Government so much, as a real working opposition both within and without the Council Chamber; it would at once enlighten and enliven the proceedings of Council, add force and currency to its enactments, and give weight to the decisions of the Executive Government.

Moral Support of Native Community Essential—Physical force a Doubtful and Discreditable Safeguard.

We have done a great deal for the people of India. They were blind, we have taught them to see; they were unthinking and unconscious, we have taught them to be conscious and observant; they were accustomed only to a Government of force and arbitrary caprice, which renders a whole people dependent upon the personal disposition of the Monarch,—we have shown them a Government of law and order, of rights and principles. We cannot stop here; we must allow them to touch, to handle, to taste and to enjoy, all those glorious fruits of British civilisation which we have taught them to understand and to appreciate. We cannot give and withhold at the same time. We must continue to show the way in reform and reconstruction; we must always confer and never concede: so long as the British Government keeps moderately in advance of native opinion and native capacity, it will preserve the moral support of the influential classes, without which peace and good order will for ever be precarious, and physical force will be a doubtful and discreditable safeguard.

Slow Realisation of National Life.

The people of India have not yet come to that stage of social and political development when a nation can plan its own progress, and intelligently demand reforms and franchises from its rulers. They are only beginning to be conscious of a collective life; and the most advanced and enlightened among them are politically children; they can barely articulate, and have not acquired the rudiments of national strength and action. They can only *feel* at present; they are in the imitative stage; they are pupils and recipients; the British Government and people must take upon themselves all the responsibility, and will gain all the loyalty and popularity that arise from freely granted enfranchisement.

For my part, I am no advocate for counting heads; I have no respect for an ignorant and impulsive cry, when opposed to the real superiority of the power and knowledge, of the principles, objects and motives of an established Government such as ours.

**Expediency the only true Rule of Guidance
Deliberate Injustice and Defiance of
Inward Convictions Inexpedient.**

The science of politics is pre-eminently an experimental science. All attempts to construct a government, or a social polity, on abstract principles, have failed. Plato's Republic, Sir Thomas More's Utopia, the reign of Liberty and Equality in France, and Robert Owen's Harmony Hall, are all examples and monuments of undoubted genius, and irreproachable benevolence, leading to contradictions of thought and morals in theory, and in practice to confusion and ruin. The much abused "*expediency*" is the only true rule of guidance, the only true political morality for the practical statesman who has the responsibility of rule thrown upon him, and who has always before his eyes the necessity of immediate and decisive action. The short-sighted policy that grasps at the first material advantage within reach and in its power, without regard to rights or thought of ultimate results, is not expediency. Deliberate injustice and defiance of inward convictions, are never expedient. Where there is no right there can be no expediency.

**Stability of Government should be the
Fundamental aim—Public Confidence
First Element of Political Stability.**

The philosopher may cast his prophetic glance into futurity, and the influence of his writings may be felt and acknowledged after the lapse of generations or of centuries, but the

statesman is well occupied in providing for the wants, the difficulties, and the dangers of the present time. To him "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Even when the work of the philosopher has produced its full effect, when the press has spread and multiplied his conclusions, when the pressure from without is irresistible, and the time is ripe for change,—the statesman, even when preparing great measures of reform, must work from the actual to the possible, and will not shake the old fabric or weaken its pillars and foundations. His first question will always be that of the Duke of Wellington,—the practical man of his time, though anything but a philosophic statesman,—“How is the Queen's government to be carried on?” ~~and~~ If that question can be satisfactorily answered, he will move on boldly; otherwise he will pause or oppose. Stability is the great object of government, and every wise politician in power is a conservative.

Stability is the great object; and the principal element of political stability is public confidence. In India, more particularly during the last twenty years, flushed with a rapid career of victory, and relying on our material resources, we have pursued a destructive policy, and, while careful of our solvency and military strength, we have despised all means for preserving public confidence in our good faith, and for supporting social subordination. We have grievously vexed the conservative interests of India, and thereby have probably done more for a time to check its progressive tendencies, than we have done in any other direction to advance them.

The Great Middle Class.

For among the few discoveries of historical science that may, from the uniformity of phenomena in every clime and age, be considered as established facts, as primary data from which the perfect science is to be constructed, is this one,—that every community in its progress from barbarism to an advanced civilisation, must pass through an era of great nobles and great landlords, before it arrives at the far more stirring and produc-

tive stage of a great middle class. The progress of a nation depends, not upon the King or Government, except in the very earliest stage, so much as upon the entire class that is removed from the toil, an anxiety of supplying its material wants of food, fire and clothing, and has leisure for intellectual pursuits. This class, at first limited to the great landlords, becomes gradually extended, until in our own age and country, in consequence of the immensely increased application of machinery,—viewed at first with so much ignorant dread and jealousy by the class which has most benefited from it,—our artisans and skilled labourers are becoming every day possessed of more and more leisure, and are devoting more and more of that leisure to intellectual pursuits; and a state of things now exists predictive of incalculable social changes, which in free Great Britain we may anticipate and welcome with very few misgivings. The balanced forces of our constitution will secure us from revolutionary shocks and from stolid obstruction; and good will and hearty co-operation between the higher and lower classes are visibly increasing every day.

Destruction of Ancient Social Hierarchy.

But what have we done, and what are we doing in India? In almost every province we have done our best, or worst, to sweep away every link between the Government and the tiller of the soil. Over the greater part of the Madras Presidency the Princes, the nobles, the Polygars, and the Zemindars, have sunk and expired under the exactions and confiscations of our system, and we have handed the ryot over to the tender mercies of the Curnum and the Tahsildar. The genial relations of landlord and tenant have been dissolved, the ancient social hierarchy has been destroyed, and the leisure class has disappeared. For our Government, a government of foreigners, this result has been especially detrimental. It is only through a recognised and wealthy higher class that we can reasonably expect to establish close relations, a vital communication with

the masses of the people, and a dominant influence over their opinions, manners, and customs.

Government by Reports and Tables.

And now, while all the better classes of natives, all native interests and intellectual energies, except those of trade and agriculture, are in a state either of perfect stagnation or of sullen and expectant hostility, every British adviser calls upon the Government to initiate and to carry out reforms, to apply remedies to every failure and every deficiency, and to stimulate all the latent capacities of India. The Government is to be an official Providence, supplying education, irrigation, scientific agriculture, telegraphs, railways, and an example of virtue; and any want of public spirit and national life is to be amply out-balanced by the vigour of annual reports, and the liveliness of tabular statements.

Indian Government not an Organism but a Mechanism.

Rights and privileges, creeds and customs, and even material improvements, that have been introduced and maintained, directly or indirectly, by a foreign government,—until they have been worked for and won, realized and appropriated by the people,—are exotic, and have no root in the soil. The first storm will sweep them all away. Our Government is not an organism but a mechanism; our institutions have no vitality, and no reproductive power. If the English were to leave India, what would become of the telegraph, the railways, the river steamers, the freedom of speech and of the press, the right of public consultation and combined petition, the personal liberty and open courts of justice, that we have brought into the country? English law and English science have been very imperfectly appreciated, even by the most enlightened natives, they have not been effectually naturalised in our own provinces, and in the allied and dependent States they are un-

heard of, or heard of with dread and distrust by Princes and people.

Confidence and Co-operation of Influential Classes Necessary.

Without the confidence and co-operation of the highest and most influential classes, our mission in India, will be barren of any permanent good, of any enduring glory to the British nation. Without that confidence there can be no political stability; without it our reforms and our supremacy will be alike superficial and precarious. To gain that confidence we must cast off our pride, our prejudices, and our selfish interests; we must take India and its people for better, for worse; we must place confidence and entrust power to those whose good will and assistance we require; and we must grant a large measure of restitution.

Government must Establish its Character for Disinterested and Liberal Motives.

I do not myself profess to have an abstract and symmetrical theory of property, or of the distribution of wealth; I am not a Proudhonian or a Fourierist. I in fact abhor, as much as Burke did and as Buckle does, all abstract principles of government and of society; I throw to the winds all natural possessions, all fundamental compacts. Political science is an experimental science, and its greatest conquests have been and ever will be achieved, not by skilful dialectics and inexpugnable theories, but by working from the actual to the possible, and by harmonising every change with the human desires, the human habits, and the human knowledge of the time and of the people.

As our Government improves, and gains the confidence and adherence of the people; as railway communications become perfected throughout India; our provocations and our

obligations to interfere with the administration of native States will be multiplied. We must retain our right to interfere and to dictate, wherever it already exists; but in order to be able to use it with effect, and without moral disturbance, we must establish a character for disinterested and liberal motives; we must dispel by the practical logic of facts the popular belief that we are determined not only to allow the natives no share or voice in the government of our own provinces, and to exclude them from all high and lucrative office, but also to narrow and diminish as much as possible their legitimate prospects and honourable career in native States. We should have natives of our own training planted everywhere throughout India by our special care and influence, to work with us and for us. The tendency of our overwhelming supremacy up to the present day has been the very reverse of this.

Distrust of the Executive in Natives must be Abandoned.

One prevailing idea hitherto among our governing and official classes has been, that the establishment of English appointments throughout India in constantly increasing numbers, and the exclusion of natives from all high and independent posts, had the effect of extending and confirming the direct influence of our Government. Another prevailing idea has been that educated natives entrusted with power, and raised to dignified positions, especially in native States, would be corrupt, and disaffected, and dangerous to our supremacy. Both these ideas I believe to be fallacious; and unless they can be entirely dismissed as the principles of executive policy, and entirely abandoned in practice, I can anticipate no progressive and permanent improvement in the administration of Mysore, or of any other native State; I can see no probable guarantee for stability and peace, whether the head of the Government is to be a Commissioner, or the Rajah advised by a Resident. If men are never trusted, they will never be trustworthy.

Extension of direct Administration and Government by Natives Essential for Permanence of Empire.

The extension of direct administration and government by natives of English training, both in our own Provinces and in the dependent Principalities, is a matter of the deepest importance, and of the most pressing necessity; and upon it depends the acceptance of European principles of law and society, and of English education in the broadest sense throughout India. The permanence and the glory of our Empire are indissolubly and inextricably bound up with this great act of justice. Its commencement has been deferred too long.

India must be Regarded as a Constituent Part of British Empire.

Yet I find myself impelled by motives of duty to write in favour of what are commonly supposed to be purely *native* interests, and especially to advocate a much more extended employment of educated natives in the higher branches of the public service, and their introduction through British influence into places of rank and power in the allied and tributary States. The truth is that I do not consider it either as a matter of purely native interest, or simply as a question of justice to natives. I do not think that any Indian question can be viewed in a true light, unless India is regarded as an important constituent part of the British Empire, and not as a conquered country, and a mere dependency upon England; unless the Hindoos and Mahomedans of India are regarded as British subjects, with all the rights, immunities, and privileges of their European fellows at home and abroad.

Wanted Right of free access to all Legitimate objects of a Citizen's Ambition.

Besides the rights of open tribunals, freedom of petition,

of speech and of the press, the inviolable domicile, and the responsibility of public functionaries to the law,—rights which, the two last in particular, can scarcely be said to exist in any European State except our own, but which we have, practically in the Presidency towns and professedly all over India, bestowed upon the natives,—there is still one right, denied to no one born in the British Isles,—the right of free access to all the legitimate objects of a citizen's ambition, to the honours and prizes of the Empire,—which is closed to Indian British subjects, and which, in their own country at least, ought to be unreservedly opened to them.

It is very true that there is no legal obstacle to the appointment of natives to the highest posts. There are no such insulting and galling restrictions against the advancement of "Turks and heathens," as formerly existed in Great Britain and Ireland in the penal laws against Jews and Roman Catholics. On the contrary, long before the gracious promises of the Queen's Proclamation, it was expressly enacted in the 87th clause of the Act of William IV, 1833, that no person "shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, decent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment."

Appointments of Natives to Higher Offices of State.

But, speaking candidly, we all know that practically this has been of no avail, and that natives are deliberately and systematically excluded from numerous appointments for which they are perfectly competent, solely on account of their "birth," "colour," and "religion." The greater number of appointments in the possession of the covenanted Civil Service, are still, probably for a very short time, secured to them by Act of Parliament, and no outsiders have yet been allowed to trespass on those preserves. I have nothing therefore to say on that score at present. But there are other departments to which

military officers, and the "uncovenanted" of every race and colour, except the pure native, have been admitted. No native has been placed in charge of a district in the Non-regulation Provinces,—the Punjab, Nagpore, or Mysore,—or even admitted into the list as a regular Assistant Commissioner. Though frequently invested with the same powers, and engaged in the same duties as the English officers, the native officials, with some of the less favoured of the uncovenanted, are always separately classified under some inferior designation, such as that of Extra Assistant, and thus kept out of the line of promotion. And thus in the Regulation Provinces there is a distinct list of Deputy Collectors and Sudder Ameens, with subordinate functions, undefined rank, and circumscribed prospects.

And if it were now to be proposed to make a native the Superintendent of a district in Mysore ; or, at some future period, when the privileges of the close Civil Service are abolished, if there should be any rumour of a native being raised to the position of a Sessions Judge, or of a Collector, no one who knows the traditional prejudices, the general tone and temper of the officials class, can doubt that the strongest opposition would be offered, the most vigorous objections, made, not on account of want of qualifications, not on the ground of defects of character, but simply because the nominee was "a native." I wish to see this exclusive and insulting prejudice practically disavowed and abandoned as speedily as possible, before that pressure commences which destroys the grace and favour of concession. I am convinced that the question of the fair participation of the higher class of educated natives in the administration and government of India, will at no distant period, if it be neglected, become the question of the day, and will assume giant proportions.

Governor General must be always a Distinguished English Statesman.

It is chiefly for this reason that I hope the Governor Ge-

neral will never be a man of long Indian official experience but always a distinguished English statesman, not necessarily a Peer,—though I should prefer one, and even a Prince, if there were one of sufficient age and ability,—but a man used to power, used to view large questions in a large way, free from local attachments, and able to look down with perfect indifference on the petty prejudices and personal interests of the official hierarchy. Lord Canning, whatever may have been his short-comings, has never failed in this respect; he has never shown any particular tenderness for the covenanted services; the tendency of his policy, and of his administrative measures, and the terms of his occasional “allocutions,” have been generally lightened, impartial, and imperial. Lord Dalhousie certainly was a failure, from want of a moral ballast; but even he does not form a real contradiction to the rule in the particular point now under consideration.

Arrogant Prejudices against Elevation of Natives.

I have never been able to extract from any published work, or from any official paper, or to elicit from any person of Indian experience, a distinct and intelligible argument—apart from the arrogant prejudices of race and religion,—against the elevation of natives to the very highest posts for which they are qualified. When religious objections are openly avowed and displayed, of course there is little scope and little necessity for discussion; we know the old intolerant babble, and we know, the peculiar class who give vent to it; we know how useless it is to reason with them,—as useless as to reason with an orthodox Brahmin on his caste prejudices,—and we know how *needless* it is; for the party, though still retaining an extensive but declining social influence, is politically powerless, and does not count a single statesman of the first, or of the second, or of the third rank, among its adherents.

Absurd Conception that Advance of Natives will Weaken Government.

But what I do not understand is that the same result,—that of postponing indefinitely the practical admission of the natives of India to equal rights with their British fellow-subjects,—is arrived at by so many persons whose political professions are liberal, and who are certainly not blinded by fanatical arrogance; and my great difficulty, hitherto unsurmountable, has always been to extract a clear statement of their objection, which generally seems to consist of a vague sensation that any substantial influence and power gained by natives, even in the ranks of our administration, would be a loss and a weakness to Government. This I believe to be a complete delusion, a desperate political heresy, which, if it were adopted by the State, would amount to a confession of the violence, the illegitimacy, and the incapacity of British rule.

Can it be supposed that the efficiency of the public service would be impaired? If any man means to assert that we cannot occasionally *select* a better man from the class of educated native officials and Sudder Court pleaders, to be a Judge, or an Assistant Commissioner, or an Assistant Collector, or a District Superintendent of Police, than can be got haphazard in the usual way, by seniority or by favour, from the Civil Service or from the Army, all I shall say in reply for the present is that I do not agree with him. I know a little of the "patriarchal" system in Nagpore, the Punjaub, and Oude, and of the "heaven-born" system in our older possessions.

There should be no Governing Caste in India Europeans not Indispensably Requisite for High Official Rank and Political Influence.

But it will be asked, do you doubt that Europeans are of a superior race, more intellectual and more energetic than

the people of India, and therefore more fit to rule? This is a most interesting ethnological problem; but even if settled in favour of our largest self-assertions, it would be quite inadequate to decide either the question of policy or the question of good administration. The foremost natives of India, in the present day, may be incapable of the higher achievements of European genius, and yet they may be, as I believe they are, peculiarly competent to give counsel in matters affecting native interests, and to conduct their local affairs. If we are naturally superior, that is our advantage, and a sufficient one, it might be supposed, and one which would be more imposing, and more to our credit, if we talked less about it, and if competition were not forbidden. English horses, I have been told, are excluded from some races in this country, or heavily weighted, because they are so superior in strength and swiftness to the Oriental breeds, but I never heard of country-bred horses in India, or Arabs in England, being prevented from running because they are so very *inferior*. If we wish to Europeanise and to Christianise the people of India, we must not adopt or tolerate Asiatic forms and pagan principles in our government. If we wish to discourage caste distinctions, we must take care to claim no caste distinctions for ourselves,—above all, not to make European caste the indispensable requisite for high official rank and political influence.

British Lust of Patronage.

At present European caste is that indispensable requisite. But a still worse feature in our system is that the lust of patronage operates very extensively in both directions,—below as well as above. From time to time, when the man in power, or an influential adviser, is hard pressed to provide for some expectant, or from sheer indifference to native claims, and sensitiveness to social importunity, an Englishman or an East Indian with English connections, is thrust into

some vacant place which has been previously filled with efficiency by a native, or for which a native is notoriously the best qualified candidate.

But the radical defect and inherent weakness this exclusive employment of English gentlemen in the higher branches of the public service, consists in a certain consciousness of absolute superiority and privileged security, which nullifies both the wholesome fear of public obloquy and the most powerful motives to exertion. The introduction among them, on an equal footing, of well educated and qualified natives, would excite a healthy emulation and competition; and would necessarily terminate that practical impunity which has frequently screened some of the worst members of the covenanted service.* The native officials, however high their position, would be—as ought to be done, especially at first—most strictly watched; and would be reprov'd, or removed, or dismissed, without compunction, if any error, incompetence or mal-practice on their part, called for the animadversion of Government. It would of course be impossible to apply a lower standard of efficiency, or a discipline more lenient and more lax, to the European officials than to their native compeers.

The Formidable and Festering Disease of British Indian Administration.

Setting aside all questions of justice and imperial policy, there seems to me to be no conceivable corrective to this formidable and festering disease in our administration but by the infusion of new blood, with a cautious but not a timid hand, from the source that I have indicated. When the two races are fairly combined in relations and duties of trust and responsibility, interested in the same great results, and impelled by the same ambitions, their respective good qualities and

* Sir Charles Trevelyan, when Governor of Madras, was assailed with great virulence in the local English society, and in the Indian press, which chiefly reflects their views, for having on one or two occasions departed from the usual plan of smothering scandals relating to covenanted civilians.

faculties—roused by publicity and competition—would, I believe, act and react both upon them and upon their work with most beneficial effect to the Empire.

**Consolidation of Interests and Ambitions of
England and India Necessary. Without
Common Aspirations Empire will lack
first Element of Stability.**

It is a very easy to avoid entering on the merits of the question by misrepresenting its proportions, by presenting it in an exaggerated and ridiculous light, by asking whether it is proposed to cashier all the European civil servants, covenanted and uncovenanted, and to replace them by natives, because they would be so much cheaper; whether it would not be advisable to have a native Commander-in-Chief, a native Governor-General, and even a native Prime Minister of Great Britain. To this I should have only to reply that whenever enlightened public opinion points to a native as the best possible Governor-General, I hope the appointment will be made; that whenever a naturalised Hindoo statesman has succeeded in getting a majority to follow him in the House of Commons, I trust he may be made First Lord of the Treasury; and that I am content to wait a few years for those events. But at present enlightened public opinion and official experience do teach us that a few natives,—I believe as yet *a very few*,—are admirably fitted for the highest judicial offices, for the administrative charge of districts, and for seats in local Councils; we want their aid, their counsel, and their support, and I sincerely hope we shall not be much longer deprived of them.

We do not want Hindoos to govern us in Great Britain, but to govern themselves in their own country. We must consolidate the interests and the ambitions of England and of India. Until the two races are engaged in common objects, and actuated by common aspirations, our Empire will always remain without the first element of stability.

Two Inevitable Fatalities of Rule in India.

We have set the example on many occasions,—most of them very proper occasions—of lecturing Sovereigns on the duties of mercy and conciliation, of deprecating political severities, and advocating amnesties and concessions. Some day our lessons of humanity may be retorted upon us with crushing effect. There are two inevitable fatalities of our rule in India,—as of every nation whose destiny it has been to rule an alien race—the first, that we shall never have a general or very extensive rebellion, without atrocities; the second, that we shall never put down a rebellion, without employing atrocities for the purpose—not perhaps deliberately by the orders of Government, but in the stress and agony of each local reign of terror, and in the fury of retaliation. I am not here apportioning either blame or approval; the question does not require me to do so. That such have been the phenomena of every important rebellion, in every part of the world, down to the present day, and that they are likely to reappear in any future Indian rebellion, will not, I think, be disputed. And it will hardly be disputed that the display of these phenomena in any part of the Empire, can never contribute to the honour of the British Crown and nation, and might afford a subject of reproach against us to our enemies and rivals.

Foreigners better qualified than Englishmen to appreciate present Capacity of Indian People.

Some people may say that it would be very difficult to get up the slightest interest or excitement about India, in France or any other country of Europe. I am not of that opinion. I am rather inclined to think that a more lively interest in Indian politics, is felt in France and Germany, than in Great Britain; and that a selfish familiarity has bred something like contempt among us, for what wonderful continent, and for the

aces who had built its renowned cities, cultivated its vast plains, and constructed stupendous works of public utility, long before the era of our commercial and official occupation.* Political foresight cannot exist, except under the influence of the imagination and the generous emotions. Perhaps the arrogance of race, the dictatorial habits, and the supercilious feelings in which we English indulge, may blind us to the latent energies of the Indian people, and conceal from us—even when the curtain is about to rise,—the part they yet may play in the world's drama. An impartial foreigner, informed by history,—which we despise—and inspired by high thoughts and human sympathies,—which we should reject as romantic illusions—may be better qualified than any of us, to appreciate the present capacity of the Indian people, and even to forecast their future destinies.

Lessons taught by the Mutiny.

Our human interest in the social and political progress of India—apart from that interest that may be called national and selfish,—has been so deadened by the satiety and security of long possession, that it would sometimes appear as if nothing less than a terrible war or a bloody rebellion, could make us realise the weight of our moral obligations. The events of 1857 did rouse the nation to something like enthusiasm, and under its influence—and in spite of the irresistible exasperation of the hour,—many noble principles were avowed by statesmen of all parties, some of which were embodied in the Royal Proclamation; the great measure of replacing the delegated authority of the Company by Her Majesty's direct rule, which in ordinary times would have met with a formidable opposition,

* "The French and Germans," said Reschid Pasha to Mr. Senior, "think that the strength of England is in India; that if you lose India you sink into a secondary power like Holland." (Senior's *Journal in Turkey*, p. 117, quoted in *The Empire*, by Professor Goldwin Smith, p. 257.) I agree with Mr. Senior and Professor Goldwin Smith, that this is a great mistake; but it bears witness to the ordinary continental opinion of the importance and value of India to Great Britain.

and with no cordial support, was successfully carried through Parliament; and an Imperial system for the first time became possible.

But the excitement soon died away, upon the restoration of order. When none but financial difficulties remained, and when even these were surmounted, the season of self-complacent apathy set in once more. We have sung "Te Deum" so often, and so long, over our military and administrative triumph, that we seem to have forgotten the check and the humiliation, the fearful cost and the permanent loss; we seem not to perceive how much for which the rebels were instinctively fighting, has been conceded, how much of the fruits of victory remain with the vanquished.

Indian Empire has entered on a New Phase of Existence.

It would be easy to adduce evidence from the political literature of the continent during the last five years, that foreign politicians, more dispassionate, and less biassed than we are, comprehend very clearly that the Indian Empire has entered on a new phase of its existence; and that they are watching the course of events with very considerable interest. Of course, just as our attention to Indian affairs is roused, and our interest heightened, by war and rebellion, while it slackens during peace and prosperity, so it must be among our European neighbours. The most unexpected combinations might present themselves during a general war. Our insular position renders us peculiarly unassailable at home; and we have been accused of abusing this advantage, both by opportune aggressions, when anything was to be gained, and by selfish abstention and isolation, when no immediate profit was in view. A hostile or rival power might therefore be induced, or compelled, to turn to India, to find the means of annoyance and retaliation, to occupy and divert our strength,—or to convince us, by judicious pressure, without war, of the "solidarity" of our fortunes with his own.

India is becoming Conscious and Reflective— The Signs should not be despised.

With a little more gallantry, with a few positive exploits added to his negative strategic feats, Tantia Topee would soon have become a Hindoo Garibaldi. Indeed, about the time of his capture, he was becoming an object of interest in Europe; and a few months more of his daring raid through Central India,—even though amounting only to successful evasion of our forces,—would have raised that interest to a much higher pitch. Of course, I would not for a moment compare the deeds or the motives of the Brahmin rebel, with those of the Italian patriot; though I dare say the Pope, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Naples, and their adherents, do not look upon Garibaldi with much more respect and admiration, than we do upon Tantia Topee. But distance lends enchantment to the view. And it is not a very wild supposition that some day there might be a Tantia Topee of a higher type, of greater talents and of loftier character, with a better cause and a better cry before the world; there might be a rebellion with a more definite and comprehensible origin and object than that of 1857. There are signs that India is becoming conscious and reflective. If we despise those signs, there may be “an idea” about India yet.

Is it not quite clear that the interest of the British nation in the annual provision made for some hundreds of young gentlemen, and the fortunes and pensions acquired by some scores of retired officials, is of very circumscribed importance, of infinitesimal value, when compared with its interest in the development of the energies, in the cultivation of the tastes and desires of an immense and intelligent population? India must no longer be regarded as a field for patronage, but as a field for spreading our commerce, our laws, our science, and all that we have of good to give; as an inexhaustible field of producing and purchasing power, from whose gifts and wants our industry by land and sea may for ages reap a liberal and ever increasing harvest.

Prudent Principle to appoint a Native, whenever qualified, in preference to a European.

In the Provinces retained under direct British administration, I should advocate a general rule of selection for office and for promotion, which would perhaps shock the feelings, or excite the ridicule of most Anglo-Indian officials, but which will, I think, be considered in England as a sound, just and prudent principle,—that when well qualified in every respect, a native should always be preferred to a European. Due consideration might still be given to special grounds of policy—temporary or permanent—and to special personal claims, but *cæteris paribus* the native candidate should have the preference.

Institution of a Privy Council for India.

All the institutions of Great Britain, so far as they are applicable to altered circumstances, should reappear in India. There is a Privy Council in Ireland, to advise and support the Viceroy, when he requires their aid. There ought to be a Privy Council in India. The distinction, being one of Royal grant and European analogy, would be much valued; and as the members would of course, according to the practice at home, only attend when formally summoned, there could be no inconvenience or restraint from the existence of such a body. In times of uneasy excitement, or actual disturbance, the special knowledge and experience, the local authority and influence of the assembled Councillors, would lay open many sources of information, and might afford the most efficient means of suppressing tumult and restoring order.

Promotion of Intercourse and Harmony between the Higher Classes of India and those of Great Britain Extremely Desirable.

Whatever tends to facilitate and promote intercourse and

harmony between the higher classes of India and the higher classes of Great Britain, will tend to assimilate their habits and modes of thought, and to diffuse new ideas and new wants among the mass of the population. Where this intercourse is impeded, or has never been established, there will be stagnation or antagonism. At present it may be said that British influence in India beyond the limits of the three Presidency towns, is chiefly the influence of unlicensed force ; our moral influence is very imperfect ; and we exercise no social influence whatever. And no British government, no imaginable number of British merchants, planters, missionaries or teachers, can produce any appreciable impression upon the hundred and fifty millions* of Hindoos, so long as the inevitable effect of all our direct efforts is to exasperate and alienate the most powerful and the most influential men among them. We must gain the leaders, and the flock will follow.

* Now 300 Millions—1895.

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// **INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 1.**

India's Appeal to the English Electors.

THE REASON OF IT.

V2, L. M.

INDIA AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE."

SIR,

The important telegram you published yesterday informs us that "a long and animated debate" took place in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget; that on the one hand Lord Randolph Churchill severely criticised Lord Ripon's administration, and threatened fresh military expenditure, while on the other hand he promised a Parliamentary inquiry into the India Act of 1858, and announced important steps towards reform in matters of Land Revenue and Forest. This is a great contrast to the languid Budget debates of former years. India is now evidently to the front in English politics. Will you therefore allow me, Sir, through your columns, to urge upon the native community the extreme importance of seizing the occasion to place before the English public the Indian view of Indian questions, and to make their voice heard at the coming elections? The exact time of the general election being known beforehand, there is now an opportunity which may never occur again. Ordinarily

Parliament is dissolved, and a new House elected, with too short a notice for India to get in a word ; but now the leaders of Indian public opinion have several months for preparation, and it will be their own fault if they do not get a proper hearing. The question is, how best to make an impression upon the English electors ? It seems that action might be taken in two ways :

(1.) Efforts should be made to inform and influence the general public, and especially the more important constituencies, such as those in the manufacturing districts of the north. Great public meetings should be addressed ; for among the masses there is a deep sympathy with India, and an appeal on her behalf is sure to meet with a hearty and generous response. After the example of the Cobden Club, pamphlets and leaflets should also be distributed in large numbers, giving brief but clear answers, from the Indian point of view, to the practical questions of the day : *e. g.* Why does India prefer English to Russian rule ? What is our interest in Central Asia ? Is the India Council a benefit to India or the reverse ? Can India be defended, within her own frontier, and by her own citizen soldiers ? What are the aspirations of her educated classes ? What are the causes which impede her material progress and the development of her trade with England ? On all such questions India knows best where the shoe pinches, and can tell England what is the policy which is the most just and at the same time the most safe. In the solution of these difficulties England is as much interested as India. For any one who has studied the question must see that India is the pivot upon which the whole foreign policy of England turns. If we have been in trouble in Afghanistan, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in Central Asia, it is because we have been led there for the supposed defence of India. If in these enterprises we have uselessly squandered many lives and much money, it is because we have not yet abandoned the old and mischievous policy of suspicion, treating India as a sort of powder magazine which no stranger can safely be allowed to approach. But if the English people will listen to wiser counsels, if they will understand that the real defence of India consists in gaining the good-will and approval of this vast but reasonable and docile population, then indeed the whole situation becomes changed. India, instead of being a point of weakness, will, with her marvellous re-

sources, become a tower of strength. By a just and sympathetic policy the friendly feeling now existing will become confirmed as a permanent national sentiment, and the two countries will be linked together in a partnership of common interest and mutual good-will.

(2.) So much with regard to an appeal to the general English public. But it is equally necessary that those constituencies should be specially addressed where the candidates are men who have shown themselves either friends or "unfriends" of India. Mr. Slagg, Mr. Digby, Sir John Phear, and others have performed most valuable services to India, and both from gratitude and self-interest the people of India are bound to do what they can to secure their return. It seems therefore natural and proper that they should assure the electors that the views held by these gentlemen are those approved by the intelligent classes out here, and that if these views are acted on the country will be contented and prosperous. On the other hand, there are candidates, like Sir Richard Temple, who do not enjoy the confidence of the Indian people; but who on the strength of the high offices they held out here, put themselves forward as authorities on Indian subjects, aspiring probably to higher office still. In such cases it is proposed to tell the electors that the people of India do not wish to say anything with regard to these gentlemen personally, or as to their general politics; but for self-protection they must repudiate them as friends of the Indian people and as exponents of a sound Indian policy. By such a procedure the hands of India's real friends will be strengthened while the wolves in sheep's clothing will be stripped of their outer garment before the eyes of an admiring public. And great indirect benefit will accrue if the results of even a single election can be affected. For candidates will then understand that they cannot afford to neglect Indian questions, and even those least altruistic by nature will think it worth their while to get up Indian questions and personally to conciliate the good-will of the Indian people.

ENGLISH ELECTOR.

August 9, 1885.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 2.

Is India lightly taxed ?

With regard to this important point the English public are shown only the official view of the case. The view taken by educated and intelligent Indians is very different. At present the English public listen only to the tax-eaters. They should also hear what the tax-payers have to say. The other day Sir James Fergusson, late Governor of Bombay, addressing a large audience at Manchester on the subject of India, said "that at the present time her people were not heavily taxed and it was a great mistake to suppose that they were." This is very easy for an official to say, who drew his £10,000 a year as salary from the taxes paid by the people of India besides a sumptuary allowance of £4,000. But what are the real facts of the case? The following figures will give roughly an idea of the relative power of the Englishman and the Indian to bear taxation; and of the weight of taxation which they each bear:—

The total population of the United Kingdom may be taken at 36 millions and its income at £1,200,000,000, giving an average income of £33 per head. Upon this income a revenue of £87,200,000 is raised, being an average charge of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the national income. On the other hand the total population of British India may be taken at nearly 200 millions, and its income at Rs. 5,00,00,00,000 or say £400,000,000 ;

giving an average income of Rs. 27 or, say £2 per head per annum; while the gross revenue of India is about £70,000,000, being an average charge of about 17 per cent. upon the national income.

Let any Englishman think what it is to live upon £2 a year, that is, upon three half pence a day; and let English working men tell Sir James Fergusson and his highly paid official brethren, whether in their opinion the poverty-stricken Indian ryot is "not heavily taxed" when upon his three half pence a day he has to pay more than double the rate paid in wealthy England.

The average income of the Indian taxpayer has been put down at Rs. 27 per annum, because that is the official estimate formed by Sir Evelyn Baring, late Financial Minister of India. But there is reason to believe that Rs. 20 or about 30s. would be nearer the mark. And it must be borne in mind that the land-tax and salt-tax fall in great measure upon the necessaries of the very poor; the salt, without which the vegetarian Indian cannot live, being taxed at a rate estimated by Professor Fawcett to vary from 500 to 2,500 per cent. upon the cost of production. The greater portion of the people of India have a bare subsistence. Dr. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, says that: "the remaining fifth, or 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food."—(England's work in India, p. 80.)

India is ruled by the official and military tax-eaters and the voice of the people who are the tax-payers, is not listened to. That is the reason why Lord Randolph Churchill talks with so light a heart of two millions sterling of permanent additional military expenditure for India. This money will have to be paid by the Indian ryot out of his 3 half pence a day. Will the English Electors allow this? Professor Fawcett said of taxing India (Speeches, p. 18), "the great mass of her people are in such a state of impoverishment that the Government will have to contend with exceptional difficulties if it becomes necessary to procure increased revenue by additional taxation."

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No 3.

Why is Lord Ripon loved by the Indians?

1. Because he promptly put an end to the unrighteous second Afghan War which had sacrificed countless Indian lives and wasted twenty millions sterling of the Indian tax-payers' monies.

2. Because he reversed Lord Lytton's "spirited foreign policy"—the policy of shooting the Afghan and robbing him of his barren mountain land, so that the military and official tax-eaters might adorn their breasts with stars and medals, earn promotions and pensions, and convert the despoiled land into a new hunting ground for their successors.

3. Because he wisely reverted to the old and prudent policy of defending India behind her own natural frontier, believing it to be the safest for the permanent stability of the Empire as it is the most approved by the united voice of the intelligent classes of the Indian people and reconciled the Afghans whom the author of the second Afghan war had made the bitterest foes of the British.

4. Because he preferred to spend the tax-payers' monies

on works of public utility calculated to open up and develop the resources of the country and advance its material prosperity rather than squander them on hazardous and profitless military preparations and enterprises which tend to retard domestic reforms and make the burden of taxation, heavy as it is, heavier still.

5. Because he gave solid peace and restored confidence in the sincerity and justice of British administration.

6. Because he restored liberty to the Vernacular Press by repealing the obnoxious Gagging Act which Lord Lytton had hurriedly, unwisely, and arbitrarily passed.

7. Because he instituted healthy land reforms to mitigate the growing hardships of the indigent peasantry and to improve cultivation.

8. Because he established a sound condition of Indian finance, endeavoured his best to protect India in its financial relations with England, protested against England's unfairly saddling India with a portion of the expenses of the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, remitted taxation and reduced the price of salt.

9. Because he took important steps towards extending primary education on a wider and more liberal basis and towards recognising the importance of private enterprise throughout the entire field of education.

10. Because he practically encouraged the revival and growth of indigenous trades and industries, the destruction of which is one of the great drawbacks of British rule in India.

11. Because he gave practical recognition to the principle of free discussion, listened to and respected Indian opinion, invited representative Indians to take a share in the delibera-

tions of the Imperial Legislature and extended the boon of Local Self-Government in a spirit of liberality called for by the progressive condition of the people.

12. Because he strove to establish equality before the Law and manifested deep and generous sympathy with the Indian people and their legitimate aspirations.

13. Because in pursuance of a policy at once just and safe he cultivated amicable relations with the independent Indian Princes and Chiefs and inspired them with a feeling of confidence in British rule which was made markedly manifest during the recent complications with Russia and which forms one of the very best elements of security for the whole Indian empire.

14. Lastly, because he administered the affairs of India righteously, with a single eye to the good of her people, carrying out loyally the letter and spirit of the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, so as to secure the greater contentment and prosperity of the Indian people, earn their lasting gratitude and deepen their attachment to British rule.

These are the deeds that have endeared Lord Ripon to the millions of India. Can any deeds reflect greater lustre on the noble motherland of Liberty and Free Institutions ?

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 4.

Costliness of British Administration.

The attention of the British public is earnestly invited to the following significant figures. The salaries and expenses of the Civil departments of the State in India which stood at £9,575,357 in 1873 grew to £11,038,504 in 1882; that is to say, they have increased by no less than £1,463,147 in ten years or at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Again, the Civil furlough and absentee allowances which stood at £157,006 in 1879 have risen in 1882 to £222,642. The same phenomenon is observable in superannuation allowances and pensions. These have risen from £1,626,948 in 1879 to £2,182,327 in 1882. Now the greater portion of these growing expenses of the Civil administration are unquestionably due to the employment of an overwhelmingly costly foreign agency, the two branches of which are popularly distinguished in India as Covenanted and Uncovenanted. The Covenanted Civil Service consists of those officers who have been appointed either from Haileybury College or by open competition under the provision of Act 21 and 22 Vic. Cap. 106, S. 30, 32 and 64. The Uncovenanted Civil Service consists chiefly of those officers who have been appointed under the provisions of Act 24 and 25 Vic. Cap. 54 of

1861, to offices in the Educational, Financial, Police, Revenue Survey, Salt, Customs, Forests, and other Departments of Government.

It is a literal fact that notwithstanding the constant agitation which has taken place on this subject during the last thirty years the vast majority of appointments in the higher administration are still practically reserved for Englishmen. The Covenanted Civil Service is nominally open to all classes of British subjects alike but the unfair way in which artificial obstacles have been thrown in the way of natives of India by lowering the age, and by deranging the whole conditions of the competition, practically excludes them altogether. On the other hand the higher appointments in the Uncovenanted Service are in the first instance bestowed almost entirely by private patronage, and past experience clearly shows that so long as it is in the power of the local authorities to appoint their own friends, Englishmen in their interest will assuredly be preferred to natives of India. A reference to the Bombay Civil List, for example, will show that excluding the grades of Deputy Collector and Subordinate Judge which are practically reserved for natives, the number of the principal unreserved appointments, value Rs. 300 a month, or at 1s. 7½d. £292 10s. per annum and upwards—in the various Civil departments of the Bombay Government amounts approximately to 352. These Civil appointments are thus distributed: 208 are held by Uncovenanted Europeans; 94 are held by Military officers; 9 are held by Covenanted Civilians and 41 are held by natives of India. But these figures alone convey only a faint idea of the unfair way in which natives of India are now treated. All the 41 appointments referred to are minor and admittedly subordinate appointments of less than Rs. 500 a month in value. In the Department of Revenue Survey and Settlement in Bombay there are 58 appointments, ranging in value from

about Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,100 per annum. No less than 56 of these appointments are now reserved for private patronage. 50 appointments are held by Englishmen appointed purely by favour and without preliminary examination or test of any kind. 6 appointments are held by Military officers who had no claim whatever to patronage of this description. Out of 21 higher appointments in the Sind Commission 8 are held by Military officers and 10 by Uncovenanted Europeans, all of whom have been appointed by pure patronage. In the higher grades of the Police Department 33 Europeans are employed and not one single native of India. In the departments of Salt and Customs out of 33 higher appointments 18 are held by Englishmen appointed by pure patronage while 5 of the lowest and least paid appointments are held by natives of India.

In all the other Civil Department of the administration the same general rule is observable. Every position that is well paid and influential is carefully secured for Europeans; while those positions that are less desirable and less well paid are grudgingly bestowed on Natives of India. This state of things is, it is admitted, a grievous scandal and one that requires immediate attention.

It is now more than twelve years since Mr. Bright asked in Parliament for a return showing the number together with the salaries of natives in all departments of the State as compared with those of Europeans. It took six years of continued pressure to move the India office to submit the return to Parliament. And as there was no order to print it even this return has been securely shelved. Will no independent member of Parliament earn the heartfelt gratitude of natives of India by calling attention to a grievous wrong and providing a remedy?

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 5.

Mistrust Anglo-Indian Opinion.

Englishmen who have spent many years in India are not unnaturally accepted by their countrymen at home as authorities on all Indian problems. The latter have few or no opportunities of learning what the Indian people think or wish, and are consequently obliged to take on trust the opinions of those who pretend that they, and they alone, possess that knowledge. But there are many reasons why the opinions of these gentlemen should not receive the unconditional assent which is commonly accorded to them. It should be remembered that the personal and class interests of Anglo-Indians often heavily bias their judgment, and still more so the opinion of their class which exerts a pressure upon individuals more cogent and more unrelaxing than can easily be understood by any one who has not lived in India.

The personal and class interests of Anglo-Indians are frequently in direct conflict with the objects which all reformers, whether Indian or English, have most in view. The first of these objects is a more economical employment of the resources of India, which involves an extensive reduction of the costly English agency in the civil administration, and a ruthless overhauling of the military expenditure whose wasteful extravagance has no parallel in any civilized country. Neither of these results can be attained without a shock to many existing powerful interests. Can any one therefore be surprised if these interests, which are nowhere so powerful as in the capital, have hitherto opposed an insuperable barrier to all effective financial reform? The class which directly profits by this expenditure cannot be trusted to pronounce an impartial judgment on the first and most vital of all Indian questions.

Closely connected with this fundamental question is the substitution of Native for English agency in a host of departments where the latter is now almost exclusively predominant, and an

entire remodelling of the existing Civil service, which under the existing circumstances of India is little better than a costly anachronism. The co-operation of Anglo-Indians belonging to the official classes will never be more than nominal when these objects are proposed to them, and often less than that. The extension of local self-government, which was so vigorously initiated by Lord Ripon, has for a similar reason been coldly supported by the official classes. They resent the diminution of their authority which it involves, and they rightly conclude that any further development of this policy must curtail the opportunities for the creation of new appointments and new departments in which their own class would appropriate all the more honourable and remunerative posts.

The judgment of the non-official portion of the Anglo-Indian community on Indian questions is subject to a bias of another kind, which is quite as powerful. These persons who have come out to India to make money have undoubtedly, like their official brethren, been in various ways of great service to India and her sons. They have stimulated the industrial activity of the country, and broken, it may be hoped for ever, the reign of routine and apathy. But as a class they have only faint sympathies with the intellectual and political progress of the Indian people, and they resent fiercely every attempt to place the more advanced members of the native community, whom they regard as a conquered race, on the same plane of political and legal privilege as themselves. Their fanatical opposition to Lord Ripon had its origin in this sentiment, and finds a parallel in the opposition of the members of their class to all the Governor-Generals and statesmen whose memory is dearest to the Indian people, to Lord W. Bentinck, Lord Macaulay, and Lord Canning.

Statesmen, we are told by Adam Smith, who knew nothing about trade themselves, not unnaturally supposed that merchants did, and accordingly turned to them for advice. The merchants knew what kind of laws suited best their own interests, and found on difficulty in believing that what was good for them must be equally good for everybody else. But this was a patent fallacy, for the interests of the merchant and the interests of the community are by no means invariably the same. The laws were accordingly framed to put money into the merchant's pockets at the cost of all those who consumed their wares. Let the statesmen of our day be on their guard against a repetition of this foolish error in their dealings with England's greatest dependency.

British Indian Association and the

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 6.

IMPERIAL STOCK-TAKING,

OR

Burke, Bright, Fawcett, and Lord Beaconsfield
in harmony on an Indian Question.

“OUR Indian Government in its best state will be a grievance. It is necessary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous; the work of men sanguine, warm, and even impassioned. For it is an arduous thing to plead against the abuses of a power which originates from our own country, and which affects those we are used to consider as strangers.”

EDMUND BURKE.

“What you want is a new and a wiser and a broader policy, and that policy, I much fear, you will never have from the Government of Calcutta, until the people of England say that it is their policy and must be adopted.”

JOHN BRIGHT.

THE late Mr. Fawcett, whose name is never mentioned in India except with respect and even veneration, used often to tell Englishmen of the duties which they owed to India and her people. India has now lost her noble champion, and must endeavour to raise her own feeble voice in support of those Englishmen who are speaking to their fellow-countrymen on her behalf.

The late Earl of Beaconsfield once declared that the key of India was in the House of Commons. Let the constituencies of the United Kingdom, then, direct their representatives in that House, now and then at least, to turn the key of the great Indian Bureau, and see with their own eyes what is going on in its secret and obscure recesses, after letting “a little more daylight” into it. During the days of the old East India Company,

Parliamentary investigations into Indian affairs were a regular institution. In 1773 a most elaborate investigation took place. It was conducted by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, whose report was speedily followed up by legislation. In 1793 another investigation was made and remedial measures taken. As to the ^{Subsequent} later investigations the late Mr. Fawcett says : "The three Committees which were thus appointed before the Charter was renewed in 1813, 1833 and in 1853, collected information the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. This was so fully recognised at the time when the Committees were appointed, that many of the most eminent members of the House served upon them." And he afterwards adds : "If the questions which these various Committees had to investigate were at the time considered to be so important as to make it desirable to enlist the services of the most eminent members of the House, I think it can without difficulty be shown that there are now many subjects connected with the Government of India which not less urgently demand a most careful and thorough Parliamentary inquiry."

One great reason for such an inquiry is afforded by the fact mentioned by Mr. Fawcett as generally admitted, namely, that "when the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, many safeguards for economy were swept away, and the substitutes which took their place have proved to be comparatively ineffective." To illustrate this proposition a few figures will suffice. From a table furnished to the East India Finance Committee, 1873, by Mr. Gay, Deputy Controller-General of the Finances, it appears that, excluding the expenses on the Army and on Public Works, the cost of the Government of India increased from £14,964,867 in 1856 to £23,271,082 in 1871, and it appears from the later figures that in 1879 it stood at £33,352,852, that is to say, that that cost has more than doubled itself in less than twenty-five years, and the advance in the first fifteen years out of that period falls short of the advance in the closing eight years. Taking the figures for the

Army, we find that in 1856 the cost stood at £12,000,000; in 1871 it was at £16,074,800; in 1879, at £17,092,488. And the debts and obligations of the country, which in 1856 stood at £57,764,239, entailing an annual charge of £2,332,620, advanced in 1871 to £119,000,476, entailing an annual charge of £5,000,474, and in 1879 to £145,836,440, entailing an annual charge of £6,229,792.

This portentous development of expenditure and indebtedness deserves a thorough investigation at the hands of the British Parliament. Such an investigation cannot be carried on satisfactorily in India. As Mr. Bright has said: "All the people with white faces, English, Scotch, Irish, and so forth, are nearly all in the service of Government. I am not now speaking of the handful of merchants, but all the civilians, engineers, military men, everybody—they are all in favor of, and have an interest in, patronage, promotion, salaries, and ultimately pensions." This is illustrated by recent events. In 1879 both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State declared that "immediate measures must be taken for the reduction of public expenditure in all its branches." Yet little really was done. In truth, as Mr. Fawcett pointed out, "the work cannot be done by the Government alone. It will be necessary that they shall be aided both by Parliament and by public opinion in this country." The reason why this is so was stated by Mr. Bright many years ago, and his words are in many respects as true now as they were then, "The great body of the people in India," said Mr. Bright, "have as we all know, no control in any way over the Government. Neither is there any independent English opinion that has any control over the Government, the only opinions being those of the Government itself or those of the Military and Civil Services, chiefly the latter. They are not the payers of the taxes; they are the spenders and the enjoyers of the taxes; and therefore the Government in India is in the most unfortunate position possible for the fulfilment of the great duties that must devolve upon every wise and just Government." In order, therefore,

to strengthen, when necessary, the hands of the Government, and in other cases to direct them, in the great work of retrenchment of overgrown expenditure, a Parliamentary inquiry is indispensable.

Consider, next, another important point—and here we may avail ourselves of the language used in 1858 by a late eminent Prime Minister of England, the Earl of Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli. “No one,” he says, speaking of the Anglo-Indian officers of that day, “can have been brought into communication with that large and valuable body of Her Majesty’s servants, without entertaining for them feelings not only of respect, but often of admiration. But, Sir, it is impossible to deny that if they have a deficiency, the quality in which they are deficient—and necessarily so from the career they have to run—is an absence of that feeling of responsibility which we, from our training in this House, all of us, to a greater or less degree, must possess. They live, too, necessarily, in a circle of peculiar opinions—opinions which they have adopted often from force of conviction, but sometimes also from the power of habit.” Mr. Bright, too, has pointed out another but kindred shortcoming of British administration in India. “But you must remember,” he says, “that all this great population has no voice in its own affairs. It is dumb before the power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its Government. It is subject to the power that rules over it in a manner that cannot be said of the population of any civilised or Christian people in the world.” The defects here pointed out require for their remedy, among other things, a periodical Parliamentary investigation, such as used to be held in the days of the old Company. A reference to first principles, an appeal from local prepossessions, the introduction of a little of the bracing atmosphere of Parliamentary ideas into the despotism, however benevolent, of Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy, are as necessary now as they were before 1858, if, indeed, they are not now even more necessary than they were then.

Lastly, it should be stated that there was a Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1873, though with a very limited scope. But even that Committee with its limited scope ceased to exist without completing its labors in consequence of a dissolution of Parliament. Having regard, therefore, to the periods at which inquiries were held in the days of the East India Company, an investigation has now been long overdue. And the new Parliament cannot do a better thing than direct such an inquiry at the very outset of its career, so as to bring to bear upon Indian affairs the minds of those "sanguine, warm, and even impassioned" men, spoken of by the great Edmund Burke in the extract which heads this leaflet.

British Indian Association and The

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The Praja-hit Vardhak Sabha of Surah.

INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 7.

Is India a part of the British Empire ?

Do not remain any longer under the delusion—if you ever have been under the delusion—of believing that you have nothing to do with Indian Finance. Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, with great sagacity repudiated the idea that the British tax-payer and the British citizen had no interest in the state of the Indian account.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

THE question which heads this leaflet is a startling one, but if the following propositions are pondered over, the conclusion will be reached, that it is a perfectly fair and reasonable question to raise.

FIRST.—The United Kingdom is a wealthy and prosperous country ; India is a poor, a very poor country, now at last acknowledged to be such even in official papers, while the late lamented Professor Fawcett, than whom it would be difficult to name a weightier authority on this topic, has declared that “the recurrence of famines and other circumstances have at length led the English public to take firm hold of the fact that India is an extremely poor country.”

SECOND.—This wealthy and this poor country have been joined in close partnership by a solemn Resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1858, laying down the principle that “the direct superintendence of the whole Empire must be placed under one executive authority.” On the basis of this Resolution, and for the purpose of carrying it out, the Statute of 1858 for the better government of India was enacted, under which, *inter alia*, the Indian public accounts are directed to be annually laid before Parliament, and an audit of such accounts in England is provided for.

THIRD.—In 1876, a further development took place under Parliamentary sanction, and when the Queen of England was proclaimed Empress of India, the bonds of connection between the two countries were drawn closer and tighter, justifying the immediate expectation (to borrow the words of Mr. Gladstone) of “increase of franchise or privilege, augmentation of benefit, redress of grievances, and correction of abuse.”

FOURTH.—Under ^{the} ~~this~~ constitution ^{sketched out above} the United Kingdom has, through its own Government, plenary power over the administration and finances of India. As the Marquis of Hartington said in 1880, “in India, which is not a self-governing country, but governed in the main by this country, it is in the power of our Government to say, at any time it pleases, that those duties (*i.e.*, the Indian Import Duties) should be repealed.”

FIFTH.—Such plenary power is actually exercised on important occasions. Referring to a matter connected with Indian finance in its Civil Department, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, sometime Member of the Government of India, wrote as follows in an official minute :—“A measure seriously affecting the finances of India has been and is being pressed upon Parliament by a powerful section of the English mercantile community, and the general opinion is that this pressure has so far produced an effect, that at a juncture of the gravest financial difficulty and anxiety, the Government of India has been impelled to incur a sacrifice of revenue which the most ordinary considerations of financial prudence should have led it to retain, with the certainty that the present concession will only encourage further pressure.”

SIXTH.—A similar and even more injurious exercise of that power, in the Military Department, is thus spoken of by Mr. Fawcett, whose writings form a never-failing repertory of accurate information and wise counsel on Indian topics : “It will be necessary fundamentally to change the present military system and to undo a great part of the work which was done,

when under the auspices of Lord Palmerston's Government, and in spite of the remonstrances of every Indian statesman of experience, the army amalgamation scheme was carried out, and India was compulsorily made a partner in all the costly military arrangements of England." In another place the same judicial-minded statesman says, that the Indian Council, who unanimously objected to it, were told that their protests would be time wasted, as "the amalgamation of the two armies had been made a Cabinet question, and was an accomplished fact." The results of this measure are declared in official reports to include (1) an increase of £800,000 in the cost of the Indian Army since 1884-85, "in most cases without the Indian Government having any voice in the matter;" (2) an average increase of £50,000 a year for the last eighteen years in the cost of the European Army in India "arising from changes over which the Government of India has no control."

SEVENTH.—On the general results of the exercise of this power, listen again to Prof. Fawcett. He says: "The well-known saying of one who held a high official position is only too true, that Indian finance has again and again been sacrificed to the exigencies of English estimates."

Now, after considering these propositions, let the Electors of the United Kingdom decide whether, in refusing to the Indian Government the benefit of the Imperial guarantee, India is being fairly treated as a part of the British Empire. In 1858, even before the conditions on this point were so strong in favor of India as they have been since her transfer to the Crown, a high financial authority, Mr. T. Baring, then member for Huntingdon, asked: "When the English 3 per cents. were at 95, and the East India Company were borrowing money at 6 per cent., would it not confer a great advantage on India, and give a favourable introduction to the abolition of the double Government to allow India to enjoy fully her union with this country?" "But" he went on to say "this was refused. "It was said, "You shall be under the Crown for the purposes of

power and honor (and profit, too, he might justly have added), but as to the question of credit, you shall have none of our credit." The late Lord Halifax said in 1853, that "the same thing should be done for India which we have done for some of our colonies, that by giving the guarantee of the Government, a lower rate should be payable on the debt. This has, I see, been already suggested by a noble lord in another place, and though in the present state of things I should not think of preferring such a request to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the case would be very different if India was administered as any other dependency by the Government of the country in the name of the Crown." Similar doctrine was enunciated by the late Earl of Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, when he said :—"It is idle any longer to distinguish between English and Indian Finance. If the President of the Indian Council—the Queen's Minister in Downing Street—should find it necessary to raise money by a public loan to pay Her Majesty's troops in India, it will be idle, when the dividends on that loan are due, if the Exchequer in India is empty, to pretend that the revenue of India is alone liable. Every gentleman must feel, immediately after such change takes place, that the difference between the finances of England and of India cannot be maintained for a moment." Mr. Bright, whom India recognises as one of her truest and staunchest friends, in 1853 referred to Sir R. Peel's opinion about the close connection of English and Indian Finance, but objected to the Imperial guarantee, on the ground that "if we let the services of India, after exhausting the resources of India, put their hands into the pockets of the English people, *the people of England having no control over the Indian expenditure*, it is impossible to say to what lengths of unimagined extravagance they would go." If, however, as has been shown, the people of England by their representatives *have control over the Indian expenditure*, Mr. Bright, too, may be taken as an authority for the same view as that expressed by statesmen of such divergent ways of

thought as Mr. Baring, and Mr. Disraeli, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Robert Peel. And it is worth remembering that in 1879 Mr. Bright, speaking of the then proposed loan, said: "It is not legally guaranteed by this Government, but the people who lend the money believe that if the worst comes to the worst, England will not see them unpaid, and will, in point of fact, stand responsible for debts which India may be unable to pay."

What, then, would be the result, if that guarantee were formally given, which, according to Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright and Sir Robert Peel, already exists in substance? The amount of the debts and obligations of India in 1858 was £69,473,484, with an ^{annual} interest charge of £2,355,838, and was even then pronounced by no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone "to be more crushing in its proportions than the gigantic debt of England." In 1883 the amount stood at £159,274,460, with an interest charge of £6,966,000. An imperial guarantee may fairly be expected to reduce the ^{yearly} interest charge by at least a million and-a-half, and this without practically and really involving any extra burden on the British tax-payer. Furthermore, it will make the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom more watchful of the actions of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy on account of the possibility, however remote, of the danger indicated by Mr. Bright. That, too, will be an unalloyed benefit to India. On the other hand, the United Kingdom will also be benefitted. In 1858 Mr. Gladstone said: "I cannot look back to the history of our wars in connection with India, during the last twenty years especially, without seeing that the power lodged in the hands of the Queen's advisers and the executive has been alike at variance with the interest of the country and the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. . . . But the objection does not appear stronger or more conclusive as regards the people of India, than the objection which arises from this system in its bearings upon this country and the House of Commons." If the Imperial guarantee is sanctioned; and a consequent subjection of the

doings of the Indian Government to a more watchful Parliamentary control follows, as it must follow; the particular danger thus pointed out by Mr. Gladstone will be averted, and the affairs of India and those of the United Kingdom will stand on the same footing as regards the respective powers of Crown and Parliament.

The point here discussed is not a recondite one. No special local knowledge, no mastery of dry Blue Books, no examination of complicated statistics, are required to comprehend it. The facts are easy to grasp; the principles to be applied undisputed and indisputable. Let the people of the United Kingdom announce their decision upon it emphatically and authoritatively. Let them show by deeds, that the question which heads this leaflet can be truly answered in the affirmative, *that in truth and in fact, and not merely in name, India is a part of the Empire on which the sun never sets.*

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 8.

Manchester's Interest in India.

There is a belief prevalent amongst certain English politicians that England has very little interest in the maintenance of her Indian Empire, that England keeps India as a matter of glory and as a matter of sentiment rather than as a matter of positive national advantage. Let us see how the case really stands. One of the prominent facts connected with the relations between England and India is that England's rule over this great dependency enables British merchants and manufacturers to secure the advantages which flow from free trade therewith. There is perhaps no feature of England's trade more worthy of note than that whereas English goods are more or less excluded from free competition in the Continental markets and in the markets of America or even in those of England's own colonies, by means of prohibitive tariffs, the East Indian trade of England, being practically regulated by her own fiscal policy, affords a boundless field for her own manufactures. The astonishing growth which British commerce and manufactures have attained in recent times has been very largely the result of England's political ascendancy in Asia. This consideration alone is enough to show how great an interest the people of England have in the maintenance of their Indian Empire. The maintenance of that Empire is a necessary condition of the continued prosperity of the commerce of Eng-

land. At all events it is certain that England's political supremacy in Asia has been one of the chief causes of the amazing development witnessed during the last quarter of a century in English trade and English manufactures.

A few figures would be instructive as showing the interest of Manchester in India and the value to her of the East Indian trade. By the census of 1881 the entire population of India was ascertained as under:—

	Population of British India and Feudatory States.
Adult Male Population	83,487,375
Do. Female „	81,113,386
Children under 14 years	89,291,060
Total ,....	253,891,821

Considering that 8 yards of cloth of the ordinary width (40 Inches) would on an average suffice for a new suit that will last a year in the case of a male, 10 yards in all in the case of a dress for a female, and 4 yards in the case of a child under 14 years of age, it would require 667,899,000 yards or 379,488 miles length of the average width of cloth to cover the male population of India; 811,133,860 yards or 460,871 miles in length of the average size of cloth to cover the whole of the female population; and 357,164,240 yards or 202,934 yards in length of cloth to cover children under 14 years of age; that is to say, it would require 1,043,293 or more than a million of miles or nearly 36 times the circumference of the Earth, in length of cloth to satisfy a year's clothing wants of the two hundred and fifty millions of the people of India. But while on the one hand deductions must be made for the supply of coarser kinds to the poorer classes by the indigenous hand loom industry and the Cotton Mills in the capital cities and Presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras, account must be taken of the finer descriptions of clothing in addition to the bare average estimated above, consumed by the well-to-do and richer classes of society

in India. Balancing the one against the other, it may be said that to clothe the population of India Manchester must yearly manufacture cloth, of the average width of 40 Inches, measuring over a million of miles. And this is what she is actually doing, as would appear from the following table :—

CONSUMPTION OF BRITISH COTTON GOODS.*

1880.

	Million Yards.	Million Lbs. Yarn.	Total value (Thousands omitted.)	Ratio.
India	1,812	48	£ 20,100	23.8
China and Japan	508	47	8,135	11.6
Turkey and Egypt	528	12	7,680	11.0
South America	491	...	6,740	9.7
Europe	313	94	10,330	14.9
West Indies	122	...	1,810	2.6
United States	78	...	1,750	2.5
Various	644	15	13,130	18.9
Total.....	4,496	216	£ 69,535	100.0

It will appear from the above that India stands at the head of all consumers of British Cotton Goods. The table also shows that the cloth supplied to India in 1880 was 1,812,000,000 yards or 1,029,558 miles in length of the average width. But though the supply just equals the bare average of the demand, there is scope for almost unlimited extension in the desire on the part of the people. For supposing that out of the 250 millions of the people of India only 1 million were to desire to possess themselves of 1 yard of cloth per head, then a demand would be created for cloth of that kind measuring 4,000 miles in length. The existence of such a desire is undeniable but its gratification depends upon the purchasing power of the people. This purchasing power can be acquired by them only if they are prosperous and well-governed, and have something left to them over what is necessary for subsistence. Manchester's interest therefore lies directly in promoting the prosperity of her Indian customers.

* See Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 116, (Ed. 1884).

“On the most selfish view,” as Lord Macaulay puts it, “it would be far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings but wearing our broad-cloth, and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salaams to English Collectors and English Magistrates, but were too ignorant to value or too poor to buy English manufactures. To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would be a dotting wisdom which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might be our slaves.”

The true interest of Manchester thus consists in identifying herself with every measure which is calculated to give her Indian customers a good and economical government and which promotes their prosperity and happiness.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 9.

21 Per Cent. Growth of Indian Military Expenditure in 20 Years!!

“It has been said with some truth that hitherto the subject of Army reform in India has been dealt with on the principle that **INDIA WAS MADE FOR THE ARMY AND NOT THE ARMY FOR INDIA.**” (Simla Army Commission Report, p. 111.)

In 1859 COLONEL SYKES, M. P., observed in a paper read by him at Edinburgh on the Financial Condition of British India in 1859-60 that “the Military charges have always been, and it is to be feared always will be, the chief drain upon the Indian exchequer. *Great as the pressure of the Military Charges is in England, it is nothing comparable with the pressure in India.*” Prior to the Mutiny the whole Indian army, Native and European, consisted of 2,54,360 men, costing **£11,463,000.**

In 1861 MR. SAMUEL LAING stated, (vide his Financial Statement, 27th April), “*I am sanguine that the total expen-*

diture in the army may be kept at £12,250,000 or even brought down to 12 millions in India and 2 millions in England." It is not fair that India should pay the full cost of the Reserve Establishments in England, If a fair settlement is made I look for a considerable further reduction on the Military Estimates."

In 1863 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN stated, (vide his Financial Statement of 30th April 1863), "*the great interests of our nation in India require that the estimate for the Indian Army should at least undergo the sifting to which the War Office estimate is subjected to before it is laid before Parliament. I agree with those who are of opinion that, with proper economy, £12,000,000 may be taken as the standard of the expense to be incurred in India for the Military force of all arms.*"

In 1864 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN further observed (vide his Financial Statement of 7th April) that "*the tendency to increased expenditure will be productive of embarrassing results, if it is not met by corresponding measures of economy.*"

In 1869 SIR RICHARD TEMPLE stated (vide his Financial Statement of 6th March) "*since then (1863-4) the charge has slightly increased, notwithstanding that the European force has been reduced by some 7,000 men. It might be expected that such a reduction of force would have caused a considerable reduction of expenditure. Instead of this, however, there has been an increase, despite constant efforts to keep down the charges—a fact which points to the need of redoubled economy. . . . Doubtless, the growth of army expenditure, though slight and gradual, requires check in every branch and detail.*"

In 1870 the CONTROLLER GENERAL OF MILITARY EX-

PENDITURE in India (during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Mayo) observed that "*Military history presents no instance of an army so constituted or of one so costly. But unsatisfactory as is the present financial condition of the Indian Army, the future prospect is far worse.*"

LORD SANDHURST (then Sir W. Mansfield) observed in the Viceregal Legislative Council during the debate on the Income Tax Bill as follows:—"There is one point to which I would invite the attention of the Council, that being the growth of non-effective establishments. . . . While distinguished authorities differ in detail, they are agreed in presenting a picture of future liability which is positively alarming. In short, we are threatened with the serious danger of all our economies in India in the combative force being eventually greatly more swallowed up in the growth of the non-effective expenditure."

In 1871 SIR RICHARD TEMPLE stated (vide his Financial Statement of 9th March) that "though the *Military charges in England* do not show a further increase in the coming year, *their growth has not escaped our notice. It has occurred under the heads of overland transports, of furlough allowances and of stores.*"

In 1872 MR. SAMUEL LAING stated to the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, July 2nd 1872) that "*the finances of India are constantly being sacrificed to the wishes of the Horse Guards and to the exigencies of English estimates.*"

In 1873 SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN stated before the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 7th and 11th March) that "*I am forced to admit that a large, and, as I believe, an unnecessary increase has taken place upon the status of the Military expenditure. There*

is a great reduction required in the Military Expenditure . . . to revise the general Military arrangements in a manner suited to the circumstances of the present time. . . . We already, in fact, have an army of field officers, with very few subalterns. I also say, generally, that far too great a disposition was shown to stop the mouths of the Indian officers with sweetmeats. . . . The people of India have been let in for an expenditure of £10 or 11 millions much the largest portion of which has been entirely thrown away in . . . magnificent palatial barracks."

In 1873 SIR G. W. KELLNER (late Controller General of Military Expenditure in India) stated before the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 6th May) that "*the average cost of each officer of the Indian Army in 1862 was £447 per annum and in 1872 it was £637.*"

In 1873 LORD LAWRENCE stated to the Select Committee on Indian Finance (vide Proceedings, dated 13th and 27th June) that "*India is overcharged in various ways. I think the great item in which it is overcharged is regarding the recruiting of the English Army. That has become very expensive, and the system is a system adopted for English objects, for English policy and it seems to be unfair that because it costs a large sum to recruit under these conditions, therefore India should be charged with it all. . . . If my partner in a commercial concern introduces a system which costs the concern double or treble what it needs to pay, I should be the complainer and should try to get rid of him. I would say to him that I paid because I must pay, but that for the future we would be separate.*" Again, *

* * "*Would you for the sake of exceptional cir-*

circumstances keep hundreds of officers who would have 'nothing to do'?"

So far as to the unimpeachable evidence up to 1873 of some of the highest financial authorities and experts on the great burden of India's Military expenditure and on the necessity of curtailing that expenditure by practising rigid economy and resisting extravagant Home charges. It is necessary to give the testimony of later financial authorities and quote other official statements bearing on the subject.

In 1877 SIR JOHN STRACHEY (then Finance Minister and now a Member of the Council of India) observed in the Viceregal Legislative Council, that "the Indian revenues are liable to have great charges thrown upon them *without the Government of India being consulted, and almost without any power of remonstrance, and it is a fact the gravity of which can hardly be exaggerated.*"

In 1880 the SIMLA ARMY COMMISSION stated in their Report :—"It has been already mentioned that the Short Service System recently introduced into the British army has increased the cost and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops in India. *We cannot resist the feeling that in the introduction of this system the interests of the Indian tax-payers were entirely left out of consideration.*" (p. 81).

Again, "we believe that the whole system of the Staff Corps is radically unsound. . . . There can be no doubt that, *it has been the cause of serious financial embarrassments.*" (p. 109).

Again, "its practical working had a demoralising effect upon the army which has been ruinous to the State. . . . It involves a considerable expenditure of public money from which there is little or no return."

Again, "it appears to us impossible that the country can go on paying for officers it does not want." (p. 111.)
 "We are compelled to come to the conclusion that the existing system of obtaining officers for the Indian army is not successful." (p. 114.)

In 1882 SIR JOHN STRACHEY and his brother, GENERAL STRACHEY, (who are now members of the Council of India) observed in their book on the "*Finances and Public Works of India*":—"another marked feature is the heavy cost of the charges of Military system; these have involved a large increase in the non-effective charges of the army, through the necessity of getting rid of the superfluous officers of the old local army, and the great expense which has followed the introduction of the short service system of the British army. However unimportant may have been the increase of efficiency consequent on this change, the necessity is none the less but the more urgent for adopting every reasonable measure for reducing the cost of the army."

And lastly, in the present year of grace 1885, SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN states (vide his *Financial Statement of 7th March*) that for the "additional expenditure caused by changes of organisation in the British army, the Government of India are in no way responsible. This fact, however, does not lessen the uncertainty which prevails with regard to what the demand on the above account may amount to, and they are in consequence, a source of considerable anxiety to those who are responsible for army expenditure in India."

Ample evidence has been adduced above to show how burdensome is the Military expenditure in India with an army consisting of 64,000 British and 1,25,000 Indian troops. What are the conclusions to be drawn from it?

(1) *That it can be safely reduced to an average not exceeding*

14 millions sterling. (2) That the officers are too highly paid—in fact, the cost of an officer has increased 43 per cent. in 10 years! (3) That the short service system and the system of obtaining recruits eat into the vitals of Indian revenue. (4) That the growth of the “Non Effective Services” is alarming and requires to be effectually checked.

LOOK AT THIS GROWTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE !

	£
In 1857 it was	11,463,000
„ 1864 „	14,510,247
„ 1866 „	16,748,220
„ 1870 „	16,329,739
„ 1872 „	15,678,112
„ 1876 „	15,308,460
„ 1877 „	15,792,112
„ 1880 „	21,712,862
„ 1884 „	16,975,750

It will be seen that whilst with a local European army of 40,000 men and a Native army of 2,14,985 men, at the date of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, the total cost was £11,463,000, with a reduced force it amounted to 14½ millions in 1864 and to 17 millions in 1884. **The Indian Military expenditure**, properly speaking, has shown a growth of about 3 millions or 21 per cent. in 20 years or at the rate of £150,000 per annum compared with the standard figure of 14 millions!

Will the British Electors allow this increase to go unchecked especially when the Secretary of State threatens India with an additional permanent burden of 2 millions? **Remember that this Military expenditure of 17 millions sterling absorbs very nigh the whole net land revenue of India mostly collected from the impoverished agriculturists who form 70 per cent. of the population, who do not possess, according to the Director General of Statistics, more than “half an acre a piece” (Imperial of Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV. p. 168) of cultivated ground, and 40 millions of whom go without one full meal a day! Can the burden of Indian Military expenditure be more crushing!**

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 10.

Why do Indians prefer British to Russian Rule?

1. Because the English are the freest and the most liberty-loving people in the world, while the Russians are the slaves of a military caste.

2. Because the aim of British rule in India is to elevate and educate the Indian people to an equality with the English nation; while the mass of the Russian people themselves is still kept, to a great extent, in a deplorable state of ignorance and slavery by the ruling military caste.

3. Because the principles of British rule in India, as authoritatively declared, are liberal and generous, laid down by some of the noblest sons of Britain—men like Lord Cornwallis, Lord W. Bentinck, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir T. Munro, Lord Macaulay, Sir C. Metcalfe, Lord Canning—and are intended to raise the Indian people, and not to crush them down; while the iron yoke of Russia is crushing not only to the races it has conquered, as those of the Caucasus, and of Upper and Central Asia, but to the mass of its own subjects.

4. Because the *Pax Britannica* has, for the first time in recent days, afforded that opportunity for national advance and improvement which in the divisions and distractions that preceded the advent of British rule it was almost hopeless to secure.

5. Because the English people have generously established schools and colleges in India, and appointed Professors to teach to the Indians all those arts and sciences which have raised England to glory and prosperity ; while the Russians are suppressing their own colleges, and expelling their own youths from the national universities. The Russian dominant caste is afraid of light and knowledge, and would suppress everywhere all places of learning, if it could.

6. Because the British have given a Free Press to India, with the result that that Press is already growing into a power ; while the Russian Government shackles its own Native Press, to curb which it has a highly organized Press Department, with its "Press" and "Censure" Committees, its "Third Section," its "Preliminary" and "Subsequent" Censorship, ruthlessly suppressing even the slightest expression of free and independent opinion upon its acts.

7. Because the English rulers of India deliberately seek light, and officially invite the freest criticism of their acts and measures ; while the Russian Bureaucracy does everything in the dark, and shuns and suppresses public criticism.

8. Because the British Government admits the natives of the country to a share of power in Local Administrative Boards, in Legislative Councils, and in the general Civil Service of the country.

9. Because, while Russian militarism has converted the students of its own colleges and universities into Nihilists, ready to blow up their rulers, the Indian colleges, established by the English in this country, are yearly turning out educated and enlightened men and scholars, who most fully appreciate English rule, are most loyal and devoted subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, ready to fight her battles, and are at the same time the most earnest reformers of their country.

10. Because it is under the benign influence of English rule, that the signs of a slow awakening of national life are seen in India for the first time in its modern history, and the continu-

ance of the existing contact with the free and great people of the United Kingdom is expected further to train the Indian nation in the paths of national regeneration.

11. Because it is the deepest and the firmest conviction of every educated Indian that not Russia, but England, in spite of all the shortcomings, aye, and all the serious defects of its rule, is the Champion of Liberty, and the friend and sympathizer of subject nations.

12. Because, to sum up, the Indians appreciate English liberty, English justice, and English progressiveness, and they do not wish to exchange these good things for the Russian system of military aggression abroad and official repression at home.

The moral, therefore, is that England should never attempt, even in an indirect way, to take a leaf out of Russia's book.

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 11.

The Appalling Costliness of the Indian Army!!!

“If we turn to a consideration of our expenditure, it is to be observed that, owing to the poverty of the people and their consequent inability to bear taxation, the Government of India is unable to supply the Funds required for the most necessary and desirable objects.” * * * *

“It is also to be observed—and that point should never be forgotten in any comprehensive view of questions of Indian polity—that however sound may be the condition of Indian finance, if we look merely to the figures of revenue and expenditure either in the past or present, the economic condition of the people of India, upon whose prosperity the continued soundness of the financial position must ultimately rest, is not altogether satisfactory.” * * *

“The poverty of the people of India is a fact which is notorious. * * * That poverty is abundantly attested by the prevailing low rate of wages, by the statistics which show the pressure of the population on the soil, by the absence of accumulated capital, and by the rough calculation which has recently been made, that the average income per head of population

is only Rs. 27 a year." (Despatch No. 247 of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated Simla, 2nd September 1882.)

LOOK AT THESE FIGURES AND THOSE!

1. Is it just that poor as India is, it should be unwillingly made to pay for the maintenance of a force of 1,90,000 soldiers, of whom 1,25,000 are Indians, at the **extravagant cost of £90 for each combatant**, when the Six Great Powers of Europe, with armies $15\frac{1}{2}$ times larger in number, obtain the services of a soldier at an average cost of only **£33 per annum**! In other words **it costs India 273 per cent.** more per annum for the keep of a soldier than it costs on an average one of the Great Powers of Europe. Remember also that in reality **each British Soldier in India costs nearly £200 per annum or nearly 600 per cent.** more than in Europe.
2. Look at this table and ponder well over India's Military Expenditure:—

Annual Cost of EACH SOLDIER in India compared with that obtaining in the Army of the Six Great Powers of Europe.

Countries.	Army in Thousands.	Gross Annual Expenditure in Millions. £	Annual Cost of each Soldier. £	Remarks
INDIA	190	17	90	Of these only 64,000 are Europeans; the rest are Native troops.
United Kingdom*	183	16	90	
France†	524	28	54	
Germany†	449	16	35	
Russia†	729	19	26	
Austria†	272	12	47	
Italy†	750	16	21	

* Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom from 1870 to 1884.—Thirty Second Number.

† Statesman's year Book of Facts. (1885.)

3. India has no Naval force to speak of. Yet while each combatant of the combined Land and Naval forces of EUROPE, which consist of 31,85,000 men, costs £46, and of the WORLD, which consist of 32,20,000 men, costs £49, the cost of maintaining one **Soldier only** in India is £90 yearly! Can the cost be more extravagant?

4. Look again, ye British Electors, at this table and con it well.—

Annual Cost of EACH COMBATANT on Land and Sea in Europe and the World compared with that of each SOLDIER only in India.

Countries.	Army and Navy in Thousands.	Annual Gross Army and Navy Expenditure. £	Annual Cost of a Land and Sea Combatant. £	Remarks.
INDIA	190	17	90	India has NO NAVY to speak of, so that this is the cost per SOLDIER .
United Kingdom*	240	27	113	
France†	650	36	55	
Germany†	461	18	39	
Russia†	756	23	30	
Austria†	285	14	49	
Italy†	763	19	25	
EUROPE‡	3,185	147	46	
THE WORLD‡ .	3,220	156	49	

* Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom from 1870 to 1884.—Thirty Second Number.

† Statesman's year Book of Facts. (1885.)

‡ Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. (1884).

5. Look, however, at this ruinous Military expenditure from another point. India, with its gross annual wealth of 400 millions sterling, or only **40 SHILLINGS per head** of population, has to maintain each soldier at £90, when EUROPE, with its annual gross wealth of £18, and the WORLD, with its annual gross wealth of £19·6 have only to pay for each combatant, taking the land and sea forces together, only £46 and £49 respectively per year.
6. What does it mean? Simply this, that India with an annual gross income about **1-13th** of that of *EUROPE* and **1-17th** of that of *the WORLD* is obliged to pay yearly **for each soldier only** almost twice as much as EUROPE or the WORLD pays.
7. Again, while the total gross income of the United Kingdom is 1,247 millions sterling per annum, the expenses of its army and navy combined amount to 27 millions. The ratio, therefore, of the combined expenditure to the national income is only 2·16 per cent. Compare this ratio with that of India, and remember, please, that its figures refer to the army alone. Here, we have 400 millions as the national income and 17 millions as the amount of military expenditure yielding a ratio of 4·25 per cent. And now see what is the ratio of the Naval and Military expenditure per year to the annual income of EUROPE. With 5,391 millions sterling of income the expenditure is 147 millions or 2·72 only. And if you take the ratio for the WORLD it comes to 2·20. So that **the ratio which India's yearly army expenditure alone bears to its national income per annum is 180 per cent. higher than that of the WORLD at large, Army and Navy combined.** Was ever such an enormity seen in any other part of the civilised world?
8. Look again at this table and study the lesson it conveys:—

National Wealth and Gross Army and Navy Expenditure of EUROPE and the WORLD compared with the National Wealth and Gross Army Expenditure of INDIA.

* Countries.	National Wealth.*		Annual Burden of Gross Army and Navy Expenditure.		Remarks.
	In Millions.	Per Head of Population.	In Millions.	Ratio to National Wealth Per Cent.	
	£	£	£		
INDIA (Army only).....	400	2	17	4·25	India's Wealth is 40 Shillings only per head of population.
United Kingdom...	1,247	35	27	2·16	
France	965	25·7	36	3·73	
Germany	850	18·7	18	2·11	
Russia	760	9·9	23	3·04	
Austria	602	16·3	14	2·32	
Italy	292	10·7	19	6·50	
EUROPE	5,391	18	147	2·72	
THE WORLD.....	7,062	19·6	156	2·20	

* Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. (1884).

9. Will the fair minded British Electors be blind to this appalling enormity of Military Expenditure in India? Will they allow their representatives in Parliament to sit quiet with blinded eyes and folded hands, while men talk with a light heart of increasing the military burden already so crushing—and that too when India's inability to bear any further taxation has been acknowledged by statesmen of the highest repute, including Mr. Fawcett? Will the British Electors allow further burdens to be heaped on India? **Will they not raise their powerful voice to avert the further taxation of two millions** which the threatened Military expenditure will involve and which will have to be wrung out of the miserable pittance of 40 Shillings a year which is the average income of each individual of the population? **Yes India Expects this of the Electors of the United Kingdom.**

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INDIAN LEAFLETS.—No. 12.

The Native States of India.

THE Native States of India constitute an integral portion of the Indian Empire. They cover an area of half a million of square miles, and contain a population of 55 millions of souls. The precise amount of their total revenue it is not easy to state, but it is quite within the mark to say that it exceeds fifteen millions sterling. Large and small, the Native States number together between four and five hundred. In general terms it may be said that the paramount Power reserves to itself the control of all external relations between the several States, together with the right to suppress any outbreak that threatens to disturb their internal tranquillity, thus guaranteeing peace throughout the peninsula. For each Native State, or group of States, a British official is appointed, with the special duty of watching the administration and tendering advice. In cases of gross mismanagement the advice becomes a command, enforceable in the last resort by the penalty of deposition. But recent events have made it clear that the independence of a State will be respected even when its ruler has been dethroned. The Native Princes take rank among themselves according to the number of guns allowed in the salutes they receive when visiting either the Viceroy of India or the Governor, or Lieut.-Governor of a Presidency, or the Commissioner of a Province, or any representative of Her Majesty located at their courts.

From the point of view of British Administration, the entire body of Native States may be divided into two classes—(1) those which are in direct relations with the Government of India, and (2) those which are in connection with the Provincial Governments. The Government of India retains in direct relations with itself four great States—Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, and Kashmir, and also the two groups of States known as the Central India Agency and the Rajputana Agency, each of which includes States not inferior in dignity to the former.

The tributes and contributions paid to the British Government have averaged a sum of £7,134,896 per year during the ten years from 1873-74 to 1882-83.

The annexation policy has been happily put an end to. Fear of its possible revival in one shape or another, under one name or another, should be prevented by proper declarations and avowals by the Viceroy on suitable occasions.

Rulers of Native States were at one time apprehensive lest the British Government should refuse to acknowledge their right to adopt heirs and successors in the event of lineal descendants failing. But all fears on this head were set at rest by Lord Canning in a proclamation issued in 1858 sanctioning their right to adoption according to Hindu and Mahomedan law and custom. As Lord Northbrook says: "Once there was some doubt as to our intention of respecting the independence of these States. Actuated by no unworthy motives, but from the mistaken belief that the welfare of the people of India would be promoted by the extension of British territory, the rulers of India were inclined to embrace every legitimate opportunity of annexing independent States. But this error was soon discovered; and after the Indian mutiny the Queen was advised to issue a solemn proclamation to the princes and people of India, in which Her Majesty declared 'that she desired no extension of her territorial possessions, and was determined to respect the rights, dignity, and honor of the Native Princes of India as her

own.* This proclamation, which was accompanied by concessions with respect to the adoption of heirs in case of default of lineal descendants, has given a solemn assurance that the Native States will be maintained in their present condition of independence under the protection of the paramount power of England. The result of this policy has been that the feeling of the Princes and Chiefs in Rajputana and Central India is thoroughly loyal towards the British Government, and in no part of British India did I find the feeling of the people for the British Government more cordial than in these independent States.* * * You must not suppose that because I have brought before you prominently the Native Princes of Rajputana that those of other races and religions are not worthy of equal praise. The late Rao of Cutch zealously seconded Sir Bartle Frere's efforts to suppress the slave trade in Zauzibar, where many of his subjects reside. The great Mahratta States of Gwalior and Indore are governed upon enlightened principles. The internal administration of Sir Salar Jung has been highly successful. The small Mussalman States of Central India and the Sikh principalities of the Punjab are not behindhand either in their material progress or in their loyalty to the British Government. The late Raja of Travancore,—a State which lies at the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula,—was a most enlightened ruler, and he was ably assisted by Native Statesmen, especially by Sir Madava Rao, a native of Madras, who, after

* The passage in full runs thus :—“ We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honorable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained ; and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our territorial possessions ; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment upon those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honor of Native Princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects ; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.”

having been for some time the Minister of the Maharaja of Indore, was chosen by me to administer the State of Baroda during the minority of the young prince, and has amply justified my selection by the success of his administration during the last five years. Other Native Statesmen have done signal service in the improvement of the administration of the different Native States. I may mention Sir Dinkar Rao in Gwalior; Huzrut Nur Khan, commonly called the Khan Sahab, in Jowra; Mir Shahamat Ali in Rutlam; Pandit Mumphool in Alwar, and Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan in Kotah."

By their loyalty and attachment to the British Government, the Native States have shown that they deserve to be regarded as bulwarks of imperial stability. Enjoying undisturbed repose under the protection of the British Government, they have given proofs of the fact that they are the natural enemies of all that disturbs peace and order in the country. During the recent threatened advance of the Russians on the north-west frontier in March last, the examples they set of their loyalty in the offers they made to place troops, horses, nay, in the case of some of them, the entire resources of their States, at the disposal of the Government of India, are too fresh to need any lengthened description. "I am glad to find," said Lord Dufferin at Lahore in April last, when returning from the Rawal Pindi Conference with the Ameer of Afghanistan, "that wherever I go there prevails but one feeling among the princes and people of India, namely, an enthusiastic desire to rally round the Imperial standards of Great Britain the moment that complications, even though remote from our own frontier, threaten the peace of the Empire."

But while thoroughly loyal to the British Government, and prepared to co-operate with that Government in all works of improvement, Rulers of Native States feel that they have to submit to an undue sacrifice of their financial independence in matters which concern the interests of British monopoly revenue. The three questions which have most recently

affected in an injurious manner their fiscal independence are those connected with Salt, Opium, and Abkari. Many Native States possess extensive salt works which, until lately, supplied their subjects with salt at almost a nominal price. But the measures connected with the equalisation of Salt duties and the abolition of the Inland Customs line in Northern India, and similar measures in Western India, have rendered salt very dear to the subjects of Native States. Sir John Strachey, the author of this measure, admits this when he says that "as an unavoidable consequence of the new system, and one without which the relief of our own subjects would have been impracticable, the people of the Native States in question became generally liable to the payment of the British Salt duty." In the Bombay Presidency the Native States of Kattywar have also been obliged to levy enhanced duties on salt, with the result that where people used to get their pinch of salt at the rate of 3 pence per Indian maund, they have now to pay 2 shillings per maund. The restriction and prohibition of the growth of opium also have had the result of adding to the revenues of the British Government at the expense of those of the Native States. The Abkari system of the British Government is still on its trial in their own territory, and yet the Government have insisted upon Native States in the Bombay Presidency to either lease their Abkari rights to the Government, or to introduce within their own territories the British Abkari system. It is much to be desired that the decisions of questions affecting the territorial or fiscal rights of Native States, and in which the British Government are directly interested, should be left to some independent tribunal and not to the officers of Government, who combine in themselves the functions of judge and jury. Such a tribunal would be free from the possible suspicion that the interested party decides in its own favour.

It would appear that the relations of Native States with the British Government would be placed on a much more satisfac-

tory footing if the following principles are steadily kept in view :—

(1.) The existing Treaties should be well maintained, and no attempt should be made to alter them by peculiar interpretations or constructions. Should it be found necessary to alter them, no alterations should be made except with the full knowledge and consent of the Princes concerned.

(2.) The rights and privileges of the Princes should be scrupulously respected.

(3.) No honor and respect to the Princes should be grudged, but they should be accorded freely and even liberally.

(4.) No Native Prince should be deposed or degraded summarily or arbitrarily, but after full and fair enquiry, and with opportunity given to the Prince to defend himself.

(5.) The Princes should be given some idea as to what good government is expected of them. An indication should be given of the chief *criteria* of good government.

(6.) Petty, vexatious, and needless interference in the internal administration of Native States should be avoided. Interference should be exercised only when clearly the State is drifting into serious misrule.

(7.) British Residents and Political Agents and Superintendents should be appointed with special reference to their qualifications and experience. They should not have unlimited discretion, but should be kept within bounds by suitable instructions, laying down at least the guiding principles.

(8.) Civil disputes between State and State had better be tried and decided by some sort of international tribunal, or by arbitrators chosen by the States.

(9.) No Prince should suffer in any important matter by *one-sided* and *secret* representations made by the Political Agents. It should be the duty of Government, before passing any decision against a State, to allow the aggrieved State copies of reports made by Political Agents to enable it to offer such explanations in defence of its conduct as it may have to submit.

(10.) The Prince should have *some* means of making his representations to Government without being in every instance compelled to go to a possibly hostile or biassed Political Agent.

(11.) The Princes should have reason to think that while disloyalty will be severely punished, remarkable loyalty and special good services will meet with suitable reward.

(12.) The proper education and training of the heirs of the Princes should be stimulated by its being generally understood that Government would be unwilling to sanction the succession of an heir who might be greatly wanting in these respects.

(13.) The Princes should be permitted, and even assisted, to improve their armies so as to be able to render them valuable auxiliaries in the defence of the Indian Empire.

INDIAN MONEY MATTERS.

3A
— P 5

The Story of a Famine Insurance Fund, And What was Done With It.

A Speech

BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P.

*Delivered in the House of Commons, on August 27th, 1889,
during the Debate on the Indian Financial Accounts.*

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N O T E .

THE greater part of the speech here reprinted is taken up with the details of a scandalous story of the misappropriation of public funds of a charitable character. It is earnestly hoped that Britons generally will so far interest themselves in the management of Indian affairs—for which, it should never be forgotten, they are, in the last resort, responsible—as to read what Mr. Bradlaugh has said, and thus become acquainted with the manner in which financial matters are, sometimes, conducted in India. Mr. Bradlaugh tells the story of the imposition of the Famine Insurance Tax and its misappropriation with vigour. No similar incident can be found in British financial annals. The proceedings condemned were entered upon in India with a light heart, and are supported in England by the present Under Secretary of State for India with an airy unconcern which can only arise from a want of thorough acquaintance on his part with the circumstances—a want of adequate acquaintance which, in respect to such a matter, is highly culpable in an official occupying his position. Ex-Indian officials, like Sir Richard Temple, of course, support what has been done. To them, “whatever is, is best”. In their eyes the Government can do no wrong. The advantage supposed to be derived by the appointment to the Parliamentary Under Secretaryship of India of an English politician of character and eminence, to correct the bias of permanent persons in the India Office, is lost when a man like Sir John Gorst becomes the blind apologist of such an incident. His defence was,

probably, the feeblest ever known in Parliamentary experience. So far as it goes that may be counted to Sir John Gorst for righteousness. What has happened was possible only because neither in India nor in England is there any public power of control over the Indian purse. This may be remedied if the British people will support the programme of the Indian National Congress and aid, as it will have an opportunity of doing next Session, the passage through Parliament of a measure intended to enlarge the powers of the Indian Legislative Councils and to increase the number of members of such Councils.

It simply remains to be further remarked that the Famine Insurance Fund has been absorbed into the general revenues of India and the Famine Relief Tax is duly collected. When, as ~~frequently happens,~~ ~~famine~~ threatens and the agonies endured by the suffering people are very great, the ~~most~~ meagre relief is very grudgingly given. This, too, though there is no Poor Law Relief administered in India, and though the Famine Insurance Tax was intended to be, in a measure, a Poor's Rate, and "sacred" promises were given that it should not be diverted from the purpose for which it was imposed.

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September, 1889.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 27TH, 1889.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I have placed on the Paper notice of my intention to move an Amendment expressive of the deep regret of the House that the accounts have not been laid before it at a period when they could be properly debated. I do not propose to move that Amendment, because the state of the House is such that no division on it could accurately represent the feeling of the House upon it; and if I did divide, it might go forth to the people of India that a very large number of members had no regard whatever for the Indian people, and that a very small number of members of this House thought their affairs ought to come before Parliament for discussion. Therefore, while making as I do a most earnest protest—a protest which, I believe, would be joined in by members on the other side of the House as well as by members on this side, if it were not for Party exigencies at this late period of the Session—I desire to give it especial emphasis, because of the fact that the modification in the new Rules of Procedure, during the last two years has deprived those who desire to present to this House any statement or criticism, of any opportunity whatever of doing so, unless such opportunity is furnished by the action of the ballot. Even if a member happens to be fortunate enough, as I was early this Session, of obtaining first place for a motion dealing with the affairs of India, it may be that the Government will take away the opportunity which the ballot has given him. India stands here in an entirely different position from any other part of the dependencies of this great empire. There is no colony, however small, but that, upon the estimates, we have afforded us one or more opportunities of raising any question which any member thinks ought to be brought before this House in relation to it; but the same thing cannot be said with regard to India, with the enormous population, to which the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary has referred, of something like 210 millions of actual subjects of the Imperial Crown, and another 65 millions of people more or less subject to its influence. I think the present system is one which any person taking any interest whatever, however remote, in the honour of Britain ought to deplore and endeavor to have changed. I would venture to appeal—it seems rather a mockery to say to the Government, with only the Under Secretary for India, able representative of the Government as he is, present in the House. It seems also a mockery to appeal to the leaders of the party on this side of the House, none of them being present. I deem it right to say that if the Government are deaf to our appeal, and if they will not so modify the new rule as to

enable us to raise questions which we cannot now raise during this debate, I shall take the one opportunity which I have never taken since I have been a member of this House, and shall take care that the question is raised by an amendment to the Address. At any rate, the Government cannot deprive me of that opportunity as they have twice this session deprived me of the opportunity I had obtained by means of the ballot. While I admired the good-humored and able speech to which we have just listened, I could not help being struck with the marvellous coolness—I suppose I must not say audacity—which characterised some of the statements of the Under Secretary for India. He was good enough to tell us that the only proposal of economy had come from the Government, but he coolly ignored the fact that he and his Government had taken away from me the opportunity I had obtained of submitting to the House proposals which I thought would have tended in that direction. He had the frank audacity to inform the Committee that the Council of India Bill had been hindered on this side of the House, and had only got through with great difficulty, when he knows as well as any other member of the Committee that the Government never put it down earlier than the ninth order of the day—I think that one night I saw it the 19th—and when he knows it was in the power of the Government to have put it down as the first or second-Order of any day they pleased, and so have tested the question whether there was any real opposition to it. Surely the hon. gentleman might have acknowledged that on the first appeal made to me by the leader of the House, to the effect that if I kept on the paper a notice of amendment I had to the second reading of the Bill he would be obliged to withdraw it, I at once withdrew the notice, although I regarded the Bill as wretchedly small and exceedingly ineffective, and although I regarded it as being more effective in words than it would be in reality. If I had pressed my amendment on the attention of the Committee I should have pointed out that any discussion of the Indian Budget with the benches as they are now is utterly impossible. It is impossible to take the sense of the Committee on any proposition which may be submitted to it without a shameful and disgraceful exhibition of the utter neglect by so many members of Parliament of the interests of so many millions of our fellow-subjects. I cannot say I quite followed the right hon. gentleman's first figures. It seems to me that they do not quite agree; but on this point it may be that I did not pay sufficient attention to his corrections, and I shall confine myself more especially to the figures which I have in print, and which at any rate are capable of being more clearly examined. The hon. gentleman complained that he was met by ironical cheers when he referred to the chief increase in the income of India this year as resulting from the Salt Tax; and he went to the length of saying that he was shocked by the statements made by people who ought to know better as to the effect of the increase of the Salt Duty on the consumption of salt. Well, he managed to shock me, because, with

the almost blind reliance that I have on the accuracy of everything told me by the hon. gentleman, notwithstanding that I have occasionally found that he has been misled by those who instruct him to reply in this House, I had thought that the Blue Book circulated under his authority amongst the members of the House, only within the last few days, has told us expressly that the consumption of salt had fallen off in consequence of high prices, which I proposed to show were the result of the increase of duty. I do not understand why he should be shocked at our entertaining an opinion which the Government of India officially puts to us. The hon. gentleman complains also that we have spoken of the "Famine Insurance Fund". Well, that is how his own Government have spoken of it and have described it. They have now spent the whole of the fund, and do not like to acknowledge that such a fund existed. In a marvellously emphatic tone the hon. gentleman appealed to the Committee, and said: "We have spent the surplus we had; if a larger surplus is wanted for this purpose, do gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House advocate increased taxation, which is the only way of getting a larger surplus?" Our answer is that we have had increased taxation for the purpose of raising a specific sum which you pledged yourselves never to apply to any other purpose, that you have applied it to many other purposes, that you have seldom applied it to the purposes for which it was intended. Before examining the memorandum of the Under Secretary, which was issued later this year than last, I will very briefly draw the attention of the Committee, in view of the fall in silver, to the impolicy of maintaining even the slightest hindrances to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes. As was most fully pointed out in a debate on this question in another place about a month ago, the duty of 1s. 6d. per ounce and the requirement of hall marking are practically prohibitive of the importation for trade purposes of Indian manufactured silver articles, and the exportation of English manufactured silver for the Indian market. I appeal specially to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this question, which is of high importance to India, and vitally affects our silver trade with many foreign countries. I now come to that branch of the speech made by the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India, which has occupied so prominent a position in this evening's debate. I allude to that portion of it which relates to the provision for famine relief and insurance, or, as I prefer to call it, to the famine insurance fund. I ask the Committee to turn to the famine relief and insurance item, on page 50, in the explanatory memorandum of the Under Secretary. But, in the first place, I desire to say a word or two as to what has been urged by the hon. gentleman with reference to the correction of figures which appear in that memorandum. I would point out that it would have been quite possible for the Government to have taken the discussion on the Indian Budget a week or a fortnight after the Indian Budget statement had been circulated, and

had the hon. gentleman taken that course there could not then have been any necessity for the corrections he now makes. The hon. gentleman has taken credit for the fact that the memorandum has been circulated for a period of more than six weeks; but I would point out that it was published later this year than last year, and it might have been criticised at an earlier date, as the financial year ends at the same date in one year as in another. I think that, considering the matter is one which affects the welfare of 275 millions of her Majesty's subjects, the Government ought to recognise it as being one of sufficient importance to be discussed in this House at a period of the year when it can be freely and fairly debated, and nearer to the end of the financial year. It is quite possible that every explanation the hon. gentleman has given has been comprehended by every member of this House except myself; but I certainly do find it difficult to follow a set of figures as to which the hon. gentleman himself is not quite sure, and which, even in their corrected form, do not commend themselves to us as matters about which there is a possibility of our all being in agreement.

**THE FAMINE INSURANCE FUND: THE PLEDGES GIVEN, THE
PLEDGES BROKEN.**

The hon. gentleman has referred to the Famine Insurance Return, which I myself moved for, and which has been laid on the table of this House. He referred to it as a document of which the Government might fairly be proud. Now, sir, I should say that if it were possible to imagine any man holding the position of a minister being capable of shame—and I believe such a phenomenon has never been known in the history of Parliament—I should have thought that that return was a document of which any minister ought to be heartily ashamed; and although I do not put it personally to the hon. gentleman as being any ground for shame on his part, yet I think he might reasonably feel a sort of vicarious shame in finding that promises which have been so solemnly made have, nevertheless, been so deliberately broken, and that a large sum of money collected for a particular purpose, has been just as deliberately misapplied. The hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India referred to the origin of the Famine Relief Fund, but he did so in the vaguest of all fashions. The first reference I will make is to the financial statement for 1878-9, to the financial resolution of the Government of India, dated 18th March, 1878, and to a minute by the Viceroy of India, dated 12th March, 1878, for a detailed explanation of the principles on which it was proposed to make a systematic provision against periodical famines and deaths from starvation. In the Parliamentary Paper, No. 37, dated 1878, page 5, the speech of the finance minister in the Legislative Council of the Government of India proposes to raise an additional £1,500,000 a year "on account of famine alone", and he says that this is done because of the "recognition of her Majesty's Government of the duty of making

definite provision for the cost of famine". On page 24 of that paper he further says: "It is the firm intention of the present Government to apply the funds now to be provided for this special purpose strictly to the exclusive objects which they were designed to secure"; and he also goes on to say: "The Government of India intends to keep this million and a-half as insurance against famine alone". Now, there have been twelve years during which that sum of a million and a-half has been collected, making a total of £18,000,000 sterling, and I shall presently show that that money has not been kept, as was promised, and also how little of it has been spent for the purposes it was intended to serve. The hon. gentleman the Under Secretary has told us that it has been religiously disbursed. For my part, I cannot imagine in what sense the hon. gentleman uses that expression; but I can say that it was certainly not honestly disbursed nor truly disbursed. Well, in the same speech the finance minister says: "We consider that the estimates of every year ought to make provision for religiously applying the sum I have mentioned to this sole purpose; and I hope that no desire to carry out any administrative improvement, however urgent, or any fiscal reform, however wise, will tempt the Government to neglect this sacred trust". They imposed a specific tax of £1,500,000 and promised that it should be devoted to famine, and to famine alone, and hoped that no Government would be able to make away with it. Indeed, the then Viceroy, Lord Lytton, used language so strong that I feel bound to refer to it, and to show that this "sacred trust" was neglected by Lord Lytton himself for the purposes of war; while when the noble lord the member for Paddington, Lord R. Churchill, was Secretary for India the same "sacred trust" was abandoned for purpose of annexation. As I have said, Lord Lytton, the then viceroy, used very remarkable language on the 27th December, 1877, which is to be found on page 36 of the paper I am referring to. He anticipated that objectors might say, "Your good intentions are possibly sincere; but the path to the nethermost pit is already paved with good intentions". I do not know whether the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary was thinking of that downward path when he spoke of the money having been religiously disbursed; but Lord Lytton proceeds with what the objectors might say as follows: "Promise is a good dog, but Performance is a better: we have often heard the bow-wow of the first; we have yet to see the tail of the second. We have been told over and over again by the highest authorities that India is to be insured against famine in this way, or in that; but when famines come upon us we find that the promised way is still wanting." Lord Lytton then solemnly declared: "We promise nothing which we have not, after long and anxious consideration, provided ourselves with the means of performing. I must have very imperfectly explained myself thus far if I have failed to make it clearly understood that I am not now speaking of what we ought to do, or would do, to insure this country against the worst effects of future famine had we only the means of doing

it; but of what we can do, and will do, with the means already provided for, in the measures now before the council." In the debate on the 16th January, 1878, in the Legislative Council, in Parliamentary Paper No. 118 of 1878, page 5, a native member of the Legislative Council, speaking of this famine insurance, suggests: "That it should be formed into a separate fund with a separate account, so that it may satisfy the people that it is what it in reality is intended to be—a separate famine fund". And, on page 44, Lord Lytton says: "The necessity of a Famine Insurance Fund, and the duty of the Government to provide such a fund, has been generally acknowledged". And yet this session the Under Secretary denies that it ought to be called a fund, and admits that that duty has never been fulfilled. These are not mere empty words, for the hon. gentleman said he did not know whether his trusted Indian Councillors had been dead or alive.

Sir J. GORST: I did not say that I did not know whether they were dead or alive; but that the hon. gentleman did not ask the question whether they were dead or alive.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: Whether we were told that he did not know whether they were dead or alive, or whether the hon. gentleman's own experience of the Indian Council rendered it difficult for him to distinguish if it was a Council composed of living or dead men, is a matter upon which it is not necessary to dilate. At any rate, in order to raise that £1,500,000 it was necessary to levy increased taxes on the natives of India. Well, what does the finance minister say upon this? In 1878-9 the finance minister observed, by way of justifying the increased taxation: "I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and that the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine, and for no other purpose whatsoever". If words have any meaning at all Lord Lytton and his finance minister say: "We impose a special tax—a new tax—for the purpose of raising a special sum of money, and pledge the honour of ourselves and our councillors that that money shall never be applied to any other object". If hon. members will refer to the Return moved for by myself they will see that this promise was never kept, except when Lord Ripon was Viceroy. That I am not stating the case unfairly may be seen from the minute of the Viceroy, dated 12th March, 1878. The Viceroy then wrote: "The sole justification for the increased taxation which has just been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of ensuring this Empire against the worse calamities of future famine, so far as such an insurance can now be practically provided, is the pledge we have given that a sum not less than a million-and-a-half sterling, which exceeds the amount of the additional contributions obtained from the people for this purpose, shall be annually applied to it". And here I would ask how have you applied the £18,000,000, and I repeat that I will show that, except when the Marquess of Ripon was Viceroy, you

never applied it to the purpose for which it was intended, and that if you have not got it now it is because you have devoted it, as I have already said, to purposes of war and annexation and the erection of costly buildings at Simla, and for similar purposes, while the people of India have been starving. The Viceroy's minute goes on to say: "We have explained to the people of this country that the additional revenue raised by the new taxes is required, not for the luxuries but for the necessities of the State, not for general purposes but for the construction of a particular class of public works; and we have pledged ourselves not to spend one rupee of the special resources thus created upon works of a different character". The English language has very little value if this can be so translated from the Ministerial benches as to explain away its plain and direct meaning; and surely in such a case we ought not to be treated with what I must call a miserable farce of arithmetic like that I hold in my hand. But there were people who doubted whether this £1,500,000 would be applied to its intended purpose; and when the British Indian Association later on hinted at the possible breach of faith on the part of the Government, Lord Lytton openly rebuked them in these memorable words:—"You have entirely failed to recognise the fact that the sole purpose of this additional taxation you complain of was the preservation of the lives of the people from the effects of famine. To insinuate the contrary is to insinuate a calumny." After the 11 years' experience we have had, I not only insinuate the contrary but I say that that which Lord Lytton characterises as a calumny has been proved up to the hilt. I now proceed to complain of and criticise the Return. The tax was first imposed in 1878, but the Return commences with 1879-80. Why is the year 1878-9 omitted? Surely £1,500,000 is a sum worthy of being accounted for. Probably the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary will tell us what was the intention of the Indian Government in omitting that year. He might also tell us what was the amount applied in 1878-9 to the prevention of famine, that being a year so close to Lord Lytton's solemn promise. I refer again to the summary of the twelve years contained on page 4 of the Return. There ought to have been £18,000,000 sterling raised by additional taxation for famine relief alone during those twelve years. How is that sum accounted for? It is only alleged that 9,900,737 tens of rupees, or much less than £10,000,000, has been so applied; and I ask what, in that case, has become of the remaining amount of over £8,000,000 sterling? The only years in which Lord Lytton's promises were kept were the years 1881-2, 1882-3, 1883-4, 1884-5, and 1885-6, during which years Lord Ripon was Viceroy. In those years the promise which Lord Ripon did not make was kept; but the promise which Lord Lytton did make has never been kept at all, and since Lord Ripon's time no one appears to have been in a position to keep it. I may here say that I am going to make the Under Secretary and the Secretary of State himself both responsible for what has been going on. Reverting to Lord Lytton's specific declaration that the "sole purpose of the

additional taxation" was the "preservation of the lives of the people from the effects of famine", I will ask the Committee to refer to page 2 of the Return. I would remind the Committee of the questions I have felt it my duty to put, sometimes, I fear, in a way that must have been somewhat wearisome to the House, and for which I invariably laid myself open to rebuke; and I would point out that since last October it was certainly known to the Government of India that famine was approaching in Madras and Bengal and was also threatening in Bombay. This was known, as far as a great portion of India was concerned, by the partial failure of the South-West Monsoon of 1888, which was due in June and July. The effect of this was aggravated by the almost complete failure of the North-East Monsoon which was due in October. The Government must have known that the natural result of these things without any other cause would have been higher prices for food, great pressure, possible hunger, and even probable famine. Well, what is the estimated provision made by the Government out of the earmarked £1,500,000? It is of no use your saying you have not got it. You have spent it. You took it, and promised to keep it for the purpose of saving life in case of famine. See what a mockery you have made of it. This Return shows that £20,500 was devoted for relief—namely, £500 for charitable relief in Madras and £20,000 for charitable relief in Bengal. No provision was made by the present Government for the relief works, for want of which hundreds of people certainly, many thousands probably, died of starvation before the works were commenced. I beg pardon; I was wrong in saying the Government made no provision. In 1888-9 they actually wrote off as irrecoverable the sum of £200, which was the amount of debt due from some wretched Madras agriculturists whose debt had been outstanding from the famine of ten years ago. The general result is that in 11 years real famine relief has been given to the extent of 2,631,750 tens of rupees only; and on page 5 of the statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India we are told that "no surplus was available as a reserve against famine in future years." This £18,000,000 has been extracted from the peasantry of India on the solemn promise that it should only be applied for the purpose of making provision against times of famine, and that promise has never at any time been kept. In 1877-8 the Government found itself unable to make provision against famine, but at least it did something for the prevention of starvation. I trust I shall not shock the Under Secretary in what I am about to state. I know that his feelings are generally shocked, especially by any statement made from this side of the House with regard to legal questions, which may be accounted for by the fact that the hon. gentleman has been sitting for so many years on the same bench with the law officers of the Crown. Now, what did the Government do? On the 19th January, 1888, they actually raised the salt duty 25 per cent—viz., from two rupees per maund of 82 lbs. to 2½ rupees per maund; and the Government themselves,

their own statement, say that the effect of this was to reduce consumption of salt. Less salt means less food, and the official declaration is that in 1888 the consumption of salt fell off markedly in the district of Ganjam. Page 75 of the statement—and a very explicit statement it is—shows that the consumption of salt in Ganjam fell from 12·31 lbs. per head to 8·27 lbs. per head, owing, as the Government say, partly to high prices, or, as I say, almost wholly to the high prices resulting from the increased duty. No wonder there has been famine and starvation in Ganjam. If I possessed the cool freedom of speech which characterises the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India when attacking members on this side of the House, I should be inclined to use exceedingly hard words against a Government which takes credit for its high officials going into a district where it had been pointed out that famine existed, and where they must have known that it was going on eight or nine months before (for it had been pointed out in this House), having previously extorted some Rs.1,800,000 to make provision for such contingency.

RAILWAYS; IRRIGATION WORKS; BURMA RUBY MINES; THE
NATIONAL CONGRESS; AND OTHER MATTERS.

It is one of the misfortunes of only one debate in the year taking place on the finances of India that a member is obliged to be exceedingly wearisome in the length of the matter he addresses to the House. But I must ask the Committee to note on page 4 of the explanatory memorandum a most extraordinary difference between gross and net revenue and expenditure—the gross being swollen by matters of account, and clearly in some instances creating a false impression. For example, railway receipts go to make up gross totals. From page 12 it will be seen that in three years 1887-90, railways impose a burden upon the taxpayer of Rs.7,502,780, though the hon. baronet the member for Hythe (Sir E. Watkin) urges the Government to spend £100,000,000 on more railways. In the official statement, page 14, it is admitted that "Though the dividend on the total railway capital is apparently more than 5 per cent, and though the Government is not liable for more than 5 per cent on any guaranteed capital, or for more than 4 per cent on State Railway capital; still the Indian Treasury lost on its current railway transactions Rs.2,267,800 in 1887-8, and estimated to lose Rs.2,115,000 in 1888-9". The actual loss turned out to be more than half a million of rupees larger than the estimated loss. I am sure the Under Secretary did not purposely omit it, but I should have liked an explanation of the fact that the actual loss was more than half a million of rupees greater than the estimate.

Sir E. WATKIN: The hon. member has referred to me. I should like to ask whether he is not aware that it has been proved that the advantage to the people of India is greater than the total value of the railways?

Mr. BRADLAUGH: The hon. member will have an opportunity of

following me. I do not see how his interruption is to the point. There is one matter as to which the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary has told us nothing in his explanatory Memorandum and I am rather surprised that he has not, because it is a matter upon which I have felt it my duty to ask him several questions already. He has not in the Memorandum under the head of "Railways" given any information as to the change of policy with reference to the projected railway to Chittagong, as to which a concession of 3,000 square miles of waste land with the right to prospect for coal and petroleum has either been actually granted, or is under consideration. If this be a wise policy there is no necessity for concealment, nor ought members of this House to be driven to obtain information from private sources. I do not suggest that such a concession would be bad or good, but the House is entitled to know what are the views of the Department and of the Viceroy. What is the reason of this entire change of policy? on what conditions are these rights of prospecting to be conceded? The hon. gentleman, in reply to a question the other day, said that if all railway enterprise was to wait until Parliament had expressed an opinion there would be no railways in India at all. I admired the cleverness and ingenuity of the reply, but unless the Secretary of State is the master of Parliament as well as of India, it was his duty in making his annual statement to tell us if such a change of policy has been made or is contemplated, to give the House information on this point, so as to enable the House to form a judgment upon it. Referring to irrigation works on page 13, I wish to ask as to table 2 which in col. 1 states the total cost to 1886-7 as Rx. 23,770,346, from what date the commencement of cost is taken? And whether the two tables mean that a total expenditure to the present date of Rx. 25,332,935 shows an estimated loss for the year of Rx. 725,400 and whether, as a higher loss still is shown in the two other years given, he will state the deficit for the preceding years? I also ask the Under Secretary, as he states the total capital outlay to date on the irrigation works, first, to state the total deficit of all the years covered by the capital outlay. I ask whether the Rx. 629,400 mentioned in col. 3, table 1, page 13, is the portion of the Land Revenue from new works only, or does it include receipts from old works? And I ask whether, to give the Committee an opportunity of comparing, he can state the amount credited to Land Revenue from irrigation in 1858? Further, I would ask him if he will state the net addition to the food production of the Empire which has accrued from the total expenditure of £25,000,000? In the statement of assets and liabilities on page 20 I would ask are the railway and irrigation works set down at their full cost? Is any allowance made for depreciation? Is any Sinking Fund provided? Referring to page 10, on Burma, I would ask the Committee to note that while the cost of annexation was originally estimated in November, 1885, at some £270,000, it has already cost some £8,000,000, and it is impossible to limit the further expenditure required to carry out what the Under Secretary

of State has called the pacification of the country. I note that in relation to the Burma Ruby Mines Parliament has never had submitted to it the particulars, with names and amounts of the various tenders. I would ask the Under Secretary to state the cost of and incidental to the sending out of Mr. Barrington Browne as Government expert. What kind of valuation he made, and the general nature of his Report, and how many higher tenders—and to what amount—were received than the one accepted, with the names of the persons tendering.

Sir J. GORST: I can answer that at once; there were none.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I should like to know whether the hon. gentleman attaches any subtle meaning to the word "tender", and whether there are not offers in writing within the knowledge of the Viceroy of India?

Sir J. GORST: The tender for the Burma Ruby Mines was settled in this country by public advertisement in the newspapers. Tenders were received at the India office, and they were opened in my presence. I can vouch for the fact that those tenders were received.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I cannot think that I and the hon. gentleman mean the same thing in the words we are using. I should be glad, however, if the hon. gentleman would oblige the committee with the names and particulars of the various tenders, together with the replies, so that the committee may be enabled to form a judgment as to the higher or lower tenders. Will the hon. gentleman tell the committee why it is stated here—

Sir JOHN GORST: In what statement?

Mr. BRADLAUGH: In your own book [*holding it up*] on page 17 of the Government statement dealing with the moral and material progress of India—that a lease of the Burma Ruby Mines was granted to a British company in 1887-8, when the hon. member more than once in the most express terms has stated in the House that no such lease has been granted? The company is to pay a rental of £40,000 a year and one-sixth of the profits, and I should like to know why it is that in the estimated receipts for 1888-9 and 1890, there is no sum whatever even entered in the Estimates as likely to be received? If the hon. member tells me that this statement as to the rental to be paid is not true, I will not press him further, but he must not wonder if I am a little shocked—electrified—in dealing with such matters. And now, I have only to apologise to the Committee for the length of my remarks. I hope, however, that what I have said will show that there is some need for effective financial control in India, and that if it be possible—as I believe it to be—to exercise that effective financial control in this House, even supposing more than one day in the year is devoted to the work, something will be done to enlarge the legislative councils in the various provinces and to increase their powers, so that they may have a better opportunity of interpellating in relation to these matters of finance. I would assure the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary of State that

it is not our desire to destroy provincial activity in India. On the contrary, we desire to enlarge and develop it. I should like to see the Government carry out their promises in this respect. I should like, to use the words of Lord Lytton, "having heard their bow-wow of promise, to see at least the tail of the performance". We hope that there may be enlarged Councils strengthened by a Committee of this House, or a Joint Standing Committee of both Houses, to which may be addressed questions on which it is necessary that some expression of opinion should be obtained as to the advisability of bringing matters in dispute before Parliament. Although, in the present scanty House, it seems a mockery to do so, I would venture to appeal to hon. members, and, if necessary, I will go from this House to Parliament, and from Parliament to the people—that some opportunity of bringing forward their grievances may be given to those who are connected with the movement for reform in India. I agree that they are only a small body, but small as they are, they are sufficiently important to have some attention paid to them. There assembled at Allahabad some 1,200 delegates, representing some three millions of people, and I appeal to the English people for reasonable attention to the wants of India, especially as its grievances are now finding constitutional expression in the great Congress movement, of which Lord Dufferin said that he regarded with feelings "of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs". From the report of that Congress, it is evident that the natives are inspired with a laudable ambition to be more closely associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own affairs. It is, of course, impossible to hope that within these walls any criticism or complaint made under existing circumstances will have any very great effect, but I do hope that the protest now made and concurred in, as it seemed to me at the beginning of the speech with which I have troubled the Committee, by members sitting on the Conservative benches—that the protest now made against the late period of the Session at which this subject is brought forward will not be without effect. The House is wearied with the labours of a long Session, and the bulk of the members have gone away. I do not make this protest from Party motives, as I acknowledge that the Party with whom I vote are as amenable to every kind of blame in the matter as the Party opposite. The right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is now in his place, and I appeal to him, during the Recess, to give effect to words which I hope I have not wrongly understood—and I am only dealing with words uttered across the floor of this House—which have come from the Leader of the House, that it is only due to the vast mass of our Indian fellow-subjects that at some time they may be able to approach this House in a Constitutional way, with the Speaker in the Chair, and not be driven to bring forward their grievances at a time when a question of finance is under discussion, and they are not susceptible of radical and effective debate.

*On the Political Tendency of the different Systems of Education in
use in India.*

EXTRACT FROM CHAPTER VII.

OF

PAPER ON THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

BY

SIR CHARLES EDWARD TREVELYAN (1838.)

*(Referred to in his Evidence before the Parliamentary
Select Committee on Indian Affairs. Report 2nd, 1852-3,
Appendix K.)*

THERE can be no dispute as to what our duty as the rulers of India requires us to do. But it has been said, and may be said again, that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy to enlighten the natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man's estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves.

If our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man, every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India. A nation which made so great a sacrifice to redeem a few hundred thousand negroes from slavery, would shudder at the idea of keeping a hundred millions of Indians in the bondage of ignorance, with all its frightful consequences, by means of a political system supported by the revenue taken from the Indians themselves. Whether we govern India ten or a thousand years, we will do our duty by it: we will look, not to the probable duration of our trust, but to the satisfactory discharge of it, so long as it shall please God to continue it to us. Happily, however, we are not on this occasion called upon to make

any effort of disinterested magnanimity. Interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs of nations, any more than they are in those of individuals; and in this case they are indissolubly united, as a very slight examination will suffice to show.

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The spirit of English literature, on the other hand, cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost ceases to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindu, just as the Roman provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians. What is it that makes us what we are, except living and conversing with English people, and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind? They do so too: they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works; and form, perhaps, a higher idea of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind. Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration; and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us. They learn to make a proper use of the freedom of discussion, which exists under our government, by observing how we use it ourselves; and they cease to think of violent remedies, because they are convinced that there is no indisposition on our part to satisfy every real want of the country. Dishonest and bad rulers alone derive any advantage from the ignorance of their subjects. As long as we study the benefit of India in our measures, the confidence and affection of the people will increase in proportion to their knowledge of us.

But this is not all. There is a principle in human nature which impels all mankind to aim at improving their condition; every individual has his plan of happiness; every community has its ideas of securing the national honour and prosperity. This powerful and universal principle, in some shape or other, is in a state of constant activity; and if it be not enlisted on our side, it must be arrayed against us. As long as the natives are left to brood over their former inde-

pendence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. A native patriot of the old school has no notion of anything beyond this; his attention has never been called to any other mode of restoring the dignity and prosperity of his country. It is only by the infusion of European ideas, that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is, to resemble us; and, under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well-regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English; and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction. In the re-establishment of the old native governments they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves.

* The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent; no effort of policy can prevent the natives from ultimately regaining their independence. But there are two ways of arriving at this point. One of these is, through the medium of revolution; the other, through that of reform. In one, the forward movement is sudden and violent; in the other, it is gradual and peaceable. One must end in a complete alienation of mind and separation of interests between ourselves and the natives; the other in a permanent alliance, founded on mutual benefit and good-will.

The only means at our disposal for preventing the one and securing the other class of results is, to set the natives on a process of European improvement, to which they are already sufficiently inclined. They will then cease to desire and aim at independence on the old Indian footing. A sudden change will then be impossible; and a long continuance of our present connection with India will even be assured to us. A Mahratta or Mahommedan despotism might be

re-established in a month ; but a century would scarcely suffice to prepare the people for self-government on the European model. The political education of a nation must be a work of time ; and while it is in progress, we shall be as safe as it will be possible for us to be. The natives will not rise against us, because we shall stoop to raise them ; there will be no re-action, because there will be no pressure ; the national activity will be fully and harmlessly employed in acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and in naturalising European institutions. The educated classes, knowing that the elevation of their country on these principles can only be worked out under our protection, will naturally cling to us. They even now do so. There is no class of our subjects to whom we are so thoroughly necessary as those whose opinions have been cast in the English mould ; they are spoiled for a purely native regime ; they have everything to fear from the premature establishment of a native government ; their education would mark them out for persecution ; the feelings of independence, the literary and scientific pursuits, the plans of improvement in which they indulged under our government, must be exchanged for the servility and prostration of mind which characterise an Asiatic court. This class is at present a small minority, but it is continually receiving accessions from the youth who are brought up at the different English seminaries. It will in time become the majority ; and it will then be necessary to modify the political institutions to suit the increased intelligence of the people, and their capacity for self-government.

The change will thus be peaceably and gradually effected ; there will be no struggle, no mutual exasperation ; the natives will have independence, after first learning how to make a good use of it ; we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies. The present administrative connection benefits families, but a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world, would be a solid foundation of strength and prosperity to our whole nation. If this course be adopted, there will, properly speaking, be no separation. A precarious and temporary relation will almost imperceptibly pass into another far more durable and beneficial. Trained by us to happiness and independence, and endowed with our learning and our political institutions, India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence ; and we shall long continue to reap, in the affectionate attachment of the

people, and in a great commercial intercourse with their splendid country, the fruit of that liberal and enlightened policy which suggested to us this line of conduct.

In following this course we should be trying no new experiment. The Romans at once civilised the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by Romanising them ; or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war, were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace ; and the remembrance of the original violence was lost in that of the benefits which resulted from it. The provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa, and Gaul, having no ambition except to imitate the Romans, and to share their privileges with them, remained to the last faithful subjects of the empire ; and the union was at last dissolved, not by internal revolt, but by the shock of external violence, which involved conquerors and conquered in one common overthrow. The Indians will, I hope, soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood towards the Romans. Tacitus informs us, that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of the leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome, and to give them a taste for the refinements of Roman civilization. We all know how well this plan answered. From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confiding friends ; and they made more strenuous efforts to retain the Romans, than their ancestors had done to resist their invasion. It will be a shame to us if, with our greatly superior advantages, we also do not make our premature departure be dreaded as a calamity. It must not be said in after ages, that "the groans of the Britons" were elicited by the breaking up of the Roman empire ; and the groans of the Indians by the continued existence of the British.

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These views were not worked out by reflection, but were forced on me by actual observation and experience. I passed some years in parts of India, where, owing to the comparative novelty of our rule and to the absence of any attempt to alter the current of native feeling, the national habits of thinking remained unchanged. There, high and low, rich and poor, had only one idea of improving their poli-

tical condition. The upper classes lived upon the prospect of regaining their former pre-eminence ; and the lower, upon that of having the avenues to wealth and distinction reopened to them by the re-establishment of a native government. Even sensible and comparatively well affected natives had no notion that there was any remedy for the existing depressed state of their nation except the sudden and absolute expulsion of the English. After that, I resided for some years in Bengal, and there I found quite another set of ideas prevalent among the educated natives. Instead of thinking of cutting the throats of English, they were aspiring to sit with them on the grand jury or on the bench of magistrates. Instead of speculating on Punjab or Nepaulese politics, they were discussing the advantages of printing and free discussion, in oratorical English speeches, at debating societies which they had established among themselves. The most sanguine dimly looked forward in the distant future to the establishment of a national representative assembly as the consummation of their hopes—all of them being fully sensible that these plans of improvement could only be worked out with the aid and protection of the British Government by the gradual improvement of their countrymen in knowledge and morality ; and that the re-establishment of a Mahomedan or any other native regime would at once render all such views impracticable and ridiculous. No doubt, both these schemes of national improvement suppose the termination of the English rule ; but while that event is the beginning of one, it is only the conclusion of the other. In one, the sudden and violent overthrow of our government is a necessary preliminary ; in the other, a long continuance of our administration, and the gradual withdrawal of it as the people become fit to govern themselves, are equally indispensable.

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**EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF
EVIDENCE
TAKEN BEFORE THE
SELECT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE
ON
INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1852-3.**

SIR ERSKINE PERRY—With regard to the admission of natives to high judicial functions :—Would be a great means of attaching the intellect of the country to British rule without endangering British supremacy.

The class of men likely to attain eminence are not those likely to engage in hostile enterprises. I think we should make friends of them at once instead of giving their intellect an incentive to spread disaffection in the country.

J. F. W. REID—As to larger employment of Natives :—It is desirable because we cannot get Europeans for the purpose.

When Natives become fit they might be more extensively employed.

N. B. E. BAILLIE—I certainly do anticipate a period when the natives will be fully qualified for discharge of the most important judicial duties and I think the time will come when they may be entirely trusted, but when that time will be, I cannot really venture to predict.

Q. The Natives at present is excluded not because he is a native of India, but because he is not a covenanted servant ; is not that the case ?

A. Yes.

Q. If you were to allow admission to the Judicial Bench of persons who were not Covenanted Servants, at the same time excluding the Natives, you would thereby pass a stigma upon him as a native ; whereas, before he was merely excluded as not being a Covenanted servant.

A. Yes, he is now excluded upon a principle which applies to him in common with many highly qualified men ; in the other case he would be excluded on a principle, that, call it what you like, he would certainly understand as being nothing more nor less than that which I consider the worst of all principles of exclusion, a national principle of exclusion.

The Native hopes to see the day when all exclusion will be at an end.

REV. A. DUFF, D.D.—Quotes Lord Metcalfe's speech in reply to an address presented by East Indians :—" It must be the anxious wish of every man connected with India, that all classes, Native, East Indian and Europeans, should be united in one bond of brotherly love. If any feelings, too natural to be wondered at, caused by the dominion of foreigners, or difference of religious customs, manner and education, render this union at present difficult or unattainable, with respect to our native brethren, we can only hope that such difficulties in time be surmounted by good government *and the enjoyment of equal rights.*" * * *

I am satisfied that a new race of natives is rising up in connexion with our processes of education, who decidedly would have an opinion of their own. Probably the tendency in some instances would be to have rather too strong an opinion of their own.

REV. W. KEANE—I think the first step to be adopted is to pay a man according to his responsibility ; then you

may exact the same perfect integrity which is maintained by the European.

If you put a native into position of influence you give him selfrespect.

I have no doubt in my mind that the natives might very well fill high offices with much as much advantage to the State as to themselves.

As to making a native a member of Council that would be infinitely too great a step to take at once ; if I did it, I would do it only after I had tried him in the office of a Collector and found that he was trustworthy, and was separated from the native cliques ; then, I think, a native in the Council would exercise a good influence.

The number of natives to be admitted to higher posts would be increasing year by year—if those educational processes were carried on in continuation of those which already have been instituted.

- Q. If what is commonly called the Civil Service should continue to exist claiming a vested interest in the highest judicial, fiscal and other offices, must not it be a greater bar to the employment of natives ?
- A. If that Service were to be continued in its present form, of course, the natives would still be excluded from the higher posts, and be eligible for only inferior though respectable offices ; that, of necessity would operate as a great bar to their employment, as well as a great discouragement to qualify themselves in the highest degree for it.
- Q. The Service might be diminished if a number of natives were gradually introduced to the higher offices ?
- A. It might, undoubtedly, as regards the number of European officers. . . . Ultimately, I believe

there would be found natives who would be fit to occupy any position, even the highest, not only in that (judicial) but in every other department. To a fair share of these higher offices, the natives on every ground of equity and true policy, are fully entitled, in proportion as they prove themselves to be thoroughly qualified for them, not only by talents and attainments but also by integrity of character, sobriety of judgment, experience and acquired habits of business; though, of course, the gradual introduction of them in these offices must eventuate in the gradual diminution of the number of Europeans.

G. NORTON—

Munro's minute. Says Mr. Norton—If the Committee will not think I am intruding too much upon them, I will read these principles laid down by Sir Th. Munro which I can easily refer to, and also those laid down by the Court of Directors. Sir T. Munro no doubt intended to have carried his project for the education of the natives much further than Tehesildary Schools, for he says, asserting to the necessity there was of qualifying the natives for higher employments than they had hitherto attained :—

“We propose to seek the improvement of the natives but propose the means most adverse to success. The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends. They propose to place no confidence in natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them from office as much as possible; but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge. No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages.” He adds, that the official employment of natives should be “in proportion as experience may prove their qualification to discharge them.”

In the year 1833 the Court of Directors laid down these principles in a public letter to the Madras Government: "The improvements in education which effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes, and those persons possessing leisure and influence over the minds of their countrymen. You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a large share, and to occupy higher stations in the civil administration than has hitherto been the practice under the Indian Government." And the Court of Directors seem to imply a censure when they state further: "The measures for education which have been adopted or planned at your Presidency have *no tendency to produce such persons.*"

W. W. BIRD—It appears from a question put by Lord Monteagle of Brandon that the 43rd Section of Act 53 of 3rd George (1813) was for a long time allowed to remain a dead letter. This Section is:—"a sum of not less than 1 Lac of Rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, &c., &c." The Government was authorised to pass regulations. *This Act was never carried into effect till 1824.* The witness pleaded on behalf of Government that as natives made no application no help from the fund was given till 1824.

C. H. CAMERON—Coming to the well known Clause in the Charter Act of 1833, Lord Monteagle of Brandon put the following questions:—As far as matter of declaration goes, could there be any much stronger declaration of the general eligibility of the natives than that which is contained in the 87th Clause of the Charter Act of 1833?

- A. No. It seems to me very strong and clear, but doubts have been thrown upon it even in a publication of such great respectability and literary eminence as the Quarterly Review. I observe, the writer states, that the 87th Clause did not mean what we say it meant, but that it was intended only to enable the Governor-General or the Governors of the Presidencies to admit a few more natives into uncovenanted offices than they had before held them.
- Q. Are you aware of the declarations that were made by Mr. Macaulay and Lord Lansdowne at the introduction of the Bill, in reference to that Clause; is that limited construction, so put upon that Clause in some quarters, reconcileable in any degree with the declarations of the Ministers who were responsible for the Bill?
- A. It is perfectly irreconcilable with those declarations.
- Q. Taking the Clause in the larger sense in which we interpret it, have the practical results been such as to realise the expectations of the framers of that Clause?
- A. No, quite the reverse. Not a single native that I am aware of has been placed in any better position, in consequence of that Clause in that statute, than he would have been in if no such Clause had been enacted.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN—On Indian Finance: At present Indian finance is a mystery in India itself where alone it can be understood, mistakes corrected, and the experience of the country applied to its improvement. The financial Secretary and the Accountant General, who are the depositories of the financial knowledge of the Indian Government, may or may not be highly experienced and intelligent men. Here, as in every other depart-

ment of the Indian Government, the interest of state are left to the chance qualifications of two or three individuals, instead of calling in the assistance of the country and putting the business of Government on a secure and intelligible basis.

Retrenchment:—The main reason why Indian retrenchment has hitherto been so unpopular is, because people feel no security that what is taken from the stipendiaries of the state will in any respect diminish the burdens of Society. The prevalent idea among all classes is that whatever is gained by retrenchment goes to increase the English tribute, or at the best is applied to the reduction of the debt, and that the last thing thought of is the limitation of taxation or its positive diminution. Under these circumstances, retrenchment is a hopeless, heartless process. It is adding so much to swell a channel which is perpetually draining off the resources of the country into a boundless ocean, whence they are never destined to return, instead of economising them, with a view to prevent any diminution of those salutary streams which spread over the surface of the country, fertilise and cause new riches to appear wherever they reach. It appears to be even an act of merit to retain in the country funds which, but for the public officers intercepting them in the shape of salaries, would, it is believed, be sent out of the country without any return.

The army alone will not keep India. We must govern only for the benefit of the people and make them sensible that we do so, if we wish to keep India. Education is also as necessary to enable the natives to understand our financial system, as to enable them to appreciate every other benefit which they derive from our Government. They ought to be taught the difference between the Indian system of taxation which had always been

pursued before, and the English system which will now be adopted.

No accumulation of productive capital can take place when the resources of the country are perpetually drained from it as fast as they appear, instead of being allowed to accumulate in reservoirs, whence they may be drawn by innumerable channels, to fertilise and replenish the earth.

Collection of land revenue :—This is a branch of our administration in which the employment of the natives might be greatly extended. The Hindus have a remarkable genius for revenue arrangements. They were always employed by the Mahomedans to manage their revenue. The great revenue settlement of India which preceded Mr. Bird's assessment was made by Raja Todurmul, the Minister of Akbar, and those two assessments will stand out in all future Indian history as two great epochs of Indian improvement.

Education and its uses :—I rely upon the progressive education of the natives, by which they will be fitted to co-operate with us in every purpose of improvement, both administrative and social, and by which their attachment to our Government will be increased. I rely upon the field of employment for natives being opened to them in proportion as they qualify themselves for superior employment; and I rely also upon the effect of all these measures of improvement in enabling us gradually and safely to reduce our army.

Govern well :—The people of India are a very docile and easily governed people, and if they once become thoroughly persuaded that we have their interest entirely at heart, and that it is our desire to govern India for the benefit of India, and with the co-operation of the natives of India, such a change will take place in the state of native feel-

ing that it will become practicable very much to reduce our military force.

Public employment :—The natives have very considerable administrative qualities ; they have great patience, great industry, great acuteness and intelligence ; they have a perfect knowledge of the country and of the people, and, acting under European superintendence they acquit themselves extremely well. *Native agency and European superintendence should therefore be fully established as the principle of our Government in India ; and if properly justified and worked out, it will lead to a system of administration such as will be the admiration of future ages.* Although the Punjab, Sind and other territories have been added to our dominions since 1833, and the judicial business, which was then greatly in arrear, is now close up, there were fewer Civil servants employed in 1852 than in 1833 ; the numbers in each of these years having been as follows :—

1833	Bengal.....	423
	Madras	156
	Bombay	125
		<hr/>
		709
1852	Bengal.....	402
	Madras	149
	Bombay	93
		<hr/>
		644

There is no exclusion from further employment to natives ; there is no close European service, as regards natives. The European Civil Service and the Native Civil Service are divided by an unpalpable elastic line, which is continually extending, as they show themselves more fit for responsible employment ; and the course which will be most for the advantages of the natives, in my opinion, will be to continue the process, and gra-

dually extend the field of employment, as they are found to be qualified for higher and more responsible offices.

- Q. Do I understand you rightly, as the result of that which you have been good enough to state, that while it is your opinion that the natives should be extensively employed in the public service, there are certain situations and appointments which on account of the superior moral tone of Europeans, should for the present be reserved to them ?
- A. *Not absolutely reserved*, but merely from the necessity of the case ; because the natives, in their present state of moral advancement, are not qualified, and would not be held by their countrymen to be qualified for those situations ; and the fact of their appointment to those situations would not be regarded with general confidence or satisfaction.
- Q. It is not your opinion that any change in the existing law should take place which should throw open all employments to the natives ; but that a certain discretion should be used with regard to generally admitting natives to those higher offices ?
- A. Yes, that is my opinion ; *I would have the spirit of that excellent enactment, the 87th Clause of the Charter Act, carried out to the utmost.* But I hold that the only safe and successful way of carrying it out will be, not by taking particular individuals out of their class, and placing them on an elevation much above the rest of their countrymen, but by *progressively extending the limits of employment for all the natives.* As it becomes established that one situation after another beyond the limits of the situations at present held by natives, can with public advantage be filled by natives, I would have natives appoint-

ed in them ; so that the region (so to speak) of European employment would be gradually narrowed ; and as it became narrowed, the European Civil Servants should, in order to retain their relative superiority, be more cultivated and should be of a higher order of attainment.

- Q. You have stated the reasons why you thought that the Europeans should be a close service. Do any of these reasons apply to the proposition at present made by the Government, that that service should be open to competition in the first instance ; and further, that natives who chose to compete, should be allowed to do so, both with regard to the Civil Service, and also with regard to the scientific branches of the army ?
- A. *By no means. What I propose will not interfere with making the first appointments by competition, or with freely admitting natives to that competition, which should be open to every British subject, in whatever part of Her Majesty's dominions he might happen to have been born.*
- Q. Do you contemplate ultimately the almost entire suppression of Europeans in the judicial and revenue departments ?
- A. I conceive that will be the final result.
- Q. Would there not be another end at the same time ; namely, the end of our dominion, or at least the utility of it ?
- A. No doubt when our dominion ceases to be of advantage to the natives, it ought to end ; but if it terminates in the way I contemplate, it will end in a manner extremely happy and beneficial for both parties.
- Q. Referring to the provisions of the 87th Clause in the last Act, commonly called Lord Bentick's Clause, is it possible to declare in more direct words the

entire eligibility of the natives of India to office than is done in that Clause ?

- A. *Nothing can be more decisive ; it is a most complete declaration of a great principle, which ought to be carried out to the utmost extent to which it may each particular time be safe and beneficial for natives. What I mean is, that in this is another things, we may possibly make more haste than good speed.*
- Q. You mean that the application of that clause is a matter of discretion to be administered according to the nature of the case ; but that *the clause itself lays down the principle of entire and unqualified eligibility.*
- A. *Entirely so.*

To Lord Bentinck belongs the great praise of having placed our dominion in India on its proper foundation, in the recognition of the great principle that India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians. and that the advantages which we derive from it should only be such as are incidental and inferential from that course of proceeding ; though the laws of God are so happily adjusted that, in benefitting the natives, we also benefit ourselves ; and we can adopt no course so much for the benefit of our nation as by striving directly and immediately, and with the most single mind, to benefit the natives of India.

- Q. For a very long time, as long as the educated classes of India are a small minority in a country, with the enormous population of India, might it not necessarily be the fact that educated classes must, for their own sakes, be more in association with English interests than they can be with any system of Hindu advancement as separate from the English interests ?

- A. For a long time to come it would be greatly to their advantage that a native government should be established. They would be the first who would suffer from it. They would be the objects of plunder and popular indignation, and it is every way their interest to hold by us ; and as that class increases the larger will be the proportion of the people who will become attached to us.
- Q. Are the Committee to understand that in your opinion, the object most to be desired is to bring about a separation between India and England upon the terms most conducive to the interest of both countries, or that you think it more desirable not to bring about a separation between the two countries?
- A. I conceive that in determining upon a line of policy we must look to the probable eventualities. We must have present to our minds what will be the ultimate result of each line of policy. Now my belief is that the ultimate result of the policy of improving and educating India will be to postpone the separation for a long indefinite period, and that when it does come, it will take place.

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES
IN THE
HIGHER OFFICES OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

A Letter from CHARLES HAY CAMERON, Esq., and Right Honourable Sir EDWARD RYAN, to the Directors of the East India Company, dated 31st January 1850, respecting the Employment of the Natives of India in the Civil, Military, and Medical Services of India.

We have the Honour very respectfully to request that your Honourable Court will take whatever Steps may be necessary for appointing Dr. S. C. G. Chuckerbutty an Assistant Surgeon on your Bengal Establishment. But before we urge the Reasons which appear to us to make this Appointment desirable, it is right that we should explain to you why we put ourselves forward upon this Occasion, and why we address ourselves to your Honourable Court collectively, instead of to some One, Individual of your Number whom we might suppose to be favourable to our Views.

Both of us, during the latter Years of our Residence in India, were honoured by your Supreme Government there with the Appointment of President of the Committee of Public Instruction, or Council of Education as it has been latterly termed, and with the Presidency of your Medical College Calcutta. The deep Interest, therefor, which both of us feel in all that concerns the Education and general Advancement of the Asiatic Races whom Her Majesty and Parliament have committed to your Government, has, we trust, enough of official Sanction to prevent Manifestation of it from appearing an unwarrantable Intrusion. And we make our Request to your Honourable Court collectively because the Question of conceding for the First Time to a Native of India an Appointment in One of your Covenanted Services appears to us One of such Importance as to the more fitly determinable by the Deliberation of your whole Body than by

that individual Discretion to which the Selection of Persons for those Services is in ordinary Circumstances intrusted.

In requesting you to appoint Dr. Chuckerbutty an Assistant Surgeon on your Bengal Establishment, we appear to ourselves to do no more than bring to your especial Notice a Case which affords a most unexceptionable Opportunity of carrying into effect the Intentions of the Legislature, as expressed in the present Charter Act, 3 & 4 W. 4. c. 85. s. 87.

That Statute holds out to the Natives of India the Promise of Admission to the Covenanted Services of the East India Company, by providing "that no Native of the said Territories, nor any natural-born Subject of Her 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."

The present Charter Act has now been in force for Sixteen Years, or Four Fifths of its whole Term, and no single Native of India has ever been appointed to any of the Covenanted Services. The Consequence is, that the Promise of the Charter Act is regarded by the Natives of India as a Mockery.

It was not so intended by those who framed the Act; and we believe that many of those in whom the Nomination to these Services is vested would be glad to show to the World that it is their Wish to carry the Act into effect according to the real Intentions of the Framers.

We do not doubt that such also is the Wish of your Honourable Court. But Opportunities of fulfilling the Intentions of the Legislature in this Particular are, from the Nature of the Case, of rare Occurrence.

There is never any Want of European Candidates for your covenanted Service, against whose Nomination no Objection can be urged, while it is always possible to urge plausible Objections against the Appointment of any Native to any Office from which his Countrymen have hitherto been excluded.

A Nation of Europe which undertakes to govern justly, and in the Interests of the governed, a Hundred Millions of Asiatic People,

undertakes a Task of the highest and most sacred Kind, but a Task which is beset on all Sides with Difficulties and even with Dangers.

There may be some Risk to our Dominion in admitting Natives to the Offices heretofore held exclusively by Europeans ; but that there is much greater Risk in continuing to exclude them we think we could prove from History, and from the Principles of Human Nature, if such Proof were necessary to our Purpose. The Legislature, however, has settled this Question. It has declared that Natives shall be admissible to all Offices in India, leaving to you to bring about the Transition from Exclusion to Participation in the best Manner for all the great Interests concerned.

The Legislature has left to you to select the Individuals who shall be admitted to this new and great Privilege, to determine the Number who shall be admitted to it in any given Period, and the Conditions on which they shall be admitted, and to select from all the Offices thus thrown open in point of Law to the Natives of India those to which they may, at the Beginning of this new Era, be appointed with the smallest Degree of that Inconvenience which inevitably accompanies all great Political Changes, however beneficial or even necessary they may have become.

The Discretion thus left to you is of a most ample and indefinite Character ; large enough perhaps to enable you (if it were possible to imagine you so inclined) to defeat the whole Object of the Legislature without actual Violation of the Letter of the Law.

But it must be remembered that a Law, such as that which is here laid down for your Guidance, is very different from that Class of Laws which is armed with a penal Sanction. In that Class of Laws the Legislature addresses itself to Persons assumed to be disposed to violate its Commands, and denounces Punishment for the Purpose of preventing such Violation. In the Provision above quoted from the Charter Act, Parliament at the very Moment of intrusting to you for Twenty Years the Government of the greatest dependent Empire which the World has ever seen, lays down for your Guidance the great Principle, that the Natives of that Empire are for the future to be admissible to all Offices within it, as a Means of securing the permanent Allegiance of the Indian Races, and of making a Bond which unites them to us increase in Strength as they themselves in-

crease in Knowledge and Civilization. But Parliament, having once laid down this great Principle, leaves everything else to you. No Native of India, however manifestly fit for your Service, can bring an Action to prevent his Exclusion from it by reason solely of his Colour. No Friend of the Natives of India can obtain a Mandamus for such a Purpose. The Legislature has simply expressed its Wishes, and trusts for the Accomplishment of them to that Zeal for the Advancement of the Asiatic Races which you have conspicuously displayed in the liberal Education given at your Colleges, and in the great Number of Native Indians whom your Government have appointed to lucrative and responsible Offices in the uncovenanted Services.

We are not then going beyond what is warranted by your Position as the enlightened Rulers of our Eastern Empire on the one hand, and as the faithful and willing Subjects of the Queen and Parliament on the other, when we assume, that if we can lay before you a Case for the Admission of a Native to One of your covenanted Services, to which no Objection can be made of a stronger Kind than the Objection which may be made to the Admission of any Native to any of those Offices from which they have been heretofore excluded, we shall find you not only willing but anxious to carry into effect the Intentions of Parliament.

We think we can convince you that Dr. Chuckerbutty's is such a Case.

His own Qualifications for your Medical Service are sufficiently proved by his printed Testimonials; and, indeed, we are not under the Necessity of using any Argument or Exhortation on this Part of the Case, because we have been informed by Dr. Chuckerbutty that your Honourable Court have already recognized his professional and personal Merits in as cordial a Manner as might be expected from your Position as the Patrons and Protectors of the Asiatic Subjects of the British Crown.

He possesses, however, One Qualification (and he owes the Possession of it in a great measure to your Bounty) which appears to us so important with reference to the general Question of admitting Natives to the covenanted Services that we cannot pass it over in Silence.

The Entrance to the Medical Service is not like that to the Civil and Military Services, generally closed against all who have not been educated at Haileybury or at Addiscombe. Even if Dr. Chuckerbutty had never been out of Calcutta he would have been qualified for your Medical Service if he had there acquired that Amount of professional Knowledge and that Reputation for general good Conduct which now distinguish him.

But we acknowledge, that however anxious we might have been to see him placed, in point of Rank, Honour, and social Position, upon a Footing with your European Medical Officers, we should not have desired to see him receiving pecuniary Emolument equal to theirs if he had not earned his Testimonials by Residence and Study in Europe.

A Native of India ought to be allowed to compete with Europeans for any Office in India from which political Considerations do not exclude him, and ought, when appointed, to be put upon an equal Footing with a European holding a similar Office.

But then an important Question arises as to what really is Equality under such Circumstances.

The true Principle we think is, that a Native Gentleman in public Employment at Calcutta should be paid, not as an English Gentleman would be paid for executing the same Office at Calcutta, but as an English Gentleman would be paid for executing the same Office in London.

The English Gentleman at Calcutta has to toil in a Climate extremely oppressive to his Spirits and unfavourable to his Health. He has to pass the best Years of his Life at a Distance from his Home, his Friends, and Relations, and is almost certain to be obliged to retire from the Service at a much earlier Age than would be necessary if he were discharging public Functions in his own Country.

It appears to us, then, that Equality of Pay for equal Services to Europeans and Natives generally is nominal Equality and real Inequality; and it is clearly for the Interest of the Native Community itself that this real Inequality should not exist. For, first, the Native Community is wronged when any Functionary paid out of the Resources of India is overpaid; and, secondly, the Fact that Native Agency can be equitably remunerated by a smaller Amount of

Salary than European Agency is a strong Reason for preferring a Native, except in so far as such Preference may interfere with the higher Considerations which we must now advert to.

The permanent Connexion of England and India we consider an Object of the last Importance to both Countries, and it is obviously desirable, with a view to that Connexion, that English Gentlemen should be sent out to perform public Duties in India, even though such Agency must always be considerably more expensive than the Employment of natives educated in their own Country. Now it appears to us clearly desirable, in the same Manner and for the same great End, that young Native Gentlemen should come over to be educated in England

If that be so, then considering all the Difficulties and Prejudices which they have to overcome for that Purpose, it is expedient that higher Emoluments should be offered to them than are obtainable by such of their Countrymen as have not ventured to seek an English Education in England, just as it is expedient that higher Emoluments should be offered to induce young English Gentlemen to devote themselves to the Service of India.

In this Manner it seems to us that out of the peculiar Relation in which England and India stand to each other there arises a sound Rule for the Guidance of that Discretion with which Parliament has invested you upon Occasion of declaring the Natives of India eligible to all those Offices in their own Country from which they have hitherto been excluded.

A Rule restricting the Number of Natives to be admitted under the 87th section of the Charter Act within Limits at first extremely narrow, but gradually expanding with the gradual Advances of the Natives in Knowledge and Civilization, is in itself so desirable that you would have been justified in laying One down arbitrarily. But here a Rule of the very Sort which is desirable for regulating the Transition from the old to the new System presents itself, springing naturally out of the Principles of distributive Justice as applied to European and Native Functionaries in India.

It certainly cannot be said that the Rule thus presenting itself would err in the way of too great Laxity, for under it the present

Candidate would probably be the sole Instance of a Native admitted (supposing that you do admit him) to the Benefit of the 87th Section of the Charter Act during the whole Twenty Years for which that Act confers the Government of India upon you.

We proceed to remark upon the Nature of the Service into which Dr. Chuckerbutty aspires to be admitted.

The Three Services to which Natives are made eligible by the 87th Section of the Charter Act are, the Military, the Civil, and the Medical.

If we were asking that a Native Indian should be appointed to a Cadetship, we think it might reasonably be said that such a Nomination would not be the most prudent Commencement of the new System, and therefore not a sound Exercise of the Discretion which Parliament has left to you in carrying into effect its benevolent Intentions. We do not doubt that a Time is fast approaching when, by the general Diffusion of that liberal Education which you are giving to the People of India, the advantage of your Government over any that could be expected from the Sway of any Asiatic Prince will be so fully appreciated by the Indian Nations that it will be perfectly safe and very beneficial to place your Native Troops under the Command of Native Officers.

But that Education, in the Diffusion of which we were proud of being your Instruments; has not yet had Time to produce its Effects, through the lettered Class, upon the Masses of the People. The Benefits of a strong, just, and regular Government, which takes no more from the people than the Law declares to be due as Revenue, which suffers no one else to take anything, and which pays its Servants every Month, are indeed felt by all those who occupy themselves.

Your Sepoys and their Native Officers belong to both these Classes.

Still there will be Danger from the personal Ambition of Native Military Commanders, until the Formation of an enlightened public Opinion shall so secure the permanent Attachment of the Indian Races to Great Britain as to render hopeless all Schemes of Military Revolt.

The Civil Service and the Medical Service then appear to us to be the proper Fields for first bringing into practical Operation the Principle laid down by Parliament.

We do not say that no plausible Objections can be raised against nominating a Native Civil Servant or a Native Assistant Surgeon ; we say only, first, that all such Objections are far outweighed by the Advantages of showing to the People of India that a Career of profitable and honourable Service is open to them, such as they could never hope to enter upon under any Government but that of Great Britain ; and, secondly, that all such Objections, though they might fairly have been stated to Parliament when the Matter was under Consideration there, are now shut out by the deliberate Decision of the Legislature, and the solemn Proclamation of it to the People of India in the Form of a Statute.

This is more emphatically true of the Medical Service than of the Civil Service.

The Civil Servants exercise political Power ; they are the subordinate Governors of the Country, and they receive the Education of public Men. The Medical Servants exercise no political Power, and receive a purely scientific Education. The Profession they follow is essentially a private Profession. All Government, it is true, secure Medical Attendance to their Armies and Natives, and your Government secure them to the Civil Functionaries. In this way Medical Men become, in One Sense, public Men, Military Men, and Naval Men, but the Profession they exercise remains essentially, as we have said, a private Profession.

We have accordingly found, in discussing the Merits of the present Question in private, that the Persons whose Opinions we most esteem have at once admitted, both that Dr. Chuckerbutty is an eminently fit Person for becoming the First Native covenanted Servant of the East India Company, and that the Office of Assistant Surgeon is, of all those which the Charter Act throws open to Natives, the One which ought to be selected for the Commencement of the new System, which is to prove to the Inhabitants of British India that they are really British Subjects.

We have found also that those who take an opposite View admit, nevertheless, that the Appointment of Native Assistant Surgeons would be in itself quite free from danger ; but they suppose that the Spectacle of such Appointments might have an unsafe Effect upon the Native Officers of the Army.

The Native Officers, they say, who are now content with their Position, would cease to be so if they saw One of their own Countrymen holding the Military Rank and Station of an Assistant Surgeon, though no such Effect would have taken place in their Minds from the Spectacle of a Native Judge or Collector exercising the supreme civil Authority of the District.

This Argument, limited in this arbitrary Manner to the Effect of admitting Native to the Medical Service, appears to us to have no Weight whatever. If it had not been thus limited, but had been founded generally upon the Effect which the breaking down of the existing Barrier between Natives and Europeans might have upon the Native Officers of the Army, so long as the Barrier continues practically insuperable to them, we should have admitted that the Objection is a real One, but should have contended that is far outweighed by Considerations on the opposite Side, and that it is no longer capable of being maintained bona fide by any One not seeking to defeat the Intentions of the Legislature.

It is indeed obvious that if Natives cannot begin to be admitted to your covenanted Service in the Military Line by reason of its own Nature, and cannot begin to be admitted in the Civil or Medical Lines, for fear of creating Discontent among the Native Military Officers, they never can begin to be admitted at all.

There were not wanting Alarmists who predicted Mischief from that just and liberal Policy of admitting Natives unsparingly to uncovenanted Offices, which has been long since adopted by your Governments, and sanctioned by yourselves. Nor do we deny that those Alarmists had plausible and even reasonable Grounds to allege for their Opinion. But the Reasons alleged on the other Side appear to us of far greater Weight, and ample Experience has now decided in their Favour.

The opening of the covenanted Services to the Natives by Statute is only a following up of that System which you and your Government in the East had already adopted of your own Accord. The same just and benevolent Regard for the Natives of India which led you spontaneously to that enlightened Policy will surely now lead you to carry into effect the similar Policy enjoined by Parliament, and to take care that the Promises solemnly made by the British Legislature to the subject Nations of Asia shall not be the only inoperative Provisions of the Charter which has committed those Nations to your Government.

REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

TO INQUIRE INTO THE

RULES, REGULATION & PRACTICE

IN THE

INDIAN CANTONMENTS

AND ELSEWHERE IN INDIA, WITH REGARD TO

PROSTITUTION AND THE TREATMENT OF
VENEREAL DISEASE.

Y: A-175:5

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WITH EXPLANATIONS, NOTES, &c.,

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MINORITY REPORT.

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THE "Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to inquire into the Rules, Regulations, and Practice in the Indian Cantonments," is a Blue Book (C.—7148 of 1893) of more than 500 pages, issued in September, 1893, which may be obtained from Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, East Harding Street, London, E.C., or direct from any bookseller. Price 4s. 5d.

Its contents may be described as follows:—

The minutes of evidence of Mrs. Andrew, Dr. Kate Bushnell, and Mr. J. H. Bell, the witnesses put forward by the "British Committee for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice in India, and throughout the British dominions." Pages 1 to 57: also page 58.

Official despatches and telegrams. Pages 139 to 208.

The reply of the Indian Authorities consisting of:—

Despatch (No. 148, Simla, 11th July, 1893). From the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India. Pages 209 to 212.

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The evidence taken by a Special Commission appointed by the Governor-General in Council to enquire into the correctness of the allegations made, as regards Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow. Pages 275 to 357.

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The evidence of official witnesses—viz., Lord Roberts, V.C., late Commander-in-Chief in India; Major-General Chapman, formerly Quartermaster-General in India; Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur; and Surgeon-Colonel J. Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab. Pages 59 to 127.

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Further evidence by Mr. Ibbetson and Dr. Cleghorn. Pages 134 to 138.

The Report of the Departmental Committee, signed by the Chairman (Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., Under-Secretary for India); the Right Hon. Jas. Stansfeld, M.P.; and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P. Pages iv. to xxvi.

A Minority Report, signed by General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart., G.C.B., formerly Commander-in-Chief in India; and Sir James B. Peile, K.C.S.I. (both Members of the Indian Council). Pages xxvii. to xxxiii.

Those who desire full information must have recourse to the Blue Book; but the British Committee has thought it advisable to issue the two reports of the Departmental Committee in the present form with a few notes, dates, and explanations.

SUMMARY OF DATES.

15th April, 1886.—The Bill repealing the odious and immoral "Contagious Diseases Acts" in the United Kingdom received the Royal Assent.

4th February, 1887.—Mr. James Stuart, M.P., obtained a Return (61) "East India (Contagious Diseases)," giving information as to legislation of a similar kind in India.

- 9th July, 1887.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) in consequence of questions in Parliament, telegraphed to the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) for information as to the "existence of official regulations for provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars, British and Native. I apprehend system is indefensible and must be "condemned."
- 11th August, 1887.—Lord Cross pressed the Indian Government for further information.
- 31st August, 1887.—Lord Cross informed the Government of India he had "recently received several memorials on the subject of "repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Questions have been "asked in the House of Commons as to the intentions of Her "Majesty's Government."
- 7th December, 1887.—Reply to telegram of July 9th not having been received, Lord Cross telegraphed again, "When may Report be "expected on provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars? "Urgently required. Full report requested as soon as possible. "Also on Contagious Diseases Acts. They should be treated "separately."
- 24th January, 1888.—Letter from the Government of India to Secretary of State (Lord Cross) admitted that "some of the "existing arrangements are open to objection."
- 23rd February, 1888.—Sir John Gorst, M.P. (Under Secretary for India), replying to a question in the House of Commons, said: "If anything like the practices alleged by Mr. Dyer prevails in "India, measures must be taken to secure that any such "practices shall be stopped forthwith."
- In February and March, 1888.—Several questions were put in the House of Commons on this subject.
- 27th March, 1888.—The Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State (Lord Cross) concurring in the abandonment of the Contagious Diseases Act, but pressing for retention of the regulations in Cantonment Acts, which were practically similar.
- 4th May, 1888.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) telegraphed to the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin): "Quarter-Master General's "Memorandum of 17th June, 1886, has been published in "newspapers here. Is it authentic?" The Viceroy replied four days later, it "is authentic." (For extracts from this Circular Memorandum see foot-note to paragraph 9 of Report).
- 7th May, 1888.—The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) asked the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin): "Can I say that the system of provision "of prostitutes in regimental bazars has, as directed, been "totally prohibited? If not, order it at once."
[It will be remembered that the Secretary of State had, ten months before, regarded it as "indefensible." See 9th July, 1887.]
- 8th May, 1888.—Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., obtained a Return (158) "East India (Contagious Diseases)" "being copies of the recent "correspondence between the India Office and the Government "of India on the subject of the Contagious Diseases, and Cantonment Rules and Regulations."
- 5th June, 1888.—Resolution carried in the House of Commons, on motion of Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, M.P., "THAT, IN THE OPINION "OF THIS HOUSE, ANY MERE SUSPENSION OF MEASURES FOR THE "COMPULSORY EXAMINATION OF WOMEN, AND FOR LICENSING AND "REGULATING PROSTITUTION IN INDIA IS INSUFFICIENT; AND "THE LEGISLATION WHICH ENJOINS, AUTHORISES, OR PERMITS "SUCH MEASURES, OUGHT TO BE REPEALED."
- 24th June, 1888.—At a meeting of the Indian Council at Simla, the Indian Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed, Sir Charles Aitchison saying: "It certainly has not had the anticipated "result of extirpating disease. . . . The Government of "India recommended the repeal of the Act on the grounds that

- "it did not . . . effect appreciable good . . . and "was liable to abuse." He added that the Cantonment Acts were under "separate consideration."
- 13th November, 1888.—An influentially signed address was presented to Lord Lansdowne on his departure to the Viceroyalty, asserting "that the system is still maintained in many places in India. . . . We respectfully request you to make "personal investigation into these facts upon your arrival "in India."
- Several other memorials on the same subject were addressed to Lord Lansdowne, including one from a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, which said (in reference to the alleged suspension of the Cantonment Acts): "The latest "advices show that if orders to that effect have been given, "they have not been obeyed, and the vile system is in full "operation."
- None of these representations had any effect, as will be seen from what follows:
- March, 1889.—Information was received from an Indian official that after apparent compliance with the will of the House of Commons for a short time, the prostitutes' quarters had been again provided at Rawal Pindi, close to the soldiers' tents.
- 19th April, 1889.—A letter from Peshawar said: "All the brothels "have been re-opened here." Other information at the same time was to the same effect.
- 11th October, 1889.—A new measure, known as "The "Cantonments Act, 1889," received the Assent of the Viceroy.
- About end of October, 1889, the *Calcutta Statesman* charged the Indian Government with trying "to evade their own solemn "promises, and emphatic instructions from the Home Authorities . . . in the disgraceful shuffle at Simla over the "Cantonments Bill," and with "a distinct evasion of the will of "the English people, pronounced through the House of "Commons."
- The complaint was repeated in the *Calcutta Statesman* of November 9th, 1889, and the *Indian Daily News* of November 11th, 1889.
- November, 1889.—*The Banner of Asia* reported that Messrs. M. Gregory and J. A. Stagg found the immoral system in full operation at Lucknow the previous month.
- 6th December, 1889.—Rev. John Dymock sent to Lord Cross the emphatic protest of the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland against the new Cantonments Act, as "entirely at "variance with the resolution of the House of Commons of "5th June, 1888." He quoted from an Indian newspaper as to how the "religious fanatics . . . will probably howl again "now at the way the old order of things will be enforced under "another name but with very little difference in manner. . . . "The authorities have turned Dyer & Co.'s flank."
- 21st December, 1889.—Draft Rules under Cantonments Act, 1889, were published in India "for the information of persons likely "to be affected thereby," with an intimation that they would be "taken into consideration on the expiry of three months."
- 28th December, 1889.—The *Calcutta Statesman* and *Indian Witness* had articles protesting against these Draft Rules.
- 8th January, 1890.—Lord Cross (Secretary of State) in reply to the Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee, said that the Government of India had received direct instructions that the Resolution of the House of Commons must be recognised as governing their conduct. "His lordship is confident that the "Government of India will conform to these instructions."

- 10th January, 1890.—The Calcutta Missionary Conference protested against the Draft Rules as contrary to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and re-enacting the old Regulations.
- 10th February, 1890.—The Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee made a similar protest.
- 14th February, 1890.—The Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., wrote to Lord Cross an argumentative letter in reference to the proposed Draft Rules, pointing out "they may be used to set up again a system of compulsory examination of prostitutes, and to regulate and license within the Cantonment the calling of those prostitutes," &c. (See par. 15 of the Report.)
- 6th March, 1890.—Sir John Gorst, M.P., replied (in Lord Cross's name) at some length, saying (in reference to the danger which had been suggested): "The Secretary of State can see nothing in the Rules to lend any colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling to attribute to the Government of India an intention to evade, or to allow any of its officers to evade the explicit instructions which he has issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded for such an accusation."
- 11th July, 1890.—The Calcutta *Statesman*, referring to the Cantonments Act, and the Memorials from various public bodies, both in England and in India (presented during the period of more than six months between the publication of the Draft Rules and their confirmation), said: "In simply ignoring whole-sale all such suggestions . . . the Government of India virtually treats the representations which have been presented to it . . . as deserving only of contempt."
- 18th August, 1890.—Rev. Dr. Waugh and Mr. Stagg found the old odious system was carried on as usual at Lucknow.
- February—April, 1891.—"The British Committee" received confirmatory confidential letters to the same effect.
- 25th May, 1891.—The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland by resolution complained strongly to the India Office, and to the Viceroy, that according to information from missionaries, the old system was still being carried on.
- 12th January, 1892.—At a public meeting at Exeter Hall, Mr. A. S. Dyer gave account of visit to Lucknow, in company with Mr. Stagg and Mr. Gladwin, on October 5th, 1891. The old system was in full swing. Mr. Gladwin went on to Cawnpore, Agra, and Jhansi, at all of which places the same state of things existed.
- February, 1892.—The *Sentinel* quoted from the *Tribune* (Lahore)—"To all intents and purposes the Act remains in force as before, as Cantonment AUTHORITIES HAVE PLACED THEIR OWN INTERPRETATION upon the orders of the Government of India ; . . ."
- January, February, and March, 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell (on behalf of the "British Committee") investigated the actual state of affairs in ten Cantonments.
- 2nd November, 1892.—The Rev. William Huntly, M.D., Medical Missionary, reported the condemned system was still in operation at Nusseerabad virtually as before.
- December, 1892.—Mr. J. H. Bell, J.P., of Darlington, made investigations in certain Cantonments in India on behalf of the "British Committee."
- 7th April, 1893.—Lord Kimberley appointed the Committee, whose report constitutes the bulk of this pamphlet.
- 4th May, 1893.—Statements first appeared in English newspapers as results of investigations by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell.
- 11th May, 1893.—*The Christian Commonwealth* reported an "interview" with Lord Roberts, at which the late Commander-

in Chief denied and contradicted the allegations contained in a printed "Statement of Facts," one by one, adding "that any such state of things exists as this report describes, is simply untrue."

18th May, 1893.—*The Christian Commonwealth* reported that Mr. James Stuart, M.P., and Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., declared that "The British Committee" had ample evidence of the truth of the statements, which Lord Roberts had denied.

[Lord Roberts subsequently assumed a very different attitude.—See paragraph 53 of this Report.]

EXPLANATION OF TERMS.

Bazar.—"A street occupied by shops: a collection of shops: often extended to the whole quarter in which the bazar is situated: used in military parlance to signify also the body of traders and followers who accompany the regiment on the march."

Regimental bazar.—Shops, &c., as above, "occupied by traders and others who have been allowed to settle within regimental limits for the convenience of the troops."

Sudder, or Sadr, or Sadar bazar.—See foot-note to paragraph 22.

Cantonment.—Military Regulations say:—"A military Cantonment is, as its designation implies, a locality set apart primarily for military and medical officers, chaplains, soldiers, subordinates attached to the troops, and the officers and subordinates of all departments connected with the housing and supplies of the troops, for whom houses, situated within such limits are by priority of right, available." (Min. 1740.)

"All land included within Cantonment boundaries is the property of Government. Portions of it are allotted for building purposes to private individuals, free of ground rent, but subject to certain very stringent conditions, under which the military authorities can at any time appropriate the buildings if needed for Cantonment purposes, and can resume the land at pleasure on payment of compensation."

Cantonments sometimes adjoin the place from which they take their name; in other cases are several miles from it. They are of various areas and populations, running up in the case of Umballa to 14½ square miles with a population of 51,020. The governing authority in a Cantonment is "the officer commanding the station, advised by the Cantonment Committee, through his Executive officer the Cantonment Magistrate;" they exercise "the most comprehensive powers of minute interference and control;" "they regulate the place of residence of all inhabitants of Cantonment land." (S.C. paragraphs 5 to 11.)

Chakla.—"The quarter in which the commoner class of prostitutes live; also applied to an enclosure occupied by them." There are several kinds—"the small ones in the regimental bazars, probably frequented almost exclusively by men of the regiment to which the bazar is attached; and the larger ones in the Sadar bazars." (S.C. par. 28.) It is often translated as "brothel." Gorá Chakla is the white (meaning British) Chakla. Lál Kurti Chakla, is the red-coat (meaning Infantry) Chakla. Kála Chakla, is black (meaning Native) Chakla.

Compound.—"The grounds in the midst of which a building stands."

Dhai.—See foot-note to paragraph 29.

Mahaldarni.—See foot-note to paragraph 22

SOME OF THE ALLEGATIONS REPORTED BY THE DEPARTMENT

Subject.	General, as to the ten.	Umballa.	Meerut.	Lucknow
What Chaklas existed and were they reserved for British troops?		Sudder; 3 regimental; and 2 in camps. Natives turned out.	Sudder; built on Government land granted to a prostitute for the purpose. Also 3 regimental (openly stated in Lock Hospital Report to have been re-opened in 1889); and one in tents near camp of West Kent Regiment. Natives prohibited.	Sudder. Natives turned out.
Were there Mahaldarnis?		Yes.	Yes, with duties same as before.	Yes, one of them charged on Lock Hospital funds as a Dhai, but employed at Chakla.
Did women accompany troops on march?		Yes.	Yes.	Regiments brought their women with them.
Was there a Register of Prostitutes?	All materials for effective registration still exist in all (par. 47) Mahaldarni lists are actual certificates (par. 47).	Not separate, but in general Register, described as prostitutes. Register of women attending examination kept recording result, women being classed according to Regiment. Several Mahaldarnis had Registers, initialled by doctor, for information of Commanding Officers.	No separate register. Register of attendances at examination kept at Hospital. Classed according to Regiment and Sudder.	Not stated as to Cantonment Office Hospital lists not preserved.
Periodical examinations were—	"Maintained in all the ten" (par. 46).	A condition of residence in regimental limits.	A condition of residence in regimental Chaklas, and "were maintained regularly up to May, 1893."	Continued regularly till March, 1892. Semi-weekly, Feb. 1891, to March, 1892.
Were there other examinations?		Occasionally since periodical ceased.	Not stated.	On re-entering Cantonment, and occasionally otherwise.
Were there "Lock Hospitals?"	Usually called so. Almost exclusively for venereal diseases and prostitutes.	Yes, exclusively prostitutes.	Yes, exclusively prostitutes.	Yes, exclusively prostitutes.
What diseases? What class of patients?	"Always used as Lock Hospitals."			
Were the examinations compulsory?	"In effect . . . compulsory" in all the ten (par. 46).	Dangerously near compulsion.	Certainly.	Yes, but not so clearly proved, and not so strong compulsion.

It was also proved, that specially distinguishing numerals existed on Prostitutes' quarters at Umballa, Lucknow and Peshawar; that uniform rate of pay prevailed at Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow; that women applied for permission to reside and practice prostitution at Rawal Pindi, under the impression that old Rules were still in force; and (Par. 45) that official recognition, or regulation, and licensing existed in all the ten.

COMMITTEE AS PROVED† ARE HERE EPITOMISED IN TABULAR FORM.

Meer.	Rawal Pindi.	Peshawar.*	Amritsar.	Bareilly.	Sitapur.	Benares.
Sudder; and 3 regimental admitted.	Sudder; and 3 regimental.	Sudder.	There was one [†probably in Sudder.]	Sudder; belongs to Matron of Lock Hospital or to Clerk of Cantonment Magistrate in whose house she resides.	Sudder; was Government property in March, 1892. Women paid no rent.	One Chakla. Women allege they pay no rent, which is not officially denied. Natives prohibited.
Yes, with duties practically same as before.	Yes.	Not stated.	Yes.	Yes.	Not stated.	Yes.
Admitted and then denied. Complete Register admitted. Tickets issued.	Not stated.	Practically admitted.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.
	Mahal. had Reg. with doctor's remarks. List kept at Hospital of women who attended from Sudder.	List kept at Hospital of those who attended. Produced in London.	Not stated.	Not stated.	List kept at Hospital of women attending examination.	List kept at Cantonment Office till 23rd October, 1890. List kept at Hospital of women attending examination.
Admitted. Women probably fined for non-attendance.	Admitted.	Admitted—weekly, in 2 sets.—Book produced in London.	Admitted.	Admitted.	Admitted to 12th July, 1892.	Admitted.
Non-entering Cantonment.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.
Yes, exclusively prostitutes.	Yes, only venereal cases.	Yes, only venereal cases.	Yes. [†No other information. But no patients, March 1st, 1892.]	Yes, several cases non-venereal.	Yes, only venereal and prostitutes admitted.	Yes, only venereal cases. [†No patients March 12th, 1892.]
Certainly.	Yes, practically.	[†Yes, according to women. No, according to officials.]	[†Women say Yes on pain of expulsion. Officials say no compulsion.]	[†Women say Yes on pain of expulsion. Officials say no compulsion.]	Yes, practically.	Regarded by women as compulsory. Officials say "purely voluntary."

* Certain letters and reports relating to Peshawar, though mentioned, have not been forwarded from India.

† The entries in italics and square brackets are not reported by the Departmental Committee as proved, but are here inserted for information, being justified by evidence in the Blue Book.

To the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G.,
Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,—

In compliance with your Lordship's instructions of the 7th of April last, we beg leave to submit a Report signed by three Members of the Departmental Committee.

A minority Report is also submitted.

We are, My Lord,

Your obedient servants,

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

D. M. STEWART.

J. B. PEILE.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.

Note of Explanation of References in this Report to the various documents and papers comprised in the Appendix hereto.

“Min.” means Minutes of Evidence taken before this Committee. The numerals following refer to the Numbers of questions and answers.

“Rep. S.C.” means the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the paragraph or lines thereof as stated.

“Ev. S.C.” means the Statement and Notes forming the Appendix to the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the lines thereof.

“M.R.” means the Military Reports, &c., constituting Enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in Despatch No. 148 of 1893.

“Suppl. M.R.” means further Military Reports received with the same Despatch.

Other references are sufficiently explained in loco.

[The foot-notes in italics are inserted by the editor on behalf of the British Committee.]

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE RULES, REGULATIONS, AND PRACTICE IN THE INDIAN CANTONMENTS, AND ELSEWHERE IN INDIA, WITH REGARD TO PROSTITUTES AND THE TREATMENT OF VENEREAL DISEASES, IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN AND REPORT HOW FAR THEY ACCORD WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE 5TH JUNE, 1888, VIZ.:—

“That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating Prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises or permits such measures ought to be repealed.”

1. The Committee was appointed on the 7th April, 1893, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to enquire into the Rules, Regulations and practice in the Indian Cantonments, and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June, 1888, above quoted.

2. The Committee so appointed consisted of Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., Under Secretary of State for India (Chairman); The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.; General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart., G.C.B.; Sir James B. Peile, K.C.S.I.; and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., with Major-General O. R. Newmarch, C.S.I., as Secretary.

3. The Committee has held twelve sittings, and has examined seven witnesses, official and non-official. The sittings comprised two groups, viz., five days between the 11th April and 21st April, 1893 (both inclusive), when the evidence of the non-official witnesses tendered was taken; and five other days between the 4th August and the 15th August, 1893 (both inclusive); when the official witnesses were examined, and a large quantity of documentary evidence sent from India was considered. The interim between the two groups of sittings (practically about eleven weeks) was occupied in the transmission of the printed minutes of the first-mentioned evidence to India, the collection there of evidence, by a Special Commission appointed for that purpose and by

means of Official Reports, and the journey to this country of two of the Commissioners so appointed. The Committee have not taken any evidence as to the practices, in respect of the matters in question, in any Indian Cantonments other than those hereinafter specifically mentioned; nor have they made any investigations as to such practices elsewhere in India. The principal reason for this limitation in the execution of their commission is the want of time for more extensive researches, arising from the urgent desire on all sides that the Committee should complete their enquiries, and present their Report, before the conclusion of the present sitting of Parliament.

4. The non-official witnesses examined by us in the first instance were: (1) Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, (2) Dr. Kate Bushnell, two American ladies associated in Christian Mission work and who were delegated by the "British Committee for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice in India and throughout the British Dominions," in the beginning of the year 1892, to visit Military Cantonments in India for the express purpose of making enquiries upon the subject matter in question; (3) Mr. John Hyslop-Bell, J.P., of Darlington (England), a journalist, who also on behalf of the British Committee, in December, 1892, visited two of the same Cantonments, and two other Cantonments.

5. The official witnesses who have given testimony before us are: (4) General Lord Roberts, V.C., late Commander-in-Chief in India, who having recently returned to this country had been voluntarily interviewed upon the subject of this investigation by certain journalists. Accounts of these interviews were published, and therefore his Lordship was invited to attend the Committee for the purpose of affording to them directly a statement of his information and views upon the matters in question. At the commencement of his examination our Chairman asked Lord Roberts whether we could take his answers to the interviewer of the *Christian Commonwealth* as being his evidence, or whether he did not wish to commit himself to them, and Lord Roberts answered that he did not wish to be so committed, and that he had prefaced his remarks to his interviewer by saying that he preferred to wait for the Report of the Government of India. (5) Lieut.-General E. F. Chapman, C.B., now Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office, and late Quartermaster-General in India, who held that office during a portion of the command of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, and who vacated it on the 22nd February, 1889; (6) Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, I.C.S.; and (7) Surgeon-Colonel J.

PARS. 5, 6, 7.] PRE-EXISTING SYSTEM.

Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab, the two Commissioners before referred to.

6. As all the evidence, both oral and documentary, taken and received by us has to be considered in regard to the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, it seems expedient at the outset to determine the meaning and intention of that Resolution, and especially its interpretation by the Government of India, and the officials, both military and civil, charged with the duty of carrying that Resolution into effect. On this point, therefore, we are glad to record the ready avowal of General Lord Roberts as to his concurrence in the view that the intention of the House of Commons was that the system formerly established as to the recognition and regulation of prostitution, for the benefit of British soldiers in India, should be entirely abolished, and not merely modified; and his assertion that the determination of the Government of India as well as of himself, with respect to that Resolution was from the outset to carry it into effect implicitly, in spirit as well as in letter.

Min. 1903-1915.

Demi-official letter 10th March, 1892, quoted in Despatch No. 148, of 1893.

7. It may consequently be useful to indicate briefly, in passing, principal features of that pre-existing system, which it was the undoubted intention of the House of Commons to abolish and not merely to modify. The principal features of that system were the following, viz. :—

Min. 1813 1854.

- (1.) The provision in the regimental bazars, or other appointed places within the Cantonments, of dwellings (Chaklas) for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers distinctively from native men; the registration of such women by the Cantonment Magistrate; and the issue of tickets to the registered women.
- (2.) The inspection or examination at prescribed periods or times, at the Lock Hospital, and with penalties for non-attendance, of those registered women, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were individually healthy or diseased; in the former case they were allowed to return to the practice of prostitution at the Chaklas; in the latter they were detained in hospital for treatment.
- (3.) The provision within each Cantonment of a Lock Hospital for (a) the periodical examination of the registered women, and (b) the treatment therein of such as proved on inspection to be diseased.
- (4.) The application of compulsion by fine and imprisonment under the Rules as well as the general power of expulsion which appears to be vested in the Cantonment Magistrate.

8. The cardinal point of that pre-existing system was, therefore, the periodical examination of the registered women; the other features being accessory and incidental to that purpose; and the whole system being devised and administered with the main object of ensuring, if possible, that all the women to whom British soldiers in each Cantonment were known to resort should be "fit" or "healthy," in a specific sense, at the time of consorting; and in order to prevent immediate contagion and the consequent spread of venereal disease. The antecedent steps of registration, and formal licensing (by tickets), the application of compulsion, and the subsequent treatment of unfit or diseased women, were subordinate to that main object.

fin. 1838.

9. That pre-existing system was sanctioned by and administered under certain Acts and Statutory Rules scheduled to the then existing Cantonment Acts, and numerous Official Orders and Regulations, which may be said to have culminated in a Circular Memorandum issued from the Army Head Quarters at Simla, bearing date 17th June, 1886, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, and with the signature (by order) of Major-General Chapman, as Quartermaster-General in India.* That circular, and

Min. 1887,
t seq.

* This Circular contained the following :—

"At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points, which appear to be specially deserving of consideration by the Military and Medical Authorities in every command."

"The treatment of venereal diseases generally" "The desirability of establishing a Medical School" "Where

Lock Hospitals are not kept up it becomes necessary, under a regimental system, to arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in Cantonments or on the line of march."

"In the regimental bazars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses" "If young soldiers are carefully

advised in regard to the advantages of ablution, and recognise that convenient arrangements exist in the regimental bazar, they may be

expected to avoid the risks involved in association with women who are not recognised by the regimental authorities." [It will be observed

that the young soldiers are not advised to be moral, but only as to the safest way to be immoral.] "Frequent medical inspections should be ordered, and every endeavour should be made to make

the men realize their own responsibility in assisting their officers, by indicating the women from whom disease has been acquired." "Much

may be done to encourage a feeling amongst the men that it should be a point of honour to save each other where possible from risk in this matter."

The Circular has an appendix of references to previous Circulars on the same subject, from which the following may be quoted :—

"Attention is called to the following points :—I. The number of women on the register is not in proportion to the number of men who

visit them. II. The improvement of the conditions under which the women ply their trade, such as greater privacy, facilities for

ablution, &c." "The desirability when constructing free quarters for registered women of providing houses that will meet the wishes of the

women." "Unless their comfort and the convenience of those who consort with them is considered, the results will not be satisfactory."

PARS. 9, 10, 11, 12.] CONDEMNED MEMORANDUM.

certain recommendations therein contained, became, in the following year (July, 1887) the subject of questions in the House of Lords, and of action by the India Office; and subsequently formed an important element in the discussion in the House of Commons; on 5th June, 1888, upon the Resolution above quoted, which was then moved by Mr. McLaren, M.P., and passed *nem. con.*

App. II. telegram to Viceroy, 9th July, 1888.

10. That Circular Memorandum was expressly condemned by the India Office as being "perfectly inconsistent" with a subsequent Report from the Quarter-master-General, dated 2nd August, 1887,* and "absolutely indefensible," and strict enquiry was ordered; but of any such enquiry there is no evidence, and Lord Roberts, while admitting before us his official responsibility for all orders issued in his name, as Commander-in-Chief for the time being, was not clear as to having actually seen the draft circular, some parts of which he strongly reprobated. We deemed it therefore right and proper, in order to ascertain who was really accountable in the matter, to examine Lieut. General Chapman, who is now in England, as to the circumstances under which that Circular Memorandum was prepared and issued. There appeared to us to be a discrepancy between his evidence and that of Lord Roberts which we were unable to reconcile.

App. II. telegram to Viceroy, 8th May, 1888.

Min. 1888.
Min. 1895.

Min. 1876-77.

Min. 2291-4.

Min. 2305-2362.

11. In consequence of that condemnation of the Circular Memorandum of 17th June, 1886, by the Secretary of State, and before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, the Government of India had prohibited the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, and their accompanying troops to camp or on the march, and directed the cancelment of all circulars relating to that subject; and immediately upon receipt of the despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State conveying that Resolution, the Government of India informed the Commander-in-Chief and all the Local Governments and Heads of Departments, that it was the intention of the Government of India to consider the Rules framed under the Cantonment Acts then existing, and that "pending the issue of revised Rules, the existing Rules should, in view of the Resolution of the House of Commons, be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution."

App. II. Des. 15th Oct., 1888, par. 2.

Des. 11th July, 1893, par. 5.

App.

12. Accordingly in Despatch, No. 193, dated 15th October, 1888, the Indian Government reported

* Notwithstanding the outspoken character of the Circular Memorandum, Major-General Chapman wrote to the Government of India, on the date mentioned, that "neither the Government, nor its officers, either directly or indirectly, encourage prostitution. . . ."
"No act of theirs can justly be interpreted as encouraging vices . . ."

PARS. 12, 13.] CANTONMENTS ACT, 1889.

that "The Indian Contagious Diseases Act, and Acts
"or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been re-
"pealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within
"regimental limits or their accompanying troops to camps
"or on the line of march has been forbidden; also that
"all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while
"pending the approval of the revised Cantonment
"Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal
"diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing
"as other contagious or infectious diseases), all com-
"pulsory examination of women, all registration of
"women and granting of licenses to practise prostitu-
"tion have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in
"which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as
"voluntary institutions."

App. II. des-
patches and
telegrams,
14th June,
1889, to
9th July, 1890.

13. In October, 1889, the new measure, viz., "The
Cantonments Act, 1889," was passed, and on the 21st
day of December, the following draft Rules (which had
been settled, after considerable correspondence, be-
tween the Secretary of State and Government of
India) were published "for the information of persons
"likely to be affected thereby," with an intimation
that they would be "taken into consideration on the
"expiry of three months."

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the
limits of the Cantonment as the Cantonment authority with the
concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be
maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the Cantonment
fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or
contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local
Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously,
and if such person is without means of support and is either a
resident of the Cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the
request of the Cantonment authority, or of any officer of that
authority, shall receive from the Cantonment Fund such subsistence
allowance not being less than the lowest allowance for the time
being fixed by the Local Government under section 338 of the Code
of Civil Procedure as the Cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital
maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering
from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the
commanding officer of the Cantonment that any person is suffering,
or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from the
disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or,
having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has
pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment
Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order
such person to remove from the Cantonment within 24 hours, and
prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the
written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing
rule from remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or
re-enters the Cantonment without such written permission as is
mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine,
which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term
which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said
prohibition.

PARS. 14, 15.] PROTESTS TO LORD CROSS.

14. The publication of the draft Rules immediately aroused the attention of various newspapers, and religious organisations, both in India and Great Britain, and divers public protests against the proposed Rules were expressed. Amongst others, the Rev. Allen Rees, Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee, wrote to Lord Salisbury and Lord Cross (then Secretary of State for India) on behalf of that body, complaining of the absence of recognition in the new Act of the Resolution of the House of Commons, to which Lord Cross's Private Secretary replied to the effect that the Government of India had received distinct instructions upon the subject, to which his Lordship was confident they would conform.

15. On the 14th February, 1890, Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., addressed to Lord Cross a letter upon the subject, which was in the following terms, viz.

February 14th, 1890.

DEAR LORD CROSS,

We have had the advantage of receiving from the Rev. Allen Rees a copy of your Private Secretary's letter to him of January 8th on the subject of the Acts and Regulations regarding Contagious Diseases in Cantonments in India.

We note with great satisfaction your statement that the Government of India are fully aware of the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and that they have received from yourself, as Secretary of State in Council, distinct instructions to the effect that these Resolutions must be recognised as governing their conduct in dealing with the matter; and that you are confident that the Government of India will conform to your instructions.

Your Lordship adds that it would not be right, in the absence of any distinct proof to the contrary, to receive deputations on the subject; as such action might be interpreted as implying that you had reason to feel doubtful as to the good faith of the Government of India.

Permit us, my Lord, without in the least meaning or desiring to impugn the good faith of the Government of India, to point out in what respects the action of that Government has already, as it seems to us, failed to conform itself to your instructions and to the Resolutions of the House.

The Resolution of the House of Commons, of June 5th, 1888, ran thus:—

"Any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient; and the legislation which enjoins, authorises and permits such measures ought to be repealed."

In accordance with this Resolution, the Indian Cantonments Acts were repealed, and the Cantonment Act Regulations were understood to be suspended.

But a new Cantonments Act was thereupon brought in and passed, which was followed by draft regulations, published in the *Gazette of India*, of December 21st, 1889, to be taken into consideration at the expiration of three months from that date.

We observe that, by section 26, sub-section 21 of the new Act:—

"The Governor-General in Council may make rules, consistent with this Act, for the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and for the appoint-

PARS. 15, 16.] LORD CROSS'S REPLY.

'ment and regulation of Hospitals and other places within or without a Cantonment for the reception and treatment of persons suffering from any disease.'

But we do not see any words in the Act limiting or deciding the method of the exercise of this power; and we submit therefore that the power which this section confers upon the Governor-General in Council is sufficient to enable him to frame Regulations, implying the compulsory examination of women and the licensing and regulating of prostitution in India in direct disregard of the Resolution of the House of Commons which declares that all such legislation ought to be repealed.

Your Lordship will also observe the bearing of the proviso in section 2, sub-section 2, of the Act, to the effect that all regulations, &c., published under the repealed Act shall be deemed to have been made under the repealing Act of 1889. So that it would appear that the old Regulations which have been condemned, and which have been understood to have been suspended, are set up again, as if they had been published under this Act.

Turning to the new Regulations in the *Gazette* of December 21st, we note (section 4) that if the Medical Officer of a Hospital certifies in writing to the Commanding Officer that any person is *supposed by him* to be suffering from a contagious disorder, and any such person either refuses to go to the Hospital, or, having gone to the Hospital, leaves it before such Medical Officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may order such persons' removal from the Cantonment and prohibit their return without the written permission of the Medical Officer; disobedience to the order entailing fine or imprisonment at the discretion of the Magistrate, limiting the fine to 50 rupees, and the imprisonment to eight days for each breach.

It seems to us that under this Regulation a prostitute "supposed" to be diseased, may be induced to enter the Hospital under the threat of expulsion from the Cantonment, and that, being once within its walls, she may be kept prisoner there for an indefinite time and submitted to personal examination under the same compulsions.

Whilst, if she only leaves after the Medical Officer has pronounced her free from disease, she may leave to resume her vocation within the Cantonment upon the certificate of health and with the license of the authorities.

We submit to your Lordship that, if our interpretation of the new proposed Regulations is correct, they may be used to set up again a system of compulsory examination of prostitutes, and to regulate and license, within the Cantonment, the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination; and to certify and license those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

Placing as we do the fullest reliance on your Lordship's determination to enforce the Resolution of the House of Commons, we venture to request that your Lordship will be good enough to consider the arguments and views which we have thought it our duty to bring to your notice in this communication.

We are, &c.,

J. STANSFELD.

JAMES STUART.

16. The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) on the 6th March, 1890, replied to the foregoing letter of Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Stuart by a letter in the following terms, viz. :—

M 2301.

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W.,
6th March, 1890.

GENTLEMEN,

I am desired by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, on the subject

of the new Cantonment Act passed by the Government of India, and the draft rules published under sections 26 and 27 of that Act.

With regard to your complaint that there are no words in the Act limiting or directing the method of the exercise of the power given by the Act of making rules, it is right in the judgment of the Secretary of State that no such words should be embodied in the text of the Act. The effect of such words would have been to make the validity of every order issued under the Act a matter of controversy, dependent on the various interpretations of which its language might be held to admit. The Secretary of State prefers to rely upon the consideration that the Viceroy, for whose acts the Secretary of State is responsible, will not use the power in the manner you suggest as possible.

Sub-section (2) of section 2, to which you call attention, merely keeps alive, until alteration under the powers given by the Act, the existing Rules and Orders, &c. Of these there is a large number—very many of them having no relation whatever to the subject of contagious diseases; and but for the provisions referred to, they would have no foundation to stand upon, inasmuch as the Act repeals the authorities on which they rested. A saving clause of this sort is inserted, almost as a matter of course, in every amending and repealing Act such as is this Cantonment law. But as to the particular Rules condemned by the House of Commons the Secretary of State was informed by the Government of India in answer to an express inquiry in November last, that they were not and would not be continued in operation, and that new Rules, approved by the Secretary of State, would be brought into force as soon as possible after the Act came into operation.

With regard to your anticipation of the use which may be made of the new Regulations, the Secretary of State feels sure that you would consider that it is impossible for the Government to confer special privileges and exemptions upon persons who are suffering from the particular contagious disease to which your letter relates. The Rules treat all persons alike who are suffering from infectious or contagious disorders of whatever kind, and subject them to such restraint only of their individual liberty, as is essential for the general health of the Cantonment.

With regard to the suggestion in your letter that a system of compulsory examination may be again set up, and that certificates of health will be given, or licenses to prostitutes to resume their vocation, the Secretary of State can see nothing in the Rules to lend any colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling to attribute to the Government of India an intention to evade, or to allow any of its officers to evade the explicit instructions which he has issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded for such an accusation.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

JOHN E. GORST.

On the 2nd June, 1890, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State for India protesting against the new Cantonments Act, and pointing out that the Indian Government had disregarded the Resolution of Parliament and Lord Cross's own instructions in despatch of May 17th, 1888.

Notwithstanding these various protests these Rules were finally ratified on the 4th July, 1890, and came into force accordingly, in all Cantonments in India, and

PARS. 16, 17, 18.] ENQUIRY DESIRED.

were subsequently republished in the following form :—

“Government General Order, No. 617, Judicial.

“In continuance of the notification of the Government of India in the Military Department, No. 1,066, dated the 20th December, 1889, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following Rules under section 26, clause (21), and section 27, sub-sections (2) and (4) of the Cantonments Act, 1889, and to direct that they be put in force in all Cantonments in British India.”

App. II., Despatch No. 134, dated 6th Sept., 1892.

Id., p. 9 (No. 4123 D).

Id., p. 28-9.

Desp. No. 11, 18th Jan., 1893.

App. II.

17. In the latter part of the year 1891 a memorial was received by Her Majesty's Viceroy of India from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, together with numerous other memorials from various Kirk Sessions connected with that body, protesting against the practices still continuing under the new Rules in respect of venereal diseases. The Commander-in-Chief was thereupon requested by letter, dated 21st October, 1891, from the Government of India, to cause careful enquiry to be made “whether the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State; and whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the Rules (Nos. 4 and 5 being quoted therein) is resorted to.” On the 24th March, 1892, the Quartermaster-General replied, enclosing various reports from commanding officers in different Cantonments to the general effect that there was no compulsion beyond what is authorised by Rules 4 and 5; and concluding with the expression that the Commander-in-Chief “desires to strongly repudiate what he considers to be most unfounded allegations.” Beyond formal acknowledgment of the memorials no replies were sent to the memorialists.

18. We understand that in February and March, 1893, Mr. Stansfeld and other Members of Parliament made further representations to the Secretary of State, to the effect that they were in possession of trustworthy information that in certain Cantonments in India the Resolution of the House of Commons had been practically disregarded; and urging an immediate enquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons into the matter; and they subsequently, upon requisition, submitted a “Statement of Facts” as to the administration of the Cantonment Act and Rules since 1889, in respect of venereal diseases, within ten Military Cantonments, in the year 1892. This document (which is printed *in extenso* in the Appendix hereto) presented a summary of

the principal facts stated to have been ascertained, in the following terms :—

“ 1. That, within each Cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the sanction of the military authorities :

“(A.) For the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers ;

“(B.) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or Native medical officers ;

“(C.) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any of such women under the orders of the examining officers ;

“(D.) With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment ; or, of expulsion from the Cantonment.

“ 2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and the Regulations made thereunder, are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution, and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes, within the limits of the Cantonments.”

19. After some negotiations and correspondence with the Government, in which the Government expressed the preference for a Departmental Committee over a Select Committee of the House of Commons, such Departmental Committee was appointed, as before-mentioned, and the evidence of the two American ladies and Mr. Bell was taken. The minutes thereof were subsequently transmitted to India as aforesaid, together with the Statement of Facts already referred to. The ten Cantonments referred to in the Statement, and as to which the evidence (principally that of the ladies) was given, were the following :—Lucknow, Meerut, Meer Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Amritsar, Umballa, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares.

20. By a Resolution of the Military Department of the Government of India dated 2nd June, 1893, a Special Commission was appointed “to enquire into the correctness of the allegations in the statement and in the evidence recorded in the accompanying minutes.” The Commission was to consist of Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn (both before named as witnesses), and a native gentleman, Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan. These three Commissioners were directed to proceed to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow (three of the ten Cantonments above-mentioned), “to enquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement (before-mentioned) and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether in their opinion any

App. III., No. 2439 D, encl. to Desp. No. 148 of 1893.

PARS. 20, 21, 22.] INDIAN COMMISSION.

“practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and of the Regulations published under that Act in G.G.O. No. 617 of the 4th July, 1890.” The Commission was further empowered to call witnesses, and the Cantonments authorities were enjoined to give the Commissioners the fullest assistance, &c.

21. Upon comparing the terms of the Secretary of State's reference to this Committee with the language of the instructions to the Special Commission (in India), and before considering their report and the evidence on which it is based, it is apparent that the two references are not identical, for while the duty of the Special Commission has been limited to report whether the alleged practices are true, and if true whether they infringe the Rules of 1890, the duty of this Committee is to enquire and report how far the existing Rules themselves, as well as all practices (whether in accordance with those Rules or being infringements thereof) accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons. In these circumstances, we consider the best course of proceeding is to determine in the first place what are the principal facts established by all the evidence on both sides, now before us, and to reserve that question for subsequent consideration. Accordingly, we proceed to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the Resolution of the House of Commons, in the three Cantonments, viz., Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, visited by the Special Commission, as proved by the evidence collected by them, as well as by the testimony of the non-official witnesses.

THE THREE CANTONMENTS VISITED BY
THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

CHAKLAS.

- Min. 362-70. 22. At Umballā (or Ambala) there is now one
Min. 2620. general chakla used by British soldiers—it is in the
Sadr bazar.* Before 1888 (which, to signify the date of
the Resolution of the House of Commons, may for the
purpose of this part of the report be conveniently
Min. 2621-8. adopted in general) there were three regimental chaklas
for the use of British troops, artillery, cavalry and
infantry. In 1888 these regimental chaklas were
Min. 2629- closed by order and all the prostitutes were directed
2638. to reside in the Sadr bazar. Between 1890 and 1893
S. C. Rep. these regimental chaklas were practically re-established,
par. 34. but in May, 1893, when official inquiry was impending,
Min. 3585-6. they were again closed.

* Sadr (or Sadar or Sudder) bazar—the principal or general bazar in the Cantonment.

While the regimental bazars existed, the women practically belonged to particular regiments. Min 2666-7.

In 1892 there were also two other chaklas in tents located near the camps of two Highland regiments. Min. 349-361.
Min. 2670-76.

There is no separate register of prostitutes now kept by the Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general register of Cantonment residents and therein described as "prostitutes," in the same way as lawful traders are respectively designated by their various trades and occupations. Min. 2646-2655.

The rooms in the Sadr bazar chakla are numbered distinctively (with large numerals) in English character, in addition to the general Cantonment Number of the house. Originally, this was intended to enable a soldier to identify a woman otherwise than by name, and so far as those rooms are still occupied by prostitutes it would still serve the same purpose. Min. 2656-2665.

The chaklas resorted to by British soldiers are included in the general inspection of the military police who patrol the bazar, but they receive this particular supervision that if the police find any native men in these quarters they turn them out; a fact which not only implies extraordinary vigilance, but may perhaps justify the women in stating that they are under guard. Ev. S. C. lines 565-593-600.
Min. 2680-82.
Min. 354.

There is a uniform minimum rate of pay in all these chaklas, ranging from four annas for a private, to one rupee for a sergeant. Min. 532-39.
Min. 2683.

It appears to be a customary rate long established, and is said indeed to be co-eval with British rule. Ev. S. C. 1561.

If the soldier evades payment, he is reported, and compelled to pay, either by the sergeant, or if necessary, some superior officer; in the same way in fact as for goods bought. Min. 2684-5.

Apparently there was (in 1892) a Mahaldarni* in each of the Highland regimental chaklas, who was paid by the women; and it is conclusively proved that there was also a Mahaldarni in the Cavalry bazar chakla (18th Hussars) up to 2nd August, 1892. Min. 511-512.
Min. 3439-40.
Min. 634.

The former practice of the women accompanying regiments to camp, or on the march, appears to have been continued in this Cantonment up to 1892, at least. Min. 2686.
Ev. S. C. lines 805-12.
Ev. S. C. 3381.

23. At Meerut in 1888, the regimental chaklas theretofore existing were closed, and the women sent into the Sadr bazar chakla and the adjoining Lal Kurti (Red coat, *i.e.*, Infantry) bazar chakla. Ev. S. C. lines 2095-2118.
Min. 2714-7.

This created a demand for accommodation which

* Mahaldarni—a forewoman of prostitutes, a procuress, or keeper of a brothel, sometimes erroneously called a "Dhai." (See foot-note; Par. 29.)

- Min. 2718. was met by a new chakla being built in the Sadr bazar as a private speculation by a prostitute (Hira) on Government land granted for the purpose.
- Min. 2720. In 1889 three regimental chaklas were re-opened.
Ev. S. C. The Report of the Lock Hospital for that year has
1235-43. the following entry :—“In July, 1889, with the sanction
Ev. S. C. of the Officers commanding corps, the old regimental
lines 1236, chaklas were re-opened, and that a limited number of
1515-23. women were invited to reside in them on the under-
standing that they would attend the Lock Hospital
weekly for inspection, and if found diseased to remain
in hospital for treatment. . . . The women who
came under this scheme were distributed as follows in
the three regimental bazars, viz., Cavalry, 10; Infantry,
10; Artillery, 14.”
- As copies of the Reports of the Hospitals are forwarded for the information of Superior Authorities, we are unable to see how this could have escaped the notice of those Authorities.
- Min. 232-5. These three chaklas seem to have been open in
S. C. Report February, 1892, although the Special Commissioners
par. 33. were informed they were closed in April, 1891. But in
any case the regimental classification of the women was
kept up in the register of examinations until April, 1893.
- Min. 3409-10. Another chakla in tents at the camp of the West
Min. 256-63. Kent Regiment existed in February, 1892, and sub-
Min. 2732-3. sequently, but it is not clear up to what date.
- Ev. S. C. No separate register of prostitutes is now kept by
lines 962-72. Cantonment Magistrates.
- Ev. S. C. Natives are prohibited and practically prevented
lines 2723-28. from consorting with the women in chaklas frequented
by British soldiers.
- Min. 538. The same customary rate of pay obtains here as at
Min. 2740. Umballa and elsewhere, and which the men were
Min. 2750. compelled, if necessary, to pay.
- Min. 269-70. The Mahaldarni at the Sadr bazar was formerly a
Min. 2755-8. regimental Mahaldarni (for ten years), and possesses
official certificates. She is now paid by a proportion
of the women's earnings.
- Min. 2758. Her duties are, however, the same as before 1888.
- Min. 621-3. In March, 1892, women accompanied West Kent
Min. 2759-61. Regiment from this Cantonment to Chakrata.
Min. 3424-27. 24. At Lucknow.—In 1888 three regimental chaklas
Min. 170. formerly existing were closed, and all the registered
Min. 2761-65. women were directed to reside in the Sadr bazar.
- Min. 184-205. Since 1888 the Sadr bazar chakla is the only one;
it is a large building with accommodation for a great
number of women.
- Min. 2765-7. The rooms are numbered separately for distinction,
as in Umballa.
- Ev. S. C. Natives if found with women frequented by British
2366-9. soldiers are turned out.

PARS. 24, 25, 26.] PERIODICAL EXAMINATION.

The women have the uniform scale of pay as elsewhere. Min. 538.
Min. 2772.
Min. 3309.

Up to July, 1888, there had been four Mahaldarnis at this Cantonment paid from Cantonment Funds.

One of these was continued as dhaj* at the Sudder bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be second matron to the Lock Hospital, and paid ten rupees per month from the Cantonment funds, but she continued to live at the chakla, look after the women, and take them for inspection. Ev. S. C. 1856.
Ev. S. C. 1865-6.
Ev. S. C. 2306.
Ev. S. C. 2500.
Ev. S. C. 2491.

It is stated (and not contradicted) that regiments coming to this Cantonment "brought their women with them." Min. 605-10.

PERIODICAL EXAMINATION.

25. At Umballa.—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were discontinued after 1888, until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital in July, 1890, when weekly examinations were begun of those prostitutes who were living in regimental chaklas—"and there can be little doubt that attendance at examination was "made a condition of permission to reside within those [regimental] limits." Report S. C. par. 74.

Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to the departure of two Highland regiments in March, 1892, and as to all the other regiments there up to 2nd August, 1892. Min. 641 and 2782-90.
Min. 3428-35.

Since the last recorded periodical examination (2nd August, 1892) a certain number or group of prostitutes appear to have been occasionally examined upon a report that they or some of them were diseased. The officials state that these examinations were voluntary. Min. 2792-3.

And upon two occasions a number or group of women came (from the Saḍr bazar) and requested examination for the purpose of disproving the "taunts" of other women that they (the applicants) were diseased. Min. 2814-5.

26. At Meerut.—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were likewise discontinued after 1888 until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital here 25th June, 1889, and the contemporaneous re-opening of the regimental chaklas in which the women were "invited to reside on the understanding that they would attend weekly at the Lock Hospital for examination, "and if diseased, should remain in the hospital until "cured." Rep. S. C. par. 33.
Ev. S. C. 1235.

* See foot-note to par. 29.

PARS. 26, 27, 28.] LOCK HOSPITALS.

Min. 641.
Min. 2816.
Min. 2836-9.
Ev. S. C. 1466.
Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to May, 1893; they appear to have been expressly continued after August, 1892, by the direction of the Cantonment Magistrate, and to have been finally discontinued in May, 1893, on the opinion expressed by the Commanding Officer that he thought they "had better be stopped."

Min. 641.
Min. 2843.
Ev. S. C. 2189.
27. At Lucknow.—The periodical examination at this Cantonment was not discontinued in 1888, but was continued regularly until March, 1892, with one alteration in February, 1891, by making it a semi-weekly inspection instead of weekly as before.

Rep. S. C. lines 1747-50.
1940-45.
Ev. S. C. lines 1897-8.
Ev. S. C. lines 1878-80.
Regular attendance at those examinations, at least by new comers, appears to have been secured by the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate in stipulating that each woman should be examined before granting her permission to reside in the Cantonment. He did not explain to her that the examination was to be periodical. The Cantonment Magistrate says:—"In March, 1892 . . . notice was given to the women that they were free to attend examination or not as they pleased, and the attendance gradually decreased until it almost ceased."

Id., 1880-86.
Ev. S. C. 1899.
In the ensuing summer he specially ordered ten women (who were indicated by soldiers) to leave the Cantonment or submit to examination. Since then up to May, 1893, the weekly examinations appear to have been resumed, and it is said that the attendance has been absolutely voluntary. It is stated that the Cantonment Magistrate "ceased latterly" to send any women for examination on her application for permission to reside in Cantonments.

LOCK HOSPITALS.

Min. 1312-1353.
Min. 3090.
28. At Umballa.—The old Lock Hospital is now used as a branch (section II.) of the General Cantonment Hospital.

Min. 3092-5.
Ev. S. C. 356-9.
It is situated at some distance from the main building, and is used exclusively for women of a specific class, viz., prostitutes, whether their diseases be venereal or otherwise. It was formerly and is still publicly known as the Lock Hospital. The women attend here for periodical examination.

Min. 1325
3098, 3428.
An "attendance register" of all the women periodically examined, and classified according to the six regiments mentioned therein was kept at the hospital, where Dr. Bushnell saw it, subsequently it was produced before the Committee. Such register shows the result of each examination under the

PARS. 28, 29.] LOCK HOSPITALS.

general heading "State" and particular entries, e.g., "Fit,"* "M." (menses), and "Hospital." Min. 3428-35.

The final dates of examination were in 1892, with two in 1891 when particular regiments left.

The book is fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note. Ev. S. C. lines 3190-3230.

The women indicated by "M." do not appear to have been detained in hospital during the period of menstruation.

In addition to that general register two Mahaldarnis kept separate and similar registers; one was seen by Dr. Bushnell, but has not been produced. The other (18th Hussars) has been produced before the Committee, and found to accord with the general register, and to be in the same handwriting, with the like entries and initials. Min. 3440-43. Min. 3451-53. Min. 3449-59.

Other Mahaldarnis in other regimental chaklas kept similar books, and apparently all such books were kept for the information of Commanding Officers. Rep. S. C. 1089.

The register of women attending for periodical examination shows that over a period of the last six months of the stay of each regiment down to the final date of examination (except the two regiments which left in 1891), the percentages of results were as follows: 75.5 per cent. of the women attending were "fit"* (healthy), 10.9 per cent. were diseased, 13.6 per cent. had "menses." Min. 3454.

The correspondence book produced corroborated Dr. Kate Bushnell's evidence as to its contents. Min. 1331-3.

29. At Meerut.—The "contagious branch" of the Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital. The main building is not yet built. In this "branch" the in-patients are women only; there is no male ward. In 1892 all cases, viz., 172, except six (or seven) were venereal, and the patients prostitutes. Min. 1147-1217. Min. 3105-7. Id., 3108. Id., 3109. Id., 3416-17.

The examination is conducted by the dhair† in the presence of the doctor, who makes a further examination if signs of disease are present.

The hospital records comprised a list (or register) of prostitutes attending periodical examination, classified according to regiments, and including also Sadr bazar women; the final date of examination of all being 24th April, 1893. They showed results of each examination as follows:—83.3 per cent. of women Id., 3408-14.

* It has always been contended by the opponents of State Sanction of Vice, though denied by some of its apologists, that the real object of the "Regulation" system everywhere and always has been to make women fit for prostitution. Here it will be seen that the term "Fit" is officially used by the Medical Officer engaged in carrying out the system, who frankly recognises its true object.

† Dhair—a woman, usually an old prostitute, employed in the Lock Hospital to look after the prostitutes; sometimes called a matron, but in no way corresponding to that title as used in England; sometimes employed as a Mahaldarni, and sometimes erroneously called so. (See foot-note, par. 22.)

PARS. 29, 30, 31.] PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS.

attending were "healthy," 4.7 per cent of women attending were diseased; 12.0 per cent. of women attending had "menses."

It does not appear whether the last-mentioned cases were detained in hospital or not. There were other records in books, &c., as to the contents of which evidence was given and fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note, and which confirms Dr. Bushnell's original evidence in that respect.

Ev. S. C.
3320, *et seq.*

Min. 1182-99.

Min. 1063-

1146.

Min. 3113-9.

Min. 3116-21.

30. At Lucknow.—The contagious branch of the General Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital—it is 200 yards away from the main building. For about 20 months (1891-2) it was used as a general hospital. The in-patients were always venereal cases, and only prostitutes admitted.

Lists of prostitutes examined were formerly kept, but afterwards destroyed, and no information as to results of the examinations is now forthcoming.

Ev. S. C.
2187.
Ev. S. C.
2288.
Ev. S. C.
2255.

Women when menstruating were not examined, but were allowed to remain in the hospital during the period.

THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATION AT THE THREE CANTONMENTS CONSIDERED.

31. We have now briefly reviewed all the salient facts as to the practice in the three Cantonments named, as proved by the evidence both non-official and official. We consider the latter not only confirms the former in all essential particulars, but also explains and supplements it to a remarkable extent. But of the facts so proved, one practice stands out in a peculiarly prominent manner, *i.e.*, the periodical examination. It is now clearly demonstrated that this practice was carried on in the three particular Cantonments reported on by the Special Commission, *viz.*, Lucknow, Meerut and Umballa during greater or lesser periods, extending between 1888 and 1893.

Ev. S. C.
2796.

This examination was indeed identical both in purpose and method with that which prevailed before 1888, but differed from it as respects the nature and amount of compulsion, a point more fully discussed in the next paragraph.

It appears therefore expedient at this point to consider this identity in the light of the Report of the Special Commission before passing to the consideration of other Cantonments as to which the evidence is less complete.

We infer from the language of the Report (par. 73) the opinion that the only examination expressly sanctioned by the Rules of 1890, is the occasional examination of persons "supposed" to be diseased, and that view was supported by Mr. Ibbetson's testimony, and in such opinion we concur.

Min. 2928.

PARS. 31, 32.] PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS.

We likewise agree in the opinion expressed in par. 87 (line 1,965) that "the 'supposition' of the "Rules must be based upon reasonable grounds," *i.e.*, it must not be merely imaginative.

It is not pretended that the regular periodical examination of all the prostitutes whose names were recorded in the hospital lists or registers, was an examination founded on any actual supposition that all or even the majority of those women, or any particular woman were, or was, diseased. And any such supposition, even if suggested, would be obviously unreasonable, for the result shows that the average number of women found to be diseased out of the total number who came up for examination was at one of the three places (*i.e.*, Meerut), under 5 per cent., and at another (Umballa), under 11 per cent.

We are precluded from making any comparison of results at the third place (Lucknow), in consequence of the system which prevailed there of destroying the temporary records made at the hospital.

For the reasons above-stated, therefore, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that the practice of periodical examination within those three Cantonments, as proved, was not sanctioned by the existing Act and Rules and was therefore illegal.

32. We now approach the consideration of the crucial question whether the periodical examination was "voluntary" or "compulsory" at the three Cantonments in question.

As to (1) Meerut, it is admitted by the Report of the Special Commission upon the facts stated that "to say the least, the system approached dangerously Rep. S. C. par. 76 and 87. "near to compulsion," and in our opinion it amounted to compulsion.

At (2) Umballa, the attendance at examination was made the condition of permission to reside in Regimental bazars. To this case we apply the words cited above that the system approached "dangerously near to "compulsion."

As to the other women (Sadr bazar), the fact that some of them desired to utilise the Government institution and its officers for the purpose of disproving the "taunts" of other women imputing disease to the applicants, does not appear to us to justify the maintenance of the practice of examination even as a purely voluntary system.

Finally as to (3) Lucknow, the facts stated in the report and evidence taken by the Special Commission as to the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate there, appear to us to show that if not devised for the purpose of securing attendance at the periodical examinations, it had the effect of inducing the new comers at least to attend.

Older residents would be already habituated to the former compulsory system.

But the best evidence that the women did in fact consider their periodical attendance compulsory is, we think, furnished by the significant fact that when in March, 1892, the Cantonment Magistrate for the first time explained to the women that they were free to attend or not as they pleased, the attendance gradually decreased until it almost ceased. After that it appears to us that any discussion as to whether the examination up to that time (at Lucknow) had been voluntary or compulsory is merely academic.

33. The question as to whether a given obligation is voluntary or compulsory is, we consider, different according to whether the obligation existed between persons equal in education, position and other circumstances, or between persons of whom the obligee stands in superior conditions to those of the obligor.

In the former case a specific obligation might be merely voluntary, which in the latter case would be practically compulsory.

This principle is applied in paragraph 83 of the report of the Special Commission with admirable lucidity to the two sets of persons concerned as parties in the present question, and we cannot conclude our observations on this topic more appropriately than by adopting and quoting their observations *in extenso*.

“The fact is, that the question whether any particular action can be said to be voluntary, presents two entirely different aspects according as it is looked at from the point of view of the official or from that of the woman. The action of the officer may be merely persuasive, and entirely free from any tinge of compulsion. But for countless generations the *marzi hâkim*, or pleasure of the governor, and the *hukm hâkim*, or order of the governor, have been equivalent terms in India. The idea that the local representatives of Government do not always possess authority to compel people to do all that they may wish them to do, and that there is a law which limits their power, is, at any rate as regards executive matters, an entirely novel conception, which may be said to have had its birth (in the Punjab at least) within the last 15 years, which is still filtering slowly down through the masses of the people, and which is even now fully apprehended by but few. There is still a strong tendency to receive the expression of his wish by one in authority as equivalent to a command. Add to this the extraordinary tenacity with which observances, once established, survive in India; and it becomes impossible to say how far a given result is due to the personal influence of an

Ev. S. C.
1878—80.

Rep. S. C.
1873.

"official, how far to his position of authority, and how far to a mere continuation of a traditional observance."

34. To sum up therefore our conclusions as to the practice of periodical examination in these three particular Cantonments—Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow—we are of opinion that such practice of periodical examination, accompanied by methods of securing attendance which so far as they were effective were practically compulsory, justifies the allegations of the non-official witnesses in that respect.

The consideration of the other facts proved as to matters incidental or subsidiary to that system of examination will be more conveniently considered in connection with correlative facts as to other Cantonments to which we now proceed.

THE SEVEN OTHER CANTONMENTS NOT VISITED BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

35. The evidence as to these consists of (1) the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell; (2) the reports from General Officers commanding in the several districts mentioned and constituting the enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in the Military Despatch, No. 148 of 1893 (which are hereinafter referred to generally as the Military Reports, the references being more briefly denoted by the letters M.R., with the numbers of the lines indicated).

The fact that no official witness was called before us to give personal testimony as to any of these Cantonments, in the same manner as the three Cantonments before-mentioned, visited by the Special Commission, obliges us to deal with the materials before us in a different manner than with the evidence relating to those three Cantonments, viz., by stating in the first place the effect of the case set forth in the evidence of the non-official witnesses, and in the next place the effect of the official reports made in reply thereto.

It is, however, necessary for us to state that the *précis*, or summary forwarded with the Military Reports of the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission is, in our opinion, inexact and misleading.

It will be convenient to deal with this evidence in the order followed originally as to the Cantonments in question by the non-official witnesses, viz. :—Mean Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritsar, Bareilly, Sitapur, Benares. And the practices at each of these places may also be conveniently dealt with under the three general heads hereinbefore adopted, viz. :—(1.) The chaklas, &c.; (2.) The periodical examination; (3.) The Hospitals.

- Min. 266-279. 35. **Mean Meer.** (1.) **The Chaklas.**—The principal allegations in the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell were (in short) that in February, 1892, they visited this Cantonment and there saw three chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar; (2) Regimental bazar (infantry); (3) Regimental bazar (artillery), and that the women paid rent.
- M.R. 940-951. The reports admit that prostitutes were allowed to
M.R. 3100-10. reside in the two regimental bazar chaklas, infantry and artillery, which were used exclusively for British soldiers—and in the Sadr bazar, which chakla was open to natives—and that the women paid rent, but not to Government.
- M.R. 3130.
- Min. 424-433. It was also alleged that the women were “registered,” and a ticket (license) issued to one of them was produced, with a record of examinations endorsed. These facts are admitted absolutely. The tickets are stated to have been re-issued between March, 1890, and May, 1892, and then discontinued. But it was subsequently proved by the production of the book of forms seen in the hospital by Mrs. Andrew that further requisitions for 19 tickets were made by the Hospital Surgeon on the 15th June, 1892. The Royal Artillery officers stated that no tickets for women in the Regimental bazars had been issued by them, but it appears from the book that 20 such tickets had been issued by the Staff-Surgeon between February, 1891, and June, 1892.
- Min. 3498. It was also alleged that the women were under
Min. 421-430. Mahaldarnis, one of whom said she was paid by Government. The Military Reports deny that any Mahaldarni was paid by Government, but admit that her “duties practically continue the same” (as before 1888).
- Id., 3491-8. It was at first admitted that the women accompanied
M.R. Suppl. some troops on the march to this Cantonment, but this
95. was subsequently denied.
- Min, 3500.
- Min. 486-95. (2.) **The periodical examination.**—It was alleged that the regimental prostitutes were subjected to a compulsory periodical examination bi-monthly by British Medical Officers, assisted by native assistant and dhai. It is admitted that “registered women were required to present themselves for examination “bi-monthly (meaning fortnightly)—the examinations “were not limited to women consorting with British “soldiers only. The examination was made by a “British Medical Officer. Each Medical Officer had, it “appears, his own way of conducting the examination. Sometimes they were made in the presence “of the Native Medical Officer, Mahaldarni or “dhai, and sometimes only in the presence of the “Mahaldarni.”
- Suppl. M.R. p. 42, line 169.
- Min. 641.
- M.R. 3141-6.

It is also admitted that "if a woman failed to present herself for examination the Medical Officer reported the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who probably fined her for non-attendance, and ordered her to attend or leave the Cantonment." M.R. 3156-9.

And also that "a woman who had left the Cantonment could not practice prostitution in it again until she had been examined." M.R. 3159.

With respect to the alleged "compulsory" character of the examination, it is also stated, as to the re-established periodical examinations, that they "were so far voluntary that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examinations she was told she *must* either be examined or leave the station." *Id.*, 996.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—No specific allegation was made as to the use of this particular hospital; but it is admitted (June, 1893) that "the hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was formerly exclusively used under the name of the Voluntary Venereal Hospital and Contagious Diseases Ward for the treatment of venereal diseases contracted by regimental prostitutes." That appears to have been the case, at least up to May, 1892 (the non-official witnesses visited it in February, 1892). M.R. 3162-5. M.R. 3170.

37. **Rawal Pindi. (1.) The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged by the non-official witnesses that there were in February, 1892, four chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar (as to which there is no question), and three others in the new Cantonment near the regimental bazars for (1) Highlanders, (2) Artillery and (3) Rifles. Min. 282-3.

As to the regimental chaklas, it is admitted that the tenants of the several chaklas "other than those in the Sadr, are in the habit of speaking of themselves as belonging to such and such a regiment." It is also admitted that two of these chaklas were in the Church lines*—which were part and parcel of the bazar—and that they were undistinguishable from other houses. The third regimental chakla was near the Royal Artillery bazar, and consisted of huts in the deserted grass cutters lines. The huts were at first denied, but afterwards admitted to be within the regimental limits and were "allocated by authority for the use of prostitutes," but were turned out in April, 1893. M.R. 2900. M.R. 1951-63. —1163-5. M.R. 3365. M.R. 2910. M.R. 3432.

Women wishing to reside in the Cantonment for the purpose of prostitution made application by petition "evidently under the impression that the old Lock Hospital Rules were still in force." Notwithstanding explanations to the contrary, the number of such Note to Tabular Statement— M.R. p. lxxvi.

* *Church lines.*—This appears to be a mere geographical indication of a locality.

- applications steadily increased, viz., in 1889, one; in 1890, two; in 1891, five; in 1892, six; in 1893, up to June, five.
- Min. 496-501. It was alleged that there was in each of the regimental chaklas a head woman (Mahaldarni) one of whom (the Highlanders) showed certificates of service up to November, 1891. She also said that she received 15 rupees per month "from the Government." The others said they were paid by the women.
- Id.*, 920-39.
- M.R. 2938-50. It is admitted that there are Mahaldarnis, and that the description of the certificates is correct, but denied that any such woman is paid out of Cantonment funds.
- M.R. 2958.
- (2.) The Periodical Examination. It was alleged that the women were examined weekly on Fridays, which is admitted.
- Min. 641.
- Min. 1263.
- M.R. 1666.
- M.R. 2077-83. In the Hospital Letter Book appears a copy letter dated 4th March, 1891, addressed to the commanding officer of each of five different regiments in the following terms :—
- [Surgeon] "Has the honour to request he will be good enough to make arrangements for the inspection of the prostitutes living in the bazar under his command at the Cantonment Hospital on every Friday at 9 a.m., established for the purpose."
- M.R. 2084. The enquiries instituted respecting this letter produced no satisfactory results.
- 2120.
- M.R. 2985-90. It is asserted by the Military Authorities that the periodical examination is voluntary, and that no compulsion is used beyond the powers conferred by the Rules of 1890, and apparently the Cantonment Magistrate thinks that even the examination of a woman reported to be diseased and dealt with accordingly under the Rules (with penalties for disobedience, of expulsion, or fine, or imprisonment) is a voluntary examination. It was admitted, however, that a woman simply absent from examination was required to go up for examination; they then always attended, or absconded; sometimes they were brought by the police.
- M.R. 1835. It is also admitted that some of the women came (to examination) with the Mahaldarnis—that each Mahaldarni brought a list, on which were the names of the women; it was returned with the doctor's remarks. The lists generally referred to the women who consorted with European soldiers.
- M.R. 1840. It is admitted by the Hospital Assistant that a list was kept there of all the prostitutes who came to be examined from the Sadr bazar, and that the Mahaldarnis brought lists of regimental women, which were returned to them; one of the lists was from the British infantry, the other one from the artillery.
- Id.*, 1709.
- M.R. 3556-60. About 25 to 35 used to come (which confirms Dr. Bushnell's evidence), but he could not say whether they
- Min. 1268.

came voluntarily. The Mahaldarni at the Artillery Min. 741. bazar said if the women did not go they would be fined, and that she saw that they all went.

(3.) The Lock Hospital.—The fact that the books and records seen by Dr. Bushnell at this hospital; Min. 3525. and requisitioned, have not been produced before the Committee, precludes any comparison of evidence on this subject.

Dr. Bushnell's evidence as to the records for 1891; Min. 1247-54. showing that none but venereal cases were treated there, consequently stands uncontradicted.

The statement in the Summary of the Military Reports, that "no woman was compulsorily detained" M.R. Summary, p. 2 in hospital, is confirmed by some witnesses but conflicts (foot). with the evidence of the Hospital Assistant that the M.R. 3618. Medical Officer ordered their detention till cured; "the "compound door was locked, and there was a chowdikaar " (watchman) at the gate."

38. Peshawar. (1.) The Chaklas, &c.—It was alleged on the part of the non-official witnesses that on their visit (February, 1892), they found that all the registered women had been turned out of the Regimental bazar and congregated in the Sadr bazar, and that the houses inhabited by those women bore two numbers, the larger ones in English numerals, which signified the registered numbers of the women. There were said to be over 50 registered women. It is admitted that the women live in the Sadr bazar as described, and that the second set of numbers exists on some of the houses, but it is stated to have "no meaning in 1892." It is also admitted that a list was commenced in 1890, but stated that no register was kept or tickets issued since April, 1891. The women here said they accompanied regiments on the march. It is admitted women may follow regiments, but asserted there is no proof that they have accompanied them. Min. 301-11. Min. 316-32. M.R. 2177. Id., 2262. Id., 2183. Id., 2270. Id., 2317. Min. 633. M.R. 2280.

(2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that the women came up for periodical examination on two days in each week: Monday for the (original) Sadr bazar women, Tuesday for the women formerly in the Regimental bazar. This is practically admitted, and is confirmed by the hospital register (see *post*). It was alleged that the native doctor said that women would not come to the examination unless compelled. That official is reported to deny the statement attributed to him. The women themselves said they were compelled to attend the examinations. M.R. 2259. Min. 743. M.R. 2291 and 2305. Min. 744-6.

(3.) The Lock Hospital.—The non-official witnesses alleged that at the Lock Hospital they saw the registration list of women periodically examined. It contained 56 names. Min. 333-44. Min. 1281.

PARS. 38, 39, 40.] AMRITZAR, BAREILLY.

- Min. 3515-3517. The hospital register of attendance at the periodical examination, now produced, shows that the periodical examinations were regularly maintained on Monday and Tuesday of each week, down to 29th February, 1892.
- Min. 1276-7. It was alleged that only one patient was seen in the hospital, a prostitute of the Sadr bazar.
- Min. 1286. That the native doctor said the hospital was for venereal cases of women only—and that the report showed none but venereal cases, except one case of small-pox, which was sent away. Also that the report seen showed that there were about 200 cases treated in the year 1891—no cases of secondary syphilis.
- Min. 1292. The hospital books now produced confirmed these statements.
- Min. 1297-8. N.B.—The official information afforded as to this Cantonment in general is manifestly incomplete in some material particulars.
- Min. 3523-4. 39. Amritzar. (1.) The Chaklas, &c.—It was alleged that here there was one chakla frequented by British soldiers, with only five women and a Mahaldarni. This is not denied.
- M.R. 2159, 2227, 2273 and 2316. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that the periodical examination here was “bi-monthly.” This is admitted. The examination is asserted by the officials to be entirely voluntary.
- Min. 293-8. But the women said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the Cantonment.
- M.R. 858-62. (3.) The Lock Hospital.—It was alleged that on the visit of the non-official witnesses there were no patients.
- Min. 641. This is admitted. The books were not seen.
- M.R. 865. 40. Bareilly. (1.) The Chaklas, &c. — The principal allegation of the non-official witnesses was that they saw here (March, 1892) one chakla (Sadr bazar), with about 25 women; other women had left with regiments. It is admitted that the majority of the houses (in this chakla) belong to the Matron of the Cantonment Hospital. Her name is given as Mrs. Barrett, and she appears to be in some way associated with the clerk to the Cantonment Magistrate, a person named Hyland, and she is also known as Mrs. Hyland.
- Min. 747-8. The women said that only Europeans were allowed to visit them. This is denied, but it is said that no doubt the bawdy-house keeper “tried to reserve her assistance in so doing.”
- Min. 1302-11. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- M.R. 876. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.
- Min. 371-6. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- M.R. 571-3. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.
- M.R. 716-20. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- Min. 1379. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.
- Min. 3553-6. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- M.R. 710. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.
- M.R. 596. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- Min. 513. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.
- M.R. 775-80. (2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and
- Min. 639. The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied.

it is admitted that the medical officer prescribed the M.R. 593. times of examination.

The women said that if they did not attend they Min. 753. would be turned out of the Cantonment.

The officials say there was absolutely no compulsion, M.R. 595. but it was "noticed that a woman accompanied the "others to examination."

(3.) The Lock Hospital.—The non-official witnesses Min. 1354-79. testified that they saw various official books, &c., here which were afterwards produced before the Committee.

In the visiting book the last entry of the medical Min. 3532-5. officer holding the "voluntary inspection" was 14th January, 1893, when 22 women were examined—none diseased.

The admission book of patients showed the treat- Min. 1362. ment of several non-venereal cases. Min. 3538.

With respect to this Cantonment Major-General Graham, commanding the Rohilkhand District, in his Report, states: "It would be a great boon to Canton- M.R. 826-9. ments if Cantonment Hospitals (Lock Hospitals) "were closed and Government charitable dispensaries "founded in their place. The Cantonment Hospital is "a great burden on the Cantonment fund, while owing "to its previous history, it is not well received by the "classes whom it might be desirable to help."

41. Sitapur. (1.) The Chaklas.—The non-official witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was Min. 389-96. (March 5th, 1892) one chakla in the Sadr bazar.

This is admitted.

The women there said they paid no rent, "the house M.R. 4594. belongs to the Government." Min. 396.

It is admitted that this chakla was on the given date M.R. 4616-20. "Government property," and that the women were in occupation, paying no rent.

It is stated the house was afterwards sold in May, M.R. 4614. 1892.

(2.) The Periodical Examination.—It was alleged Min. 641. that the examination here was weekly.

It is admitted that periodical examinations were M.R. 4577- regularly held up to 12th July, 1892. The women in 4705-29. the chakla here said that the examinations were Min. 754. voluntary, but that if they did not go, they would be expelled from the Cantonment. It is admitted that "some of the women say the inspections were volun- M.R. 4571. "tary, others that they were compulsory."

(3.) The Lock Hospital.—It was alleged that the Min. 1395- only in-patients treated here were venereal diseases of 1400. the women at the chakla.

The Annual Report for 1891, there seen showed only venereal cases.

This Report has not been produced before the Committee.

- M.R. 4818.
M.R. 4830.
M.R. 4628-4640.
- But it is admitted that only venereal cases were treated in 1892 in the hospital, and all these were prostitutes. It is also admitted that a list or register of women attending periodical examinations up to 12th July, 1892, was kept in the hospital, but it has not been produced.
- Min. 397-400. 42. Benares. (1.) The Chakla, &c.—It was alleged that in March, 1892, there was only one chakla at this place, and that the women who lived there paid no rent.
- M.R. 105.
M.R. 127.
M.R. 210.
- It is admitted that during the first quarter of the year 1892 native women did occupy the chakla, and no denial is given as to the statement concerning the rent.
- Min. 402.
M.R. 125.
Min. 517-22.
- The women said they were restricted to British soldiers, and no official denial of this is given.
- M.R. 207.
- The Mahaldarni said she acted also as "Dhai" at the Lock Hospital, and was paid ten rupees per month. The woman herself admits that she [*may have*] used the two titles, but says she "never did the two works."
- M.R. 245-50.
M.R. 175.
- The payment is admitted as correct.
- It is admitted that a register of the women was kept in the Cantonment Office up to 23rd October, 1890.
- Min. 641.
- (2.) The Periodical Examination.—The examinations were alleged to take place weekly.
- M.R. 260.
- It is admitted that periodical examinations were made, but it is suggested (although not affirmed) that the women ceased to attend before March, 1892.
- Min. 755.
- The women said they would have to leave the Cantonment if they did not attend the examination.
- M.R. 260.
- It is officially stated that the examinations were of a "purely voluntary kind," but that the women, regarded them as being in effect compulsory, is not denied.
- Min. 1422.
- (3.) The Lock Hospital.—It was alleged there were no patients in the hospital on 12th March, 1892, which is not denied.
- Min. 1425-7.
- A registration list of women attending examination was alleged to have been then seen, recording the names of 16 women. This has not been produced before the Committee, and the statement is not contradicted.
- Min. 1428.
- An admission book of indoor cases was also seen, and is now produced; it shows the cases were all venereal cases and all women.
- Min. 352 8-9.
- It shows also that women were here for "menses," 25 cases out of 34 in-patients, from January 1st to March 12th, 1892.
- M.R. 156-160.
- It is officially stated that women in that condition "voluntarily remained in hospital," during which period they received the Government allowance for in-patients.

MEAN MEER SPECIALLY CONSIDERED.

43. We have now recapitulated the principal allegations and admissions as to the practice in respect of prostitutes in the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission.

But before considering the facts which pertain in general to those several places, it seems expedient to notice in particular the exceptional circumstances at Mean Meer, which remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments.

It appears from the Reports from the officers commanding in that Cantonment and district already referred to, that the old system, with all its essential features of registration, licensing (by tickets), and compulsory periodical examination, was not only in full operation there at the time of the visit (February, 1892) of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, but that such practices had been deliberately revived in that Cantonment in March, 1890, after a temporary cessation, dating apparently from 1888. Yet the official statements before us do not enable us to decide ever that fact satisfactorily, for although the Report of the officer commanding states that the

M.R. 99r.

"registration of prostitutes was stopped in August, 1888," the Report of the Medical Officer of the Lock Hospital there, dated 1st February, 1889, shows that the average number of prostitutes on the register in October, 1888, was 54. Moreover if the statement in the first-mentioned Report is intended to imply that periodical examination also ceased at the same time as registration (which in the absence of any statement seems a fair inference), that also is inconsistent with the Medical Officer's Report, which explicitly states that "inspections for the examination of all registered prostitutes were held regularly every week, but since the 10th December, 1888, no examination has been made."

Lock Hospital Reports (Punjab) for year, 1888, Mean Meer, p. 4.

In addition to this there is the fact that in November, 1891, the General Commanding Officer of the Lahore district, in which this Cantonment is comprised, reported to the Quartermaster-General that he "had made most careful enquiries . . ." and was "fully satisfied that the Military Authorities are keeping strictly within the Act and Rules."

However, the admitted fact of the revival of the old system in March, 1890, is attributed to some "extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate." This misconception arose on receipt of Quartermaster-General's No. 283B, dated 28th June, 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment at Mean Meer Lock Hospital, to which we shall afterwards advert.

M.R. 898.

M.R. 994.
Suppl. M.R.
180.

PARS. 43, 44, 45.] PERIODICAL EXAMINATION.

With regard to the fact, however, we are informed by the Commanding Officer that "it was brought to my notice in May, 1892, that tickets were being issued to "prostitutes at Mean Meer;" on which we have only to remark that at that very time, one of those tickets was in the possession of the lady witnesses, instead of the woman to whom it had been issued.

Taken altogether the circumstances as to this Cantonment disclosed by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, which was verified in the most essential particulars by their production of the ticket, as well as by the Official Reports, appear to us to have required special investigation, even in preference to any of the other Cantonments; and we therefore regret that it did not form the subject of exhaustive inquiry by Mr. Ibbetson and his coadjutors, in order that the whole truth about the matter might have been at once ascertained. As it is, we are still left very much in the dark, for even the late Commander-in-Chief was unable to explain the facts, and could only express his regret for the practices proven.

Min. 2007-
2028.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

44. Reverting now to general topics we will consider, in the next place, The periodical examination in the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission. Upon this subject, likewise, as in the case of the three Cantonments to which the Report of that Commission is restricted, the effect of the official evidence as represented by the numerous Reports of the Military Authorities and others as to the practices in those other Cantonments, is upon the whole to demonstrate the correctness on all essential points of the testimony of the non-official witnesses, and more particularly as to the maintenance in all these Cantonments of the practice of periodical examination. It is therefore manifest that in all the ten Cantonments which have been the subject of enquiry, that practice has been maintained with more or less continuity at different places from 1888 down to the present time.

45. As to the periodical examination in general.—The practice so maintained in all the ten Cantonments mentioned has, both in purpose and performance, been the same since 1888 as before that time. The examination of the women resorted to by British soldiers was, as we have seen, the cardinal point of the former system; it is still, to adopt the description of the present Commander-in-Chief, "the keystone of the "whole preventive system." That examination for the purpose intended must, in practice, take place at such prescribed times as may be convenient—*i.e.*, it

App. III.
Genl. White's
Min. 1/7/93.
par. 10.

Id. par. 12.

must be periodical; and to be effective, regular attendance must be ensured; which implies that in cases of reluctance or abstinence, the attendance must be enforced, with the ultimate alternative of expulsion from the Cantonment. In practice this is exactly how the system of periodical examination has, we find, been worked.

Our conclusion, as to the practice of periodical examinations so proved, therefore, is that a system of periodical examination, which in effect is a compulsory system, was maintained after 1888 in the several Indian Cantonments mentioned, and that such practice was contrary to the meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

46. As to Registration, and Licensing of Prostitutes.—The practice of periodical examination is also proved to have been associated, in all the Cantonments as to which the evidence is complete, with two other important practices, viz. :—

(1.) The entry in the general register kept by the Cantonment Magistrate, of the description of "prostitutes" of numerous women living in assigned quarters within the Cantonments, in the same way as other inhabitants carrying on lawful business in allocated positions are described by their occupations.

(2.) The keeping at the Lock Hospitals where the periodical examination takes place of a "register" or "list" of women attending the examination, in which the names and places of residence of such women are entered, and the results of each examination recorded.

In some cases also the Mahaldarnis associated with women designated after particular regiments possess similar registers or lists, with identical entries authenticated by the initials of the examining surgeon.

Upon these facts it appears to us that even although the former practice of formal "registration" and "licensing" (by tickets) may have been discontinued since 1888, in all the given Cantonments, except Meer Meer, yet that all materials for effective registration nevertheless still exist; inasmuch as a comparison of the hospital lists and books in the possession of Mahaldarnis with the general register would show which prostitutes were not attending the periodical examination, and which of those who were so attending were attributed to different regiments.

We regret, therefore, to find that even in the modified circumstances we have referred to, there is in effect a system of registration which, whilst it recognises prostitution, in general as an occupation permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further afford to the prostitutes who attend the periodical

examination, a special recognition by the authorities, which is unique, both in its character and its object.

It appears to us inevitable that such recognition should be regarded at least by the women themselves as distinctive, and that they should cling to that opinion, notwithstanding repeated official efforts to constrain them to think differently.

With respect to the soldiers concerned, it appears to us to be an idle contention that the Government in no way recognise prostitution, in face of the fact that the system of periodical examination, with all its incidental circumstances, was expressly maintained for the benefit of those men engaged in its military service.

Besides, there remains the significant fact that the large majority (at Meerut over 83 per cent.) of the women examined were found "fit" or "healthy" (in a specific sense), and passed forth from the examination room with perfect liberty to resume their usual occupation.

It is true that since 1888 (except at Mean Meer) they have not been individually furnished with any written proof of examination; but the exact time of such examination must be known to those concerned, and under such circumstances the liberty of the woman herself after examination is the best evidence of "fitness" for the purpose intended by herself, and her customers.

Moreover, wherever the Mahaldarnis' lists exist there is an actual certificate by the constituted authority that each particular woman then at liberty is "fit" or "healthy" in the specific sense implied. And the fact that the certificate in this case is possessed by the Mahaldarni instead of by the woman as formerly, places the latter more completely in the power of her keeper.

Upon all these facts therefore our conclusion is, that the actual practice constitutes in effect a system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes, which is not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

47. **The Lock Hospitals in general.**—The general allegation of the non-official witnesses as to these hospitals, was that although they are now officially called "Sections" or "Wards" of General Cantonment Hospitals, in which all diseases and disorders are treated, and although such general Cantonment Hospitals are officially spoken of as if the old Lock Hospitals had been absolutely abolished, yet that in fact the original Lock Hospitals actually remained as separate buildings with a staff, and that they are used almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes, for two principal purposes: (a) the periodical examination, and (b) the cure of those women found on examination to

PARS. 47, 48, 49.] OFFICIAL RULES.

be diseased. It was also alleged that no infectious diseases are treated in those particular hospitals; that as a rule no patients other than prostitutes are admitted; and that the non-venereal cases treated in them are only few and occasional.

All these allegations have been substantially proved by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, the production of the hospital records seen by them on their several visits, and the evidence of Dr. Cleghorn (the present Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab) on behalf of the Government of India. The voluntary information afforded to us by the last-named witness describes very plainly the whole system, in reply to questions 3122-6: "With regard to those Cantonment general hospitals, they have been drawn up on the same plans as military hospitals. In a military hospital there is a station hospital, and sections 1 and 2. They wanted to assimilate, I suppose, these special hospitals in Cantonments to these military hospitals, and they built the Cantonment General Hospital with a general hospital, and then special sections 1 and 2 (1) for contagious diseases and cholera and small-pox, and (2) for venereal cases. But it was the same thing. So long as these periodical examinations were continued, there must be a hospital for venereal diseases, and they considered that these examinations were entirely voluntary, and they continued the old system of having a separate venereal hospital, and called it section No. 2; but it was the old Lock Hospital undoubtedly, in every way." "They are the old Lock Hospitals for prostitutes, and no other change has taken place, except that they have been made a section of the Cantonments General Hospital." "They are separate buildings." "Always used as Lock Hospitals." "And practically for the same purpose now."

Min. 1063-
1436, 3407-
3542.
Ev. S. C.
3185-3446.

Min.

We accept these statements as conclusive upon this point.

48. In view of all the facts before noticed, which appear to us to demonstrate a general failure to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons, and the avowed determination of the Government of India and the late Commander-in-Chief, to give the fullest effect to that Resolution, in spirit as well as in letter, we think it advisable briefly to review the means employed for the intended purpose, which consisted of two principal agencies, viz. :—

(1.) Official Rules and Regulations, both civil and military.

(2.) The Statutory Rules of 1890.

49. As to the Official Rules and Regulations.—
We have already reported (see par. eleven hereof) the

steps taken by the Government of India consequent upon the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and more particularly their declared intention to consider the Rules under the then existing Acts; and their direction that, "pending the issue of revised rules, the existing Rules should be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practice prostitution."

From time to time numberless other communications of various kinds, comprising Government General Orders, regimental Orders, reports, and letters, both official and demi-official, "confidential," and "strictly confidential," were issued and sent to various administrative officers, both civil and military. One of these was a demi-official letter, dated 10th March, 1892, part of which is quoted in Despatch No. 148, of 1893, par. eleven, and in which the following illustrative application of the principle laid down was stated: "If, even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of Cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the Supreme Military Authorities, to carry out loyally the Resolution of the House of Commons, would be defeated." Whilst in the next paragraph the Government of India requests the Commander-in-Chief to instruct General Officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit the intention and the Resolution of the House of Commons of June the 5th, 1888.

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Assuming, for the moment, that all these directions, orders, &c., were sufficient in themselves to carry out the intention of the House of Commons' Resolution, it seems manifest, in the first place, that effective measures should have been instituted to ascertain that the directions and orders were implicitly obeyed, and careful enquiries should have been instituted to see what changes in practice, and more particularly with regard to the periodical examinations, had been made in each Cantonment, and whether such changes were in themselves adequate to fulfil the intention.

But it does not appear that systematic measures or enquiries of the kind were instituted.

Had they been, it must, we think, have been discovered that in some of the ten Cantonments mentioned (e.g., Mean Meer, Umballa, Meerut), regimental chaklas had been re-opened; that at one of these (i.e., Mean Meer) even formal registration and licensing (by tickets) had been re-established; that, in all of these stations the periodical examination

had been either unceasingly continued or speedily resumed; that at Umballa women attended periodical examinations under pain of being turned out of the Regimental bazars; that at Meerut they attended examinations under pain of being turned out of the Cantonments, and that at Lucknow it appears to have been to some extent considered by the women as compulsory; and that, in short, the old system as represented substantially by the periodical examination was still in active operation. With regard to this question of compulsion the statement of the Indian Government in the document above quoted, paragraph 12 is, "That there was no compulsion beyond that authorised in Rules 4 and 5, G.G.O. 617, of 1890, relating to the exclusion from Cantonments of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disease who refused to go to hospital, or having gone to hospital left it before they were pronounced free from the disorder."

In some cases, indeed, it appears incidentally from the documentary evidence before us, that the Orders, &c., themselves failed to receive more than initial attention. For instance, at Umballa, the documents being marked "strictly confidential," after being read, were locked up in a "confidential box," and were not conveyed to the officers commanding two Highland regiments which subsequently arrived at Umballa. Ev. S. C. 3613.

At another Cantonment (Rawal Pindi) the Orders, instead of being locked up in a special box, were "filed," and escaped the attention of the officer commanding the Artillery at the station. M.R. 3270-90.

In numerous other cases the Orders, &c., were said to have been misinterpreted, of which result the most striking example, in all respects, is that of Meer, where, upon the receipt, in January, 1890, from the Quartermaster-General, of an authority for an increase in the staff of the Lock Hospital "from some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate," women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspection made for more than two years afterwards, before the practice was discontinued as before-mentioned. M.R. 993. M.R. 898-900.

The explanation of the Cantonment Magistrate is too significant to be overlooked: "The construction placed upon the Quartermaster-General's letter was that sanction having been obtained for the establishment of a first-class Lock Hospital, it would of course be worked on the former lines." And he points out that when such sanction was given "no caution or warning whatever was given to be careful that the Rules as to registration, &c., must be implicitly adhered to." Suppl. M.R. 153-6. Suppl. M.R. 158-160.

We think the point of this latter observation is indeed quite as applicable to other cases of disregard or misin-

PARS. 49, 50.] RULES NOT PROHIBITORY.

terpretation of Rules and Orders, and more particularly the Rules of 1890, which we now proceed to consider specifically.

Des. No. 193,
of 1888, dated
15th Oct.

50. The Statutory Rules of 1890.—These Rules were projected in 1888, with a specific object, as declared by the Government of India, viz., “whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases.”

Now as venereal disease is the only contagious disease for which any periodical examination ever has been made, it is manifest at the outset, that there was no intention by means of those Rules to legalise the periodical examination, whether “voluntary” or “compulsory.”

But there is nothing in the Rules either in their original draft, or in their final form, having statutory effect, or in the Act, which gave them such effect, to prohibit such examination, or to preclude any interpretation that they were intended to be worked in connection with the practice of such examination.

In themselves those Rules were compatible either with the old system of compulsory examination, or the intended new system of voluntary examination.

Min. 2704-6. They are, as Mr. Ibbetson admitted, merely “subsidiary legislation;” they “merely authorise certain courses of action, and do not prohibit any.” There is nothing in them which prohibits any system. Accordingly, the practices proved to be existing in different Cantonments, in respect of the chaklas, as already reported, do not in themselves infringe the Rules of the Act, although such practices may be in contravention of Government or Military Orders, &c.

Min. 2920-26. The same is true as to the periodical examination.

Min. 2927-8. The Rules authorise a certain form of examination on certain occasions and in specific circumstances; they do not authorise any periodical form of examination whatever, but they do not forbid it. It is the same with regard to the use of the Lock Hospital. “They simply prescribe that hospitals shall be maintained for the treatment of those disorders, and go no further.”

Min. 2930-1. It appears to us manifest, therefore, that having regard to the express terms in which those Rules were first mentioned in the official Orders, i.e., that pending the issue of the new Rules, the existing Rules were to be so worked that registration, licensing and compulsory periodical examination were to cease, it was needful, in order to prevent misinterpretation and error, that one of two courses should have been followed. Either the publication of those Rules should have been accompanied by a republication of all such Orders, &c., both civil and military, as would have prevented the resuscitation of the former system,

Desp. 148 of
1893 par 5.

and reversion to the former practice, in connection with the administration of the new Rules, or (which appears to be the better plan), the Act and Rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the Resolution of the House of Commons, both in letter and spirit.

The result of our enquiries as to the working of the new Rules, clearly is that those Rules have in fact been worked in the manner in which, in Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart's letter, quoted in par. 15 hereof, it was suggested that they might possibly be worked, and that they have in effect been used, if not to set up, at least to assist in maintaining a system of periodical examination of prostitutes, which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

It appears to us that the only effective method of preventing those systematic practices which have thus been maintained in co-operation with those Rules, is by means of express legislation.*

CONCLUSIONS:

51. To sum up our conclusions, therefore, as to matters of fact, we find:—

(1.) That in all the ten Cantonments mentioned in the evidence, a system of periodical examination at the Lock Hospitals of women consorted with principally (if not exclusively) by British soldiers under conditions in effect compulsory was maintained during various periods extending altogether from 1888 to 1893.

(2.) That those women, in common with other known prostitutes were permitted to live in certain assigned quarters in the Cantonments, but that distinctively from other prostitutes, the names and residences of the women attending the periodical examinations were entered in special registers or lists kept at the Lock

* The opponents of the system of "Regulation" and State Sanction of Vice have repeatedly uttered a warning note to the effect that it is possible to establish and maintain such a system without legislation, and without any mention of a single feature of that system in any rule, or order, issued by any authority.

The reality of this danger is now proved, as will be seen by considering the letter of Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Stuart, given in par. 15, in conjunction with the rules contained in "G.G.O. 617," given in par. 13, and in the light of what has been going on in India, as disclosed by this Report.

Hence the necessity for legislation, expressly prohibiting any examination of women in order to "provide security BEFOREHAND " against the consequences of immorality."

PARS. 51, 52, 53.] ALLEGED INACCURACIES.

Hospitals, and in some cases also in other books in the possession of the Mahaldarnis superintending the women, and in which registers or books respectively was recorded the "state" (in a specific sense) of those women individually on each examination.

(3.) That all the women found on examination to be free from disease, and who formed the large majority of the women so examined, were set free to resume their occupation.

(4.) That the Special Hospitals provided in each Cantonment for Contagious Diseases (now constituting sections of Cantonment General Hospitals, but formerly and still called Lock Hospitals) were used almost exclusively for the purpose of the periodical examination and of the treatment of the women then found diseased.

(5.) That the numerous official Orders and Regulations, speaking generally, failed to effect the intended abolition of the old system of regulated and licensed prostitution.

(6.) That the Rules of 1890 (under the Cantonment Act, 1889) were worked in connection with the continuous system of periodical examination and the practices incidental thereto carried on since 1888.

(7.) That this system and the incidental practices above described did not, and the Statutory Rules, so far as they authorise or permit the same, do not accord with the accepted meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

THE ALLEGED INACCURACIES IN LADY WITNESSES' EVIDENCE.

52.—In some of the Official Reports charges are incidentally made of perversions of truth and of some intention on the part of the non-official witnesses to mislead, though Mr. Ibbetson, on reflection, elected to restrict these charges of inaccuracy to matters of hearsay, that is, statements to the witnesses made by natives, he nevertheless persevered in the demonstration of those alleged minor errors.

After hearing the allegations, however, we did not think them of sufficient importance to require any further explanation.

NOTE FROM GENERAL LORD ROBERTS.

53.—It behoves us to add that Lord Roberts, upon his examination before us, seemed inclined to participate in the views expressed in the Special Commission's Report, criticizing some parts of the evidence of the non-official witnesses; but subsequently he transmitted

Min. 2902

Min. 1794-
1811.

PARS. 53, 54.] LORD ROBERTS' APOLOGY.

to us the following note upon the subject, with a request that it should be appended to our Report:—

DUNBAR, SCOTLAND,

11th August, 1893.

Having read the report of Mr. Ibbetson's Committee, in regard to the working of the Rules dealing with the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in Cantonments in India, and also the reports of the officers commanding the seven stations which the Committee did not visit, I frankly admit that the statements of the two American missionary ladies, who made a tour through Upper India in the cold weather of 1891-92 for the purposes of inquiry into the matter, are in the main correct.

I hoped and believed that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had been everywhere obeyed. In some stations the Rules have been strictly enforced, but in others it now turns out this has not been completely the case.

I deeply regret this, and I feel that an apology is due from me to the ladies concerned. This apology I offer unreservedly.

In doing so, I would remark that, I think, it would have been better if the missionary ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India. We could have assisted them to carry out the work on which they were engaged; omissions and shortcomings would have been remedied at the time; a great deal of unpleasantness would have been avoided; the ladies themselves would have found their task considerably lightened; and there would have been less chance of their drawing wrong deductions from some of the circumstances which came under their notice, as in sundry instances they would seem from Mr. Ibbetson's Committee Report to have done. This was owing no doubt to a want of knowledge of the language, and of the habits and customs of the people of India.

ROBERTS.

54.—We, the undersigned, submit the foregoing as our Report.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.

SEPARATE REPORT

BY

GENERAL SIR D. M. STEWART AND SIR J. B. PEILE.

1. As we are unable to agree in the conclusions of our colleagues on the evidence before the Committee, we beg leave to submit a Separate Report.

2. For the sake of brevity, we shall not repeat the prefatory narrative of events, for which we can refer, if needful, to the Report of the majority.

3. The instruction to this Committee was, "To inquire into the Rules, Regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere, with regard to prostitutes, and to the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June, 1888." The Resolution enunciated that the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits

(1) The compulsory examination of women,

(2) The licensing and regulation of prostitution in India, ought to be repealed.

4. The first, and on the face of it the only, requirement of this Resolution was the repeal of certain legislation. We find that the laws indicated, viz., the Cantonments Acts and the Contagious Diseases Acts in force at the date of the Resolution, were repealed before the end of 1888. It was, however, of course implied that any Cantonments Act substituted for those repealed should not enjoin, authorise, or permit (that is, as we understand it, legalise) compulsory examination, or the licensing and regulation of prostitution. The Acts repealed gave to the Government power to make rules for "inspecting and controlling brothels and preventing the spread of venereal disease." The rules so made directed that a register of public prostitutes should be prepared and kept in the office of the Cantonment Magistrate; that a woman wishing to practice prostitution was required to apply to have her name entered on the register; that no woman not so registered was allowed to practice prostitution; that on registration the woman had to assent to certain regulations, which were explained to her; that every

registered prostitute had to pay a monthly subscription to the Lock Hospital Fund; that she was furnished with a printed ticket, to be renewed annually; that she was bound to present herself with her ticket for medical examination at the Lock Hospital not less than once a fortnight; that if found to be diseased she was detained in the Lock Hospital until discharged as cured; that if she wished to change her residence in the Cantonment she was bound to notify it; and that she was to observe rules made by the Cantonment Committee to maintain cleanliness in houses occupied by registered prostitutes; and any prostitute convicted of a breach of these rules was liable to a fine of 50 rupees, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for eight days. There were also rules for the registration of brothel keepers, who were required to keep a list of all prostitutes residing with them, to receive only registered prostitutes, and to do other things under like penalties. These rules were in force in all the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates, and in 60 other Cantonments in India.

5. The new Cantonments Act (xiii. of 1889) does not mention brothels or prostitutes,* but gives the Government power to make rules for "the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and the appointment and regulation of hospitals." This Act came into force on 1st January, 1890, and rules under the Section quoted were put in force on 4th July, 1890. The rules also make no mention of prostitutes or brothels; they treat only of hospitals for infectious and contagious diseases. Rules 4 and 5 are as follows:—

"4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the Cantonment within twenty-four hours and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

* See foot-note to paragraph 50 of the Majority Report.

PARS. 5, 6, 7.] MINORITY REPORT.

"5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or re-enters the Cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition."

6. We presume that these are the only rules now having the force of law as regards infectious diseases in Cantonments, including venereal disease. At any rate, we find that the Government of India, about the middle of 1888, directed that no register of public prostitutes was to be kept, no tickets were to be issued, and no compulsory examinations of the women held, and that the Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution. Any officer applying the old stringent code would therefore do so without authority and at his own risk. Nevertheless we find that at Meean Meer women were registered, tickets were issued, and examinations held fortnightly between March, 1890, and May or June, 1892. Fines or expulsion from Cantonments was the punishment. These proceedings were altogether illegal and indefensible, and no reasonable explanation is offered by the Cantonment Magistrate, who was primarily responsible. We agree with the majority of this Committee that the circumstances of Meean Meer are exceptional, and "remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments." It is the only instance in evidence of a positive disregard of the law,* and we put it aside as thus distinguished from irregular or doubtful practices in other places, to which we now proceed.

Rep., par. 43.

7. Apart from the Cantonment law, and under executive circular orders issued from Army Headquarters, we find that there had existed in India for many years before 1888 what was known as the Regimental system, which provided for the residence in regimental bazars of prostitutes who had registered themselves under the Act, and the care and supervision of whom was imposed on commanding officers both in Cantonments and in camp or on the march. The attention of the Government of India was called to this subject by the Secretary of State in March, 1888, and in a despatch dated May, 18th, 1888, the Viceroy in Council wrote that "the instructions on this subject are not issued

* It is difficult to understand on what grounds it is stated that Meean Meer is the "only instance." It is a very striking instance no doubt, but the evidence teems with other instances. See also the Majority Report, paragraphs 31, 32, 45, 46, 48, and 51 (sub-section 7).

PARS. 7, 8, 9, 10.] PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS.

“under the authority of the Government of India,* but “having them now before us in a complete form, we “have no hesitation in saying that some of the rules “are open to grave objection, and are, indeed, indefen- “sible. The Commander-in-Chief has already issued “orders prohibiting prostitutes from residing in regi- “mental bazars, and from accompanying regiments on “the line of march or at camps of exercise, and we “have now decided to direct the cancelment of the “circulars.” The order was conveyed to commanding officers in a Circular of the Quartermaster-General, dated May 12th, 1888.

8. Nevertheless, in 1889 we find that at Umballa and Meerut prostitutes were again allowed to reside within regimental limits, and near camps. There is a similar case of minor importance at Rawal Pindi. And the Indian Committee states that prostitutes frequently did accompany regiments in standing camp and on the line of march, and instances are in the evidence.

The explanation offered, as regards Umballa and Meerut, is that the orders of 1888 prohibited the residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazars, and as registration had been abolished since, the prohibition was no longer in force. Indian Com-
mission Rep.,
par. 32.

9. We attach no weight to this explanation, which is more ingenious than convincing. The inducement of residence in regimental limits (nearer the regiment than the Sadr, or that in main bazar) is stated to have been offered to secure the consent of the women to weekly examination, and the excuse that the prohibition was no longer in force appears to have been too easily embraced. On the other hand, we think that the object of the orders of 1888 was to prohibit the care and supervision of prostitutes by commanding officers, rather than their residence in one part of Cantonments or another, which is not a point of primary importance. And it is not clear to us how commanding officers can prevent women from travelling in the vicinity of troops on the march. The subject is fully discussed in par. 43-47 of the Report of the Indian Committee. The women were ejected at Umballa in 1891 and 1893, and at Meerut in 1891 or 1892, on orders being re-issued.

10. We have next to consider the practice as to periodical examinations. We agree with the majority of this Committee that periodical examination is a “cardinal point.” Without the vigorous grip of the old rules, and without periodic examination, there can be no effective control of the body of prostitutes living in a Cantonment when not diseased. Rep., par. 8
and 31.

* “Authority of the Government” is used in a technical sense only. The system was carried out by military authority.

the view of our colleagues to be that no examination of the women as a body (healthy as well as diseased) is admissible, because women thus found healthy are virtually certificated as safe. We will not discuss that theory, because the Resolution of the House of Commons is aimed at compulsory examination. The question is, therefore, whether the periodical examinations held in most Cantonments after 1888 were voluntary or compulsory. Compulsory in the sense of the old rules, as enforced by fine and imprisonment, they were not. They professed to be voluntary, but they were promoted by inducements of various potency. We think that if there was anything amounting to intimidation, it was clearly illegal and at the risk of the person who used it, and that the submission to examination thus obtained was not voluntary. On the other hand, if it was the inducement of some personal advantage that secured submission to examination it may be argued that such submission was voluntary. We can understand that medical and other officers responsible for the health of the troops in a Cantonment might look about them for some means of effecting examinations which should not be compulsory. In some Cantonments there is no evidence that inducements were offered. The women generally said that they would be ejected from Cantonments if they did not attend, but there is no evidence that they actually were ejected, or that they were told by authority that they would be. In Ambala the inducement offered was the advantage of residing in regimental limits as preferable to that within bazar. As the women were free to take or reject this advantage and with the condition of being examined, we do not think that the examination was compulsory. At Meerut the practice was that if a newcomer did not present herself at the periodical examination, or if a resident prostitute absented herself persistently without good cause, she was reported by the medical officer, "supposed to be "diseased," and dealt with under Rule 4. We are told that as a fact "the supposition almost "always turned out to be well founded." But the method of using non-attendance as an index of disease in our opinion deprived the examination of its voluntary character and was indefensible. The practice at Lucknow where the Cantonment Magistrate invited prostitutes seeking permission to reside in Cantonments to be examined, and they "in all "cases agreed," appears to be similar in quality to the practice at Ambala.

Indian Com-
mission Rep.,
par. 76.

Ib. par. 86.

11. We think it unnecessary to examine this question at greater length, because the Government of India agreed with the majority of this Committee on the

PARS. 11, 12, 13, 14.] PRESENT POSITION.

same facts, and, in consequence of their twice-repeated orders,* periodical examinations ceased in six of the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates, at various dates in 1892, and in two more in 1893. As to the disuse in the two others, there is no direct statement, but we think it is reasonable to conclude that in those also the reiterated orders have been obeyed. In a letter dated 12th March, 1892, in which commanding officers were warned, "that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and the spirit, the intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons," the case of "women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of Cantonments" was indicated as one which would defeat the intention of the Government of India, and the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally that Resolution. And in a letter dated 29th June, 1892 (communicated to general officers commanding districts by the Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July, 1892) the Government of India interpreted the Statutory Rules of 1890 to mean that no special examination of prostitutes was to be permitted.

Despatch No. 148, 11 July, 1893.

12. We think it of material importance in judicially estimating the present practice in Indian Cantonments (which is the task imposed on this Committee) that this "cardinal" agent in dealing with prostitutes has ceased to exist.†

13. We next think it necessary to consider whether the position of prostitution in Cantonments under the new Act and rules presents a substantial change from the position under the old Act and rules, and whether the change is understood.

14. We are of opinion that the change is substantial. Under the old Act and rules the women were, in all details of their traffic, within the iron grasp of a special penal code. That code is no longer operative.‡ There is no evidence of any penal action since 1888 except in Meean Meer, where it is stated that "fines and expulsion from Cantonments were the punishments," but not imprisonment.

See above, par. 4.

* There is no evidence of any orders or prohibitions having been issued during the years 1889, 1890, and 1891. Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell began their enquiries in January, 1892. In March and July following fresh orders and prohibitions were issued.

† It is not known on what authority it is stated that periodical examination "has ceased to exist." It existed at Meerut as late as May, 1893.—See Blue Book, Ev. S.C., line 1,411.

‡ It is technically true that there is no longer a "Code," but it is also true that at least 9 out of 13 provisions of that Code enumerated in paragraph 4, have been more or less enforced in the Cantonments under review.

PARS. 14, 15, 16, 17.] MINORITY REPORT.

Expulsion, we note, appears to have no legal sanction. It was before 1890 enforced under the authority of prescription or custom. In the new Act the Government is empowered to make rules for the exclusion from Cantonments of persons whom the Commanding Officer deems it expedient to exclude, but it is not in evidence that any such rule has been made.

The registers kept under the old rules are abolished, tickets are no longer issued, nor examinations enforced by fine and imprisonment.

15. On the question whether the charge is understood, we need not discuss it as regards the Government officials. On the question whether the prostitutes understood it and were made to understand it, the evidence is mixed.

16. We find the following statements of officials in the evidence :—

Meerut, 1888.—“ The 16 patients in hospital were asked if they preferred to remain in hospital for further treatment, and they all declined to do so. They were then informed that they could leave the hospital.”

Meerut, 1893. — “ I do not think that the examinations gave the women ground for thinking that they (the women) were in any way recognised by Government. In fact, it was often explained to them that they were not.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“ I then had notice given to the women that they were free to attend examinations or not as they pleased.”

Rawal Pindi, 1888-93.—“ In each case which came under my notice I explained to the applicants that prostitution in India could not be recognised by the Government, and that since the abolition of the Lock Hospital rules there was no such thing as registration.”

Ambala, 1892.—“ I then told the women who had come regularly to examination that I would not see them any more, and they never came again as a body.”

17. With regard to the impression on the minds of the women, we find the following statements of the women :—

Ambala, 1893.—“ No one here has ever been punished for not going. But we used to be fined and imprisoned when examination was the rule. Since Government has released us from this we eat our bread in peace.”

Ambala, 1893.—“ We are absolutely free to come or go, to leave the chakla or the Cantonment.”

Meerut, 1893.—“ Two weeks ago we were asked whether we came of our own will, and we said

Statement
and notes,
p. ix.

p. x.

xxv.

“No’; so were told we need not come any longer.”

Meerut, 1893.—“If we want to leave hospital before cure we are allowed to go; but are told that in that case we must leave Cantonments.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“She said that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up.”

Peshawar, 1892.—“They said this, that the Queen had forbidden the examinations,” but the officers continued them, and “It is the officers, not the Queen, who have done this.”

Lucknow, 1892.—“They all assured us, and insisted, that the mahaldarnis had all been discharged, and that doctors were not going to examine the women any more, because word had been sent from Simla that the Queen did not like it, and that it was all to be done away with.”

On the other hand, we find that the women generally stated their belief that if they did not submit to examination they would be turned out of Cantonments. It is possible, as our colleagues seem to hold, that this belief arose from an imperfect comprehension of the rules of 1890. It is intelligible that some confusion would subsist for a time in the minds of women of this class after the abolition of the system which had previously coerced them so rigidly.

18. We next consider whether errors of practice have actually been corrected by successive orders of the Government, so that the object in view has been more fully attained by degrees. We find that there is evidence that this was so. We have mentioned above the misconstruction of the order prohibiting prostitutes to reside in regimental lines. It was corrected in 1892. The rules of 1890 required interpretation to show that they prohibited any special examination. But even the order of July, 1892, which supplied that interpretation, was not obeyed at Meerut, where weekly inspections were continued until April, 1893, and then ceased on the order being repeated. However, it is in evidence that this order of July, 1892, did take effect at once in several Cantonments. We observe that the Govern-

Despatch No.
148 of 11 July,
1893.

PARS. 18, 19, 20.] MINORITY REPORT.

there would have been less room for mistakes and neglects, and practices which ran very close to the verge of the permissible.

19. It is very important to arrive at a true estimate of the feelings and sentiments of the Cantonment prostitutes. For if the examination at a hospital really filled them with shame and horror, the practice would naturally appear more odious than if the women are proved to treat it as a matter of business. The statements of the women reported by the American lady witnesses are at variance with the opinions of the Indian Committee.* The women are reported everywhere to have spoken bitterly of the shame of the examinations and of their calling. The Indian Committee questions the genuineness of this feeling, and explains that the Asiatic view of the profession of prostitution differs from the European view. Our own experience agrees with that of the Indian Committee, and we think the evidence supplies a test of the genuineness of the shame and horror about examinations. For if women are willing, as at Ambala, by consenting to examination, to purchase the privilege of residing nearer to their customers, or to get the better of certain foreign prostitutes who were diseased and gave them a bad name, or as at Lucknow to gain admission to a Cantonment, or to consent because they prefer general examinations to being specially denounced by a soldier as the cause of his disease, and thus weigh their shame against a trifling advantage, and choose the latter, the wound to their modesty cannot be very severe.

Rep. pars. 12,
18.
Min. 3011.

20. We add the following remark on the evidence of the American ladies. Their sincerity and intelligence are beyond question. But the plan they adopted was to avoid all officials in authority. On only one occasion was an exception made, when Dr. Kate Bushnell went before a Cantonment Magistrate with a woman whom she wished to reclaim, in order to obtain for her a permit to leave the Cantonment, which the police and others had declared to be necessary. The Cantonment Magistrate informed her that no permit was required.† On this we only think it right to suggest that as their evidence forms the basis of an indictment against a number of Government officers who had no opportunity

* The reader must judge whether the women in question were most likely to express their real feelings to two kind-hearted women with a female interpreter; or, to a considerable party of men—viz., three Commissioners, two military officers, and interpreter, to say nothing of local officers accompanying them in each place.

† Nevertheless he gave one in the following terms: "Rund [prostitute] Ituarva is permitted to leave the Cantonment. A. W. D. Campbell, Major, Cant. Mag., Lucknow, January 2nd, 1892." (Min. 1034). This is in the possession of the "British Committee."

PARS. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] CRITICISMS.

of explaining or cross-examining, it would not be fair to form a judgment on it by itself, and that it should be taken and carefully weighed with the Report of the Indian Committee and the evidence received with it from India.

21. The above is our estimate of the existing rules, regulations and practices in Indian Cantonments. We will now explain the grounds on which we dissent from the conclusions thereon of the majority of this Committee.

22. The report of the majority, after prefatory matter, proceeds (par. 21) to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the Resolution of the House of Commons, and arrives at the conclusion that "the actual practice constitutes in effect a system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes," and demonstrates a "general failure to carry out" the Resolution.

23. The review of practices presents under the head of each Cantonment a formidable array of facts, including not only the transgressions, mistakes, and disputable acts which we have discussed above, but also facts which really have no significance as supports to the conclusion. This arrangement is calculated to convey an idea of connected system, which we do not think that the facts will bear.

24. We will give instances. At Ambala, and elsewhere, it is recorded as a practice under "Registration" that "there is no separate registry of prostitutes now kept by the Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general registry of Cantonment residents, and therein described as prostitutes." Again, "an attendance registry of all the women periodically examined was kept at the hospital." That is to say, the register kept by the Cantonment Magistrate has nothing to do with the register on which prostitutes had to enrol themselves under the old rules, but is simply a Cantonment Directory, which it is necessary to keep, that the authorities may know who are living in Cantonments and what their business there is. And the record kept in the hospital of women who are examined is the usual record which hospital doctors keep of their transactions.* It was, as Mr. Ibbetson says, a list of women who did attend, not a list of women who had to attend, examinations. The evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, is to the same effect.

25. Now the conclusion of the majority on this is (under the heading "Registration and Licensing of

* The "usual record" in ordinary hospitals does not refer to periodical examination of prostitutes for the "information of commanding officers" that they are "fit" for prostitution!

"Prostitutes") that these two records are "important practices," and that "all materials for effective registration still exist," and finally, that "there is in effect a system of registration which, while it recognises prostitution in general as an occupation permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further afford to the prostitutes who attend the periodical examination a special recognition by the authorities which is unique both in its character and its object."

26. We do not think that the facts stated justify this conclusion. We observe that while the directory cannot reasonably be objected to, two other facts must be accepted and are not excluded by the Resolution of the House of Commons. These are :—

(1.) That there will be prostitutes among the large mixed population of a Cantonment bazar. The Resolution objects to their coercion, not to their existence.

(2.) That while venereal disease exists in Cantonments, means of treating it will be supplied in a hospital, and that such a hospital will necessarily be a separate building or ward.

27. The real objection to the venereal hospitals or wards in the minds of the majority of this Committee is that they were used for a time for the periodical examination of women, healthy as well as diseased. This may be a valid objection, but it has been met by the decision of the Government of India that such periodical examinations are not permissible.

Par. 41.

28. Again we find among the practices such items as this: "The non-official witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was (March 5th, 1892) one chakla in the Sadar bazar. This is admitted."

We would ask, why not? If there are prostitutes in the Cantonment they must live somewhere, and it is the custom in Indian towns that people of like occupation live together. It would be intolerable that prostitutes should live where they please. In the Indian Municipality Acts powers are given to eject them from residences where they annoy.

Par. 22.

29. Again, "There is a uniform minimum rate of pay. It appears to be a customary rule long established, and is said, indeed, to be co-eval with British rule. If the soldier evades payment, he is reported and compelled to pay, either by the sergeant, or, if necessary, by some superior officer."

It is natural that there should be a tariff, and it is said to rest on custom, not regulation. There is evidence that the soldiers were made to pay what they owed. The sergeant of Military Police (whose duty it is to look after the men of their regiment) would do this

Rep., par. 57.

to prevent disturbance. The Indian Committee says: "We have been able to obtain no evidence as to complaints of non-payment reaching the Colonel of a regiment, except that the Provost-Sergeant of "Umbala had known such cases."

30. Again, it is stated generally that there were mahaldarnis, formerly official, and now performing Par. 24. duties "the same as before 1888."

The mahaldarni is "forewoman of prostitutes," and performs for them the duties which a foreman performs for workmen. That is a private matter between her and the women, who pay her, and it continues. Before 1888 the mahaldarni was a paid Government servant, enrolled on the Lock Hospital establishment. This has ceased.* The matter is fully explained in the Indian Committee's Report, paragraph 38.

31. We entirely agree with the majority of this Committee that the periodical examination was the "cardinal point" and key-stone of what was going on Par. 45. in 1892. We agree also that "it must be periodical, "and to be effective regular attendance must be "ensured," but in the words which follow we do not agree, viz., "which implies that in cases of reluctance "or abstinence, the attendance must be enforced with the "ultimate alternative of expulsion from Cantonments. In "practice this is exactly how the system of periodical ex- "amination has, we find, been worked."

We think that the evidence does not support this statement. Is it proved by Ambala or Lucknow, or of any Cantonment except Meerut and Meean Meer?† We have discussed the various cases above. And we Par. 10. refer, as to expulsion, to the evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, who, on the subject of the belief of women as to expulsion as a means of coercion, deposed that "no such case had occurred; no such case as Min. 1734-5. "expulsion from the Cantonment."‡

32. We do not concur in the statement that "the Par. 51. "numerous official orders and regulations, speaking

* This may, or may not, be true now (September, 1893), but in June of this year women receiving Government pay were doing the work of mahaldarnis.

† Compulsion appears to be proved at all the ten Cantonments. It all turns on the question of what constitutes "compulsion." It is certain that in India, practices which the officials may choose to speak of as "voluntary" are regarded by the natives as "compulsory." This is clearly brought out by the Special Commissioners; quoted in par. 83 of the Report of the Majority of the Departmental Committee.

‡ The circumstance that Mr. Bell was informed that no actual cases of expulsion had occurred at two places out of the ten (Lucknow and Meerut), proves very little, unless it be the docility and submission of the women. Moreover, as to one of these places (Meerut), Sir Donald Stewart and Sir James Peile have themselves stated in their par. 10 that the examination was not voluntary.

PARS. 32, 33, 34, 35.] MINORITY REPORT.

“generally, failed to effect the intended abolition
“of the old system of regulated and licensed prosti-
“tution.”

ep., par. 39. It seems to us established by evidence that the old system is substantially extinct. For instance, there is now no regimental system, thus described by the Indian Committee: “Under the old system prior to 1888 the officer commanding a regiment used, at any rate in some cases, to arrange for the provision of women for the use of his men.” The same Committee says that “the women are worse off now in the matter of attention to such grievances . . . there is a tendency to tell them that they are no longer recognised by authority, and therefore no longer entitled to assistance by summary order.” In short they are disestablished.

b., par. 58.

33. We have agreed that the periodical examinations after 1888 were an attempt to secure by various methods the same means of detecting disease without the old sanctions and with the substitution of motives for coercion. We have not argued that the practice was consistent with the spirit of the Resolution, though we do not think it necessarily contrary to the letter, but it was not the old system. And when it is clearly understood that the Government of India has ruled that the practice is also inconsistent with the rules of 1890, and has prohibited it, and it has ceased, it is not apparent to us which portion of the old system has escaped abolition, or that any new system stands in its place.

ar. 50. 34. We do not agree that the rules of 1890 “have in effect been used, if not to set up, at least to assist in maintaining, a system of periodical examination of prostitutes, which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit.”

The rules here seem to be blamed for what they do not forbid, for it is said :—

“The Act and rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the Resolution of the House of Commons both in letter and spirit.”

35. We do not understand how the rules of 1890 have assisted in maintaining (if they did not set up) compulsory examinations and the control of prostitutes. It should be remembered that the old rules, now abolished, were a very comprehensive and stringent code, and that they empowered certain officials to do

PAR. 35, 36, 37.] ENQUIRY JUSTIFIED.

acts which, done without the sanction of the law, would expose them to prosecution. When a law and empowering rules under it having the force of law, which put constraint enforced by penalties on the liberty of certain persons, are repealed, it does not seem necessary for the Legislature to enact that each of the things that might once be done under the empowering rules is illegal. They have become illegal by the mere force of the repeal.

36. The peculiarity of the periodical examinations after 1888 was that they were supposed to put no constraint on the liberty of the women, and if so they were not illegal. The Government of India, however, directed in June, 1892, that no other examination was to be held than that allowed by the rules, viz., the usual medical examination of a patient under treatment, and prohibited every other kind of examination, voluntary or otherwise.

37. In submitting these opinions we would not be understood to mean that the position in the early part of 1892 did not supply sufficient reasons for inviting thereto the attention of the Secretary of State, or of the Government of India, if that had been the course selected.

D. M. STEWART.

JAMES B. PEILE.

1 2nd September, 1893.



V 2, 41185



A SPEECH

ON

THE INDIAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS:

ITS

ORIGIN, AIMS AND OBJECTS,

DELIVERED

AT A

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING

HELD AT

ALLAHABAD,

N. W. PROVINCES,

On the Evening of the 30th April, 1888,

BY

Allan O. Hume.



[N.B.—This Speech is printed precisely as reported by the short-hand writer. It might be all the better for some expansion, but for many reasons it is thought best to reproduce it just as spoken. The Speech was most enthusiastically received, but it has not been thought necessary to note the “cheers” and “applause” by which the speaker was so frequently interrupted.]

J. E. HOWARD,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

Chairman of the Meeting.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad that on my return journey from the Sunny South—which, to tell the truth, was becoming a little too sunny for my comfort—to my cooler northern home, which some people, who are obliged to remain in the plains, libellously stigmatize as the Capua of India—circumstances have compelled me to halt a few days at this—well no doubt at some seasons of the year—charming station.

I am very glad indeed of this, I say, if for no other reason that it has afforded me the very great pleasure of meeting you all here this night, and the happy opportunity of addressing so capable and cultivated an audience on a subject in which I take a deep and abiding interest—the Indian National Congress.

No movement in modern, I may say in historical times has ever acquired, in so short a period, such an appreciable hold on the mind of India; none has ever, in my humble judgment, promised such wide-reaching and beneficent results; and yet, with that strange perversity which pervades all mundane affairs, none has ever been more persistently and, I may say, ludicrously misunderstood and misrepresented.

Perhaps there may be some here present, who as yet unacquainted with this great power for good which is being developed, and looking merely to the actual results as yet achieved, may hold that I speak in too grandiloquent terms of this auspicious movement; but let such bear with me awhile. I admit freely that in many parts of India, and notably these provinces, the Congress organization is as yet most imperfect; the Congress is still in its infancy, but the principles that underlie it are, as I hope to show later, eternal; they are as the handful of leaven hidden in the many bushels of meal, and though as yet the planting has only penetrated certain layers of the social structure, it is working on silently and surely, and the day is not far distant when it will have permeated the whole mass, and the whole nation will, as a consequence, have entered on a higher and, *pro tanto*, better life.

Do not think that I make exaggerated claims for the Congress as it is—as well claim for the baby Hercules the world-shaking powers of that deified hero's manhood; on the contrary I at once admit that, as far as our statistics and enquiries go, at the time of this last Congress, not above ten per cent. of the adult males of that vast population of 200 millions whom our kindly British rule now protects and fosters, knew anything

whatsoever about the Congress; but I venture to predict that, before another year has rolled over the land, double that number will be found amongst its adherents, and that long before this memorable nineteenth century is numbered with the past there will not remain a single intelligent and good man in this vast empire who does not understand and more or less appreciate the aims and objects of our yet infant institution, and is not desirous of co-operating in its sacred mission.

Face to face with the greatness of the subject I have to deal with, I become impressed with my own incapacity to do anything like justice to it—more especially within any time for which I can expect you to listen to me patiently. It is ten thousand pities that, on such an occasion, there should be so feeble and inexperienced an advocate to plead a cause so great and noble. Well I will do my best—more can no man do—and throwing myself on your indulgence ask you to believe that wherein I fail, I fail through my own incapacity to do justice to so grand a theme, and not from any inherent weakness in that high and holy movement in which I can honestly say that I am, at least, an earnest believer and a devoted labourer.

It is desirable at the outset to explain that the Congress movement is only one outcome, though at the moment the most prominent and tangible, of the labours of a body of cultured men, mostly born natives of India, who some years ago banded themselves together to labour silently for the good of India. To understand the Congress thoroughly it is necessary to understand, first, what were the basal principles laid down by that body (which has since merged into the National Party) for their own guidance,—principles out of which the Congress and many other social and, if I may so term them, more spiritual movements (of which more will be heard as the years roll by) had their origin.

What these fundamental principles were I will take the liberty of reading to you. It is desirable that, in a matter out of which such momentous issues are, though as yet little noticed, already springing, there should be no mistake on a point like this. Well then the objects—the fundamental objects of what we may term from the designation assumed by its originators, the National movement—were threefold:—

“FIRST: THE FUSION INTO ONE NATIONAL WHOLE OF ALL THE DIFFERENT AND, TILL RECENTLY DISCORDANT, ELEMENTS THAT CONSTITUTE THE POPULATION OF INDIA;

“SECOND: THE GRADUAL REGENERATION ALONG ALL LINES, MENTAL, MORAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, OF THE NATION THUS EVOLVED; AND

“THIRD: THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA, BY SECURING THE MODIFICATION OF SUCH OF ITS CONDITIONS AS MAY BE UNJUST OR INJURIOUS TO THE LATTER COUNTRY.”

I think you will all readily concede that these, at any rate, were not ignoble objects. They might be decried as Utopian—as impracticable. The views of men who see a little further than their fellows always are thus decried by these latter; but at least no one can deny that they were high and noble, and that as it is better to have a lofty ideal than none at all, better to aim high and fail than not to aim at all, this movement—and mind the Congress movement, sprung directly out of and is a mere branch of the more comprehensive original—was worthy of the sympathy, respect and support of all good men.

I say better to fail; but have they failed? I think not; and with this Congress movement in its lusty childhood and a hundred other sectional movements for the social, moral, mental, and even religious advancement of the country in full work around us, I confess that to me it looks rather like success than failure, and I should not be surprised—though I shall not live to see it—if many, many of you who are now present, should live to think it extraordinary that the grand basal aims of the National Party were ever held to be either Utopian or impracticable.

Bearing in mind the basal objects of the larger movement, we shall now find less difficulty in realizing the scope of the special Congress machinery, constructed primarily in view to the political regeneration of the country. Bear that in mind; although it was perfectly realized that indirectly it would subserve other purposes, that indirectly it would promote the social, mental and moral progress of the nation, it was primarily and directly as a political institution that the Congress was founded. I dwell upon this because people are found fatuous enough to urge it as a reproach that the Congress does not directly meddle with social questions. Why the man who should insist on using—let us say, a plough—as a vehicle in which to drive along a pukka road, instead of confining it to its proper use of ploughing the fields, would not be a greater fool than the man who should endeavour to work out the delicate and intricate questions of social reform by the aid of the rough-and-ready engine of the National Political Congress.

Well now the principal objects of the Congress, as laid down at its inception, were as follows: And here again you must allow me to quote what is already on record, since this record

embodies, not merely the ideas of one or two men, but the harmonized views of a very large number of the ablest, best and most advanced thinkers of the nation:—

The Congress was intended—“to bring face to face and make thoroughly known to each other all the men of light and leading of all portions of the Empire—to bring all such yearly together, and establish the closer bonds of personal friendship between all the most eminent and earnest labourers in the work of India's political regeneration—to enable all interested in public questions to supplement their knowledge and correct their views in the light of the information possessed, and the opinions held, by others equally interested in these matters—to eliminate provincial jealousies, prejudices and misconceptions by close personal intercourse, not only from the minds of the Members of the Congress itself, but from those of the leading inhabitants, and, so far as might be, the people generally of the several Presidencies and Provinces, in each of which it was arranged that the Congress should in turn assemble—to exorcise sectarian and class antipathies by associating in one common work, for the common good, leading professors of all creeds, and leading members of all sects and classes—to habituate—as no such gatherings can be accomplished, except at considerable cost in money, time and personal convenience, not only to the members of the Party in the province in which the assemblage takes place, who have to act as hosts, but to all the members of the Congress delegated from other provinces who have from one to four thousand miles to travel—to habituate all, I say, to personal sacrifices for the common good.”

I may pause here one moment to draw your attention to the facts that somewhat over one lakh of rupees was expended by the country on the Madras Congress, partly in the reception and entertainment of the delegates, the erecting of a temporary meeting hall, the printing and distribution of the report, and the journeys to and fro of the delegates, and that while many of the delegates to the late Congress travelled in going and returning some 3,000 miles and upwards, two actually had to travel 4,500 miles.

To resume: The Congress was further intended—“to foster a wider altruism and a more genuine public spirit, by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national questions, and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests—to educate all who took part in it, not merely in the arts of public speaking and debate, developing the faculty of thinking out clearly opinions, and expressing them lucidly to others, not merely in habits of accuracy and research, but also in the practice of self-control, moderation

and willingness to give and take—to educate them in fact into what has been described as a genuine Parliamentary frame of mind—to familiarize the country with the methods and working of representative institutions on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of those institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires.”

Lastly it was intended—“*to unify public opinion by the inter-fusion of views held by all classes in all the various provinces, and eliminating matters, sectional and provincial, to arrive at definite and unanimous conclusions on all truly national questions, and press these conclusions on the Government, not in the spirit of an opposition, but rather as AMICI CURIE.”*

It will be seen at once from this latter how utterly irrelevant was the contention that one section of the community might, in virtue of numerical superiority, outvote the others and force on them in Congress, measures inimical to their interests or repugnant to their feelings. The Congress by its constitution can only pass resolutions in regard to questions on which there is a practical unanimity between all who take part in it. It was realized from the outset that there might be questions in regard to which Bombay would differ from Bengal, Europeans from Natives, Hindus from Mahomedans, Sunis from Sheahs; but all such are excluded from the Congress by its fundamental rule that it shall only pass and press resolutions on those questions in regard to which there is practically unanimity amongst the representatives of all classes and creeds of all provinces. Other questions, in regard to which no such general agreement can be arrived at, are left to be dealt with, as they may deem fitting, by the several provincial, local and sectional associations. The Congress is National, and it deals only with those questions on which the entire nation is practically agreed. If all or practically all the representatives of any province or any community object, the Congress must drop the subject.

These then were the leading objects of the Congress as originally laid down by its promoters. There were many minor aims that these had in view, but one and all tending towards the promoters' great design of unifying the peoples of the land, elevating the character of the evolved nation, and consolidating the union between England and India.

Now, again, I ask is there one honest man who loves either India or England, who can take the smallest exception to any one of these objects? On the contrary all will admit that nothing can be more laudable than the basal principles which

the promoters set before them, or than the special objects which they designed the Congress to achieve.

If then there be anything objectionable in the movement it must be either in its methods or its measures.

But what have been its methods? Firstly, quiet teachings and preachings throughout the greater part of the country of simple elementary political truths. The people are taught to recognize the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain are after all, though real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy, but that all these grievances may be and will be redressed if they all join to press their views and wishes unanimously, but temperately, on the Government here and on the Government and people of England. The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings are brought home to them, and the conviction is engendered that by united, patient, constitutional agitation they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably or justly ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitably ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves; and these teachings have gone on so quietly and unostentatiously that they have never once attracted even serious attention, much less unfavourable comment.

Second, amongst our methods is the distribution of elementary tracts setting forth similar doctrines and embodying teachings conceived in a like spirit in regard to the rights and duties of subjects. Of two of these, viz., Mr. Veraraghava Chariar's Congress Catechism and a Conversation between Moulvi Furreeduddeen and one Rambuksh of Kambakhtpur, some 50,000 copies were circulated during the past year, and perhaps half a million will be so circulated during the present year; and so far as I know these are the only tracts yet sent out. Although they are to be met with in every one of the twelve languages of India, they are also published in English, and every one of you may judge them for himself. I submit that when read as they stand, there is not one of you who will not agree that they are loyal and kindly alike in spirit and in word.

Third, amongst our methods must be reckoned public meetings—public meetings in hundreds—or rather, if we take the 28 months that have elapsed since the first Congress was held, public meetings to the number of more than one thousand—so marvellously orderly as a whole in their character as to astound

even those most appreciative of the peaceful and law-abiding character of our population. I do not mean to say that at some dozen or so out of this thousand meetings, at many of which more than 5,000 persons were gathered together, there have not been more or less noisy wranglings (almost exclusively, however, in these provinces, and here solely due to an unfortunate schism that I shall have later to notice); but to those of us who have had experience of similar meetings in England, France, and America, the extraordinary good behaviour of the millions who in one place or another have taken part in these meetings is simply astounding; and we realize that the condition of affairs in these respects here and in these other countries is as Heaven to—let us say Jacobabad or Sukker, at the present season of the year.

Last amongst its methods are the great Congress gatherings themselves, and in regard to these I need only say that the last and largest at Madras was attended, not only by many leading European officials and non-officials, but by several European travellers, and by English, French, German, Eurasian, Parsee and Bengali ladies, one and all of whom expressed their admiration at the extreme good order and good temper that were its most striking characteristics.

I think then that we may claim to have narrowed all reasonable objections down to the measures that the Congress has advocated, and I must therefore now refer to these, or at least some of them; but before doing so let me put this pertinent question to all who still hold aloof from the Congress: If the principles of the Congress are admirable—if its methods are peaceful and kindly, if it be only the views that it enunciates that you object to—why not join the Congress and by your correcter enunciation of the facts secure the adoption of a wiser policy?

But the fact is that, if rightly understood, there is not one of the reforms which have been advocated by the Congress to which, again I repeat WHEN RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD, any sensible and good man will take the least objection. Here, as everywhere, it is what the ancient Hirdus called "*aridya*" or ignorance of the real facts, which has prevented a practically universal concurrence in the Congress resolutions.

I had better take to illustrate my meaning that Resolution which in one form or another has been put forward and strenuously urged at every Congress—I mean the so-called Representative Institutions Resolution. The absurd nonsense that has been written and talked about this matter is almost incredible. We have been gravely assured that the Congress people want to get the Govern-

ment into their own hands, while it is just the promoters of the Congress, who are most keenly aware and who tell all men most freely that the natives are in no way fit to undertake this, and who, therefore, labour most strenuously to consolidate the union between India and England. We are told that the Hindus being in a numerical majority would override all other classes, and so on, a string of similar absurdities, resulting from people talking about matters that they have not been at the pains to master. In a case like this there is nothing like going into a concrete example to show what exactly is asked for and how exactly it would work. Next January we could, if the Government desired and authorized it, introduce at once into the Madras Presidency that system of partially representative institutions that the Congress advocates, and beyond which it never has gone, and will not assuredly for many years go. Let us understand how the case there stands. The entire presidency has been divided into electoral divisions, which consist either of portions of a large city, a large town, a town with a portion of the surrounding district, or a town with the whole of the district of which it is the capital; these divisions, worked out in consultation with all the leading men in each locality, comprise the whole area of the presidency. But besides these territorial divisions, to secure the adequate representation of minorities, we have what we call sectional electoral divisions. One of these includes the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association of Madras, another the two local Mahomedan Associations, others the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association and the University. These last three I should note have been formally constituted, but I do not know whether they will act as they have not replied, though two of them have promised to do so after full consideration of our proposals. But this does not affect our scheme, though it will render the practical representation in the *Congress* less perfect if they decline, but they would certainly join if the Government accepted the scheme, and that is all with which we are now concerned. What I desire to make clear is that under that scheme, now actually in operation, every interest and every community, every considerable minority as well as every majority, can be, if it chooses, perfectly represented in the body of delegates elected for the Congress, and certainly would be in the body elected should Government adopt the scheme.

But you will ask how practically are these elections made. Now, they are thus made: The sectional and ward or town divisions, on fixed dates, of which due notice is given, hold public meetings, and at these, after due discussion of the aims and objects of the Congress, delegates are elected. In the case of the larger

territorial divisions preliminary meetings are held at all the smaller towns and larger groups of villages, at each of which five, ten, twenty men, are elected to attend the main meeting at the head quarters, at which the delegates for the division are finally elected.

At present there is no franchise; every man sufficiently interested in the matter who wishes to vote can do so either in the sectional division, if he belongs to one such, or in the meetings, preliminary or final, in the territorial divisions. At present there is nothing to be gained by being elected—no honor or glory. All that the election brings the delegate is the necessity of a more or less tedious and painful journey (and *many* of our delegates, mind, at the last Congress travelled from 3,000 to over 4,000 miles in going to and returning from the Congress)—a long and weary journey, I say, at their own expense. So at present we do not require polling booths or franchise, but if the Government adopted our scheme both would be necessary—there would be a limit of age—our boys under 25 not being allowed to vote—some educational test, people not able to read and write being excluded—some conditions as to character, all of which would be worked out by local punchayets quite sufficiently accurately and fairly for practical purposes for many years; and though the meetings, preliminary and general, would still probably continue, as in England and America, to be held, regular polling booths would record the votes.

Now then the 43 electoral divisions, territorial and sectional, elect under existing arrangements 93 delegates to the Congress, being at the minimum rate of 3 per million for the whole presidency. If it accepted our scheme the Government would take these 93 electees; it would carefully scrutinize the list, nominating 31 more men itself, and in doing so jealously securing the adequate representation of any interests that seemed imperfectly represented on the electoral list, and then it would call on these 124 selected gentlemen to elect 12 members to the local council. It will be readily perceived that the interposition of this electoral college, as it is termed, between the actual voters and the council, does away with all danger of incompetent local magnates finding a place in council. They may be great men in their own districts, they may get into the college, but unless really pre-eminent for ability and independence, they will be nowhere amongst the 124, and will never sit, useless encumbrances, on the council benches.

Now besides these 12 elected men there would be 6 ex-officio members, the members of the executive council, and two or three others as Government might, after considering the case, decide,

and six members, official or non-official, appointed by Government.

It will be seen at a glance how absurd it is to talk about the Hindus overwhelming the Mahomedans in such a council. Why even in Madras, in which the Mahomedans are so small a proportion of the population, the Hindus could not hope to elect at most more than six out of the 12, against say three Mahomedans and three Eurasians and Anglo-Indians. Are these latter, are the official or nominated members, likely to join in overwhelming the Mahomedans? The whole thing is absurd, and besides this it is not numbers, but abilities, industry and character that tell. The wretched plea about the Mahomedans being so inferior to Hindus, that they will have no chance if a fair field is conceded to all classes and sects, is monstrous. I swear that no good true Mahomedan ever, if he reflected on it, would put forward so base a libel on his coreligionists. Have't I had thousands of both under my own eye? Have I not hundreds of Mahomedan friends? I tell you the Mahomedan has always been able to, and always will, hold his own. Look round you: Was my friend the late Sir Salar Jang in any way inferior to my other dear old friend Sir T. Madhava Row, still, thank heaven, alive? Is Budrudin Tyabji inferior as a barrister to any Hindu or even European barrister? Is there a better Judge on any Bench in India than Syed Mahmud? Did Mohsim Tyabji, who came out head of the last batch of competition-men, prove himself unable to compete with any candidate, European or Native?

Take my old *élève* Moulvie Mehndi Ali, now Revenue Minister of Hyderabad: Can any Native State in India show an abler Hindu official? Take my friend Mir Sujaat Ali Khan Bahadur of the Madras Statutory Civil Service. Is he one whit behind the very best of the Hindu Statutory Civil Servants, even men like my other young friend Mr. Dyaram Gidoo Mal? No, as my friend Sheikh Raza, Hoosein lately wrote, the whole thing is a shameful libel on the Musulmans, who, alike in times past and present, have ever held and ever will hold their own, and whatever advantages flow from an improved and gradually developing administration of India, believe me that the Musulmans will ever obtain, in virtue of their hereditary capacity, energy and pluck, a full and fair share.

Gentlemen, I speak warmly on this subject, because even inferentially to charge me with participation in any scheme injurious to the best interests of the Musulmans, to whom in the past I have owed so much, amongst whom I have still so many friends, is an insult. Can I forget the brave friends and followers

who in those dark days of danger and distress stood by me, protected me, and fought for and beside me in 1857—aye, and in too many cases sealed with their lifeblood the record of their friendship and fidelity? NEVER!.....but I fear that I am breaking mosquitos on the wheel, and I will leave the devisers of this ungenerous fiction to time and their own consciences—if they have any!

And now—forgive me for this digression, for this charge of carelessness of my Musulman friends' interests has pained me, far more, I know, than it should, conscious as I am of its utter falsity; but I have owed so much to Musulmans, and ingratitude is so base, that even the saintliest—and I fear I am rather the reverse—rebels against the accusation—now, I say, you will see that I have set before you a scheme for introducing a representative element into our Government, which is not only possible, not only practicable, but which, so far as the peoples' part in it is concerned, is actually in operation in Madras, and could come in force there in six months should the Government be pleased to say that it should be so.

But here I anticipate many objections. All probably will agree that this scheme is inoffensive—nay, I believe that the vast majority will agree that it is a desirable one. But some people say, if then you are not seeking to take the administration out of the hands of the existing Government, what particularly do you gain? With the council constituted as you propose, the Government would be practically almost always sure of a majority. Of course it would, and what sane man desires anything else? But the gain, the enormous gain, would be this:—

In the first place the Government, both here and in England, and more especially still the great English nation, would for the first time have an opportunity of learning truly and certainly what the majority of the educated and intelligent millions resident in India were saying, thinking, feeling. At present it is almost impossible for the Government here, absolutely impossible for that Government's master, the people of England, to ascertain this, and hence the existing Government is after all a more or less speculative and therefore unsafe Government. In the second place the unofficial portion of the community would obtain for the first time a recognized and authoritative platform from which to declare in no uncertain tones the wants and wishes of the country, and unless perfectly certain that they were in the right, and that the people of England, when the whole discussion came before them, would support them, no Government would harshly override a large *minority* even of the council.

Then, too, our scheme proposes that the right of interpellation be conceded to all members of the council, thus not only ensuring the prompt clearing up of all misunderstandings between the rulers and the ruled, but ensuring the redress of numberless grievances and securing a powerful check on all abuses and all local maladministration. So far from being a small thing this would prove in practice a reform, ramifying in all directions, and, despite its noiseless and gradual action, one that would do more to make the people happy and strengthen our union with England than any other step that could now be taken.

Again, another class of objectors will say, this is all very fine, but we have had no such regular system of elections as you describe; on the contrary meetings of from 200 to 300 men, at best only partially representing single towns, have elected delegates—we have no electoral divisions here. Quite true; these provinces are very backward, and none are nearly so advanced in these matters as is Madras, but the organization is spreading over the whole country; it is in full swing in the Deccan, the Concan, Guzerat, Bengal; it has been begun upon in Berar and the Central Provinces, and before this year closes even in these provinces and the Punjab you will have had electoral divisions constituted and in work, though necessarily not so regularly in work as in Madras. But this is the Congress method—gradual development and expansion, the idea first popularised, the block rough hewn first, and then year by year worked out into more perfect symmetry and detail.

But again I foresee many will say, but this scheme is far from perfect. Nothing can be truer, and yet no objection can be more ludicrously futile. What human institution ever has been or ever will be perfect? Is the present system of representation in England perfect? Falling short as our scheme does of perfection, it is yet, if carefully considered, at least ten times as perfect as that enjoyed by Great Britain in 1830, after a 600 years' course of representative institutions. Let me read from a constitutional history I have by me. Here I find that, at that time one peer had eleven, another nine, and many others six or seven members, whom they sent into the House, *motu suo*, just as their servants, to fulfil their behests and nothing more or less, except it was to make a little money for themselves. Then towns like Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, were unrepresented, while dozens of small constituencies, numbering from 60 to only six voters each, elected members. Our scheme is, at any rate, a vast advance on this, and it is therefore quite good enough, I humbly submit, for a first start here. We, at any rate, are quite

content with it, and for those who desire a nearer approximation to theoretical perfection let them join us cordially and aid us by their counsels to attain this higher development.

This at any rate is a sound, practical, workable scheme. Let us begin with this and improve as we gain experience.

Still another class of objectors: Friends come with solemn faces and say in grave voices: You mean well, but you are stirring up feelings, you are exciting passions, the issues, of which you cannot foresee; you are letting loose forces that you cannot control; and they positively make themselves uncomfortable, at the imaginary terrible revolution, to which our peaceful labours, it is supposed, may, in some occult manner, give rise in some misty future. Unfortunately, or rather fortunately, for India and England, fortunately for mankind, the facts are precisely the other way. It is the British Government in their noble enthusiasm for the emancipation of this great people—God's trust to them,—from the fetters of ignorance, who by the broadcast dissemination of Western education and Western ideas of liberty, the rights of subjects, public spirit and patriotism have let loose forces which, unless wisely guided and controlled, might, nay sooner or later certainly must, involve consequences which are too disastrous to contemplate. And it is precisely to limit and control these forces and direct them, while there is yet time, into channels along which they can flow auspiciously, bearing safely the argosies of progress and prosperity on their heaving waves, that this Congress movement was designed. The Government has, broadly speaking, never realized the vast proportions of the coming flood which is being engendered by the noble policy of which in 1833 Lord Macaulay was so prominent an exponent; and it is we, of the Congress, who though good repute and ill repute, careless what men say of us if only haply God may bless our efforts, who, standing between the country and the coming development, are labouring—labouring almost frantically—to provide in time channels through which this surging tide may flow, not to ravage and destroy but to fertilize and regenerate.

Everywhere beneath your feet lay the loose powder, which a chance spark, anywhere, at any moment, might have converted into the destruction of the empire. We it is who are gathering this carefully up into casks, each under responsible watch, thus minimizing even now the danger, and promising before another decade is over to make all as safe at least as in our mother land. Do you not see that by our electoral divisions, each watched over by a knot of the ablest and best men of the locality.

associated with all the most influential men of the division, and guided by the advice of the ablest men the province or presidency contains, we are creating a machinery which will constitute an important safeguard against illegal and unconstitutional action ?

Do you not realize that by getting hold of the great lower middle classes before the development of the reckless demagogues, to which the next quarter of a century must otherwise give birth, and carefully inoculating them with a mild and harmless form of the political fever, we are adopting the only certain precautionary method against the otherwise inevitable ravages of a violent and epidemic burst of the disorder ? I know that both in these provinces and the Punjab there are many officials—good men and true though not far-seeing—who are publicly and privately doing their utmost to impede the progress and hinder the happy development of this great and beneficent movement ; but, Gentlemen, as they are good men, acting, though ignorantly, in all good faith, they will be very sorry later for this, and they will regret that before opposing they did not first take the trouble of thoroughly understanding the movement. And after all it is but a passing cloud that obscures their view, and it will not be long before all the best of them begin to realize that the Congress organization is a growing source of strength to them and the administration, and, as some district officers elsewhere have already done, unostentatiously putting themselves at the head of the local movements, by their wisdom, abilities, position, and experience, add yet another guarantee to its success. Ah, my dear friends, if you only knew India as well as I do, if you only knew half what I know, you would realize how tremendous was the future trouble that under God's Providence this movement has been destined to avert, and you would all join your Hindu brethren in the gladsome shout we heard at Madras—

CONGRESS JEE KE JAI—CONGRESS JEE KE JAI !

Speaking, however, in these provinces, there is one more point that I feel most unwillingly compelled to touch upon—unwillingly, because on the one side stands a lifelong friendship, on the other the sacred duty that is imposed upon every man to speak the truth without fear or favor when the interests of his country and countrymen are at stake. I refer of course to the unfortunate schism of a section of the Musulmans, which threatens to impair temporarily the harmony of our movement and retard the fruition of the aspirations of India's best friends for her welfare. In dealing with this question I carefully distinguish between the doctrines preached and those who preach them. Against those

gentlemen who are, as I hope, in all singleness of purpose and in good faith, preaching however unwisely, however blindly, the doctrines to which I shall refer, I have not one word to say. Their own consciences must be their judges to acquit or to condemn them. But the doctrines that these are preaching I must denounce, with all the earnestness, with all the energy, I possess.

For how stands the case? On the one side stand we of the Congress preaching union, good fellowship, kindness and tolerance to all—a kindly co-operation in efforts for the amelioration of the lot of the entire nation, a recognition of the fact that subjects of one beloved Sovereign, children or residents of the same great country, we are all brethren whose good and evil fortunes are so inextricably interlinked that the advancement of one section is the gain of all, the injury of one the loss of all. This I humbly conceive is God's own Gospel of peace and good will amongst men. On the other side stand certain opponents of this good work teaching Musulmans that the Hindus are not their brethren, that they are a different nation, that their interests are different, and in every possible way labouring to excite distrust and foment sectarian animosity in the minds of the Musulman population against their Hindu brethren. This I denounce as the devil's own dismal doctrine of discord and disunion. Yea, and by its fruits ye may know it. For ten long years peace had reigned in all the cities of Upper India. Even the lowest classes of Hindus and Mahomedans dwelt in amity together; the old demon of sectarian jealousy, atrophied under our kindly and tolerant British rule, was sleeping on into a death from inanity, when straightaway these unfortunates screaming out their ill-omened dogmas of discord woke him again into life, and in the last two years there has scarcely been a city in Northern India, from Jubblepore to Lahore, in which there has not been more or less serious trouble between the ignorant classes of our two great communities. These are the fruits of our opponents' propaganda, and for all the sin and suffering, and even in some cases bloodshed, that have ensued, these new doctrines of disunion are as distinctly and directly responsible as the man who gives his brother poison for food, is for that brother's death. That man may have given that poison ignorantly and in all good faith, and it can only have been in good faith that some Musulmans have been thus poisoning the minds of their co-religionists; but while we acquit the men—while we remember, so far as they are concerned, only the services which they have rendered at other times—we are bound as true men to denounce and repudiate this great evil that however unwittingly their words have wrought.

Before I pass on, however, from this sad subject I would say a few words to all the supporters of the Congress, and ask them ever to be true to the principles of our cause and deal in all charity with their opponents. If they rail at and revile us let us not retaliate; expose with unflinching hand the errors and sophistries which they are seeking to foist upon the public mind, but as to the men remember that these too are brethren—brethren assailing us and our cause it may be, but certainly under misconceptions of one nature or another—content to feel that whether they join us or opposed us we have still the glad privilege of toiling equally for their good, the common good of all, and that we shall sooner or later enjoy the permissible, nay blessed, revenge of returning good for evil.

I hope that all will hearken to my words and bear in mind that no man who mixes personal animosity with this political effort, no man who cherishes any unkindness against our opponents personally, no man who answers angry and unjust attacks by angry, even though they be just, retorts, is a true supporter of this our movement whose watchword is

PEACE, PROGRESS AND GOODWILL TO ALL.

But again there are not a few who say your professions and principles are most excellent, but pray how do you account for members of your party, declared supporters of the Congress, who not only do not abstain from railing at their adversaries, but who rail at and abuse the best and friendliest of our rulers, and who *sneer*, *snarl* and *snap* at everything Government does, good, bad or indifferent? Well in the first place I should reply that there are but very few, and these unimportant men who do this. Still I admit it; there are a small number of professed adherents of the Congress who do, as I may say, use bad language; but it is my painful duty to inform you that in my long life I have met with not a few but a vast number of professing Christians, who also used bad language—precious bad too I can tell you—and are we to condemn or hold aloof from Christianity because some or many who call themselves Christians are unable to realize the spirit of its divine principles? Are you to condemn or hold aloof from the Congress because some of its supporters are unable to realise the noble spirit in which it was conceived? Did God ever yet sow wheat but what the enemy came by night and sowed tares there likewise? Inextricably interwoven in the web of life as are the black and white threads of evil and of good, it is futile to suppose that any human undertaking or movement, however pure and noble in design and spirit, will ever be wholly free from some little fringe of what is base and evil. But the remedy is in your own hands. Let every good man with one accord join us heartily, and we shall

soon make short work of the larger portion at any rate of this objectionable fringe.

But there remain two classes of objectors whose positions are more rational than those of any that we have yet considered. One of these is represented by a most distinguished official, who lately wrote to me: "Your principles are unobjectionable, your schemes most ingenious, but all this with me goes for nothing, for the whole thing appears to me premature." Now in one sense, and looking at these backward provinces alone, the writer is quite correct; for did these provinces stand alone, were there no "*force majeure*" behind, we might certainly well have waited another dozen years before seeking to introduce an electoral system here. But as I have endeavoured to make you realize there is no time to lose. Elsewhere in many parts of the empire the measure is not premature, and we cannot afford to wait there until these backward provinces grow slowly up to the required stature, but must by special efforts endeavour to bring them rapidly up into line. And I doubt not that a wise purpose underlies the opposition that short-sighted, though doubtless well-meaning men, are stirring up against us in these provinces, for it will do more to popularize the Congress, more to awaken the political instinct and ripen the political sense here, than any support they could have afforded us.

And the next and final objection to our Legislative Council scheme is like unto the last, for here it is admitted that that scheme has merits; but say the objectors it should have been worked up to from below; you have begun at the wrong end; you should have waited until the Municipal boards and Local boards had become perfect representative successes; and then we would have given you divisional councils; and lastly when these too worked with perfect efficiency the presidential councils you ask for, indeed councils far more representative than you ask for. Now this really looks very plausible, but it will not hold water when examined. In the first place, worked as it now is all over the country, Lord Ripon's beneficent scheme of Local Self-Government can never become a perfect success, simply because in so many places the officials interfere so much that the members never feel any real responsibility, and all the best men get disgusted and lose interest. It is not too much to say that at this moment Local Self-Government is throughout nearly half the country a mere sham, not because the people are incompetent, but because the officials are too zealous in endeavouring to have everything done in the best way, ever to give the people fair play. There was absolutely no hope of ever building up a provincial representative system from these Boards. But again it may be pointed out that in England they began as we do with the

higher class of council, and only when this had been to a great extent perfected did they attempt any great development of Local Self-Government, and it is very doubtful if any small and weak local representative institutions can ever get fair play in face of a powerful aristocracy or bureaucracy, until there is a powerful representative body able to control these.

Now I have, I hope and believe, fairly and fully expounded to you the Congress scheme for the introduction into the administration of the country of a representative element; I have taken up and answered according to my lights all the principal objections that I have heard urged against it; and I have I submit proved that this scheme is absolutely unobjectionable and likely, if adopted, to evolve many beneficial results. And if I only had the time, if I had not already trespassed on your patience to an extent which will, I fear, make it difficult for you ever to forgive me, I could and would take up one by one every single resolution passed at the three Congresses, and by fully expounding them and showing you exactly how the measures they recommend would work in practice, convince you that, though you might not absolutely concur in every one of them, there is not one amongst them that is unreasonable, much less, as silly people sometimes pretend that they believe, disloyal;—not one of them in fact to which any wise, impartial man, who loves either England or India, would take any serious objection. But the night is already far spent, and summing up I claim to have shown you that, alike in the basal principles of its original promoters, in the special objects which they designed the Congress to subserve, in the methods that we have adopted to achieve these objects, and in the measures that the Congress has recommended, there is much, very much, to commend the movement to all good and wise men, and nothing, absolutely nothing, to repel the sympathy or prevent the heartiest co-operation of any such in our beneficent work.

Well! I must not detain you longer. As it is I can find no words in which adequately to thank you for the kindness and extreme patience with which you have listened to me—only, if my feeble words have availed to lead any of you, who till to-day have looked with disfavour on the Congress, to realize that it is a great and growing power working on the side of good—a power making for righteousness—that even its great gatherings and its resolutions are only a portion of its work, and that it is really a gigantic educational engine destined to raise alike the mental and moral, as well as the political status of the entire nation—your kindly patience will not have been exercised in vain, and my humble efforts will have been crowned with a success that I feel—only too keenly—that they have not intrinsically merited.

NOTES
ON THE
ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION
OF THE
LAND REVENUE IN INDIA.

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BY
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PREFACE.

LONDON, *May*, 1880.

A COMMISSION was appointed in 1861 to inquire into the causes of the famine which had recently afflicted the north-western provinces of India. In an exhaustive report upon the evidence collected, and the conclusions to which it led, the Commission recommended the permanent settlement of the land tax as the measure best calculated to mitigate the effects of drought and scarcity in a country where agriculture is the staple industry of the people. Comparing the famine of 1860 with one which had occurred in the same provinces in 1837, when the number of deaths from starvation and the general suffering of the people had been much greater, the President of the Commission stated in his report :—

“Foremost among the means whereby society in Northern India has been so strengthened as thus to resist, with less suffering, far heavier pressure from drought and famine in 1860 than in 1837, I place the creation, as it may almost literally be called, of a vast mass of readily-convertible and easily-transferable agricultural property. I have before described the condition of agricultural property antecedent to the existing settlements, and it will probably be admitted, without serious qualification, that a state of things more likely to weaken the society living under it could scarcely be conceived. To great and unequal pressure of public burdens and arbitrary interferences have succeeded assessments rarely heavy, titles recorded and easily understood, long leases, and the enjoyments of all the profits during the currency of such leases. The natural results of such a change in so vital a part of the social economy have grown more and more apparent. Land has obtained an increasing marketable value. Its value as a security has, doubtless, been largely made use of in mitigating the pressure of famine. Such, then, having been the general results of the protracted fixity of the public demand, the security of titles, the general moderation of assessments, the recognition and general record of rights—the inference seems irresistible that, to intensify and per-

petuate these results, we must proceed still further in the same healthy and fruitful direction. The good which has been done by partial action on sound principles is both a justification and an encouragement to further advances; and entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first and, as I believe most important measure I have respectfully to submit for consideration is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity."

This recommendation was strongly supported by the highest authorities on the subject, including Sir George Edmonstone (then Lieut.-Governor of the North-western provinces), his successors the Hon. Edmund Drummond and Sir Wm. Muir, and Mr. Money of the Board of Revenue; and Lord Canning, in giving it his entire adhesion, suggested as further measures towards the same end the sale of waste lands free of land tax, and the permission to redeem the existing land revenue by the payment of an adequate sum of money.

The Resolution of the Governor-General stated:—

" His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt that, as far as either measure might take effect, it would be in every way beneficial. As to waste lands, there could be no question. . . . His Excellency in Council has still less doubts as to the beneficial results of permitting a redemption of the land-revenue. He believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while, under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire."

The Secretary of State, in replying to the above suggestion, in a despatch dated July, 1862, said—

" After the most careful review of all these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in

incurring the risk of some prospective loss of land revenue, in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure to the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country."

The above-mentioned despatch authorised a permanent settlement to be granted to every estate where four-fifths of the cultivatable area had been brought under cultivation and assessed according to the existing settlement. These conditions were upon subsequent investigation found to have already been fulfilled in a number of estates, and the owners of other properties set themselves at once, on the promulgation of the despatch, to the task of complying with its requisitions. Meanwhile Lord Canning had retired and died, and a change of Ministry having taken place at home, the new Secretary of State for India was persuaded by certain Indian officials (who assured him that a permanent settlement would entail a great sacrifice of prospective land revenue) to stop the execution of the despatch of his predecessor. Loud protests ensued against this breach of public faith, and against the abrogation, upon merely speculative grounds, of an important measure, which had been sanctioned after mature deliberation and been pronounced as highly beneficial to all classes of H.M. subjects in India.

It soon became apparent, however, that the despotic power vested in an Indian Secretary of State rendered it hopeless to contend with his fiat. The new Indian Minister, however, was unable to formulate any tenable ground for repealing his predecessor's order; so he left the despatch in abeyance until the authorities in India should provide arguments for strengthening the hands of the Home Government in the matter. This task was one of considerable difficulty, seeing that Lord Canning's suggestion had been supported by the highest revenue authorities in India, and rested upon grounds

which could not be controverted. Great pressure had consequently to be exercised, in order to obtain from some of those authorities the expression of views contrary to the convictions they had previously uttered. This endeavour naturally met with strong resistance, but compliance was ultimately yielded in some high quarters, and a despatch was forthwith framed in Downing Street, in 1865, not actually repealing the despatch of 1862, but burdening its purport with new conditions which virtually rendered it of no effect.

One of the new conditions stipulated that, when an estate had complied with the requirements of the despatch of 1862, a permanent settlement should be granted to it *only if*, in the *opinion* of the authorities, our irrigation works were not likely, within twenty years, to be so extended as to benefit that estate to the extent of twenty per cent. No freer course, no greater encouragement could have been afforded to arbitrary decisions; and the contrivance, accordingly, succeeded. Voluminous correspondence followed for several years, and the despatch of 1862 remained a dead letter.

This tortuous proceeding, however, inflicted far greater injury on the country than even a prompt and peremptory cancellation of the despatch of 1862 could have produced; for the people were kept in long years of suspense regarding the actual burdens to which their lands were to be subjected, and the application of capital to agriculture was thus most effectually hindered. Settlement operations, moreover, with all their demoralizing influences, were indefinitely prolonged, resulting in a state of things which will be found briefly, but most graphically, described in a passage of Sir Auckland Colvin's *Memorandum* of 1872, transcribed at page 16 of this paper.

The greatest evil of all was the loss of confidence in the good faith of the British Government, which resulted from the disavowal of the pledge given in the despatch of 1862. The Hon. Edmund Drummond, Lieutenant-Governor, referring to the subject, and

alluding to a calculation that £200,000 might eventually be added to the land revenue if a permanent settlement were withheld, said, in writing to the Secretary of State in 1866 :—

“Even if this calculation were adopted, I cannot think that for such a sum as this we should, at the last moment, hesitate to fulfil the expectations we have raised and withdraw the promised boon of a permanent settlement ; nor does it appear to be befitting a great Government to seem to grudge a sacrifice which is as nothing when compared with that which must result from the future rise of prices and enhanced value of land generally, which has been freely accepted. . . . To sum up briefly the conclusions to which I have been led after full and anxious consideration of this difficult subject, I am of opinion that, as a measure of large and enlightened policy, the permanent settlement of these provinces should be carried generally unhampered by further conditions.”

These sad episodes in the history of the land administration of India have a direct bearing on the present state of things in that country, seeing that the settlements to which they relate (as well as the assessments in other provinces) will soon have completed their period and come under revision. The Indian National Congress has already called public attention to the subject, and the notes in the following pages have been compiled with the view of placing in a concise form, before those who may feel interested in the matter, the main facts and arguments connected with the important question at issue.

J. D.

NOTES
ON THE
Assessment and Collection
OF THE
LAND-TAX IN INDIA.

AGRICULTURE is the principal industry of the people of India, and the revenue of the country being derived in a great measure from a tax on land, it is most important that the means employed for assessing and collecting that tax, should be devised so as to avoid any prejudicial interference with the development of the national industry.

The system of the indigenious rulers in India, was to take a portion of the produce of each field, the respective shares of the ruler and the cultivator being sanctioned by ancient tradition. This system, which required the ruler to store and sell his share, when it was needed for the purposes of administration, was not unsuited to the conditions of the small principalities into which the country was divided; and it even survived the Mahommedan invasion, as the conquerors generally left the collection of the tribute (as well as much of the internal administration) to the native organisations of the country.

The British Government, however, found it impossible to construct, over its vast territories, trustworthy agencies for carrying out operations which require so much care and scrupulous dealing, as the fair division of the produce upon millions of farms, and the sale and conversion of the Government share into money. The *Bataï* or share-system, was, therefore,

rapidly superseded by a money demand for the equivalent of the ruler's portion. Here our difficulties commenced. In order to fix the money value of the Government share of the crop, it was still necessary to ascertain the exact quantity of each kind of produce raised in every farm, as well as its market price on the day on which the tax was due, and it was soon found that the operations necessary for determining with any degree of accuracy the net produce of the land were hopelessly complicated and practically impossible, the experiments made having led to absurdly erroneous solutions.

Lord Wm. Bentinck, referring in 1833 to the proceedings instituted by a Revenue officer for fixing the basis of assessment in his district, observed :—

“ This gentleman took the greatest possible pains to introduce a system of minute inquiry into the produce ; he pointed out every possible mode of ascertaining the requisite information, and even suggested that experiments should be made by European officers themselves collecting different kinds of produce varying in quality, and appraising the value by ascertaining the market prices, after deducting all expenses. From the above extract it will be seen how entirely his expectation has been disappointed. To ascertain profits, or in other words, to convert gross into net produce, seems to be decidedly impracticable.”

The Government was thus left to act by guess-work and conjecture ; and the assessors, although still professing to regulate the State demand upon ascertained data and fixed principles, were, in reality, guided partly by the character of the season, and the prices current in the neighbouring markets ; but chiefly by the reputed ability of the landholder, in each case, to bear the burden that was intended to be imposed on him. As information on this point could only be obtainable through confidential enquiries, a system of secret reports sprang up, from which great mischief soon ensued. Underlings in the Revenue Department were able to extort money from cultivators by threatening to have their assessments unduly raised ; and landholders were induced to offer bribes to subordinate

officials, in the belief that these men could influence the settlements in their favour. Thus great injury has been done, both to the financial interest of the State and the moral sense of the people.

Moreover, the revenue officer who was required, in finally settling the assessments, to decide fairly between the Government and the landholders, was placed in the most unfavourable position for acting impartially; for it was impossible that he should not sometimes be biassed in favour of the Government whose interest he was bound to protect, and upon whose goodwill his prospects greatly depended. To what extent this anomalous arrangement led to over-taxation will be seen in the next chapter.

B O M B A Y.

THE following passages in Settlement Reports of 1840-50, which have been partly reproduced at page 10 of the "Blue Book" of 1878, entitled *The Deccan Riots Commission*, record the evil results, in the Bombay Presidency, of the system of temporary assessments referred to in the preceding section.

"The over-estimate of the capabilities of the Deccan, acted upon by our early collectors, drained the country of its agricultural capital, and accounts for the poverty and distress in which the cultivating population has ever since been plunged.

"Even now, little more than a third of the arable land is cultivated.

"In the Ahmednagar District, the rates adopted in 1818-19 proved much too high, and it was necessary to resort to remedial expedients to save the ryots from ruin. . . the more unfavourable character of the results must be attributed to the greater degree of over-taxation."

The general prevalence of oppressive assessments at that period also appears, from the instructions which the Government found it imperative to issue at the

time, for a general reduction in the fiscal demands upon land; and the following passage, in an official minute of 1841, shows how fully the Government had realised the fatal consequences of their error:—

“ No unnecessary reduction can injure the country, and the Government revenue can only suffer to the extent of the reduction. An error upon one side involves the ruin of the country; an error on the other, some inconsiderable sacrifice of the finance of the State, and with such unequal stakes depending, can we hesitate as to which should be given the preponderance?”

This recognition of the error of over-taxation, brought about by a diminution in the revenue, led to moderate rates being sanctioned in the new settlements; whereby agriculture was afforded the encouragement it so greatly needed; and later, when the Crimean war and the civil war in America created an active demand for Indian produce in the home markets, a remarkable period of agricultural prosperity resulted from the wise course of action which the Government had adopted in sanctioning moderate assessments.

On the 26th of July, 1864, the Government of Bombay wrote:—

“ There never was a time during the known history of Western India when land suitable for the growth of grain was in greater demand . . . It may be said, with almost literal truth, that not a thousand acres of land which had been cultivated during the memory of man are now to be found uncultivated in the Deccan and the Konkan.”—*(Parliamentary Paper, C. 2071 of 1878)*.

The Indian cultivator obtained unprecedentedly high prices for his crops, and was able, not only to satisfy the land revenue demand in full, but to improve his farm and his dwelling, to increase his stock of cattle, to excavate irrigation wells, and even to lay by savings. These happy results will be found recorded at pages 11 and 18 of the Blue Book already quoted, and from which the following passages afford very striking illustrations of the episode:—

“ The re-action in agricultural prosperity under light

assessments and a system at once simple and rigid, was as rapid as the decline of the district had been under opposite conditions. During the period which followed, the district reached a very high standard of prosperity before the year 1860. In 1862 began the period of extraordinary prosperity, caused by the rise in the price of cotton, which followed the American blockade. In those years, the ryots would, under ordinary circumstances, have suffered severely from the constant deficiency in the rainfall during five successive seasons. In 1862, the Poonah and Ahmednagar Districts had enjoyed fixed assessments, the former for 20 years and the latter for 10 years."

In the midst of this prosperity the land settlements, which had been concluded in the Bombay Presidency thirty years before, began to fall in. The Government of India had, meanwhile, been transferred to the Crown, and the State expenditure under the new *regime* having greatly increased, strenuous efforts were being made for raising additional revenue. The Government of India, regardless of the transient nature of the circumstances whence the agricultural prosperity of recent years had chiefly arisen, and casting aside the experience so dearly bought by the disastrous effect of the assessments of earlier dates, peremptorily directed that the new settlements should be based upon enormously increased assessments. The rates were thereupon enhanced, in some instances to one hundred per cent. and more, and, on the whole, to fully sixty per cent. above the rates of the settlements that had just expired.

The restoration of peace in Europe and America had meanwhile caused the produce markets to relapse into their normal condition, and the cultivators were no longer able, with the diminished value of their crops, to satisfy the suddenly enhanced demand of the Government. For a time the savings of previous years were used in staving off eviction and immediate ruin, and, when these were exhausted, assistance was obtained from the money lender. The village bankers, however, were not slow in perceiving that they had no

chance of recovering their advances so long as the increased land-tax was maintained—they accordingly refused to grant further loans. This caused at once the revenue to fall into arrears; whereupon the Government directed the defaulting landholders' farms to be put up for sale, but purchasers could scarcely be found at any price for land subject to the new settlement. Large tracts of country were thus thrown out of cultivation, and much agricultural capital was wantonly destroyed.

In a minute of the Government of Bombay, on the report of the Collector of Sholapore for 1872-73, it is stated :—

“ The Government has read, with much concern, the opinion expressed by the Collector as to the undue pressure of the revised rates, in consequence of which a large quantity of land has been put up for sale in default of revenue, much of which found no purchasers.”

Another official report of the same year states :—

“ The difficulty of recovering the Government demand, which was considerable in 1871 and 1872, culminated in 1873.”

In Guzerat (which has often been called the Garden of India, on account of its rich soil and careful cultivation), no less than 7663 farms, measuring 25,035 acres, were thrown out of cultivation in 1873; and in the Surat Collectorate 10,880 acres of land had been similarly abandoned during the previous year. In the district of Poonah things assumed a still darker complexion, the Collector stating in his annual report that the amount of revenue unrecovered had been very considerable, and that, in order to realise the amount actually recovered, he had found it necessary to sell up many farms or occupancies.

The widespread distress, engendered under these circumstances, soon manifested itself in disturbances of a very serious nature. The cultivators, in their desperate state of insolvency, being pressed by the Government for the payment of the land-tax, and by

the bankers for the re-imbusement of their loans, rose against the latter as the weaker adversary, broke into their houses, maltreated their persons, and destroyed the records of their loans; and troops had to be called in before these disturbances could be quelled. This occurred in 1874. A Commission was afterwards appointed to inquire into the cause of the riots, and a minute of Sir Auckland Colvin, who had been appointed a member of the Commission, stated that the pressure of the land-tax, at the revised rates, was among the chief causes of the disturbance.

Such was the state of things when the drought of 1876-77 overtook the country. Thousands of families, stripped of their savings, plunged into debt, and, turned out of their homesteads, spread over the land, struggling for existence. Can it be wondered, then, that millions amongst that wretched agricultural population should have perished, during those direful years, of actual hunger and exposure, or of disease brought on by insufficient food?

Such have been the disastrous effects of a system which was introduced in the expectation that the periodical revision and arbitrary enhancement of the land-tax would enable the Government to add to its revenue, as, with time, the resources of the country were developed and national wealth had accumulated. The error was to suppose that time alone was needed to produce these beneficial effects. Agriculture, which is the main source of wealth in India, is, by its very nature, exposed to vicissitudes far greater than those attending most other industrial enterprises. In trade and manufactures, success depends in a great degree upon sagacity and prudence. These qualities may prove unavailing to the cultivator against a succession of bad seasons. Money laid out in the improvement of land is in India, as elsewhere, slow in yielding its full results; and when, as in the case of periodical settlements, the fruit of the money and labour expended on a farm is exposed to be absorbed in the

Government demand at the next revision of the tax, a most effectual obstacle is placed against the application of capital to agriculture, and consequently against the development of the chief industry of the people.

It is worthy of particular notice that, although the danger involved in the system in question was recognised and acknowledged by the Government more than forty years ago, it became possible for a succeeding administration to disregard the experience so dearly bought, and to wantonly repeat the error which had been denounced thirty years before. This fact must be ascribed entirely to the defective constitution inaugurated in 1858, which vested the supreme control of the Government in a Cabinet Minister unacquainted with India and her people, and exposed in Parliament (the only body to which he was made responsible) to the influences of different sections of the people of Great Britain, each striving to promote interests and projects often adverse to the interests of India.

While the system of temporary settlements in Bombay thus inflicted the most serious injury on agriculture, it entirely failed in its *sole* purpose, that of increasing the land revenue. Accordingly, while the revenue collected in Bombay in 1868, when the new settlements were about being introduced, amounted to £3,612,612, the average collection of the ten years, ending with 1877, was only £3,588,676. (*Vide Statistical Abstract for British India, No. 12.*) Furthermore, this financial result of the system was aggravated by an expenditure of several millions in the relief of the famine which that system had so fearfully intensified.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

THE injurious effects of temporary settlements noticed in the preceding section, have been reproduced in

every part of India where such settlements prevailed. In the North-Western Provinces, the country being mostly held in large estates by individual owners or brotherhoods, the assessments are professedly based on the rental, and the settlement work would be comparatively simple if the rent rolls of the owners could be accepted; but these documents would not be a safe guide as to the productive value of the land, seeing that many leases have been granted at low or nominal rents, in consideration of relationship or personal services, or for religious purposes. An investigation has therefore to be made at each settlement, as minute and inquisitorial as in the case of Bombay. The deleterious effects of these operations will be seen from the following passage in Mr. (now Sir) Auckland Colvin's Memorandum of 1872 :—

“ In 1874, twenty-six years will have elapsed from the date on which the two first of the districts now comprised in North-West Provinces were placed in the hands of a Settlement Officer. Others were begun twelve years ago, and are not yet sanctioned; one of these is not yet even completed. These facts are significant to those who know what the settlement of a district means; the value of property depreciated until the exact amount of the new assessment is declared, credit affected, heart-burning and irritation between landlord and tenant, suspicion of the intentions of the Government, a host of official underlings scattered broadcast over the vexed villages. Nothing can equal the injury inflicted by a slow, uncertain settlement, dragging its length along, obstructed by conflicting orders and harassed by successive administrations, and finally threatened with annihilation at the moment when it seems to have nearly finished its course . . . Little wonder that we hear of the land needing rest!”

The hesitations, uncertainties, and delays alluded to by Sir A. Colvin, are unavoidable, so long as India is governed by a Viceroy and his Council in their mountain retreat at Simla, acting under the directions of a Secretary of State in London, unacquainted with the country, and harassed by conflicting rumours and opinions. The situation is more clearly elucidated in

other passages of the same paper, where the writer says :—

“ In the course of the settlement great and unforeseen circumstances led to a marked, though ephemeral, increase in the price of agricultural produce. . . In the financial panic there grew and rapidly strengthened a conviction that the assessments in the N. W. Provinces were inadequate, and that the State was not receiving its proper share of the public revenues. The views of 1861 had fallen into discredit, and great pressure was put on the public officers to show cause why their calculations should not lead to the assumption of a larger rental.”

Mr. Bird, another distinguished revenue officer, stated in a report of anterior date :—

“ The district of Budâon was in a state of great distress and disorganization. The revision of the settlement took place at a period when the disposition to over-assess was far from being allayed. It is impossible that, in a district so greatly injured by oppressive assessments and great mismanagement, the mistakes and evils which have arisen can be redressed at one operation. No slight benefit will have been gained if the Government and its servants are convinced, as I trust they now are, of the actual loss of money which is certain to follow over-assessment.”

These extracts show on what vague and uncertain data, and under what baneful and fluctuating influences the important and delicate operation of assessing the land-tax is carried on.

Before closing this chapter it may be useful to quote from a few more official documents, in order to show that the injury inflicted on these provinces by land settlements periodically liable to revision and enhancement, has been as deep and as widespread as in Bombay.

The Lieutenant-Governor, in his administration report published in 1873, stated that he had been forcibly struck, while travelling, by the wretched condition of the Lullutpore district, in which many estates were so depopulated, and so much land had fallen out of cultivation, that the assessments pressed most severely; and, referring to the coercive measures

which landlords had been compelled to take against their tenants, in order to raise sufficient money for the discharge of the Government demand, His Honour said :—

“ The antagonism of classes whose interests lie so closely together, and who have hitherto been connected by so kindly a bond, is one of the greatest political dangers of the day.”

About the same time the Collector of Cawnpore recorded the following observations on the condition of his Collectorate :—

“ This district has the benefit of water communication by both the Ganges and the Jumna—it is intersected by the East Indian Railway and is partly traversed by the Ganges Canal ; yet land is only worth five years' purchase, and the state of the average cultivator is one of hopeless insolvency and misery.”

From the report of the Collector of Allahabad it appeared that a number of landowners, who had failed to pay up the revenue, had not only their estates attached, but their persons imprisoned, and their personal property seized and sold ; and the Commissioner of the division, adverting to the depressed condition of the Futtehpoore district, stated that the addition of ten per cent., which had recently been made in the land-tax, “ fell heaviest on the villages which were least able to bear it ; that many villages had broken down, and many more were threatened with ruin.”

Innumerable cases of a similar character are to be found in the reports of district officers.

M A D R A S .

THE land in this province is occupied chiefly by small cultivators, whose fields are designedly assessed at such high rates that the tax can be realised only after

an exceptionally abundant harvest.* There is consequently an unrealised balance at the end of each year when the Collector remits such portion of the accumulated arrears of previous seasons as he considers to be hopelessly irrecoverable, and holds over the remainder for realisation when possible.

It will doubtless readily be admitted that a more effectual plan for keeping an agricultural population in hopeless indebtedness and misery could scarcely be devised. As a consequence of this condition of things, methods of great severity have to be employed in the collection of the revenue in this Presidency. The processes are not described in the official reports which are destined for publication, but certain figures of an alarming character found their way into the Administration Report, published in 1881, from which it appeared that the arrears of land-revenue recovered through the eviction of cultivators and the sale of their lands had been increasing annually, and had risen from Rs. 31,800 in 1865 to Rs. 665,091 in 1878. It was attempted to explain away this ugly feature in a Local Government Resolution, in which the following passages occur:—

“High prices have caused an increase in the cultivation and much risky speculation in land. Any person can obtain land by applying for it, and a desire of becoming a land-owner is strong and general.”

A glimpse of the truth, however, is to be had in a subsequent passage of the same document, where it is stated:—

“Another cause is the reduction of the remissions granted, and the gradually increasing charge for waste.”

This simply means *the enforced collection of a larger portion of that oppressive assessment, the nature of which has been explained at the commencement of this chapter.*

* The land revenue in Nadias “is fixed on each field to be paid for *good crops*; if the crops fail, the revenue is reduced, and there is an annual settlement on cultivated land.”—*East India Progress and Condition in 1872-73*, page 26.

The reader will now feel no surprise at learning that more than 3,000,000 acres of arable land were lying uncultivated in the Madras Presidency, according to the Administration Report for 1877-78; and he will apprehend the signification of the remark contained in the above-mentioned Government Resolution, that "every person can obtain land by applying for it."

The following extracts from the Blue Book on *the moral and material condition of India*, throw further light on the land revenue system of Madras, called Ryotwaree and on its effect upon agriculture.

"The land revenue collections for 1876-77 are returned at £3,296,575, showing a decrease of £1,248,438 below the previous year. Large remissions of the ryotwaree revenue were rendered necessary on account of the decrease of cultivation and failure of crops.

"Considering the adverse nature of the season, the collection of revenue was very satisfactory; but collectors had to resort to coercive processes to a much greater extent than in the preceding twelvemonth, the number of defaulters having risen from 336,226 to 1,242,877, and the amount of arrears from £306,947 to £833,236. The value of property actually attached was £194,700, as compared with £164,000 in the previous year."

The only bright spot in this dark picture of oppression and misery, is the statement in the same Blue Book, that no remission had, as a rule, to be granted in respect of the permanently settled portions of the province, and that the people in those portions needed no relief during the recent famine. These statements refer to a number of estates which were permanently settled towards the end of the last century on assessments aggregating about £500,000. The revenue from those estates has ever since been collected with remarkable regularity, and the people have been able to lay by savings, which enabled them to tide over the famine period without needing eleemosynary assistance.

B E N G A L .

THE condition of Bengal differs materially from that of our other Indian provinces, owing to the widely different principle which has regulated her land administration. When the country came under our rule in the second half of the last century, wars and the rapacity of conquerors had reduced it to a very low ebb, and extensive tracts lay entirely uncultivated. There was no inducement for the proprietors of these waste regions to reclaim them, seeing that the arbitrary and oppressive exactions to which they were subjected by the rulers, left them no hope of deriving any benefit from the enterprise. Under these circumstances, Government experienced the greatest difficulty in recovering the land-revenue, and were unable to realise more than a small and uncertain portion of their demand; while the landowners, in order to collect even such small portions, had to resort to very oppressive measures against their tenants.

In this critical and distressing state of things, a drought occurred in 1770, which resulted in a famine of so terrible a character, that many millions of the inhabitants perished of hunger within a short space of time. This greatly added to the difficulty of collecting the revenue, and the Governor-General wrote on the 18th September, 1783 :—

“I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territory is now jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear that jungle and encourage ryots to come and cultivate his lands, when at the end of that lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for the newly cultivated lands or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labours, for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid?”

Every question relating to the administration of the land was then very carefully considered by the

Government of India, and also by the most eminent statesmen of the day at home; and the conclusions arrived at in both countries were to the following effect. It was considered unreasonable to expect the owners of the waste tracts to clear jungles, make roads, build markets, advance money to settlers for erecting dwellings, draining swamps, digging wells and tanks, purchasing seed, cattle and food until crops were raised and realised—in short, to expend large sums of money and undergo much labour of mind and body, without any guarantee that the fruit of their outlay should not be taken from them. Such guarantee they certainly had not, so long as the Government retained the power of arbitrarily regulating its demand on land. It was, therefore, thought necessary that this arbitrary power should be abandoned, and a solemn pledge be given by the Government to abstain from further enhancing the land tax. The measures framed upon these conclusions remained under anxious consideration for ten years and were ultimately enacted in 1793, in a number of regulations, in which the necessary pledge was given in the most unambiguous and solemn terms, and provisions were framed for giving due effect to the compact thus made by the State with the owners of land in Bengal.

The Preamble to Regulation II. of 1793, which is hereunder reproduced *in extenso*, will afford full information regarding the sound principle on which the measure was carried out:—

“ All questions between the Government and the landholders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenue and disputed claims between the latter and their ryots (tenants), have hitherto been cognisable in the Courts of Maal Adawlut or Revenue Courts. The Collectors of revenue preside at these Courts as Judges, and an appeal lies from their decision to the Board of Revenue, and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor-General in Council in the department of revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure, whilst the revenue officers are vested with these

judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these Courts from their irregular, summary and often *ex parte* proceedings, and from the Collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that, if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals, who have been wronged by them in one capacity, can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them from administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing, in its executive capacity, the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders. The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the Regulations, must be subjected to the cognisance of courts of judicature superintended by judges who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and collect the public dues, subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it. No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the Regulations can be infringed or the value of property affected. Land must in consequence become the most desirable of all property, and the industry of the people will be directed to those improvements in agriculture which are as essential to their own welfare as to the prosperity of the State."

Before proceeding to narrate how fully the expectations founded on those measures have been fulfilled, it might be useful to compare the legislation of 1793 with certain recent enactments introduced in the North-

West Provinces and Bombay, where the assessments enforced about 1870 had, as already shown, proved excessively oppressive. The proclaimed basis of those assessments was to fix the demand at fifty-five per cent. of the rental in the North-West Provinces, and at one-sixth of the productive value of the land in Bombay; but the landholders alleged that those limits had been greatly exceeded, and a few among them appealed to the Civil Courts for redress. Thereupon, the Government prepared Bills removing all rent and revenue cases from the cognisance of the Civil Courts, and vesting revenue officers with power to adjudicate on all such cases. These retrogressive measures, tending to place the provinces above-named under the same conditions as those which had proved so fatal to the prosperity of Bengal before 1793, were highly repugnant to the authorities in India, but the Secretary of State laid down the rule that the Government in India were bound to introduce any measure sanctioned by him, and that every official member of the Legislative Council was equally bound, irrespective of his personal convictions, to vote in favour of such measure.* Accordingly, two of the Bills relating to the North-West Provinces were introduced in August, 1873; and while no member came forward to justify them, yet all voted for them. The President and the Financial Member of the Council refrained entirely from explaining the principle involved in the Bills, and the military member voted for them *on trust*. The law member confessed that, "before drawing the Bills he had to divest himself of those principles with which he had been familiar, and that much of the matter was to him of great obscurity, complexity, and uncertainty;" meaning, probably, that the measures violated those principles of justice which, as an Englishman and a

* The Government must hold in its hands the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the members of his Government to vote for it.—*Duke of Argyll's despatch of 24th November, 1870.*

lawyer, he had been taught to respect and uphold. The member for Madras, after expressing doubts on the necessity and soundness of the measures, voted for them as *in duty bound*, adding these ominous words: "I can only express a hope that, when these Bills become law, they might prove an exception to our past experience in regard to enactments affecting land tenures." The member in charge of the Bills, after supporting some of their clauses by merely specious arguments, manifested his antagonism to their principles, by saying: "In reference to the peculiar powers taken for officers engaged in the revision of settlements, I hope to see the time when the revisions of the land revenue will not occur with the same frequency as they now do, and that existing settlements will be prolonged; or, if a certain enhancement of the revenue were deemed to be justified and necessary, that it might be assessed upon some other procedure involving less of inquisition and interference with the agricultural classes, than is inherent in the present system." Lastly, the members for Bengal and Bombay (the attendance of non-official members having been dispensed with by holding the Session at Agra), expressed their disapproval of many clauses in very forcible language.

It thus became apparent that the members, through whose instrumentality the Bills were passed, were actually opposed to them, and that the result obtained, was due entirely to pressure from above.

The effect of the above enactments would be to enable the Government, when levying an illegally assessed tax, to prevent any judicial investigation being made in the matter. That such was also their actual purport is more clearly shown in the Bill relating to the Bombay Presidency, which was avowedly introduced because a landholder had sued the Government for an illegal assessment and obtained, on appeal to the High Court, a re-adjustment of the demand. Accordingly the member in charge of the measure, in urging the Legislative Council to pass the Bill, observed:—

“If every man is allowed to question in a Court of Law the incidence of the assessment on his land, the number of cases which might arise is likely to be overwhelming.”

The character of these enactments show the danger which is involved in the system of Government inaugurated in 1858, under which India is being despotically ruled from Downing Street, by a Cabinet Minister exposed to influences often adverse to the interests of India.

Reverting now to the results of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, it may be briefly stated that, while a number of landholders lost their estates through their inability to discharge the revenue with the punctuality exacted in the new order of things, and a powerful stimulus was given to agriculture, and the province was gradually converted into an almost uninterrupted sheet of cultivation. Its agricultural population rapidly increased and their condition improved steadily, as will be seen from the following passage in a speech which the Hon. Ashley Eden delivered in 1877, shortly after being appointed Lieutenant Governor of Bengal :—

“I have just returned from visiting the Eastern districts, and I may say on this occasion, when my administration is only at the commencement, what I could not well say at a later period, without seeming to seek credit for the Government of which I am the head :—Great as was the progress which I knew had been made in the position of the cultivating classes, I was quite unprepared to find them occupying a position so different from that which I remembered them to occupy when I first came to the country. They were then poor and oppressed, with little incentive to increase the productive powers of the soil. I find them now as prosperous, as independent, and as comfortable as the peasantry, I believe, of any country in the world ; well fed, well clothed, free to enjoy the full benefit of their own labours, and to hold their own, and obtain prompt redress for any wrong.”

This improvement in the condition of the tenants could result only from the landlords gradually relaxing their pressure, as the extension in the cultivation of

their lands enabled them to satisfy the Government demand without resorting to the severe measures they had before been compelled to employ.

Furthermore, the revenue has for a long series of years been collected with regularity and at a comparatively small cost, while famine has been prevented or mitigated by the agricultural classes being allowed, under the legislation of 1793, to lay by savings in favourable years, and thus be provided with means for tiding over seasons of scarcity. These statements find their confirmation in the following quotations :—

“The revenue of the permanently settled estates in Bengal has for years been realised with great punctuality. Losses sometimes occur through famine, epidemics, the devastation of cyclones, and other calamities of the seasons ; but under the conditions of the settlement no such pleas can be urged as excuses for non-payment, and as a rule the large present excess of the annual rental over the Government demand enables the present holders to meet that demand even in the most disastrous years.”—*Administration Report for 1872-73.*

“The deficiency of the collection consequent on the famine was very small, and such suspensions of revenue as were granted were given as a reward for exceptional exertions in relieving distress. The result is creditable to the working of the permanent settlement.”—*Administration Report for 1873-74.*

It should be observed here that, although the drought of 1873-74 in Bengal was very severe, the scarcity did not amount to famine, seeing that no deaths accrued from want of food, and the revenue did not materially suffer on that occasion. It may also be well to state (seeing that misconceptions have taken place on the subject) that the province of Orissa, which was desolated by famine in 1866, did not belong to us in 1793, and was not included, therefore, in the Permanent Settlement. The Orissa mentioned in our official documents of the last century was the adjoining tract, now called the Midnapore district.

One more extract may suffice to show how fully the expectations of 1793 have been realised :—

“The Bengal of to-day offers a startling contrast to the Bengal of 1793—the wealth and prosperity of the country have marvellously increased, increased beyond all precedent, under the permanent settlement. A great portion of this increase is due to the zemindaree body as a whole, and they have been very active and powerful factors in the development of this prosperity.”—*Commissioner of Burdwan's Report, Gazette of India, 20th October, 1883.*

The opponents of the Permanent Settlement point to this prosperity, and argue that the difference between the revenue fixed by that settlement and the larger sum which, they assert, might be levied on the land in its present prosperous condition, constitutes a loss which the compact of 1793 has inflicted on the State. They ignore the fact that the increased rental of Bengal consists chiefly of the returns made by the capital and labour bestowed on the land, and that these would not have been so bestowed without the encouragement and security afforded by the compact of which they complain. In short, they view the question as theorists or as fiscal officers, not as statesmen. Their attention seems concentrated on the comparatively trifling increase of revenue which enhanced assessments and stringent modes of collection might, they believe, bring in for a time; and they overlook the greater, the permanent, the growing income which would accrue to the State from the prosperity of the people and the accumulation of national wealth. In 1793 the revenue of Bengal consisted solely of the land tax, and even this could only be recovered under heavy deductions. At present, customs, excise, stamps, salt and provincial imposts yield twice as much as the full amount of the land tax. This great development in the financial resources of the Government was relied upon by Lord Cornwallis when, in reply to the charge that a permanent settlement would involve a sacrifice of prospective revenue, he wrote on the 6th March, 1793 :—

“If at any future period the public exigencies should require an addition to your resources, you must look for it in

the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the country, and not in the augmentation of the tax upon land."

His anticipations in regard to drought and inundation have likewise been most completely realised in the drought of 1873-74, and in the ravages of the extraordinary cyclone and sea-wave which overwhelmed the south-eastern districts of Bengal on the 31st October, 1876. Lord Cornwallis wrote on the 3rd February, 1790:—

"There is this further advantage to be expected from a fixed assessment, in a country subject to drought and inundation, that it affords a strong inducement to the landholder to exert himself to repair, as speedily as possible, the damages which his land may have sustained from these calamities. His ability to raise money to make these exertions will be proportionately increased by the additional value which the limitation of the public demand will stamp upon his property; the reverse is to be expected when the public assessment is subjected to unlimited increase."

CONCLUSION.

THE great advantages which flow from fixity in the State demand upon land, are not denied by the opponents of permanent settlements in India; their sole contention is, that the Government by retaining the power of periodically enhancing the land tax, are able materially to increase their income. Apart from the immoral character of a system which thus enables the Government to appropriate the fruit of the cultivator's capital and labour, the contention itself is refuted by our experience of a century in the administration of India. Not only have temporary settlements most effectually hindered the accumulation of national wealth, whence the State might legitimately have derived additional revenue, but the very

expectation of an increasing revenue from land has everywhere, under such settlements, been entirely disappointed.

An attempt was made in the *Financial Statement for 1888-89* (page 44), to show, by means of a table exhibiting land revenue receipts in 1856-57 and 1886-87, that such receipts had during the intervening period, increased at the rate of Rs. 166,000. But the comparison was most defectively established, seeing that the proceeds of waste lands, which were largely sold since 1860, together with the capitation tax in Burma, the receipts from fisheries in Assam, and the value of estates confiscated after the mutinies, were all entered under the head of Land Revenue Receipts. The comparison was further vitiated by the mutiny year, when the country was abnormally disquieted, having been taken as its basis. For these reasons, the results exhibited in the above-mentioned table cannot be accepted in any inquiry respecting the effect of temporary settlements upon the revenue from land.

On the other hand, the tables A and B in the Appendix, will show that during the last nineteen years, the land revenue in India, far from increasing, has been steadily on the decline; that while the receipts in 1870 amounted to £21,088,019, they averaged only £20,811,276, in the years 1870 to 1878, and similarly, that the net revenue which was £19,363,477, in 1879, averaged only £19,016,773 in the years 1879 to 1888.

How much of the decline occurred in the provinces under temporary settlements, whose circumstances have been cursorily reviewed in preceding pages, will appear from tables C, D, and E, from which it will be seen that the net land revenue in 1879 amounted

In Bombay to	...	...	...	£3,028,354
„ N.W. Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	5,268,632
„ Madras	...	...	...	4,281,447

Total ... 12,578,433

whence it follows that, had the settlement been per-

manently fixed in 1879, the revenue of these provinces during the ten years, 1879 to 1888, would have amounted to £125,784,330, while the actual revenue recovered during those years was only £119,781,296, thus :—

In Bombay	...	...	£32,721,646
„ N.W. Provinces and Oudh...			49,896,406
„ Madras	...	...	37,163,244
			<hr/>
Total	...		119,781,296

or £6,003,034 less than a permanent settlement, had it existed in 1879, would have produced.

The serious injury to the country, which has been shown to result from the system of arbitrary assessments prevailing over the greater part of the Empire, is not unknown to the Government, for it has repeatedly been proclaimed by the highest authorities in India. The Indian Secretary of State, however, whose tenure of power depends, not on the success of his Indian administration, but on the political situation at home, which raised him to his position, finds himself exposed to the temptation, and sometimes to the necessity, of sacrificing Indian interests to those of his political party, or to the safety of the Cabinet on which his official existence depends. Reform, under such conditions, becomes very difficult or almost hopeless, while even danger has been disregarded, in the hope, doubtless, that the threatening catastrophe may fall on some succeeding administration. Let us remember, however, that in the case of Oriental races held under despotic rule, the most violent storms have, not unfrequently, broken forth from a serene sky. Under these circumstances it behoves all who are interested in the safety of our Indian Empire to raise their voices in favour of a reform which is more urgently needed than almost any other, seeing that it involves the well-

being, the contentment—nay, the very lives—of the millions who subsist by the cultivation of land in India, and whose labour and enterprise, in a country chiefly agricultural, are the main instruments of national wealth.

P.S.—*1st June, 1889* :—

Since writing the above I have seen a report of the speeches which were delivered at the National Congress at Allahabad in December last on the subject of extending permanent settlements in India. One of the speakers on that occasion observed that John Stuart Mill's opinion, as to the unearned increment of land belonging to the State, was contrary to the principle of such settlements. No doubt it is so; but while that opinion might be accepted in abstract theory, it has been found quite incapable of practical application. No attempt has accordingly ever been made to act upon it with regard to the millions on millions of acres in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and other vast territories which have fallen to the British Crown, and in dealing with which the authorities sold the land for a capital sum, without any reservation or stipulation as to future claims of the State. In short, the central principle of the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was strictly adhered to in all those transactions, the Government looking to the expansion of commerce and the accumulation of wealth which would accrue from the unfettered condition thus secured to agriculture, for meeting the future wants of the Administration. The result has entirely justified their expectation.

The impracticability of Mr. Mill's theory in India appears as soon as an attempt is made to carry it into effect. Take, for instance, the increase which occurred in the productive value of cotton lands in Bombay during the civil war in America, and of jute lands in

Bengal from the development of jute manufacture in Dundee. In both cases the increment would, under that theory, be classed as unearned—but how is its amount to be ascertained? Besides, it should be remembered that the money and labour which a cultivator bestows on his fields do not represent his only claims to remuneration. In circumstances like those in the above cases (and instances of the same kind constantly recur) the cultivator ventures, at no small risk of loss, on an extension of his operations, which he would certainly refrain from doing if he knew that any profit which his enterprise might eventually yield would be taken from him.

Professor Fawcett, who was a personal friend and an admirer of Mr. J. S. Mill, would not have impugned his opinion except under the strongest conviction: yet he recorded his views on the “unearned increment” theory in the following terms in his invaluable paper, entitled the *Nationalisation of the Land*:—

“If the State appropriated this unearned increment, would it not be bound to give compensation if the land became depreciated through no fault of the owner, but in consequence of a change in the general circumstances of the country? If the State in prosperous times appropriates an increase in value, and if in adverse times the falling off in the value has to be borne by the owner, land would at once have a disability attached to it which belongs to no other property. If we purchase a house, a manufactory, or a ship, we take the purchase with its risks of loss and chances of gain; and why with regard to land, and to land alone, should a purchaser have all the risks of loss and none of the chances of gain? If we associate with the ownership of land any disability or disadvantage which does not belong to other kind of property, a direct discouragement is offered to the investment of capital in the improvement of the soil.”

Readers in India will at once perceive how completely the propositions in the above extract have been verified in that country. A very remarkable feature in the case of India, however, is that the same Secretary of State, who used his power for enforcing the

legislation of 1873, depriving landholders of the protection of the civil courts against illegal demands of fiscal officers, expressed himself in the following terms on the principles which should regulate the Government demand upon land :—

“ I observe with much satisfaction that the Lieutenant-Governor discourages the notion that whatever is gained by the owners of land in the shape of rent is so much lost to the State. The best wealth of a government is to be found in the growing wealth of its people ; and the feeling which leads it to grudge all that does not fall into the hands of its tax-collector is a very short-sighted feeling, and must lead, if followed, to a very short-sighted policy.”—*Despatch of 22nd May, 1873.*

And again :—

“ There are some principles of universal application, because they rest on the nature of man, and can never cease to operate on the wealth of nations. One of these is the close connection which obtains between the progress of industry and the certainty of enjoying its results.”—*India under Lord Canning*, by the Duke of Argyll.

The inconsistency of the action taken in 1873 with the opinions expressed in these passages should perhaps be ascribed to the anomalous position of an Indian Secretary of State who sometimes finds himself constrained to disregard his own convictions, when these militate with the interest of the Cabinet to which he belongs.

APPENDIX.

THE following tables have been compiled on the *Statistical Abstract for British India* for the years ending in 1887; and the figures for 1888 were obtained from the *Supplement to the Gazette of India* of 16th March, 1889, and the *Gazette of India extraordinary* of 27th March, 1889. As the net revenue affords a clearer view of the financial result, it has been stated whenever the necessary information could be had. The *Statistical Abstract*, however, does not contain the collection charges incurred for the years 1870 to 1878, hence the gross receipts only are mentioned in table A.

TABLE A.

LAND REVENUE RECEIPTS OF INDIA.

	£	
In 1870	21,088,019	} Average £ 20,811,276
„ 1871	20,622,823	
„ 1872	20,520,337	
„ 1873	21,348,669	
„ 1874	21,037,912	
„ 1875	21,296,793	
„ 1876	21,503,742	
„ 1877	19,857,152	
„ 1878	20,026,036	
	<u>£ 187,301,483</u>	

TABLE B.

LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.

	£	£	
In 1879 ..	22,323,868		
Charges	<u>2,960,391</u>		Net 19,363,477
In 1880 ..	21,861,150		
Charges	<u>2,937,316</u>		Net 18,923,834
In 1881 ..	21,112,995		
Charges	<u>2,983,817</u>		Net 18,129,178
In 1882 ..	21,948,022		
Charges	<u>3,003,904</u>		Net 18,944,118
In 1883 ..	21,876,047		
Charges	<u>3,042,596</u>		Net 18,833,451
In 1884 ..	22,361,899		
Charges	<u>3,329,206</u>		Net 19,032,693
In 1885 ..	21,832,211		
Charges	<u>3,363,387</u>		Net 18,468,824
In 1886 ..	22,592,371		
Charges	3,414,292		Net 19,178,079
In 1887 ..	23,055,724		
Charges	<u>3,464,252</u>		Net 19,591,472
In 1888 ..	23,189,292		
Charges	<u>3,486,685</u>		Net 19,702,607
		<u>£ 190,167,733</u>	
			Average £ 19,016,773

TABLE C.

LAND REVENUE OF BOMBAY.

			£	£
1879.—Receipts	..	..	3,689,165	
Charges	..	..	660,811	
			—————	Net 3,028,354
1880.—Receipts	..	..	3,900,729	
Charges	..	..	651,630	
			—————	Net 3,249,099
1881.—Receipts	..	..	3,744,845	
Charges	..	..	646,991	
			—————	Net 3,097,854
1882.—Receipts	..	..	3,845,746	
Charges	..	..	665,370	
			—————	Net 3,180,476
1883.—Receipts	..	..	3,694,768	
Charges	..	..	652,029	
			—————	Net 3,042,739
1884.—Receipts	..	..	3,959,182	
Charges	..	..	675,232	
			—————	Net 3,283,954
1885.—Receipts	..	..	3,855,586	
Charges	..	..	674,405	
			—————	Net 3,181,181
1886.—Receipts	..	..	4,201,075	
Charges	..	..	687,480	
			—————	Net 3,513,595
1887.—Receipts	..	..	4,202,269	
Charges	..	..	673,375	
			—————	Net 3,528,894
1888.—Receipts	..	..	4,274,100	
Charges	..	..	658,600	
			—————	Net 3,615,500
				<u>£ 32,721,646</u>

TABLE D.

LAND REVENUE OF THE N.W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.

			£	£
1879.—Receipts	..	..	5,942,197	
Charges	..	..	673,565	
			<hr/>	Net 5,268,632
1880.—Receipts	..	..	5,698,870	
Charges	..	..	647,340	
			<hr/>	Net 5,051,530
1881.—Receipts	..	..	5,593,703	
Charges	..	..	658,194	
			<hr/>	Net 4,935,509
1882.—Receipts	..	..	5,751,104	
Charges	..	..	647,120	
			<hr/>	Net 5,103,984
1883.—Receipts	..	..	5,656,543	
Charges	..	..	667,208	
			<hr/>	Net 4,989,335
1884.—Receipts	..	..	5,680,105	
Charges	..	..	800,677	
			<hr/>	Net 4,879,428
1885.—Receipts	..	..	5,727,624	
Charges	..	..	811,591	
			<hr/>	Net 4,916,033
1886.—Receipts	..	..	5,684,484	
Charges	..	..	815,158	
			<hr/>	Net 4,869,326
1887.—Receipts	..	..	5,762,997	
Charges	..	..	795,068	
			<hr/>	Net 4,967,929
1888.—Receipts	..	..	5,699,900	
Charges	..	..	785,200	
			<hr/>	Net 4,914,700
				<hr/>
				£49,896,406
				<hr/>

TABLE E.

LAND REVENUE OF MADRAS.

			£	£
1879.—Receipts	..	..	4,965,548	
Charges	..	..	684,101	
			—————	Net 4,281,447
1880.—Receipts	..	..	4,465,629	
Charges	..	..	705,344	
			—————	Net 3,760,285
1881.—Receipts	..	..	4,121,286	
Charges	..	..	712,795	
			—————	Net 3,408,491
1882.—Receipts	..	..	4,354,421	
Charges	..	..	723,764	
			—————	Net 3,630,657
1883.—Receipts	..	..	4,506,459	
Charges	..	..	740,245	
			—————	Net 3,766,214
1884.—Receipts	..	..	4,515,342	
Charges	..	..	772,727	
			—————	Net 3,742,615
1885.—Receipts	..	..	4,186,376	
Charges	..	..	790,622	
			—————	Net 3,395,754
1886.—Receipts	..	..	4,521,222	
Charges	..	..	767,707	
			—————	Net 3,753,515
1887.—Receipts	..	..	4,458,902	
Charges	..	..	776,316	
			—————	Net 3,682,586
1888.—Receipts	..	..	4,528,000	
Charges	..	..	786,300	
			—————	Net 3,741,700
				<u>£ 37,163,244</u>



Open Letters

TO

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN, K.C.S.I.,

BY THE

SON OF AN OLD FOLLOWER OF HIS,

(LAJPAT RAI OF HISSAR.)

REPRINTED FROM THE "TRIBUNE."

V2wM17 . '88

SECOND EDITION.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.

(The demand for this little pamphlet has been so great that I have resolved now to issue this new and somewhat revised edition.)

Open Letters

TO THE

HON'BLE SIR SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADOOR,
K.C.S.I.



No. I.

SIR,—Would you excuse me if I encroach upon your valuable time for a short while? Before I address you on my *mailab*,* I think it advisable to state for your information that I have been a constant reader and admirer of your writings. From childhood, I was taught to respect the opinions and the teachings of the white-bearded Syed of Aligarh. Your *Social Reformer* was constantly read to me by my fond father, who looked upon you as no less than a prophet of the nineteenth century. Your writings in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, and your speeches in Council and other public meetings, were constantly studied by me and preserved as a sacred trust by my revered parent. It was thus that I came to know that you once approved of the contents of John Stuart Mill's book on "Liberty," and it was thus that I came to know (if my memory does not deceive me) that the present Chief Justice of Hyderabad, a staunch opponent of the National Movement, once translated Jeremy Bentham's book on "Utility" for the readers of your *Social Reformer*. Is it strange then that I have been astonished to read what you now speak and write about the "National Congress"? Any person, in my circumstances, would shout out: Times have changed and with them convictions! Flattery and official cajoleries have blinded

* *i.e.*, the subject-matter for discussion.

the eyes of the most far-seeing ; cowardice has depressed the souls of the foremost of seekers after truth, and high sounding titles and the favours of worldly Governors have extinguished the fire of truth burning in many a noble heart. Is it not a sad spectacle to see men whose days are numbered, whose feet are almost in the grave, trying to root out all the trees planted with their own hands !!!

Under these circumstances, Syed Sahib, it is, surely, not strange if I ask what has been the cause of this lamentable change in you. Old age and exhaustion of faculties may, perhaps, have some share in causing you to forget what you once wrote and spoke. Has your memory lost its retentiveness, or is it the blindness of dotage which has permitted you to stray into your present unhappy position ?

If the former, I from amongst your old admirers will take upon myself the duty of reminding you of what, in moments of wisdom, was recorded and published by your pen and tongue, and this duty, I promise, I will fulfil with the utmost pleasure and with feelings of the highest satisfaction.

I will begin with your book on the " Causes of the Indian Revolt," which was written in 1858, though only translated and published in English in the year 1873. It may be worth while to note here that the translators of this were no others than Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the writer of your biography. In this book, after having tried to prove that the mutiny of 1857 was no " religious war," nor the result of a preconcerted conspiracy, you say that " most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed, that it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us." To make the matter more clear you go on saying that " this voice, however, can never be heard, and this security

never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. * * * The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges." These are noble words, nobly spoken ; words of sterling honesty and independence of spirit. Can they bear any other meaning than that which attaches to that resolution of the National Congress which prays for the introduction of a representative element into the constitution of our Legislative Councils ? Pray, tell me how can the people have a voice in the Councils of a Government if not by representation ? How can the people of a country have their voice constantly heard if not through their representatives ? But, to leave no doubts on the subject, I will go on giving quotations in proof of my assertion, that you have yourself in former times strongly advocated the introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils of India. After laying much stress upon the necessity of a Government respecting the opinions of the people it governs, you say : "The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Councils of India were various, * * * * It (*i.e.*, the Government) could never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on the laws and regulations which it passed." Again you say : "But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of the Government. They misapprehended every act." After this you proceed to say that, "if Hindustanis had been in the Legislative Councils, they would have explained everything to their countrymen, and thus these evils which have happened to us would have been averted." In your opinion, as expressed there, this non-representation of the voice of the governed in the Legislative Council of the realm was "the one great cause" and the "origin of all smaller causes of dissatisfaction." Nay, further, not to leave any doubts in the matter, and to prove that in your book you even go to the length of saying that your countrymen should be selected

to form an assembly like the English Parliament (which demand, at the time you advanced it, was certainly more premature than it now is, though the National Congress, with all the advantages that the country has had in the way of education and enlightenment since that miserable year of 1858, only advocates the partial introduction of a representative element in the Legislative Councils), I shall give some more extracts from the same work.

There you say: "I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here IS THAT SUCH A STEP IS NOT ONLY ADVISABLE BUT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY,* and that the disturbances are due to the negligence of such a measure." Could clearer words be used than those that have been quoted above? Is there any doubt as to their meaning? because, if so, I shall be obliged to quote the exact Hindustani words used by you to express the ideas propounded in the above lines. But no, I do not suppose you can feel any doubt on that point, because the English rendering was undertaken by no others than Sir Auckland Colvin and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the former of whom, at least, is now being proclaimed (whether rightly or wrongly, God knows) as an opponent of the National Congress.

Sir Syed, does it not sound strange that the writer of the words above quoted should put himself forward as the leader of the ANTI-CONGRESS movement? Is it not one more proof of India's misfortune that the writer of the above words should impute bad motives to the supporters of the National Congress, mainly because they advocate the introduction of some sort of representation in the Legislative Councils of India? Is not your charge of sedition against the promoters of the Congress, in the face of these, a mere

* The capitals are mine.

mockery, a contradiction in terms? Thirty years ago, you advocated the institution of a Parliament, and yet you chide us saying that we want an Indian Parliament, notwithstanding that we protest that for the present, and for a long time to come, we do not claim any such thing? Mark the difference. India is no longer what it was 30 years ago. In the course of this period it has made a marked advance towards a higher civilization. The natives of India are no longer, with *very* few exceptions, ignorant or uneducated. The rays of education are penetrating and shedding their wholesome light inside most Indian homes; hundreds of thousands of Indians are as well educated as any average English gentleman, and we see scores of our countrymen every year crossing the "black waters" to witness with their own eyes the proceedings of the great British Parliament and personally familiarize themselves with the political institutions of the English nation. Can you in face of these facts still call us "SEDITIONOUS"? According to your writings, we are the most loyal subjects of the Government, and if, notwithstanding what you have written, you still deserve to be called "the ablest of our loyal Mahomedan gentlemen," why, we deserve to be styled "the ablest of the most loyal subjects of the English Government."

To give a still more clear idea of what you thought about the fitness of India for this sort of Government, I give one more extract to the point, and then I will have done with your old writings for the present. After giving many arguments in proof of your position that the law which allowed the sales of land for arrears of Government revenue was also a cause of the outbreak of disturbances in 1858, you say: "A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one man as the head over all. By him matters requiring discussion are 'brought forward' (mind, not decided), and every shareholder, in proportion to his holding, has the power of speaking out his mind on the point." You are wrong when you say "in proportion to his holding." However, let it remain as it is. You proceed and say: "The cultivators and the choudhries of the villages attend on such an occasion and say whatever they have to

say. * * * * You have here, in fact, in great perfection a miniature kingdom parliament." How is it that now you have changed your mind and have come to opine that these kingdoms, as you called them, should have no voice in the making of laws which materially affect the person, the property and the reputation of the people?

Some persons insinuate that these writings which I have quoted came from an honest, uncorrupted mind, at a time when the writer had no prospect of being raised to the Legislative Council by mere favour. No, Sir Syed, no ! I, on my own part, do not want to make such an insinuation against the fearless-writer of those noble words which have been quoted above.

Then the problem to be solved remains the same, *vis.*, why this change, why this inconsistency? I pause for a reply, with a promise of more in my next, and in the meanwhile beg to be allowed to subscribe myself,

27th October, 1888. THE SON OF AN OLD FOLLOWER OF YOURS.

—o—

No. II.

SIR,—It is more than two weeks now since my first letter was published, and, I think, I have waited long enough for the reply which, it seems, you have no mind to send. However, in fulfilment of my promise, I am bound to go on giving quotation after quotation, bringing home to you your own former political teachings, and I hope I shall be able clearly to prove that you once believed in all the principles upon which the different Resolutions of the National Congress are based. This will leave you no alternative but either an open and unreserved confession of your apostacy or an unreserved retreat from politics.

Do not think, Sir Syed, that I shall rest satisfied with the publication of these letters in India. No, they will be duly published and distributed in free England, side by side with the pamphlets of your own pet Association of yesterday.

In the book, already so often referred to, *i.e.*, "The Causes of the Indian Revolt," you say : "Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it

well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the Government and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of Mahomedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted the course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained." Further on you say that "this cannot be expected from the English, as they almost all look forward to retirement in their native land, and seldom settle for good amongst the natives of India."

Now, I take the liberty of asking, has there been any improvement of late in this direction? Have the majority, or even one per cent. of the retired English officers, permanently settled in India? On the contrary, we find that they are birds-of-passage just as much now as, or perhaps more than, they were when the above sentences were written. Then, have the Englishmen and the natives taken to living together or near one another? Do you ever see Englishmen living in the Mahallas of your towns, however large the towns or however respectable the Mahallas may be? None of the Englishmen have ever been seen doing that. In fact, their mode of living is so peculiar that they cannot. Or, do you think that the point has been gained by a few Anglicised natives like yourself having taken to living in Bungalows? If that is what you argue, I assure you, you are sadly mistaken. Your living in Europeanized houses cannot be said to be a gain to native society. It is rather, if I may be allowed to say so, a very severe and deplorable loss. In the sentence quoted above, you admit that living together or near one another enhances our sympathies and gives us more occasions of seeing, mixing with, and obtaining a more intimate knowledge of each other. It is thus clear that Europeans can only really know us if they see us in our native homes, in our small thatched huts full of misery and sickness. How poor and miserable India is they can feel only if they live amongst or near the houses of our agriculturists, and there see with their own eyes respectable native families sleeping in rooms into which an English beggar would scorn to step. Why is this? Is it because we Indians do not know how to live? Now,

if you say that, go to those Indian residences which are occupied by our few rich or even well-to-do countrymen, and there you will find that our mode of living is quite on a par with that of Europeans. Does any one then ask how it is that I say that respectable natives live, everywhere, in buildings which can only properly be called hovels? The answer is, because they are miserably poor and cannot afford to build comfortable houses. Taxation is so high that they never feel themselves secure of their respectability. In fact, it is always in danger. The poor fellows are daily and nightly engaged in making the two ends meet. What I mean to say is that the fact of you or a few other natives having taken to live in Bungalows and imitating the English customs of eating and drinking and dressing cannot do any good either to India or to England. In fact, this will never help the English to realize the unhappy state of the people. Then the question is, how can the Government know the wants and wishes of its subjects? They cannot know them through official reports, because these reports are almost all prepared by persons who seldom see the real state of the people whom the reports concern. You yourself said: "But even these officials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them" (*vide* your Biography by Colonel Graham, p. 49). Then can the Government get this knowledge through the petitions of their subjects? I say, as you said—*no*. You said that these petitions "were," and I say they *are*, "seldom if ever attended to and sometimes never heard" (*vide* the same page of your Biography). I add to this that even if they are ever attended to, enquiry into the allegations made in them is often entrusted to the same officials whose conduct forms the subject of complaint. Their reports are taken to be gospel truth and the petitions are thrown out.

Then, can the Government know the real opinion of the people through the Native press? No, because the Government officials have always been hostile to it, and have ever asserted that these papers represent nobody but themselves.

Public meetings even are not effectual, because these are invariably declared to be the work of professional agitators, stump-orators and wire-pullers.

The question then is, that admitting as you do, that it is essential for the purpose of good administration that the people should have a voice in the consultations of the Government, how should that voice reach the Council Chambers, and how should the people be consulted before laws are passed? You once said that "laws affecting the subject should be made after consultation with the representatives of the people"—*ba saláh wa mashwaráh riyáyá ke nábon ke—(vide Social Reformer of the 15th Shawwal, 1290, Hijri, equivalent to the 6th December, 1873, p. 163), and there cannot be any other answer to this question. Further on you said: "I am very sorry that this is not being done in India, and in not doing so, Government is in error to a certain degree, but in a larger measure it is owing to the incompetency of the subjects, but I am confident that after a certain period—(baad chand roz)—sufficient education will remove both." (Vide the same Journal, same page.) It is fifteen years now, Sir, since the above lines were written, and it is, surely, time to ask, or, at least, to consider, whether that period, or "chand roz," to speak in your own words, has not expired yet. I am ready to concede, though it may be for argument's sake only, that the period has not expired, but are we not making steady progress towards the desired end? Your objections, unfortunately, are not based upon considerations of time, but are put forward as matters of principle. Then admitting, as you do, that this voice can only reach the Council Chamber through the representatives of the people, the only question to be solved is—who should be those representatives, or, in other words, how should they acquire that position? Can men, like Rajah Shiva Prashad and yourself, be properly considered as representatives of the people, and can the method of selection, by which you were sent to the Council Chamber, be accepted as of any value? I think no reasonable man would contend that it would have been possible, if Rajah Shiva Prashad had been an elected*

representative of the people of India, for him to have libelled the whole Indian nation, as he did, in his notorious speech on the Ilbert Bill. Could Rajah Peary Mohan Mukerjee and other native members have consented to the raising of the Salt tax if they had thought that their seats depended on the voices of the people, whose throats were, so to speak, to be cut by that obnoxious and inhumane measure? Then the correct solution is this and no other, that the people must be represented by delegates, elected by themselves; and subject of course to the restrictions to be imposed by the Government Co-sharers in the business of governing or legislating, these representatives must be such as to be totally independent of official favour or disfavour. If the selection of members for the Legislative Councils is to be entrusted to officials, I say it is a downright farce, and there can be no representation.

The majority of the quotations given above come from a book which was written about 30 years ago, and you may find an excuse by saying that the state of the people has since then undergone a mighty change, and that, in consequence of this, the remedies then suggested are no longer suitable. My dear Sir, this reply cannot stand a moment's examination. I am going to show that in 1881, which is only seven years ago, you held the same views and felt rather proud of them. When it was proposed to raise the old Punjab University College to the status of a University, you were one of the foremost opponents of the proposal. You, your admirers and followers, should not have forgotten that you wrote certain articles under the heading of "Our Vernacular," and got them published and circulated in a pamphlet form. These articles were published in almost all the leading vernacular papers of Northern India, and the educated community of the Punjab, who were strongly opposed to the establishment of a University on the lines suggested by Dr. Leitner, obtained effective support from these writings of "the ablest of the loyal Mahomedan gentlemen." In one of them (paper 2nd perhaps), which was published in your *Social Reformer* for 1297-98 Hijri (equivalent

to 1881), at p. 135, you say : " National progress and National Government are both sisters born of the same mother. When a nation loses its independence, its progress only depends upon its learning the language and sciences of Conquerors and thus taking a part in the Government of the country. * *

* * By way of flattery whatever may be said, and as a matter of policy whatever may be stated, the fact is that in reality the relations of Hindustanis to their rulers are no better than those of slaves to their master." The italics are mine. I have tried to give a faithful translation of your Urdu sentence. If I have erred, I hope to be excused, and that my mistake may be pointed out. However, to satisfy the scruples of sceptical readers, I prefer to give the last portion of the sentence in Roman characters and leave them to judge for themselves whether the rendering is correct or not. The original words are : " Khushamad ki baten jo chahe kah le, aur political tariqe men jo kuchh beyan karna ho, keya jawe, magar Hindostanion ka hal apni fatahmand qaum ke sath gulám ki hálát se kuchh ziyádá nahin hai." In the same article, further on, you said that the " University College was being raised to the status of a University with the object of throwing obstacles in the way of our National advancement, and that the result of the clamour after Oriental studies could be nothing but that of keeping ourselves in the state of serfdom." (Iská natfjá yehí hai kí gulámí kí hálát men rakhne ke liye).

Sir Syed, would you still call us " seditious " ? Remember that we are the product of that education which you so strongly recommended and which you have never been known to condemn. Our English education, the study of eminent European minds and European sciences—alas ! that you cannot feel this !—has expanded our souls, and we can no longer be selfish " Sat bachnia " prodigies of your Oriental language. Sir, your fall seems to remind me of the fall of Adam. Just as Satan is said to be the cause of the fall of that progenitor of our race, this seeking after worldly honours seems to be the real explanation of your decline. It is nothing to you, because your term in this world must at no very distant period expire ; but

o us, who are yet, we hope, to live long and to fight out the bloodless battle of liberty, it is destined to remain a permanent disgrace. The line of argument against us would be that the races which produce such inconsistent philosophers are not fit to receive the boon of Local Self-Government. Sir Syed, if you have changed your political opinions, the sooner you announce it the better it will be both for yourself and for us. It is simply childish to persist in your claim to consistency in the face of the above quotations. Better announce this change and explain why and how this took place. Again pausing for a reply, with a promise of more in my next, I beg to subscribe myself,

THE SON OF AN OLD FOLLOWER OF YOURS.

15th November, 1888.

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NO. III.

SIR,—Well may we apply the opening sentence of Dickens's Tale of Two Cities to the present times in India. Well may we say that it is "the best of times" as well as "the worst of times." *Best*, as the country is on the point of having a *nation*, *worst* as a particular section of the community wants to check the progress of the country and unfortunately is headed, or at least is said to be headed, by a man who has been a frequent advocate of representative Government in India. It is "the age of wisdom" as the country has risen from its deep lethargy and made up its mind to assist the Government by wise counsels. It is "the age of foolishness" as a particular party has the audacity to believe that their opposition will cause the National movement to die in its infancy. It is "the epoch of belief" because the different sectional interests have begun to believe in each other's sincerity; it is "the epoch of incredulity" because you, Sir, are said to be now-a-days against the introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils of India. It is the "spring of hope" when we see eminent English statesmen advocating the rights of the dumb millions of India. It is the "winter of despair" when we see her own sons deserting the cause of awakened India.

Sir Syed, I must remind you that it is the same India for the welfare of whose sons you established "The Siddor's Union Club" at Aligarh. Do you remember, Sir, that in that Club the alumni of the Mahomedan College were trained in the art of discussing public matters in public councils? I ask you, Sir, why you established that Club? Why did you formulate those rules of discussion which predict the establishment of representative institutions in the country? Oh, if we had only known that it was to end in *this*!! I feel that I have gone astray and must look to those extracts from your writings and sayings so dear to me, which foretold the establishment of representative Councils in India.

Will you please turn to page 49 of your Biography by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham where you are described as saying: "The people were isolated, they had no champion to stand up for their rights and to see justice done them, and they were constrained to weep in silence." Can you in the face of these words still say that the people never needed such champions, and that the Government has been doing and will go on doing without demand what it has thought and what it will think necessary for the welfare of the people? That it never needed the voice of such champions for the redress of grievances and the attainment of rights?

Having pointed out what the Government ought to have done to make itself popular (quotations as to which have been given in letters Nos. I and II) you said in the end of the same book, "The Causes of Indian Revolt," that "it was necessary for the Government to win the friendship and the good feeling of its subjects." Further on you said: "As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people as was its duty to do * * * * the father loves his child before the child loves him. * * * If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. * * * * If Government say that what I say is untrue—that they have tried to cultivate friend-

ship and have only been repaid with enmity—I can only say that if it had gone the right way to work its subjects would most undoubtedly have been its friends and supporters instead of, as in many instances, rising up in arms against it. Now, friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart and which cannot be kindled by 'admonitions.' * * * * Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass—as if it thought that were the two brought in contact the latter would be burnt up."

I have given this large quotation to recall to your mind some of the reasons upon which you formed the opinions which I have already quoted in my letters Nos. I and II. These reasons may also go to prove that the prayers of the National Congress as to the concession of volunteering to be allowed to the native subjects of Her Majesty are nothing but reasonable and consistent with the noble principles involved in the above lines. Now I have done with your book on "The Causes of Indian Revolt," so far as it concerned that resolution of the National Congress which prays for the introduction of a representative element in the Legislative Councils of India. Most of these extracts, except one or two here and there, were abstract, and perhaps you may, with your usual calmness, have the boldness to say that there is nothing in these quotations which goes to prove that you ever meant to say that these representatives to the Council of India should be elected by the subjects. Very good, I will search out quotations which will leave nothing doubtful. You may not have forgotten that two months after the opening of your Scientific Society you delivered* "a vigorous speech" at the laying of the foundation stone of the New Ghazipore, now the Victoria College. In the course of that address you said: "Bear in mind, gentlemen, that Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on an equal footing; and *this assurance, gentlemen, is not a mere matter of form but a reality.*" The

* On the 9th of January, 1864.

italics are mine. Now, Sir Syed Ahmed, will you still laugh at us because we believe this—this very proclamation—to be our Magna Charta?

Further on in the course of the same address you said :
" THE APPOINTMENT OF NATIVES TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL WAS A MEMORABLE INCIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA. THE DAY IS NOT FAR DISTANT I TRUST, AND WHEN IT DOES COME YOU WILL REMEMBER MY WORDS WHEN THAT COUNCIL WILL BE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM EVERY DIVISION OR DISTRICT, AND THAT THUS THE LAWS WHICH IT WILL PASS WILL BE LAWS ENACTED BY THE FEELINGS OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY." *

" You will see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly. I once had a conversation with one in high authority on this very subject, and he said that Government would be only too glad if a scheme, such as I have sketched above, were practicable, but he felt doubtful; if it were stated that there were qualified men in every DISTRICT, Government would gladly avail itself of their knowledge and give them seats in Council. I knew this only too well and felt ashamed that such was the case. What I have above stated is only to inculcate on your minds the great fact that Her Most Gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike; and let their religion, tribe, or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects and to conform ourselves to the age." Sir Syed, have the happiness to know that the day, which you in 1864 said was not far distant is coming nearer and nearer, and that you need no longer feel so much ashamed of your countrymen for not conforming to the age. Your prophecy is not fulfilled yet, but we are certain that some time or other it is sure to be fulfilled, and then you will have the satisfaction of feeling that you did not prophesy in vain. Sir Syed, do you wish to withdraw this prophecy of yours, and if so why? Please explain— I and others like me are waiting in suspense. Only say that this prophecy was one of the hallucinations of a head which:

* The capitals are mine.

had been turned by the sudden inrush of Western ideas and we will be satisfied. Only say that with the return of sobriety and the calmness of old age you have come to know your own errors, and we will no more trouble you with these prophecies. Sir Syed, would you please point out what else could be the meaning of the above sentence except that that India would some (in 1864, not far distant) day be governed by Councils composed of members elected by the people themselves? If not this, how can the laws be said to be "enacted by the feelings of the entire country."

Two months before you spoke the words quoted above, you, on the 9th January, 1864, started a Translation Society now known as the Scientific Society of Aligarh ; and in the course of a speech then delivered pointing out the ignorance of your countrymen you said : " From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present—from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world—they are unable to take lessons and profit by their experience." Sir, we took your advice, and your countrymen have learnt the means and the manner by which they can advance the growth of their " infant nation " to the position of a " powerful " and a " flourishing " one. How is it that this growth which you so much desired in 1864 is an eyesore to you now ? How is it that now at this period you cannot feel any pleasure in seeing a combination of all the different races and sects towards the accomplishment of the great end for which you have been until recently struggling so hard ? How is it that you are going to prove that you did not deserve the distinctions so deservedly, as we thought, bestowed upon you ? By your present attitude, by your present utterances, you mean to prove that all that you once said, all that you once did, for which you were rightly honoured both by the Government and the people, and for which you were said to be deserving of being " awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors "

of India, was, after all, but utter nonsense—because that is the phrase you now apply to the repetition of those same principles which you once so strenuously advocated by the supporters of the National Congress.

On the 10th of May, 1886, you addressed a large and influential meeting of the European and native residents of Aligarh on the necessity of Indian affairs being more prominently brought before Parliament and of forming an association for this purpose (at least so says your biographer on pp. 88 and 89). In the course of this speech you compared the British rule with that of the “former emperors and Rajas” of India. You said “it” (*i.e.*, the rule of the latter) “was based upon nothing but tyranny and oppression; the law of might was that of right; the voice of the people was not listened to; the strong and the turbulent oppressed the feeble and the poor, and usurped all their privileges with impunity for their own selfish ends. It is only therefore by such usurpers and turbulent spirits that a despotism, such as flourished in Hindustan for many long centuries, is at all to be desired.” Know, Sir, that the National Congress wants nothing but that the voice of the people be listened to, and that the “strong and the turbulent” may not oppress “the feeble and the poor.” The National Congress, wants to achieve these ends by peaceful means and in fact by prayers; while it can only be the usurpers and the turbulent who desire to threaten, as you now do, the use of arms. It can only be the self-assumed “strong” who can threaten “the poor” with the use of arms, by “the followers of the prophet.” Further on you regretted the indifference with which the affairs of India were treated in the Parliament, and laid the blame of it to a great extent upon the shoulders of your own countrymen. You said: “India, with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her so characteristic of Eastern nations, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India.” You entreated your countrymen to discontinue this apathy, and you asked them to exert themselves towards securing the proper representation

of their interests in the governing body of the British Nation. You appealed to the "entire native community" "to co-operate" with the London Association established for the purpose. To your countrymen you continued to say : "You will have only yourselves to reproach when in after years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions whilst your wants remain still unmet." Sir Syed, the country then responded to your call, though imperfectly, and it is now that the country has felt the value of your words and begun to throw away the deep indifference which you so forcibly lamented. Pray will you tell me whether, prior to the movement of the National Congress, there was no agitation for the redress of the grievances of Indians in India? If so what was all this which you were doing? Why did you establish and support all these associations? Why did you call upon the entire country to "co-operate" with these Associations if the Government had of its own accord been doing all that was needed for the welfare of India? In your criticism upon the Lucknow speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath of Allahabad you meant to ask (if I did not err in understanding and reproducing it from memory) the Congress-wallahs if any of their agitations had been existing when the Government granted all the boons which we enjoy. I have quoted largely from your own writings to show that such an agitation did exist, and that you yourself were one of the most prominent agitators. You even went the length of saying that no fear need be entertained of your (*i.e.*, of those who meant to take part in such associations, &c.) being called discontented by the Government. To quote your own words, you said : "I am afraid that a feeling of fear—fear that the Government of the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented, were you to inaugurate a measure like this—deters you from coming forward for your country's good. * * * * Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong—the apprehension unfounded, and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope, such a healthy sign of increased

civilization on the part of its inhabitants. * * * * The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy while discontent is rankling in their mind." Further on you said that the natives were in the habit of inveighing against such measures in their homes, but to the Europeans they represented that they were satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very measures. You loudly proclaimed "that such a state of affairs is inimical to the welfare of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people openly and honestly to express their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government." Would you pray tell me, Sir, why *we* are seditious-mongers; is it because we speak "honestly" as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of the Government; is it because we have overcome the moral cowardice with which you charged us? Are we seditious because we do not want to keep "discontent rankling" within our hearts? Are we disloyal because we, according to your own teachings, have come forward to speak up for our country's good? If we deserve all these epithets on account of all these I must say, Sir, that you are the father of all this. You taught us to do exactly what we have begun doing now. You not only taught but encouraged us by your own example. Why do you now deprecate "this healthy sign of civilization" as you once called it on the part of Indians? If we, the followers of your old principles, have exceeded the proper dimensions which, I humbly maintain, we have not, it is surely not advisable to root out these instincts from within us, but rather to point out the place and the occasion where we have exceeded. How have you come to oppose the principles themselves, the principles so lovingly promulgated by you? Say that the principles are not to be discarded, but the men abusing these principles are to be despised. We will then know how to love the principles and not the men. We loved you because you held these principles, because we thought you loved your country above everything, because

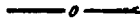
we considered you to be one of the fathers of the present India, and if we have erred we must say we think that you should have pointed out our error in time. Truly has a poet said: "Khwáb thá jo kuchh ki dekhá thá afsáná thá jo kuchh ke suna thá," *i.e.*, "what I saw was but a dream, what I heard an idle tale." Ah! human delusions are then destined to delude the human eye for ever!

Again with a pause, with a promise of more in my next,

I am yours, &c.,

THE SON OF AN OLD FOLLOWER OF YOURS.

22nd Nov., 1888.



No. IV.

SIR,—The fourth meeting of the Indian National Congress is soon to be held at Allahabad, and so I think I must hasten to give some more of the most important quotations in this letter of mine: The less important ones I leave for some future occasion.

When this letter reaches you, you will be, possibly, smiling over the ex-Viceroy's speech delivered at the St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta. If you will only take the trouble of reading that speech with your eyes open, you will find that your uproar against the introduction of some representative element in the Legislative Councils of India is not liked even by those whom you have undertaken to flatter, and whose National traditions you try to belie.

Sir Syed, for God's sake, reconsider your position and do not disappoint us just when the morning of hope has begun to dawn over us and our mother-land.

Now to proceed with your old writings and sayings; please turn to pages 207 and 208 of your *Social Reformer* for 1298 Hijri, equivalent to the year 1881 A.D. There, while giving an account of your voyage to London, you said that on the way you happened to see Mr. D. Fitzpatrick, the former Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, with whom you talked about "the goodness or badness of the Punjab administration." Therein

you profess to have said that the Government of the Punjab was a *Despotic* one, though a thousand times better than that of the Sikhs. Further on you say "the people of the Punjab may be happy and perhaps may like it because they have been just taken out of fire and made to sit in the *sun*. But we cannot like it. The goodness or badness of the Punjab Government, *i.e.*, of the Government of the non-Regulation Provinces, should be asked of the inhabitants of the Delhi, Panipat, Rohtak, Hissar and Sirsa Districts, which once used to belong to Regulation Provinces and have now been subjected to a non-Regulation (or *beqanūnt*) Punjab Administration. As far as I know people think that of many other punishments which had been awarded to the inhabitants of Delhi and its adjacent districts in the Mutiny, this was also one that they were made over to the Government of the Punjab and thus made the subjects of non-Regulation Provinces." These lines were written at a time when the North-Western Provinces did not enjoy the blessing of having a Provincial Legislature of its own, and so the only superiority in the administration of the N.W. P. over that of the Punjab *then*, was the existence of a High Court instead of the Chief Court in the Punjab, and the constitution of a Board of Revenue instead of a Financial Commissionership here. The word *Despotic* is your own, and is used in your Urdu style, and thus you cannot say that the word has been unwittingly thrust upon you by the translator. Even at the risk of unidiomatic English I have tried to give a literal translation of your Urdu sentences. If you think that this translation is incorrect, I trust you will not, for the sake of your own reputation, fail to publish a true translation of the sentences quoted. Now, will you please explain on what principles you designated the Government of the Punjab as *Despotic*, and how you distinguished it in that respect from the Government of India or that of the N.W. P.? I can venture to say that the Government of the Punjab was never more *Despotic* than the Governments of other sister Provinces. No doubt the merit of each Government to a considerable degree

depends upon the personal character of its head. The Governments of Montgomery, Aitchison and even that of Sir James Lyall cannot be said to be more Despotic than that of any of the Governors of other Provinces. Can you, Sir, in the face of this broad accusation of yours, still designate us as reckless accusers of Government and its policy? Further on in the same article you go on saying : " In fact the present time is not one in which people may like a *Despotic* Government, nor are those virtues (which in ancient times used to be mixed with a thousand vices) of a *Despotic* Government, and by which the influence of the former were an antidote for the latter, to be found in these days. Now-a-days it is not possible for those virtues to exist in any *Despotic* Government, and the people who think that in India a *Despotic* Government, such as it used to be in by-gone times, would be more appropriate and useful than the constitutional form of Government, are greatly mistaken. They are just like one who judges a garden by its state in the autumn without caring to think what it will be in the spring." The word *Despotic* throughout this quotation is your own, Sir.

At another place, on page 132 of the same journal for the same year, under the heading of the Eastern Arts and Sciences, you exhort us not to devote ourselves to them but to the study of Western ones. You ask us even "to forget our mother-tongue" (an impossibility in itself) because you said our National advancement only "depended upon the spread of Western Sciences." You said : "Let us by all means remain loyal to the Government, let us always regard it to be our patron and well-wisher, and let us at the same time try to extricate ourselves from that servile and savage state in which we are." Nobly and truly did you say that this, and this only, should be the object of a generous and kind-hearted Government who rules over a nation for the good of the latter, or, say, for the good of the human race. In the course of the same article on the same page of your "*Tahzib-ul-Ikhlaq*" you say "no nation can ever advance in parallel lines all travelling from one point to another. Nations always advance in the shape

of a triangle, whose one corner projects in advance of the others. To think that we may not be divided in different sects is to pray that we may not be enlightened by the light of Western ideas." In contrast to this, please reconsider your Meerut speech, in which in fact you wanted to express that the whole nation must remain in the background because *you think* that the Mahomedan community has not sufficiently advanced to fully reap the benefits to be enjoyed by the granting of the boons prayed for by the National Congress. (I do not admit that the Mahomedan community is not sufficiently advanced.)

On page 136 of the same Journal you say: "I sincerely believe and wish to assure the Government that the same discontented educated critics" (meaning those educated gentlemen who severely criticize the Government measures and who are blamed for it) "yield to none in their appreciation of the British rule; hence it is not just to effect the ruin of our education on account of any apprehension of such criticism." These are the words which you addressed to those politicians who advocate the closing of Government Colleges and Schools, and who are of opinion that education in Western ideas and sciences has made the Indians disloyal. You would, I suppose, like to re-read those words also by which you encourage your own educated countrymen to fight out the battle of their national advancement bravely and without fear. You say: "Without doubt, there are many difficulties in the way of our doing so" (*i.e.*, promulgating those blessings of education, instruction and enlightenment which we acquire in those civilised countries to which we go for completing our education). "On one side we are to contend against the prejudices and ignorance of our own countrymen, and on the other side we are to bear the opposition of those narrow-minded men of the conquering race to whom our social and political advancement is an eyesore, and who dislike us because we have adopted English life, English politics and the manners of an English gentleman; and change of dress even nuriates them to such a degree that they look at us with

angry eyes as a pious man looks at a great criminal. But we should keep the good of our nation at heart and should bear all the difficulties and troubles which beset our way with the greatest possible forbearance and perseverance. I do not wish to conceal that Time, the Great Reformer, will let all these things be, and no opposition or discontent will be able to keep them back. But still there is no doubt that this narrow-mindedness is kindling the feelings of discontent, and is surely calculated to cause all sympathy and love between the governors and the governed to be banished." Sir, Syed, have the happiness to learn that your countrymen took you to be a true prophet—that they are going to stick to every word which you wrote—and are not to be daunted or baffled by any opposition,—no, not even by yours. How is it that you preached to us to persevere and yourself could not do this. ("Digrán rá nasfhat wa khud rá fazfhat.") We have persevered, but the old man has fallen ; what a pitiable spectacle of human weakness !

Next I will give an extract upon the great question of native volunteers with which one of the Resolutions of the National Congress deals. On page 332 of your Biography, says your Biographer, that in March, 1883, when Mr. A. O. Hume (the beloved General Secretary of the National Congress) advocated the cause of native volunteers in India, and stated that in the *mutiny* he had a brigade of infantry, cavalry and artillery in the Etawah yeomanry levy—all Volunteers—he (*i.e.*, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham) addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Pioneer* in which he tried to rebut many of the arguments advanced by Mr. Hume, which letter he says brought you (Sir Syed Ahmed) down upon him in a letter which you wrote to him. He gives an extract from that letter on page 334, which runs thus: "I have perused your reply to Mr. Hume's letter advocating the volunteering of the Natives of India. In not allowing the natives to become Volunteers, the Government mean to say that they do not trust the Natives of India. Its consequences should be judged from the saying: 'If you want us to trust you you should also trust us.' There yet exists a wide gulf between Europeans and the Natives of India,

and unless it be filled up *nothing can secure and improve the prosperity of the country.*" The italics are mine. This you wrote in the middle of 1883, and now in 1887 and 1888, you say Indians do not want anything. On the same page Lieutenant-Colonel Graham writes as follows : " What I would advocate would be the selection by the local authorities in all large stations in India of a certain number of picked Native Volunteers—men of good family and well-known for their loyalty—to be placed under the command of the Officer commanding the European Volunteers. I would let them select their own company officers, and once started I would also permit them to select their own recruits as vacancies occurred."

I say " give us this much and we will be satisfied for a long time to come."

A few important extracts more and I will have done with your old writings and sayings for the present. Contrast the meanings attached to the words " Nation " and " National " by you in your Meerut speech with those promulgated by yourself at Gurdaspur on the 27th of January, 1884. At Gurdaspur you said that " we (*i.e.*, the Hindus and Mahomedans) should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison ; if united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. (*Cheers.*) In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one *nation*. The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed as one nation; and so are the miscellaneous hordes peopling Iran, distinguished by the term Europeans, though abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as members of one nation, though people of other countries also do come and settle with them, but being mixed together they are called members of one and the same nation. So that from the oldest times the word Nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their

own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? do you not inhabit the same land? are you not burned and buried on the same soil? do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. (*Cheers.*) Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all."

Again in your Lahore speech, which was delivered in reply to the Address of the Indian Association of Lahore, you, on the 3rd of February, 1884, said as follows: "Even granting that the majority of those composing this Association are Hindus, still I say that this light has been diffused by the same whom I call by the epithet of Bengalees. I assure you that Bengalees are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of, and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that really they are the head and crown of all the different communities of Hindustan. * * * I myself was fully cognizant of all those difficulties which obstructed my way, but notwithstanding these I heartily wished to serve my country and my nation faithfully. In the word NATION I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it (*i.e.*, NATION or *quam*)." Here in the end the word nation is originally used by yourself (see the account of your trip to the Punjab by Maulvie Iqbal Ali, p, 167, line 18th). The capitals are mine. To resume: "With me it is not so much worth considering what is their religious faith, because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same Governors, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, *i.e.*, *Hindu*, meaning to

say, that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan. While in the Legislative Council I was always anxious for the prosperity of *this nation*." The italics are mine. This letter of mine has already exceeded its proper dimensions, and therefore I think I must not give more extracts, and must leave the rest to be commented upon by abler hands than mine.

Anybody reading these extracts will be once for all convinced of the former *loftiness* and present *lowness* of your *position*. Foreigners reading these extracts will not believe that your now famous Meerut and Lucknow speeches were in reality delivered by the same Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was once proud (whether rightly or wrongly God knows) of his broadmindedness. This much seems certain: either you were not the author of those ideas reproduced in the above quotations, or your recent utterances were inspired by some mind other than your own.* Poor Sir Syed, you must feel sorry for all this inconsistency, though you may not have the boldness to say so. Sir, I assure you that you should not despair; a small sacrifice at the altar of your country, a renewed profession of the faith that was once in you will suffice to regain for you the confidence of your countrymen. If you are not prepared to do so, I must think myself justified in impeaching you in the name of consistency, in the name of honesty and fair play, in the name of the great Mahomed whose descendant and follower you profess to be, in the name of Mahdi Ali, your old devoted friend who once felt proud of showing to the world that the original Mahomedan rule was based upon democratic principles (see your *Social Reformer* for 1290 Hijri, p. 136, lines 8 to 23); and lastly in the name of the pupils of your own Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, whom you trained in the principles which you now affect to detest. It is a year since you actually

* Can it be that your once massive, manly intellect has succumbed to the feeble, schoolgirl-like sophistries of your shallow-pated employé? That Merhu-like, the great heart that once beat true for India is now pulseless, and that you lie bound, inextricably, by the treacherous spells of a modern Vivien, even more despicable than his female prototype?

'engaged yourself in creating and keeping up an opposition to the National Congress, but up to this time your countrymen have not been clearly enlightened as to what it is that you object to in the proceedings of the National Congress. You say we are not fit for a Republic and so do we say. You say we are not yet fit for a Parliament and so do we say.

If you say that the introduction of some representative element even into the Government would be injurious to our community, we ask why and how, and pray when did you receive that revelation, because up to 1884 you yourself acknowledged the necessity of these Legislative Councils being reconstituted upon some representative basis. Then, again, when were you inspired with the idea that the Hindu and the Mahomedan interests are sure to clash at least in this respect? Because up to 1884 you believed in the doctrine of Hindus and Mahomedans having one and the same political interests and being members of one and the same nation. To your friends Maulvies Mahdi Ali and Madhi Hussain, whose tergiversation is not less amazing than your own, I have only a few words to say. To the former that he had better now suppress his Lecture published in the *Social Reformer* for 1290 Hijri on pp. 136 and those preceding and following it. To the latter that he should now publicly recant the views set forth in his article under the heading of "Liberty" published in your *Social Reformer* for 1298 Hijri, 1881, from pp. 231 to 341. Until they do this I will ask them to abstain, if they desire any human being to credit them with common honesty, from abusing us and denouncing our principles, and to my other countrymen as well as to our rulers I have only to say further—

"I know a maiden fair to see,

Take care,

She can both false and friendly be,

Beware ! Beware !

Trust her not,

She is fooling thee.

She has two eyes so soft and brown,

Take care.

She gives a side-glance and looks down,
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee !
And she has hair of a golden hue,
Take care !
And what she says *it is not true*,
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee.
She has a bosom as white as snow,
Take care !
She knows how much it is best to show,
Beware ! Beware !
Trust her not,
She is fooling thee."

With a promise to begin afresh in the year 1889,

I beg to subscribe myself, Sir,

Yours, &c., &c.,

THE SON OF AN OLD FOLLOWER OF YOURS.

20th December, 1888.

[N.B.—The extracts from your "Social Reformer" and the account of your trip to the Punjab by Maulvie Iqbal A'li have been translated into English for the purposes of these letters by myself.—L. R.]

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

SPEECHES

Delivered at a LUNCHEON given in honour of

SIR W. WEDDERBURN, Bart.,

*(President-elect of the Congress Session to be held in Bombay,
December 26—28, 1889.)*

AT THE

National Liberal Club, London,

ON

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1889:

WITH SUNDRY

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS THEREON.

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London:

INDIAN POLITICAL AGENCY, 25, CRAVEN STREET,
CHARING CROSS.

1889.

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LONDON :
A. BONNER, PRINTER, 34, ROUVERIE STREET,
FLEET STREET, E.C.

IMMEDIATELY the proceedings detailed in the following pages were ended, a wish was expressed that a report should be printed and widely circulated. A public-spirited Indian merchant and mill-owner, of Bombay, who was one of Mr. Yule's guests, promptly offered to bear the cost of publication. He—in common with others—had been impressed with the moderation and reasonableness of the speeches, with the absence of all party passion, and with the unity of all sections of English life which was displayed. The more widely the speeches were read, he considered, the sooner would the real aims of the Congress be understood and appreciated in this country. On these grounds alone the issue of this pamphlet would be fully justified. There is, however, at least one other ground.

The reports of the proceedings which appeared in the newspapers and the comments which have followed thereupon, have rendered absolutely imperative what at one time appeared merely desirable. One Metropolitan Unionist journal and two leading Conservative journals have commented upon the speeches and upon the movement in support of which they were uttered. The former—the *Observer*—will be found dealt with on p. 38. As to the latter,

little wonder need be felt—as, in a practical and forcible speech (p. 20), Mr. F. Pincott, a staunch Conservative, fitly remarked—that Conservatives as a rule hold aloof from the Indian National movement. A movement animated by the spirit described by these papers is unworthy of sympathy. No blame could attach to Conservatives generally if the cause advocated at Mr. Yule's table on December 6th, deserved to be spoken of in the terms employed by the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Manchester Courier*. The former paper, after disparaging remarks respecting all who were present (p. 41), says, of the speeches: 'Needless to relate . . . , the speeches assumed a very patriotic tone—that is, from the Baboo point of view. The Ministers of the present Government of India were painted in the blackest colours, and, as a set-off, the virtues of the native agitator were presented in the most glowing tints.' More complete misrepresentation is impossible. To call the coins which are issued from Her Majesty's Mint base money would not be more calumnious than it is to speak of the speeches referred to in such a manner. The reader of this pamphlet has only to turn from a perusal of the speeches and bestow a glance upon the paragraph extracted from the *Yorkshire Post* to see that there is not one word of truth in the description, while the contrast between the sobriety of the speeches and the rabid coarseness of the description of them and of those who were present by one who, it is clear, did not hear the speeches, and who assuredly had not read them, is most marked. Much less offensive, but little less misleading, are the editorial comments of the *Manchester Courier* (p. 33). The whole scope of

the Congress agitation is therein misapprehended. The editor expresses his regret that 'the speeches which were delivered on this auspicious occasion' were not more fully reported. They are now reported in full. Is it too much to hope that if, on a perusal of the complete report, the *Courier* editor finds they are not deserving of the censure he expresses of them, he will say so, as prominently as he has condemned them? He will, probably, discover, on a careful reading, that it is as true of 'the utterances of these patrons of the intriguing Baboo', as—Sir William Hunter has stated—it is true of the entire Congress proceedings, that there is no political movement in this country which is managed with the same moderation of speech and the same dignity of procedure. Or, it may be added, of which the Government has less reason to complain, or, as a matter of fact, has ever complained.

The moderation, dignity, and good sense which characterised the 'send-off' of Sir William Wedderburn, are identical in form and spirit with the proposals and the propaganda of the Congress. The United Kingdom has never had within the four seas which guard its shores a movement more loyal, more animated by a desire to preserve all that is good in existing institutions, or more desirous of seeking only that which shall serve 'the greatest good of the greatest number' than is the Indian National Congress. If an agitation conducted on these lines has any claim upon the regard of the British people, then should the Congress efforts be

cordially recognised and justice be speedily done to the many millions of our fellow-subjects who are now voiceless and wholly without power in a country which, above all else, needs the knowledge, the experience, and the devotion of its own sons in the administration of its affairs.

INDIAN POLITICAL AGENCY,

25 CRAVEN STREET, CHARING CROSS, LONDON

December, 1889.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

At the National Liberal Club, on December 6th, 1889, Mr. George Yule, ex-President of the Congress, entertained Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and nearly seventy friends at luncheon. Amongst the gentlemen present were :

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.	Dadabhai Naoroji.
Sir W. Lawson, Bart., M.P.	R. M. Knox.
Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I.	W. Martin Wood.
Sir G. Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Jamsetjee N. Tata.
Sir John Phear, Kt.	J. C. Heald.
W. S. Caine, M.P.	F. Pincott.
Justin McCarthy, M.P.	T. Allen Reed.
J. A. Picton, M.P.	Rev. Dr. Clifford.
Captain Verney, R.N., M.P.	J. Nunneley.
T. R. Buchanan, M.P.	James Samuelson.
E. H. Pickersgill, B.A., M.P.	S. Digby.
A. C. Morton, M.P.	J. Carvell Williams.
Dr. Clark, M.P.	P. W. Clayden.
Dr. Congreve.	A. Paul.
Mr. Justice Birdwood.	S. A. Chalk.
Frederic Harrison.	J. D. O'Flynn.
Albert Spicer.	T. Coote, jr.
William Digby, C.I.E.	G. J. Holyoake.
St. George Lane Fox.	Edward Evans, jr.
J. Dacosta.	T. H. Chance.
T. Pollen, LL.D.	W. H. Talbot.
J. C. Jehanghir.	J. R. Seager.
H. W. Massingham.	Ronald Smith.
R. Gowing.	Donald Murray.

On the removal of the cloth,

The CHAIRMAN said: Although I am glad to see so many here who have responded to my invitation, yet I regret to say

there are a great many gentlemen who would have kept you company, had it not been for circumstances over which they apparently had no control. I have a considerable number of names here, but I will only mention two or three of them. The first is the Marquis of Ripon. (Cheers.) You would also have been favoured with the company of Mr. Morley if he had not been in Scotland—(Cheers)—and of Professor Stuart, and a number of other gentlemen. I have some letters of apology for not being present, some of which I will read to you for the reason that they make some reference to my chief guest on this occasion. (Cheers.) The first is from one of the grandest old men in England—(Cheers)—that is Professor Francis Newman. (Cheers.) After an introductory sentence, he says; ‘I suppose Sir William Wedderburn to be the son of the honoured Sir David Wedderburn, and in any case I rejoice that he is proceeding to India as chairman of the forthcoming Congress. (Cheers.) Naturally, I interpret your invitation to aid in wishing him God speed as a distinction to myself, but when I inform you that my age is past eighty-four years you will not wonder I cannot easily gain permission to meet the uncertainties of the present inclement season.’

The following letters have also been received :

Lord Hobhouse :—‘I am very much obliged to you for giving me the opportunity of paying my respects to Sir William Wedderburn, and I should be very glad to do so, if it were not that the Judicial Committee will be sitting till near Christmas, and I must attend on Fridays up to 4 p.m. Please give my regards and best wishes to him, and accept the same yourself.’

Sir George Trevelyan, Bart., M.P. :—‘I am sorry to say I shall be in the North of England on the 6th December, and unable to testify to my great admiration for Sir William Wedderburn.’

The Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, M.P. :—‘I regret much that engagements in Yorkshire on December 6th prevent my accepting your invitation to luncheon at the National Liberal Club. I am sure that Sir W. Wedderburn is interesting himself in a good and, I hope, a great, work; and although unavoidably absent, I wish him the success which his disinterested and enlightened enthusiasm deserves.’

Mr. H. J. Gladstone, M.P. :—‘I much regret that it will not be in my power to be present at the luncheon on Dec. 6th. I should have been very glad of such an opportunity to congratulate Sir W. Wedderburn upon the important mission which he has undertaken, and I sincerely trust that his efforts will go far to promote kindly feelings between the peoples of India and the British nation. The frank recognition of legitimate claims put forward by native leaders of opinion in an

equitable and loyal spirit, will without doubt be the surest guarantee for the increased strength and stability of the Government of India. Holding this view I now beg to join most heartily in all good wishes for Sir William's prosperity and success.'

Mr. T. Burt, M.P. :—'I thank you for yours of the 18th inst. I am sorry that I am not likely to be in London on Dec. 6th., or it would be a real pleasure to be present at the proposed luncheon to Sir W. Wedderburn, who is worthy of every honour that his friends can render to him.'

Mr. John Leng, M.P. :—'I regret that I cannot be in London on the 6th December, otherwise I should have had much pleasure in being present at the luncheon to Sir William Wedderburn, with whose mission to India I strongly sympathise.'

Mr. R. W. Hanbury, M.P. : 'I regret that another engagement for December 6th prevents me from accepting your kind invitation for that day.'

Mr. A. G. Symonds, Secretary, National Reform Union :—'I am very sorry that I shall not be able to join you at the National Liberal Club at the luncheon on December 6th in honour of Sir W. Wedderburn. I should have been glad to be able to do him that honour, and to show my sympathy with the cause of Indian Reform, in which I take a deep interest.'

Sir William Markby writes :—'I very much regret that I find myself unavoidably prevented from fulfilling my engagement on Friday next to lunch with you to meet Sir William Wedderburn. I fear I must plead guilty to having been a little hasty in accepting your kind invitation, but I very much wished to accept it. But everything has turned out unfortunately for me, and I find it impossible for me to get away from Oxford for the whole day, as would be necessary, if I were to keep my engagement with you. I am therefore compelled to write you to excuse me, and I can only again repeat how very sorry I am.'

At the last moment Mr. Walter S. B. McLaren, M.P., wrote from Crewe :—'I deeply regret that I cannot be at the lunch to-morrow, in honour of Sir W. Wedderburn, as I am detained in the north on business. He has, however, my sincere good wishes in his journey. Please convey my regrets to Mr. Yule.'

[Letters of regret were also received from Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Mr. A. J. Williams, M.P., Mr. J. T. Brunner, M.P., Mr. A. Jacoby, M.P., Mr. R. Causton, M.P., Mr. W. A. McArthur, M.P., J. Seymour Keay, M.P., Mr. H. Broadhurst,

M.P., Mr. R. Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. John A. Bright, M.P., Mr. H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Prof. Stuart, M.P., Mr. S. Smith, M.P., Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P., Mr. J. E. Ellis, M.P., and many others.]

Now, I have to propose the toast of the Queen. I recollect in one of the interesting letters which my friend Mr. Caine addressed from India last winter, he made a remark about the demonstrations of loyalty which he had seen, to the effect that he thought them a trifle overdone. (Hear, hear.) Now, if I were to say all I think and feel in commending the toast of the Queen to your acceptance I fear I should lay myself open to a similar criticism. I will, therefore, limit myself to the single observation that in Queen Victoria we have far and away the best monarch that ever sat on the British throne. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I give you the Queen.

The Toast was duly honoured.

The CHAIRMAN: You will see, gentlemen, that our little entertainment this afternoon is not burdened with the usual variety of toasts and topics of speech-making; but I have ventured upon the one in addition to that of the Queen, which is set forth in the menu before you. My object in issuing the invitations to which you have so courteously responded was to take leave of Sir William Wedderburn on his departure for India to take the chair at the forthcoming meeting of the Indian National Congress—(cheers)—and it seemed to me that it would be scarcely fitting to allow him to depart with merely our silent good wishes. Sir William goes out, as I have said, to take the chair at the National Congress. It has been the aim of the leaders of that movement to make it as catholic in all its arrangements as was possible, and accordingly at the first meeting we had a Hindoo for our President; at the second a Parsee presided; at the third a Mahomedan; at the fourth a European non-official; and now in Sir William Wedderburn we have a good example of the official element for our fifth President. (Cheers.) While our movement is one with no class purpose in view, it is also one with no party character about it, either in its procedure or in its objects. (Cheers.) And I am glad to be able to say that we have warm supporters of it drawn from all the parties into which the political life of England is divided. We have, for example, Sir Richard Garth, the ex-Chief Justice of Bengal—(cheers)—who is an excellent specimen of the good old Tory on the one hand; we have Mr. Bradlaugh—(cheers)—who is regarded as a good example of advanced Liberalism, on the other; and between those two we have the moderate men, of whom Sir William Hunter may be taken as a type. If some of our kindly critics, in view of such a declaration, tell us that we are evidently neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good

red-herring, I would gladly own the soft impeachment, and add that as we are none of these things in this matter, we do not wish to become any of them. (Laughter.) You have heard of the answer given by a countryman when he was asked which party he belonged to; he said he didn't know, he only knew that he was "agin the Government". (Laughter.) Well, we are not even agin the Government. Our attitude towards it, to compare great things with small, is similar to that which a growing youth holds towards his boot-maker. The last on which our laws have been made for the past thirty years has suited its purpose pretty well on the whole, thanks to the general excellence of our Civil Service, but latterly we have felt the fit to be rather tight, and we ask the Government, our legislative boot-maker, to make its last a little bigger to suit our grown and still growing feet. (Cheers.) And up to the present time, at all events, we have no reason for assuming that the Government will be foolish enough to say, as many Governments in many countries in the long weary past have said to their own undoing, in answer to such request: 'No, sirs, your feet must be made to suit our last, and not our last your feet.' The Bill which Mr. Bradlaugh purposes introducing into the House of Commons next Session will, however, serve to dispel any doubt that there may be on that point. But, in the meantime, I consider that we are outside the ring of English party politics, and our cause is certainly one that can be supported by all classes of politicians without sacrificing to the smallest extent the principles by which any of them is professedly guided. If we were to search the country from north to south, from east to west, I imagine we would have a difficulty in finding a single politician who would assert that on principle he is opposed to any section of the people of a country having anything to do with the framing of their own laws. A House of Commons is as essential a feature in the creed of a Conservative as it is in that of a Liberal. Now, what we are asking for comes far within the limits of such a confession of faith. We do not ask for a House of Commons or anything like it; we do not seek for a paramount or controlling power in the Councils to shape the policy of the Government, but only that we should have better opportunities than we now have of expressing our views upon the merits, it may be the demerits, of that policy—(cheers)—and any service we can render in that way we wish to be as effective as the circumstances will admit. We wish on our side to have fuller opportunities of ascertaining the objects and the motives of the Government in pursuing any given course, and we believe that that will be better achieved by means of Councils that are partially elected than by Councils consisting wholly of officials and their nominees. (Cheers.) And we further wish that the Government on its side may be placed in the position of making good and suitable laws for the country through a fuller knowledge of the wants of the people, and we believe that that know-

ledge will be more full and more exact, if the non-official members of Council were sent up to them by the various interests in the country, than by the Government itself picking out here and there men, who in some cases, if not in many cases, become mere instrument for promoting the pre-conceived notions and intentions of the Government. It is difficult for men, even of the right sort, when they get the broad arrow of official approval stamped upon them, not to feel that they belong to the set, and to trim their views to suit the set; and as to the ordinary man he very quickly falls under the glamour of his surroundings, and his chief concern is to be pleasant and acceptable to the powers that be. (Cheers.) An amusing instance of this is told of one of these councillors. He was a rajah, I believe, a man of large means and wide possessions, and otherwise cut a considerable figure in the district whose interests he was supposed to represent. But he did not understand English, and he was asked how in that case he managed to get along. He replied, 'Oh, I get along very well; it is no trouble. I sit and I listen, and I watch for the business coming to a vote; and when his Honour holds up his thumb, I hold up my thumb—(laughter)—and when he puts his thumb down, I put my thumb down.' (Renewed laughter.) That, however, may be regarded as rather an exceptional case, and I quite believe that the men who are selected are on the whole capable and efficient, and, but for the broad arrow, would be fairly independent; and some of them are so good—such as Robert Steel, of Calcutta, and Forbes Adams, of Bombay—that I have no doubt they would be elected by those whose interests they are supposed to serve under the nominated system. But, looking at what human nature is, it is impossible that a body of men appointed in the present way, can have the kind of independence which is so necessary to the best performance, that it would have if its members were directly chosen by those whom they are intended to represent. But it has been said that since we do not ask for any real determining power in the Council, and as the Government would continue to be able to pass such measures as it pleases, more palaver in the Councils would be the only result of the change. I am not so sure of that; indeed, I do not think so. I have formed a higher estimate of the character of our leading officials, than such an opinion on the part of their would-be supporters would seem to imply that they have formed. If we could show them a better way, or a more acceptable way of reaching the same end, I do not think that out of sheer perversity they would stick to their own methods. That, however, is a view of their character which may well be left to be settled between the parties themselves. That there would be more talk and a good deal of it useless, I have no doubt. That is unfortunately a characteristic of all representative bodies, from the parish vestry up to the (shall I say the word in the presence of so many members?) the House of Commons. (Laughter.) That, however, does not outweigh,

indeed, it is very far from outweighing, the numerous advantages of the representative system. (Hear, hear.) I will content myself with mentioning one practical good out of many that might be stated, which would follow the adoption of the reform we advocate. You are aware that we have a Store Department in India. (Hear, hear.) In connection with it there is an uncertain number of millions spent annually. The accounts do not show how much, but I believe it to be about five millions a year. It is a Department which is strictly guarded against the prying eyes of non-officials, and we are consequently not in a position to prove the common belief that it is very badly managed. But occasionally facts crop up and rumours get about that show the necessity for its being thoroughly overhauled and constantly watched. At present the Department is subject to no kind of check whatever in India; and in England I fear that upon inquiry it would be shown that we are left to the tender mercies of a number of underpaid buyers. But, be that as it may, those stores are purchased on our account; they are paid for with our money and yet all opportunity of testing whether we get value for our money is disallowed. ('Shame.') The position that the law, under which the Government acts, holds towards us in this matter is no less a horror to the mercantile than it is to the legal mind, namely, that of an agent who claims to be irresponsible to his principal. The unsatisfactory state of the Department is so generally admitted and accepted that I believe one of the first endeavours of the reformed Councils would be the appointment of a standing committee of their own members to check the prices and qualities of the stores that may be supplied to us in the future. The elected members, some of whom would be merchants and traders, would certainly press for such a committee, and I do not see how the Government could refuse their assent to its appointment. That alone would more than atone for the usual superfluity of talk. The reform, gentlemen, we suggest is a small thing to grant as it is a small thing to demand, and my regret is that the Government is itself encouraging—greatly encouraging—if it would look at the matter in the proper light, a wide, a growing and, if you like, an unsettling, agitation in the country, by not promptly conceding the very moderate demands we are making. Timely concession to the reasonable wishes of a people always leads to a warmer appreciation of the Government by the people, and it is because I wish to see the existing sentiment of loyalty in the country strengthened and made more secure that I hope the main object of the Congress, the expansion of the legislative Councils upon a partially elective basis, may be speedily and favourably considered by Parliament. (Cheers.) Now one word more before sitting down. I daresay you have occasionally seen letters in the papers, and especially telegraphic communications, from "our own correspondents", about the doings of this Congress and its members. I cannot compliment the gentle-

men who write these letters upon their inventive genius, for I observe that they generally have some foundation for what they say; but they have a remarkable faculty for twisting, distorting, and otherwise dressing up the facts, so as to be beyond the recognition of those to whom they owe their existence. I wish to give you a word of warning after the manner that a celebrated character gave advice to his son—I do not mean Lord Chesterfield—(laughter)—I mean a more celebrated character, or at all events a better known character, Mr. Weller. (Renewed laughter.) From experience and observation he was able to give this caution, 'Samivel, beware of vidders'. I say to you, Gentlemen, beware of 'our own correspondent'. And now, gentlemen, I have to propose the toast 'Sir William Wedderburn. It is our wish, Sir, that you may have a pleasant passage to India, a successful meeting, and a happy return to the old country.' (Loud cheers.) Before calling upon Sir W. Wedderburn I should like to say that, although you see in the toast list there is no provision for additional speeches, after Sir William has finished, if any friend here wishes to say anything or ask any questions concerning the Congress the opportunity of doing so will be given. (Cheers.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for the hearty way in which you have received this toast. I feel much your kindness to myself, but above all I value your presence here to-day as a mark of your warm sympathy with the suffering millions of India. This great Liberal Club represents the van-guard of the army of progress, and I welcome those hearty cheers, because I regard them as a token that you are determined that justice shall be done, and that the great trust of England towards India shall be duly discharged. This trust which has to be discharged is no light one. The vast masses of India are altogether unrepresented; they have no voice in the management of their own affairs. Indeed, the two hundred millions of our Indian fellow-citizens all put together have not as much direct power in the management of Indian affairs as one single British elector. ('Shame.') These poor people are in the hollow of your hand, and the people of this country are really directly responsible for their lives, for their progress, both material and social, and for their happiness. And when we look to the past I fear it cannot be said that this trust has been satisfactorily fulfilled. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps we may claim that the sins of the people of England have been those of omission rather than of commission. Whenever the people of England have interfered with Indian affairs it has been an interference for good, it has been an interference that confers some substantial boon, or to bring to justice some great official offender; and I think it will be to the everlasting credit of the English name that the English people have always desired that India should share

with them all the privileges, the freedom, and progress which we ourselves possess. (Hear, hear.) That has been their desire, but it is not enough that they should mean well. We know what becomes of good intentions—(laughter)—especially if those good intentions are not fulfilled. It must be said that we have committed one great sin of omission, and that is that we do not look to the trust ourselves, but we have blindly and wrongfully handed over that trust to our official agents in India. I say that we have done that blindly and wrongfully, because the professional interests of our official agents in India are in direct antagonism to the interests of those whom we are bound to protect. In all countries we know that the interests of the people—that is, of the taxpayers—are not identical with the interests of the officials, that is, the tax-eaters. In India this is especially the case. The interests of the people in India are peace, economy, and reform. (Hear, hear.) And every one of these things is distasteful to the military clique which reigns at Simla. Wars like that of Burmah mean the provision of good things; they bring annexation with titles and promotion, governorships, and distinctions. Again, how can you expect officials to love economy, which means reduction of their own salaries? (Laughter.) And how can we expect them to vote for reform, which means simply the restriction of the unlimited power which they now enjoy? It is, therefore, quite certain that we cannot expect from them great activity in the direction of peace, economy, and reform. I would not blame this class of feeling from only professional instincts; what I blame is the system which gives to that class uncontrolled power. (Cheers.) In England we find it practically impossible to control the great spending departments—(hear, hear)—although nominally, at least, we are the masters. What can we expect when positions are exactly reversed, when the great spending departments are the absolute masters, and where the taxpayer is only the man whose duty it is to pay the taxes that are demanded from him? Of course, we cannot expect to have a rule which will be hurtful to the professional prospects of those who administer the affairs of India. We may say, of course, there is a check in this country upon the doings of the official of India. But what does that check consist of? I say there is practically no control whatever over the officials of India. It is no doubt true that from official decisions there does lie an appeal to the India Office, but the Secretary of State, as we know, knows nothing about it; and we also know that his Council is recruited from the innermost clique of those very officials against whom the complaints from India come. I say, therefore, that the appeal to the Secretary of State in Council is worse than no appeal at all. And to en we may say the House of Commons will exercise control. We all know what they do in that way; they give, at the fag end of the Session, about half a-day to the consideration of the whole affairs of that great Empire. ('Shame.') If such

is the case, what is the result of this uncontrolled administration of India? I think the results are just those natural results we should expect from such a state of things. We find a grinding taxation and extreme poverty of the people. I will not be certain as to the exact figures, but it is estimated that the average income of the Indian tax-payer is about three half-pence a day. That does not give material for much taxation, one might say; but the taxation in proportion to income in India is about double what it is in this rich country of England. ('Shame.') Take, for example, the case of salt, which, for a vegetarian people is a practical necessity of life. The duty upon salt is twenty times the cost of production, which acts as a most cruel poll-tax upon the very poorest classes of the population. And again, as to poverty, we know how excessively poor they are. It is estimated that one-fifth of the population, or something like forty millions of the people, practically go through life without knowing what it is to have their hunger satisfied. They all live so terribly near the verge of sustenance that one bad year, one failure of the periodical rains, brings wholesale famine over great provinces. At the last great famine in Madras and Bombay there were officially reported five million deaths from hunger, mostly poor, industrious peasantry and their wives and children. It is almost impossible to conceive what that means; but it means that a population was destroyed larger than that of London, and larger than that of Ireland. Well, gentlemen, what is the remedy that we have to adopt in dealing with this great problem of India? Hitherto the great difficulty has been that the people of India have been dumb, and that we have no means of finding out where the shoe pinches. But now at least they have found their voice. (Hear, hear.) They have found a voice from the great and good boons that they have received from the British people. They have found a voice because we have given them a free press, free public meetings, and, what they value more than all else, we have given them higher education. (Hear, hear.) They have now found a voice, and through the Indian National Congress they are now addressing the people of England, and they are telling them how India may be made prosperous and contented, and they are telling them that a just and conciliatory policy may consolidate for many years to come the foundations of British Rule. (Hear, hear.) In expressing my thanks to you I hope you will also allow me to express our best thanks to our host and chairman. (Loud cheers.) I express also my thanks for the kind references he has made to me, and for the good wishes he has communicated to me with regard to the office which he has so worthily filled. (Cheers.) When I first became aware that I was going to be selected for the Presidency, the first thing I did was to betake myself to the study of Mr. Yule's presidential address, and I most fervently trust that the spirit which animated that address may fall like an Elijah's mantle

upon myself, for it was a spirit of wise discretion and of convincing common sense. Mr. Yule has to-day referred to the reforms that we desire in the legislative councils of India, and he has explained how extremely moderate the demands are with reference to those Councils. Indeed, some people might think that the demands were almost too moderate. It reminds me a little of the story of the Scotch servant girl who obtained leave to have an interview with her young man. When she came back to her mistress she seemed out of humour and not satisfied. The lady said, "Well, what is the matter? Was Jock nae civil?" "Oh", she said, "Jock was ceevil; he was senselessly ceevil." (Laughter.) Probably his demands had been almost too moderate. (Renewed laughter.) I think, perhaps, in the same way it may be thought that these proposals of the Congress hardly go far enough. In the present position of things I think it is wiser and more prudent to keep within the most careful bounds of moderation. Mr. Yule, in his address at Allahabad, pointed out that when we bring forward any measures of reform our opponents meet us in various ways. There are four phases in which they pose before they are brought to a proper condition of mind. They first receive our proposals with ridicule; the second phase is that of abuse: from that they go on to partial concession accompanied with misapprehension of our objects; and the last and happiest stage of all is when they entirely adopt our proposals, and wonder that these excellent proposals have not been adopted before. (Laughter.) Mr. Yule pointed out that we are now between the second and the third of these stages of abuse; that is to say, that we are between the times of abuse and partial adoption. I am glad to say that I think that even since the Allahabad meeting of last Christmas we have considerably progressed, and that we may say that this question is between the third and fourth stages, between partial concession and total adoption. My reason for saying this is the utterances of the authorised mouthpiece of the Government when speaking about Indian affairs. Sir John Gorst, in the House of Commons, speaking in a debate on the Address in answer to Mr. Bradlaugh upon the subject of the aspirations of the native races to share in the management of their own affairs, said: 'The honourable member has accused this Government of looking with an unfriendly eye on the aspirations of the natives to the share of the government of their own country. But the truth is that no more unfortunate charge could be made. It is not true. It is not only the policy of the present Government, but it has been the policy of every Government of India for the last thirty years, to extend to the natives of India not only a share in the administration of their country, but so far as is possible the management of their own affairs.' (Cheers.) That is what Sir John Gorst said in the debate on the Address, and afterwards in the debate on the Indian Budget, when he spoke with special reference to the reform of the Legislative

Councils. He said the Government concurred with Lord Lansdowne, who wished to make every practicable concession. He wished to enlarge the Councils and to give them the discussion of the Budget, the financial statement, and also to give them the right of interpellation. He also said that the Government were desirous of legislating with a view to giving effect to those wishes, but that he had been obliged to advise them that this was impossible on account of the position of parties. I suppose this meant that the Government was willing to legislate if they could be assured of the support of the Liberal party. It appears that if we are waiting for Sir John Gorst, equally Sir John Gorst is waiting for us. History repeats itself, and it appears as if Sir John Gorst were a sort of latter-day Sir Richard Strachan, and that we are in the position of the Lord Chatham, of whom it is said :

' Lord Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan ;
Sir Richard longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.' .

If that is really the only difference that stands in the way of Government, that difficulty can be removed, and we hope that the friends of India will be able to co-operate for a forward movement in this matter for the next session. For this purpose we hope to be able to form a sort of Indian party consisting of all those, whatever their difference of opinions in other matters, who are willing to co-operate upon the broad basis of a just and sympathetic policy towards India. (Cheers.)

Sir WILLIAM HUNTER : Gentlemen, I have a toast to propose to you which is not upon the list, but which, notwithstanding, I believe you will drink with enthusiasm. It is the toast of our host, Mr. Yule. (Cheers.) We owe thanks to Mr. Yule, not only as our host of this afternoon, but also by virtue of the great services which he has rendered to India. (Cheers.) Mr. Yule himself belongs to a class who have had to fight the battle of freedom in India : he belongs to a long down-trodden class—the British merchants of India. (Laughter.) A hundred years ago Mr. Yule's predecessors were men who not only had no political rights, but who had not the ordinary privileges of citizens. They were essentially aliens in India. The battle which a hundred years since was being fought for the British merchants in India is now being fought for the Indian people. (Cheers.) Therefore, it is peculiarly encouraging that a man who is known to be one of the best representatives of the British mercantile class in India—a man who was not only President of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and Sheriff of Calcutta, but who has also assisted the Government of Bengal in the Legislative Council—should have come forward to show that the British merchants in India feel not only no fear of the political movement now going on, but cherish sympathy for it.

I have been referred to as a moderate man. I am a moderate man. But it is not altogether pleasant for any Englishman in the midst of the political life of this country to stand on the bank and merely look on at the stream of public activity flowing past him. If I am a moderate man and abstain from politics it is because I have proposed to myself a task which I cannot discharge if I engage in politics. The history of India has yet to be written, and when it is truly written, Englishmen will learn that the present movement is the inevitable result of causes which we ourselves have set in motion. (Cheers.) Those who misrepresent us speak of our movement as isolated, dangerous, or unimportant. But I believe this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India which is showing itself not only in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in India's commercial development and in many signs of a new national life. We have got a great force to deal with, a force which must be powerful either for the disintegration of our Indian Empire or for the consolidation of our Indian Empire; and therefore as an old official I say it is our duty to use it as a consolidating and not as a disintegrating force. The service which Mr. Yule rendered last year was one of peculiar value. It is my lot to live at some distance from London, and I have ample opportunity of hearing what people in the country say about us. The change that has taken place is very curious. Last year we were considered dangerous to the future security of the British Empire in India. It is not too much to say that during the twelve months, and in a large measure owing to Mr. Yule's exertions, to his power of calm argument, and to the dignity of his personal character, that feeling has been gradually modified, and that we are now looked upon not as dangerous, but as a class of persons who have to be watched and considered. (Cheers.) And we are very glad to be thus watched, for we have nothing to hide. I affirm that there is no political movement in this country which is managed with the same moderation of speech and the same dignity of procedure as this, the Indian National Congress. There is one point which was brought to my notice yesterday at Oxford, a place which is supposed to be a cynical centre, but which is extremely sympathetic to Indian reform—(cheers)—when I was called upon to preside at a missionary meeting. The principal speaker was one of the oldest and most respected missionaries in India, the representative of one of the greatest missionary societies of India. He stood forward and said that along with the intellectual awakening of India and with its vast industrial development, he thanked God that there was a political development also going forward. (Cheers.) If we can only get the three great forces—the mercantile force, the official force, and the missionary force in England on the side of our political movements in India, we shall succeed. (Cheers.) I once more ask you to render thanks to our host not only for his hospitality but

for his great services to India. His hospitality is only part of his generous private character, it is true. But, after all, it is his private character that has dictated his public action. It is for his generous sympathy, for his wisdom, and for the moderation and nobility of tone which he displayed as President of the last Congress, that we owe him our thanks. Mr. Yule has placed the political progress of India on a new and higher platform: on the platform that is of good sense, moderation, and quietly asking for the rights which every Englishman in his heart of hearts knows that England ought to concede to India. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I think we should like to hear a few words from our friend Mr. Pincott, who I have much pleasure in introducing to you as an enthusiastic Conservative.

Mr. F. PINCOTT: Mr. Chairman, I am very glad to be present to wish God speed to Sir William Wedderburn in the important duties he is going to fulfil. In doing this he is only carrying out the great programme of his life. During the whole of his official career he made himself famous in India by always aiding and often originating objects of good to the people of that country. Then he is not a bird of passage, or one who has been diverted to this duty by some cause; he is only pursuing the even tenor of his way in now aiding this great national movement. I need not say anything of the Congress after the able exposition of our host on the present occasion; but he has been good enough to introduce me as a Conservative, and I am one, and as a Conservative I think I shall be perhaps doing some useful service by pointing out to my political friends features in this great movement which specially commend it to their favour and support. Everyone must be struck by the fact that the National Congress is essentially and thoroughly a constitutional movement. (Hear, hear.) Now, my political friends have always had a partiality for the Constitution, and this which comes before them in so thoroughly constitutional a guise cannot meet with anything else, or should not meet with anything else, than their heartiest and most cordial support. What the Congress simply asks really is the grant to India of a very elementary form of Constitutional Government. Now there is nothing in despotism which at all commends itself to the Conservative mind:—(hear, hear)—therefore, a movement which is intended to grant some little constitutional privilege to a people, should commend itself to Conservative support. It has my support most cordially on that ground. And even we are great sticklers for kings, and lords, and commons,—(Laughter)—I am, I admit! Looking at the Congress, we see the thorough and earnest loyalty of all who support it. There is nothing in the Congress movement, nothing in any idea they have started which in any manner or way derogates from the dignity or prerogatives of the Crown: quite the contrary. And so if we

turn to the lords, we will say the nobles of India, the action of the Congress does not intend to take from their privileges, rather it enhances them, and gives them their proper place in the conduct of the affairs of their own country. And no one can doubt for one moment that the action of the Congress will promote the general welfare of the people. And therefore as a supporter of kings, lords and commons, I think we, and all Conservatives, ought certainly cordially to support this movement, which is intended to promote the good of all classes of the community. But I must confess at the same time that this movement has not met that support from my political friends which I believe it deserves,—(hear, hear)—and I think the reason of that is that it is exceedingly difficult in this country to obtain a hearing for Indian questions. (Hear, hear.) It is very difficult indeed, and perhaps that arises from the fact that the knowledge of India in this country is mostly, if not entirely, derived from official sources. (Hear, hear.) No doubt the information from these sources is very good so far as it goes, but my experience of human nature—and you can see by the colour of my head it has been a long experience—is that human nature is of such a kind that it cannot be trusted to report upon itself. (Hear, hear.) Now all the reports and all the sources from which we get our information are official: that is to say that the magistrate reports to the collector, and the collector to the commissioner, and the commissioner to the Governor, and the Governor to the Viceroy, and the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State passes it on to Parliament and all is very good. And if an independent gentleman goes to India, one who receives the name generally of a globe-trotter, if he goes to India he picks up a lot of information and is told a great many things, and he comes to this country and wishes to throw a little light upon them, but he is told at once ‘Oh, you have been imposed upon. You do not know. If you had lived there the time we have you would know it is very different.’ Thus a gloss is put upon the affair. And if he is earnest and says ‘I believe this is true.’ Then he is asked perhaps some technical question on some unimportant matter, and because he is deficient in that they say, ‘Oh, you see he knows nothing at all about it’. And thus the views of the occasional visitor get very little weight given to them in this country. It requires very long study to gain knowledge, and people in this country are very busy and cannot give it, and hence it is I think the Conservative party, who are more inclined to show deference to authority than perhaps some people do—(‘Oh, Oh,’ and laughter)—rest almost entirely on the official information they obtain, and thus India gets little or no consideration. It is for that reason that I have made some attempts, and I shall renew those attempts, and my presence to-day is another of those attempts, to show to my Conservative friends that there really is nothing in this movement that need cause them to hang back in any way.

(Cheers.) I will say one more word, and that is, it has been remarked on many occasions that the political feeling of this country is really more of emulation than diversity. One section of the people thinks the interests of the Empire can be advanced by the following of certain principles, and the other section thinks by following other principles. Our differences are for the most part a difference of emulation. We are each of us striving to advance the interests of the Empire in what we think the best way, and hence it has sometimes surprised foreigners that when a great danger occurs both parties instantly front about and fight shoulder to shoulder for the good of the Empire at large. I am sure it will be so in this case. As soon as my political friends see the substantial character of this movement, and that it really is a thoroughly constitutional affair they will turn round and side with you and be as hearty in this work as ever anybody could wish them to be. (Cheers.)

MR. CAINE, M.P.: Sir William Wedderburn has put so clearly before us all, what are the facts of the case that there is no good for anybody to take up much time by following him. I should however like just to pay my tribute to the masterly, statesmanlike speech which our host delivered at the National Congress last year. (Cheers.) I not only read it, but had the honour of hearing every word of it, for I was present at the Congress myself. The delivery of such an address would have lifted any man in public esteem. All India owes and feels a very great debt of gratitude to our host in connection with the Congress movement. There has been, and can be, no question on that point. I should like to impress upon everyone present the modesty of the demands that the National Congress of India are making. All that they ask for is that the natives of India shall have some part in the government of their own country. The reply always made by the opponents of the Congress is that the natives of India are already represented in the governing body of the nation. But that is really not so. The Hindus, Parsees, and Mahommedans who have seats on legislative bodies are placed there merely as selected by the Governor, or the Governor-General; they do not represent the opinion of the people they are supposed to represent. It is quite true that many of these gentlemen have done their work very well, and no doubt they might have been elected by the people themselves, but still it is a most important thing that the growing opinion of India, the educated public opinion, should in some way or another be at least admitted to a share in the Government of their own country. I was very much struck with what Sir William Hunter said just now, that these demands are the inevitable result of the action of the English Government in time past. I have myself often said that if they had not intended to give the natives of India a share in the Government of their own country they

ought to have kept them ignorant. (Hear, hear.) Instead of which they have been educating them, and hundreds and thousands, indeed, I may almost say hundreds of thousands, of the natives of India are University scholars, holding University degrees and yet are excluded entirely from the government of their own country. The educated natives of India make this demand : there is no danger in admitting the demand, the danger seems to be in the refusal. When I was in India last winter, I gave a great deal of attention to this subject. I saw all sides of the question ; I made a point of visiting and staying with the leaders of the native opposition to this great movement, and I was quite convinced that the claims of the Congress were right and perfectly safe to grant. I have, therefore, no hesitation whatever in advocating their claims both in India and also here. To give you some idea of the number of these people in India who are fitted for the franchise I may tell you that whilst in that country I addressed forty-four public meetings on the temperance question. The smallest of those meetings was attended by 600 persons and the largest by 4,000. Everyone in those meetings understood everything I said ; they spoke English perhaps better than I did, and were thoroughly educated and cultivated men. They are admitted to the Civil Service, to the medical profession, and to the legal profession, but they are not allowed to have any voice in the government of their own country. This is a matter that ought to be got rid of, and it can best be got rid of by all sensible practical politicians at home taking up the question. I think this has been a very graceful and pleasant gathering which our host has given to-day. That he, as past-President of this great movement, should give a good send-off to the coming President, and to ask so many friends of India and of freedom to meet, has, I think, been a very graceful act. (Cheers.)

Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P.: Gentlemen, the only qualification that I have for making a speech on India is that I know nothing about it. (Laughter.) But I do know something about the gentlemen who are here to-day, and I beg to thank our Chairman for his kindness in having tendered the invitation to me to join this party, because I have a very great regard for my friend Sir William Wedderburn. I perhaps may say that I had the honour of the acquaintance of his brother, his predecessor, in the House of Commons, who was one of my most intimate and most valued friends, and I believe a more honourable, earnest, and courageous politician never lived than the late Sir David Wedderburn. (Cheers.) I have not long had the honour of the acquaintance of my friend Sir William Wedderburn, but I find in him the same qualities that I found in his brother, and I think that we do ourselves honour in honouring such a man. (Hear, hear.) Well, as I say, I do not understand the details of the great Indian question, but I think

that everything I have heard to-day has been most encouraging. The Chairman put very clearly the way in which those reforms are treated. I think somebody said that every reform is first said to be opposed to Scripture; then it is laughed at; and then everybody knew it before. (Laughter.) We seem to be going through that stage in these Indian matters just as in every other matter. I suppose most of us here are Liberals, although this is not a party movement. Liberalism, as I understand it, is nothing more than making institutions suited to men—(hear, hear)—instead of fitting men to the institutions. The Chairman gave us a capital illustration when he said that instead of making the foot to fit the last, we have to make the last to fit the foot. I do not think anybody can engage in a nobler or better political work than to induce contentment and happiness and loyalty to our institutions amidst the millions who inhabit the great Indian Empire. I am quite sure that Sir William Wedderburn, by what he has done in conjunction with Mr. Yule and Mr. Caine and many other gentlemen who have taken an interest in this movement, has been doing far more for the safety and protection of India than all the fortifications and fleets that can be brought together. (Cheers.) I very cordially thank Mr. Yule for his kindness in providing this entertainment to-day, and would express the hope that it may be very useful in turning the attention of others besides ourselves to the great Indian problem, and getting it settled on those foundations which alone are permanent—foundations of truth and justice and humanity. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I must now return you my thanks for the toast which Sir William Hunter proposed, and which you so cordially accepted. It is not often that we have the opportunity, we Indians, of talking to so many real live members of Parliament, and of bringing our case under their notice. I appeal to them not to come to a sudden judgment on our claims; all that we ask for is that they should give them their most serious consideration. (Hear, hear.) We are well aware that in India we ourselves can do nothing. We look to the House of Commons as our physician, and we appeal to them to come and help us. As they coalesced under the leadership of Mr. Disraeli and Lord John Russell—as the different parties in the State coalesced under those leaders to pass the Bill under which our affairs are at present administered, I appeal to them to coalesce again, and to pass an amending Bill to suit the altered circumstances of the case. Out of the teeming millions who will be grateful to them for such a service none will be more grateful than the leaders of this movement. We all have our business or other avocations to attend to, and the claims that the Congress makes upon us are really distracting. Our great desire is to be re-absorbed in the quiet industrial hive. Gentlemen, the sooner we can discuss this matter in Parliament and get what we want,

the sooner we shall have our peace of mind ; and the only sound that you will hear from us then will, I hope, be that of the hum of the busy bees. (Cheers.) I thank you again for your courtesy in accepting the invitation, and I once more return thanks for your cordial acceptance of the toast which has been so handsomely proposed by Sir William Hunter. (Cheers.)

Dr. CLARK, M.P. : I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, to hear of the intention to form an Indian party. I think we have now come to a transition period in Indian history. We were quite content to exploit India for a long while, in order that a company of merchants might get rich. Since 1858 we have been playing with India, and I think the time has now come when we must meet its demands seriously. Until the present time any action in this country has been taken by the other side. When we had a Liberal Government in power, and when we had a Radical Viceroy there, when the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Ilbert brought in Bills of a radical character we had an organisation in England formed on behalf of the Conservative party, and some of us were compelled to organise in favour of supporting the claims of the Indian people, in favour of supporting the measures of Lord Ripon. Afterwards, when the Indian Rent Bill was brought forward, my friend, Sir Roper Lethbridge, was the agent of the other side. The enemies of reform in India have from time to time appealed to the British people to prevent reform in India, and until now the friends of India have not been in a position to appeal to the English people, to enlighten them. And, why? Because, unfortunately, members of Parliament are perfectly content to leave Indian things as they are. The only way to bring about any change of the character that we desire will be to go to the constituencies and educate them with regard to Indian matters. There are plenty of our Indian friends here, men of ability, men of eloquence. We have our old friend Dadabhi Naoroji ; we have that eminent Indian, Lalmohun Ghose. These men, and more of them, ought to be in England to educate the English people. The Indian people have taken up the matter themselves ; they have formed an organisation, and these four or five Congresses have been the result, and I expect that the next thing that Sir William Hunter will have to bring before the Indian people is to institute some system of education in this country by which they can educate their masters, and let them know that India is ready for the next measure of reform. I hope and trust that will be one of the things that will be really considered. I am very glad that we have an Agency where we can get information, and I think from that information we ought to have a system or propaganda of enlightenment throughout the country, which will really make it easy for anyone to compel us to find time to pass the measures that these two hundred millions of people require. It is a question of very great importance. But a much more

important question than this, is the question of the Indian people themselves taking part in their own government. There is the question of the Civil Service Reform, by which the people of India may get some of the prizes that are now kept entirely in the hands of the Civil Service, which is a difficult matter to get into. The Civil Service Reform is one of the most important questions, because India is a poor country. Everyone who read the official statement of Sir William Hunter that there were so many millions of people who go to bed hungry, because of our bad system of government, will say that we ought to wipe that reproach from ourselves. I am very glad to be here, and I hope this is only the first of a series of meetings to be held under the auspices of the Congress by which Indian reform is to be achieved. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD: I am exceedingly gratified to be able to be present in order to join in the congratulations to our friend Sir William Wedderburn. I have watched his progress through the Civil Service; I have watched his work, and I wish to say that few can appreciate, as I can, the kind of moral courage required in a man in Sir William Wedderburn's position going back to India to aid not only a non-official movement, but a movement which is regarded with great apprehension by many members of his own service. I think in that respect he ought to be specially honoured. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt he will be equal to the position not only in moral courage but in that discretion and precision which is required. I agree with all that you have said as to the moderation of the views of the present promoters of the Congress, and I am not going to say anything in deprecation of such moderation. For my own part I only hope that that moderation is a prelude to further reasonable but firm and determined demands, which I am sure when they are understood will have the earnest consideration of men of all parties, because India is the subject which divides us least. I have great pleasure in being here to-day. (Cheers.)

Mr. JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P.: I am glad to have the chance of addressing this most important meeting for one reason, because I admire our friend Sir William Wedderburn, and I believe every course he takes in public life will be a course really conducive to the strength of this Empire by satisfying the just demands of every nationality amongst all those who are grouped under its Imperial government. (Hear, hear.) I had the honour of knowing well and intimately his distinguished brother, and of working with him in many a cause, and dividing with him on I do not know how many long and various questions, always finding myself by his side. I am perfectly certain that in his brother, Sir William Wedderburn, we have a man thoroughly able and thoroughly desirous of following in that great work. I have had myself, ever since I was able to think or

to reason, a most thorough and cordial sympathy for all rational demands of all the great populations of India, and I may further say that after the cause which I am most especially interested in, there has been no Imperial question which has had my sympathy, my interest, my support, more cordially than that of the cause of the native population of India. I am not going to obtrude one single word or suggestion of party politics, but I do say that I am placed in a position to understand most thoroughly, to appreciate most keenly, how unsatisfactory that rule which is the rule of a department, which is the rule of the local officials, by which the local officials pass on their reports to the governing office in London, and the governing office in London are under the impression in accepting that report and that statement that they are getting a precise and accurate account of the feelings of the people. We have been governing India far too long on that system; it is quite time that we now at last hear and listen to the views of the Indians themselves. (Hear, hear.) As I understand the movement, that and nothing more is what the Indian Congress desires and demands; its members only ask to be allowed to make known the views of the populations of India from those populations themselves. They are willing, when that has been done, to submit those demands to the clear common sense, the impartiality, and the justice, of the English people. That is the beginning of all representation. You must have the voice of India, you must know what its populations wish for themselves and claim for themselves, and till you hear that voice speaking to you directly, as people unto people, you cannot possibly hope to govern with stability and with safety a great country like India. (Cheers.) You cannot control India except by the consent of the various populations whom this Empire undertakes to govern. That is what we want; we want to win the consent of the different populations, to instil in them confidence in our intelligence, in our goodwill, in our anxiety to make them happy and prosperous, and when we have attained that consent and can act on and with that consent then, and not by any possibility till then, can we make a stable, a strong, and a permanent Imperial State. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we must bring our interesting proceedings to a close. Our friend Sir William Wedderburn is to start in a short time. Before he goes I should like to shake hands with him both on your account and on my own, and to wish him every success in his important undertaking. (Loud applause.)

The company then broke up.

Comments of the Press.

From among many notices in the Press—metropolitan and provincial—all, with three exceptions being of a cordial character and strongly approving of the programme of the Congress, the following are selected :—

Leading Article, "Daily News," Dec. 7.

THE INDIAN CONGRESS.

The 'send-off,' as an American would call it, to Sir William Wedderburn yesterday was, in every way, an interesting and a remarkable event. It took place at the National Liberal Club in the form of a luncheon given by Mr. Yule, who presided last year over the Indian Congress, to Sir William Wedderburn, who is going out to Bombay to preside over the next meeting. Although the luncheon was given at the National Liberal Club, it had nothing to do with any manner of party demonstration. Members of all English political parties were represented there. One speaker announced himself as a Tory. It was not necessary that Sir Wilfrid Lawson should proclaim himself a Radical, or that Mr. Caine should describe himself as a member of what he would call the "Unionist" party. Neither speaker made any such proclamation; each name told sufficiently of its political whereabouts. Nor did Mr. Justin McCarthy need to tell of his political opinions; everybody knew what they were. In short, it was a thoroughly representative gathering, and illustrated the attitude towards India of men of all the various sections of English political life. Mr. Yule, the host of the day, in proposing the health of Sir William Wedderburn, declared that the movement in favour of Indian reform had no class purpose and had no party character either in its procedure or in its objects. Sir William Wedderburn, Sir W. W. Hunter, and other speakers explained, with a studied moderation of statement which carried all the stronger and deeper conviction along with

it, the grievances of which the Indian populations complain, and the use which they desire to make of the National Congress. The Congress proposes to do no more than to speak in the voice of the people of India. It is quite time that that voice should tell its story and be heard. Two hundred millions of our Indian fellow subjects, Sir William Wedderburn said, had not, all put together, so much direct power in the management of Indian affairs as one single British elector. The statement was unexaggerated; and as we all know the amount of direct control over the management of Indian affairs which is possessed by any ordinary British elector, or even any ordinary British member of Parliament, we are put to our wits' end to gauge the amount of direct control over their own affairs which is enjoyed by the two hundred millions of Indian populations. We have been governing India by officials and by boards and English departments. The officials report to the boards, and the boards report to the departments, and the departments report to the House of Commons.

What happens when the reports get to the House of Commons? To speak the plain truth, the House of Commons as a rule does not pay any attention to them; does not listen to them. This lack of attention does not come from any actual lack of sympathy and good-will. But what is the use of troubling one's self in vain? the ordinary member of Parliament may be supposed to ask himself. He and his fellows cannot get to the bottom of anything that concerns India. If a question about any grievance is put, the Secretary or the Under-Secretary for India gets up, and on the strength of an answer supplied to him by some Indian official blandly replies that there is no grievance at all, and that what is being done in India is exactly what all the various native populations of India particularly wish to have done. The House of Commons is very busy with other than Indian affairs; its procedure is crammed and choked and bursting with such business. The Indian Budget is put off to the very latest days of a weary Session, when everybody who could fly from the House has fled. The disposal of the Budget is the most perfunctory piece of Parliamentary performance it is possible to conceive. Everybody knows beforehand that criticism is of little use, and there are only a very few members of the House of Commons who are really qualified to criticise. It is certain, as one of the speakers said yesterday, that there is hardly any party feeling in the House of Commons as regards India. There are men in Parliament who think we ought to be always going to war with somebody about some Indian frontier. There are men who think we never ought to go to war with anybody about any Indian frontier. But there is no strictly party line dividing these two sets of men; and as regards Indian affairs within the frontiers, there is no dividing line of party at all. The difficulty of most men in Parliament is to know what the people of India want, and what they have a fair right to ask. There are no earthly means of knowing this except by getting

the voice of the peoples of India themselves. No set of English officials, however well-meaning and upright, can be trusted to report adequately as to the feelings of the Indian populations. It cannot be done; it is out of the question. The National Congress of India proposes to supply the want. It can tell us what the people of India require. Nothing more than that is claimed as the purpose and the business of the Congress. It is not even asked that the Congress should be permitted to make formal report and recommendation to the Viceroy and his Government. The Congress is merely an assembly of national delegates who meet and consider Indian questions, talk them over and pass resolutions about them. The Viceroy and his Council ought to be very glad to have a chance of obtaining the opinions of the various delegates, and of finding out for certain what India is thinking of. The days are gone by when the Viceroy and his officials could hope to administer India 'all out of their own heads', as children say.

The fear in the minds of certain official classes is that this Indian National Congress is only a step to something else. As to the mere fact, we dare say that officials of that type are quite right. The Indian Congress is only a step to something else. But there is no reason whatever why that something else should be anything to bring alarm with it. Our business is to prepare the Indian population by degrees—they may perhaps be slow degrees—to take their proper part in the government of their country. We have given them, or we are giving them, education. The professions are opening to them here and in India. We can see for ourselves what a remarkable aptitude for acquiring information, and for mastering the business of a profession or a trade, the natives of India display when they come over to this country. We know what aptitude for administration in various departments is displayed in India by natives who are allowed a chance of proving their capacity. It is idle to suppose that a country with such populations can be governed to the end of time by English officials and by boards. A people cannot be managed as if it were a line of railway; it must sooner or later have a good deal to say about the system of its management. Nothing could be of better omen for the permanent strength and solidity of our Indian Empire than the growing desire of the people of India to have a voice in the disposal of their own affairs. If that most natural and wholesome desire be but properly gratified, it will be easy for us to base our Indian government on the consent of the governed. We have read or heard of nothing in the proceedings of the last Congress—we expect to hear of nothing in the proceedings of the next—which could show the slightest indication of any desire but that of an honest and a loyal co-operation with Her Majesty's Government for the contentment of the Indian populations, and the security of the Indian Empire. If here and there a wild voice may be raised—and we do not know that any such has been

raised—it is much better that it should be heard in public counsel than in secret conspiracy. We should, in all probability, never have had the Indian Mutiny if before that time there could have been established an intelligent National Congress of India.

Leading Article in "Daily Chronicle," Dec. 7.

Three weeks hence the Indian National Congress will commence its annual session in Bombay, and last night Sir William Wedderburn left London for India to occupy the presidential chair, to which at the last sitting he was elected. Yesterday afternoon he was entertained at a farewell luncheon at the National Liberal Club, and the speech he delivered on that occasion clearly indicates the line of policy he is prepared to adopt. The purport of the Congress is to discuss and formulate measures for the better government of our great Indian dependency, and for the gradual admission of the native element to a reasonable share in the conduct of their own affairs. This object the Congress feels can be best and most securely attained by making the present Legislative Council a consultative body more thoroughly representative of the various and complex phases of Indian thought and feeling. It cannot be denied that the great need of India is not merely better laws, but an improved system of administration, which, to be certain and effectual, must rest on a basis of more fixed responsibility, as this can be most readily secured by the expansion of the existing Council, on an elective or partially elective basis, the argument in favour of the change proposed is to that extent considerably strengthened. Ever since our acquisition of India it has been governed by an official oligarchy, which has conspicuously failed to consider the chief object of its existence to be the ultimate good and elevation of the governed classes. The result does not reflect credit on our national governmental instincts, but it is more the fault of the system adopted and pursued than of the successive agents sent out to continue the line of policy which has through the flux of time become a stereotyped order. By the national sequence of events a fossilised system of this description has tended to destroy the sense of personal responsibility and to produce the development of uncontrolled power on the part of the ruling agents. It is this tendency to which Sir William Wedderburn is opposed, and which he has gone out to combat. He has expressed his determination to seek to establish a direct and personal control over the official agents, and to advocate those measures of reform which have for their object the admission of natives to the administrative and ruling ranks. The people of India are heavily taxed for State purposes, and it is only a fair application of the great political maxim that they should be accorded a proportional voice in the imposition and administration of the taxes they are called upon to pay. The scheme is to

a certain extent experimental, but it is a conciliatory policy which may do much to secure the consolidation of British rule in that country for many succeeding generations.

Leading Article, "Manchester Courier," Dec. 9.

The so-called Indian National Congress is about to meet at Bombay, under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn, a gentleman who held a position in the Bombay Civil Service for some thirty years, and is now presumably in receipt of a Government pension. On Friday last a farewell luncheon was given to him at the National Liberal Club, by a number of members of that home of ease and luxury, who profess the warmest sympathy, not always according to knowledge, for India and the Indians. It is to be regretted that even the *Daily News*, which has been the consistent supporter, at all events when the Conservatives are in office, of every anti-English movement, has not found space to report more fully the speeches which were delivered on this auspicious occasion, but sufficient is given to enable us to judge of the tone which pervaded the utterances of these patrons of the intriguing Baboo. Quite the most remarkable remark was made by Mr. George Yule, who, like the guest of the day, is an ex-civil servant, and who, if we remember rightly, has himself held the proud position which Sir William Wedderburn is about to occupy. According to this sapient gentleman the movement could be supported by all classes of English politicians, without their sacrificing in the smallest extent the principles they professed. We can only opine that since his return to his native country Mr. Yule has associated exclusively with the politicians of the National Liberal Club, whose principles we freely admit would not be sacrificed in the slightest degree by their giving in their adhesion to any cause which tended to the disruption of the Empire. Probably it has not occurred to him that outside the ranks of supple Gladstonians and humanitarian crotchetsmongers there are a few sensible and practical men, Conservatives to wit, who will have nothing whatever to say to any designs, however innocent and even beneficial they may appear, which in the opinion of all who know India best cannot fail to weaken our hold on our great Oriental Empire. No one would be foolish enough to contend that there is no room for improvement in Indian administration, or that much that is valuable may not be learned from intelligent, patriotic, and representative natives, but that is very different from saying, as Sir William Wedderburn is reported to have said, in replying to the toast of his health, that 'the professional interests of our official agents in India are in direct antagonism to those of the people we are bound to protect. The interests of the people are peace, economy, and reform, and they are all distasteful to the civil and military clique which reigns at Simla.' He animadverted on 'the grinding taxation,' to which he apparently attributed

the recent famines, and the loss of life which unhappily resulted from them. It is difficult to decide whether the bad taste, the spiteful tone, or the unpatriotic words of this ex-Indian official deserve the strongest reprobation, but it is significant to observe that it is with such ideas respecting the Government of India that he sets forth with the God-speed of the National Liberal Club to preside over the congress of disaffected and self-seeking natives which is about to assemble at Bombay.

According to him, the present *régime* in India acts in antagonism to the interests of the people, and is opposed to peace, to economy, and to reform. If this be the case, it is surely very remarkable that there has been no such thing as a general rising of the people against their oppressors, that even during the mutiny the civil population remained loyal, and that in repressing that revolt we were powerfully aided by the greatest of the feudatory princes. It is even more strange that if the Government of India be such as the President of the National Congress declares it to be, not only should he and other Englishmen who share his views consent to take part in it, but that for every official post open to the natives there should be quite a plethora of candidates. It would be very interesting to know how many of the members of the Congress have either held offices under the Indian Government, or applied for them, and how many would decline the offer of an official position, however small, if it were made to them. We have quite recently heard sad and serious complaints from Mr. Hume, who may claim the very dubious honour of having been one of the originators of the Congress movement, that the funds at his disposal are extremely small, that he is considerably out of pocket already, and that the whole agitation is in imminent danger of perishing from pecuniary anæmia. India has a population of more than two hundred and fifty millions, and yet this great and glorious movement, which is to bring about a new era, to rescue the people from the tyranny of an official clique, and inaugurate a golden age of peace, economy, and reform, cannot command the £5,000 or £6,000 per annum necessary to keep it alive. But strangest of all is the fact that while the rulers of India are, according to Sir William Wedderburn, the sworn foes of peace, economy, and reform, these are precisely the three great and indubitable benefits which they have managed to confer on the people of India.

In a sense far truer than that in which the words were first used it can be said that 'the Empire is peace', throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. The *pax Britannica* is established. It is to England that the ryot owes that feeling of security to which his ancestors were strangers. It is to England that the merchant owes the power to trade without fear of being robbed, and to amass wealth without running the risk of being tortured or murdered by some greedy Rajah. We have safeguarded the Indian frontier, so that the rise of another Mahmoud

or Nadir Shah in Central Asia would cause no alarm in India, We have put down civil war, and have converted the marauding Sikhs and Goorkhas into disciplined and orderly soldiery. The Indian seas have been cleared of pirates. Thuggee has been stamped out, and dacoity is almost unknown. Expeditions have occasionally to be sent to punish some barbarous hill tribe who resent the loss of opportunities of plundering the very people who are, or are supposed to be, clamouring against English rule. The finances of India are, it is true, not so satisfactory as they might be, but in the opinion of those who ought to know the chief reason of this is our reluctance to tax sufficiently certain classes, notably the money lenders and the Zemindars, who are the chief native supporters of the Congress. At all events it is undeniable that the whole of the revenue of India is expended in India itself. We do not exact any tribute from the people we rule, but endeavour by great public works to develop the resources and increase the material prosperity of the country. It is by these means that we are able better and better every year to cope with the famines which, in the days before England became the dominant Power in India, swept away the whole population of districts as large as Scotland. Under our rule there has, it is true, been serious mortality from famines, but notwithstanding this the population of the country has increased by leaps and bounds. If we ask what reforms England has effected in India, the reply is that she has now what she never had before—just laws, justly administered, without respect of persons. It is no longer possible for the strong to oppress the weak, or for the peasant to go in daily fear of his life. Such atrocious practices as suttee have been repressed, and if we have not been able to put an end to the iniquities of child marriage, or to elevate the condition of the women in India, or to effect numerous other reforms which would incalculably benefit millions of our fellow subjects, it is simply because we should not be supported by native public opinion. We venture to say that, from the Viceroy to the youngest assistant collector, there is not a single Indian civil servant who will not regard Sir William Wedderburn's remarks as unfounded and treacherous libel. The danger lies in the effect they will have on the native mind, and on the increasing and uninstructed portion of the English electorate.

Leader Notes in the 'Star,' Dec. 7.

There was a very interesting gathering at the National Liberal Club last night in response to Mr. Yule's invitation to meet Sir William Wedderburn at luncheon. Sir William is about to start for India, to preside at the National Congress, in succession to Mr. Yule himself. Mr. Yule is an admirable example of the best type of British merchants in India—the kind of man who, as Sir William Hunter remarked, was once

regarded as a kind of pariah by the official class—clear-headed, moderate, but with genuine progressive instincts. He defined very clearly the aims of the Congress to be the partial representation of native opinion at the Legislative Councils.

Mr. Yule was surrounded by a very typical selection of the best specimens of the Anglo-Indian officials. On his right was Sir William—gaunt, kindly, tall, with a strong Scottish face. Next to him was Sir George Birdwood—a famous *Times* letter-writer, sallow, with a slightly Eastern cast of face, and on Mr. Yule's left was Sir William Hunter, Scottish again, and of the best type. His speech was admirable in tone and temper, as indeed were all the addresses. Sir William Wedderburn, in particular, let in a flash of light on the situation when he pointed out that a single elector in Great Britain had more power than all the two hundred millions of India put together, and that the true interests of India—peace, economy, and reform—were all opposed to the desires of the civil and military *clique* who govern India. But the pith of the whole controversy was that a measure of popular representation was the essential point of our own rule and traditions, and that was very ably enforced. Mr. Caine brought this out in a very striking way when he showed that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji could sit for Parliament in this country—'I shall be very glad to see him there,' said Mr. Caine in a wily aside, which was much cheered—but was politically powerless in his own. Finally a genial grey, beard of a Tory, Mr. Pincott, promised his strong support for the Congress as a vigorous upholder of 'King, Lords, and Commons.'

Sir Wilfrid Lawson made a neat little speech, and so did that most perfect of after-dinner speakers, Mr. Justin McCarthy. Sir John Phear, who, like Sir William Hunter and Sir William Wedderburn, has stood for Liberal officialdom in India, was also present. Dr. Clifford represented Liberal Nonconformity; Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Buchanan, and others the House of Commons; Mr. Frederic Harrison literature and Positivism; Mr. P. W. Clayden Liberal journalism; Mr. Holyoake, still a cheery veteran, the elder Radicalism. Altogether, a very representative and cordial gathering, made the pleasanter by the kindly wisdom and unaffected courtesy of the host.

London Correspondence, 'Manchester Guardian,' Dec. 7.

Sir W. Wedderburn left Charing Cross this evening for Bombay to assume the presidency of the Indian National Congress, a post which has been undertaken successively by a Hindoo, a Parsee, a Mahometan, a British merchant, and lastly, in the person of the President-elect, by a representative of the official class. Additional interest is lent to proceedings this year by the presence of Mr. Bradlaugh, which, in the House

of Commons, at least, is a quantity not to be ignored. Immediately prior to his departure Sir W. Wedderburn was entertained at a luncheon at the National Liberal Club by the President of last year's Congress, Mr. George Yule, who was supported by many well-known friends of Indian reform, among them Sir W. Hunter, Sir John Phear, Sir G. Birdwood, Mr. Caine, M.P., Dr. Clark, M.P., Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P., Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Mr. G. Jacob Holyoake. The speeches were not of a set character, and the spirit of this is perhaps best illustrated by the remark of Mr. Caine that while in India last year he addressed nearly fifty meetings in different centres of population, the audiences at which, ranging between 600 and 4,000, knew English as well as himself, yet all of them put together had not as much direct power in the management of Indian affairs as one British elector. It was insisted that the present movement is the inevitable outcome of the advantages, educational and otherwise, that British rule has placed within the reach of the people of India, and the moderate demand now put forward in their behalf was that they should elect one-half of the members of the Legislative Councils. Sir W. Hunter congratulated the meeting on the fact that one of the best representatives of the British mercantile class had put himself at the head of the movement, and every confidence was expressed that the demands of the natives are now, or shortly will be, in the stage either of partial concession or total adoption. The company separated with many hearty adieux to Sir W. Wedderburn.

Editorial Note, 'Citizen' (Gloucester), Dec. 7.

Sir William Wedderburn started last night by overland route to India as the President-elect of the session of the Indian National Congress, which will open at Bombay on the 26th inst. Sir William expects to be back in England by the 20th of January. On the invitation of Mr. George Yule, who so ably presided over last year's Congress at Allahabad, a party of gentlemen met Sir William Wedderburn at luncheon at the National Liberal Club yesterday afternoon to give him a cordial 'send off,' and occasion was taken to demonstrate that the native Indian movement, so far from being 'dangerous and seditious,' as in ignorance it has been stigmatised, is really a constitutional one, having for its object not decomposition but consolidation. The chief demand is that educated and loyal native Indians shall have places as elected representatives of their countrymen on the Legislative Councils of India, so that the official classes may have fuller knowledge of the needs and desires of the people, whereas at present the two hundred millions of Indians have not so much control over Indian affairs as one British elector. It was shown how pernicious is the uncontrolled

influence of officialism ; and how necessary it is to the stability of our Empire that moderate concessions should be made. This is no mere question of party politics, for Sir John Gorst declared in the last Session of Parliament that only a pressure of other affairs had prevented the present Government from dealing sympathetically with the aspirations of the Indian National Party. At yesterday's meeting there was a concurrent sentiment between Conservative, Dissident Liberal, and Home Rule speakers ; and it was the Liberal Unionist, Mr. Caine, who declared that the danger would lie not in conceding but in refusing the temperate demands of the reformers. The suggestion to form a non-political Indian Party was cordially welcomed.

Editorial Note, 'Observer,' Dec. 8.

What is styled 'an interesting and a remarkable event' took place on Friday at the National Liberal Club. The event was a farewell luncheon to Sir William Wedderburn, who is on the point of sailing for Bombay to preside over the Indian National Congress. The speeches on the occasion were of the usual character, betraying an eager desire to try an experiment on the people of India. With as light a heart as that of the French statesman who precipitated the war between France and Germany, these political *doctrinaires* are anxious to introduce representative institutions into India, to endow a people who have never shown the least capacity for self-government with powers which a highly-educated community cannot always be trusted to exercise wisely, and to reverse the policy under which the Indian Empire has enjoyed a peace and a prosperity previously unknown. The Congress is to be judged by its aims and its results. Its object is to enable the voice of the people to be heard in the councils of the Empire ; yet the Moham-medans refuse to have anything to do with it, and of Hindu thought and aspiration it can hardly pretend to be representative. It has not attempted to touch such questions as child marriage and the tyranny of the usurer and the zemindar, nor has it endeavoured to promote those social reforms which are so urgently needed if the Hindus are to be raised to a position of self-respect. Its chief results have been to advertise a clique of baboos, office-seekers and ambitious lawyers, to promote discontent, and to render the task of governing India more difficult than ever. A congress of dreamers and schemers can only be regarded with the utmost distrust by all who have the happiness and prosperity of the peoples of India warmly at heart.

The following letter was addressed to the Editor of the *Observer*, but that gentleman has not seen fit to publish it :—

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: ITS REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER.

To the Editor of the OBSERVER.

SIR,—In a note relating to the luncheon given to Sir Wm. Wedderburn, prior to his going to Bombay to preside over the Indian National Congress, to be held there at the end of this month, you say, of that movement: 'The Congress is to be judged by its aims and its results. Its object is to enable the voice of the people to be heard in the Councils of the Empire; yet the Mahommedans refuse to have anything to do with it, and of Hindu thought and aspiration it can hardly pretend to be representative.'

Will you permit me to say that, if you had been in possession of the facts connected with the last Congress, held at Allahabad, you could not, justifiably, have penned that sentence? There were 1,248 delegates, all elected at open public meetings duly advertised. Of that number the Mahommedans, according to population, were entitled to 286 representatives; as a matter of fact 222 Moslems were present. Further, it may be stated, that at the Madras Session, one of the leading Mahommedans in the Bombay Presidency was President. The Hindus, whom you speak of as 'a clique of baboos, office-seekers, and ambitious lawyers,' were entitled to 937 representatives. They had 964. You will see, therefore, that the representation, both of Mahommedans and Hindus, approximated very nearly to the numbers which, under a law regulating representation according to population, would have been fixed.

Then, as to the Congress not being representative of the various communities of India, I enclose for your information (I am afraid pressure upon your space will not permit of your quoting it) an analysis of the race and religion, and social, official, and professional position of the delegates; from this you will perceive that from Rajah to Ryot (from Prince to Peasant) there is not a class of the Indian community which was not represented at Allahabad. The information which I have received from India during the past few days leads me to believe that a like representative character will mark the forthcoming Congress at Bombay.

I trust, in fairness to a movement which is constitutional, which is patriotic, and which is actuated only by the best of desires for the consolidation of the connection between England and India and for ensuring the prosperity of both countries, you will permit this explanation to appear in your columns.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

WM. DIGBY, Secretary.

ENGLISH COMMITTEE, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, London.
December 12, 1889

London Correspondent, 'Dundee Advertiser,' Dec. 7.

This afternoon Mr. George Yule, the President of the last National Congress in India, entertained a number of gentlemen at luncheon at the National Liberal Club to meet Sir William Wedderburn, who left later in the evening to assume the Presidency of the next Congress. The gathering was a very representative one. It included old Indians like Sir G. Birdwood and Sir W. Hunter; and members of Parliament like Sir W. Lawson, Mr. Caine, Dr. Clark, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Captain Verney, etc. Literature was represented by Mr. F. Harrison, journalism by Mr. Clayden, and law by Mr. Justice Birdwood. Letters of apology were read from the Marquis of Ripon, Sir George Trevelyan, M.P., Mr. John Leng, M.P., and others. Mr. Yule, who, I may mention, is a native of Stonehaven, in proposing the toast of the evening, gave an interesting sketch of the rise of the National movement in India. No one who heard his speech to-night could be surprised at the position he has won in India. His address was marked by width and moderation of view, by felicitous and vigorous expression, and by easy self-possession. He pointed out that the movement was not confined to class or creed. The first President of the Indian Congress had been a Hindu, the second a Parsee, the third a Mahomedan, the fourth an English merchant, and the fifth would be an Indian civil servant. The objects of the Congress were limited. All that it had demanded was that half of the Legislative Councils should be elective, and that these bodies should have the right of criticising the Budget and putting questions to the Government. If the movement were met in a reasonable spirit and moderate concessions made, it would greatly strengthen the Indian Empire. Sir W. Wedderburn, in reply, claimed that the National movement represented the suffering millions of India. Its principles were peace, economy, and reform. It was, he admitted, distasteful to the civil and military clique which reigned at Simla, but it represented the ideas and aspirations of the educated natives, who in their turn gave voice to the dumb millions of the people. Sir W. Hunter spoke also, and pronounced strongly in favour of the justice of the National movement. He himself at present stood outside of political parties, but it was impossible that the British Government could diffuse education among the people of India and at the same time deny them political privileges. Sir W. Lawson, Mr. Caine, and other gentlemen also spoke in sympathy with the aims of the Indian National movement. One of the results, or at least one of the sequences, of the gathering on Indian affairs at the National Liberal Club to-day will be the formation of an Indian party in Parliament. There are now a large number of members of Parliament who take a keen interest in Indian affairs, and their organisation into a political party will increase their power and influence. Their main object will be

to secure the fuller discussion of Indian questions and to compel the Government to make concessions to Indian opinion. It will be recruited from all parties in the House, and it is hoped that at least half-a-dozen Conservatives will join the new party. Whether it will choose a leader I do not know, but should it decide to take that course Mr. Bradlaugh will be offered the position.

London Correspondent, 'Aberdeen Free Press,' Dec. 7.

Mr. George Yule, a native of Stonehaven, who is now a great Indian merchant, gave a luncheon at the National Liberal Club this afternoon in honour of Sir William Wedderburn. The banquet was given in connection with the Indian National Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, who has left to-night for Bombay, being the President-elect of the approaching Session, and Mr. Yule being President of last year's Congress. About sixty gentlemen were present, including Unionists like Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., as well as Gladstonians like Mr. T. R. Buchanan, M.P., and Dr. Clark, M.P. The host was princely in his hospitality, the best champagne and the finest cigars being in profusion. In giving the principal toast of the occasion, Mr. Yule made a cautious and much-approved speech in favour of moderate reforms in India. He is an effective speaker, and it has been suggested to him, I believe, that he ought to enter Parliament. It is all very well for Mr. Bradlaugh to make a sympathetic speech in the House of Commons, but the reformers who are practically familiar with India, realise that they ought to have some one in the House possessing knowledge sufficient to cope with that, for instance, of Sir Richard Temple. The speech of Sir William Wedderburn, who is a retired Civil servant, was more avowedly that of an agitator than the host's, but perhaps the best speech of the occasion was given by Sir W. W. Hunter in proposing the health of Mr. Yule.

London Correspondent, 'Yorkshire Post,' Dec. 7.

A desperate attempt was made on Friday by a knot of English Radicals to give a semblance of vitality to that moribund association of Indian Parnellites known as the 'National Congress'. The occasion was a 'send off' banquet to Sir William Wedderburn, the President of this year's gathering, and the scene of the farce was laid appropriately enough at the National Liberal Club. Very characteristic of the affair was the assembly which collected in the dining-room of this home of English separatists. Sir William Wedderburn, the hero of the hour, is a weak-minded sentimentalist, who filled at one time a prominent post in the Bombay Civil Service, and who out-Heroded Herod by his effusive advocacy of the worst features of Lord Ripon's inglorious administration. Sir John Phear,

appropriately known in India as 'Baboo' Phear, is another of the same kidney. He was at one time a judge in Calcutta, and made an unenviable reputation there by his extreme partiality to the natives and his corresponding unfairness to his own countrymen. Sir William Hunter, again, is an Anglo-Indian official, who has made himself notorious by truckling to the native agitator, but there is less excuse for him than for the others, as it was only during Lord Ripon's régime that he 'found salvation'. Before that time the natives had no more unsparing critic than he, and there was hardly an official who was so cordially hated by the Baboo class. Supporting this trio was Sir George Birdwood, a charming writer on Indian art subjects, but whose political views are warped by an inordinate belief in the capabilities of the Indian races; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Parsee gentleman who propagates the view that India is in a bankrupt condition, and that she is being bled to death by British greed; Mr. George Yule, the chairman of last year's Congress; Mr. William Digby, the English agent of the Indian patriots; and a score or so of English Radicals. Needless to relate, with a company thus composed, the speeches assumed a very patriotic tone—that is, from the Baboo point of view. The Ministers of the present Government of India were painted in their blackest colours, and, as a set-off, the virtues of the native agitator were presented in the most glowing tints. Of course the moral drawn was that India must be saved from the deplorable consequences of British rule by the aid of the 'National Congress'. But when all was said and done the fact remained that this same 'National Congress' was so 'national' as to decline to pay the few paltry pounds which the confiding Mr. Hume advanced to bolster up the agitation, believing in the innocence of his heart in the promises of repayment which the agitators gave. A fact of this kind is worth scores of speeches protesting belief in the capacity of the natives generally for self-government, and in the peculiar ability of the elect of the 'National Congress'.

'Leeds Mercury,' Dec. 7.

A very interesting gathering took place yesterday afternoon (writes our London Correspondent) at the National Liberal Club. Mr. George Yule, an old Calcutta merchant of high standing, and the President last year of the National Congress, invited a large company to meet Sir William Wedderburn, who left for India in the evening in order to take the Presidency of the National Congress in January. The company was a representative one, including old Anglo-Indians like Sir George Birdwood, Sir W. Hunter, and Sir John Phear; Members of Parliament like Sir W. Lawson, Mr. Caine, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Picton, and Captain Verney; and journalists like Mr. Clayden, &c. Mr. Yule, in proposing the health of the

guest of the day, gave a sketch of the progress of the National movement in India. He pointed out that it was of no class and no religion. The President of the first Congress had been a Hindoo, of the second a Parsee, of the third a Mahometan, of the fourth an English merchant, and the President of the fifth was to be an Indian Civil servant. He spoke of the extreme moderation of the demands of the Congress. All that it had asked was that one-half of the Legislative Councils should be elected so that the people of India should have some voice in their own government. He predicted that if the National movement was met in the proper spirit, and reasonable concessions made to Indian opinion, it would greatly strengthen the British Empire. Sir W. Wedderburn, in replying to the toast, declared that the principles of the National movement were peace, economy, and reform. He admitted that the movement was distasteful to the civil and military clique which reigned at Simla, but it represented the ideas of intelligent and educated Indians. Sir W. Hunter also spoke in a most sympathetic spirit of the movement. He stood himself aside from all party movements; but the English Government, having created a large and growing educated class in India, it was impossible to ignore their views and opinions. The strength of the Empire would be consolidated by admitting the natives to a share in the government of the country. Mr. Caine, Sir W. Lawson, and others made brief speeches expressive of their sympathy with the national movement.

Our London Correspondent writes: Following on the meeting in honour of Sir W. Wedderburn at the National Liberal Club, steps will be at once taken to form an Indian party in the House of Commons. The main object of the party will be to secure the adequate discussion of Indian questions, and to obtain from the Government concessions to Indian opinion. The party will not be confined to one side of the House, and it is expected that at least half a dozen Conservative members will join it. Whether it will appoint a formal leader has not yet been decided; but if that course is taken, the position will probably be offered to Mr. Bradlaugh.

Article, 'Social Life in India,' 'Evening News and Post,' Dec. 10.

The *Contemporary Review* for the current month concludes Sir William Hunter's most interesting article on one particular phase of social life in Bengal. We called attention last month to the subject, as indicating an attempt to bring to the knowledge of the people of this country some of the incidents which bind together certain sections of the European and native communities. Sir William Hunter has displayed a profound acquaintance with the workings of the native mind and of the springs which influence those of our own countrymen who devote their entire lives to reclaiming, as they consider it, the Eastern races from

the bondage of ages. . . . It is stories such as these which will foster the intimate acquaintance between the two races, now, as it has been for a century, little more than superficial. There is great danger lest political fanatics should divert the public mind into a wrong channel on this question. When we read that Sir William Wedderburn is leaving England to urge the fanatical native Congress to adopt measures for which the native character and habit of thought are totally unfitted, and which, if pushed, must lead to reprisals which it is not pleasant to think of, we feel the more grateful to Sir William Hunter for endeavouring, by these masterly sketches of character, to lead the English current of thought into a purer and healthier course.

[As will be seen by a reference to pp. 18-20 *ante*, the Congress movement has no heartier supporter than Sir W. W. Hunter.]

The 'Political World,' Dec. 14.

There was an exceedingly pleasant gathering of friends of India at the National Liberal Club on Friday last. The object of the gathering was to wish good-speed, on his journey to India, to Sir William Wedderburn, the President-elect of the Indian National Congress. Mr. George Yule, who presided last year at the Congress held at Allahabad, and whose remarkable speech was read with so much approval in England, was the host on Friday, and a more winning host could not have been desired. In response to his invitation, some very distinguished men attended. In Indian affairs Sir William Hunter, Sir John Phear, and Sir George Birdwood have each made a high and enduring reputation. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, one of the past presidents of the Congress, was also there. The House of Commons was represented by no less than thirteen members. Among them were Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Justin McCarthy. The victors at Peterborough and North Bucks, Mr. Morton and Captain Verney, were there. Mr. Buchanan, who gallantly regained his seat at Edinburgh, Mr. Picton, Mr. Pickersgill, and Dr. Clark gathered round the genial host. Mr. W. S. Caine was there, too, and made a capital speech. Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. St. George Lane Fox, Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., and a number of other gentlemen concerned that India should have fair treatment, and the people of India real representation, made up Mr. Yule's luncheon party.

The speaking was excellent. The host and his principal guest made it clear that the aims of the Indian Congress were calculated rather to increase than to diminish the strength of British rule. What was sought was representation in the Legislative Councils. At present, as it was pointed out, there was practically no representation. For instead of being elected, the native members of the Council were selected, and not by the people, but by the Government. As put by Sir William

Wedderburn, peace, retrenchment and reform were needed in India. For the people were unfairly taxed, and an extravagant system of Government was maintained, of advantage neither to the rulers nor the ruled. India was ruled without the ascertained consent of the people, and what the Indian reformers desired was that India be ruled with the consent and support of the whole body of the people. Dr. Clark pointed out the need of an Indian party in the House of Commons, and if all the members present at the luncheon, and all those present who may be in Parliament, joined the party, the voice of India would no longer be weak in the House. It may be suggested that Mr. George Yule would make an admirable member of Parliament to whom Indian interests might usefully be entrusted. He knows India intimately, he knows what is needed to make the country prosperous and the people contented, and any constituency might well be proud of him as their member. Let us hope that this may not be overlooked in the formation of the Indian party.

'Newcastle Weekly Chronicle,' Dec. 14.

The day after Christmas will have special interest in India, for on that date will be opened in Bombay the session of the Indian National Congress. At first regarded with distrust, this annual assembly is now looked upon as a safe and convenient method of ventilating grievances existing amongst the two hundred millions of our subjects in India, and also as a means of creating a greater interest in the welfare of our vast dependency. Supporting this view, we may instance the complimentary dinner given in London a week ago to Sir William Wedderburn, the President-Elect of the Congress. Men of all parties were present, and hearty sympathy was expressed in the movement which had for its aim the proper understanding of the wants of India. A great gulf exists there between official and social life, and it will be a happy day for the people if the National Congress succeeds in effecting an amicable arrangement by which their interests will be more considered than they are to-day. It is certainly an anomaly that so many millions of Indian citizens do not possess so much voice in the management of their own affairs as a single British elector, while the Indian Budget is slurred over in the House of Commons as if it were a thing of less moment than a police summons in Ireland.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LAND IMPROVEMENT LOANS ACT, 1883.

X9(1): 6: (22)

"I think it must be admitted that the taxation of wells not constructed by the State is a deviation from the broad principles of the Bombay Survey."—*Sir Barrow Ellis.*

"We draw all we can out of Gujarat, do not expend one shilling in works of irrigation, and tax wells besides. I cannot think that is the way to be fore-armed for the evil hour, which may come when we least expect it."—*Major C. J. Prescott, late Superintendent, Revenue Survey, Gujarat.*

"The amount of annual assessment to be immediately sacrificed is small compared with the remainder of the assessment."—*Mr. W. G. Pedder.*

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PRICE EIGHT ANNAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

I WILL add one word to what has been stated at length in the following pages, and that is, that the survey orders at present in force in respect of the revision of assessment on lands irrigated from wells are :—(1) That in the case of old wells constructed before the first settlement, all special water assessment should be abandoned, and the maximum *jerayet* rate alone levied ; and (2) that in the case of new wells constructed subsequent to the new settlement, the ordinary dry crop rate should be imposed without any addition whatever on account of the new wells.* The fullest publicity has been given to the wishes of Government in this respect by means of instructions and circular orders from district Collectors to Mamlatdars, from Mamlatdars to the village Talaties or accountants, and the Talaties have been called upon to convey assurances to the great body of the peasantry in this Presidency that no increase of assessment will result on the revision of the rates in consequence of the construction of wells. A further step, taken last year in respect of the definition of 'built wells,' was also in the direction of a more liberal treatment of those who introduced improvements in the shape of wells in Gujarat. The survey orders did not extend exemption from the benefits claimable by law on account of 'improvements' to (1) masonry wells, unless a masonry trough and top (*Thala Mathala*), were added to them, and to (2) wells constructed of tiles and mud (instead of bricks and mortar), usually known as '*Khundia*' wells. Both these descriptions of wells were classed under 'kachá' wells, and were charged from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 a year for each 'Kos' or 'water-bag' employed. The result was that just at a time when the ryots' means for constructing the trough and top of a well were exhausted, and when he needed some help in the form of an untaxed return on his investment, down came the Survey Officer to impose a tax on quite an arbitrary interpretation of an 'improvement.' To Mr. Sheppard, the present Commissioner, N. D., belongs the credit of ruling that all 'built' wells of every description (and whether provided with 'top or trough or 'not) shall be treated

* *Vide Nairne's Handbook, page 158, Second Edition,*

as 'pucka' wells and as such shall be exempt from taxation. Now any such notion as that the wells so constructed on the plighted faith of Government would be liable to be taxed hereafter under section 107, proviso (b), of the Land Revenue Code would only tend to shake the confidence of the ryots, and discourage future investments of capital in them. So far no opportunity has been presented to owners of new wells to test the value of Government assurances already given, since the thirty years' leases in this Presidency have not expired. But the period of expiry is fast approaching. Next year will probably witness the commencement of revision operations in Dholka—the first of the Gujarat settlements made under the late Sir George Wingate's system. The mischief, therefore, resulting from the justification which the doctrine of the assessability of improvements will afford to settling officers in their assessment operations in districts in which cultivation has reached the extreme limit of 95 per cent., may be easily conceived. Hence the importance of determining the right policy cannot be overrated. I earnestly hope that the warning note sounded in the following pages will not go for nothing, but that the liberal policy announced by the authors of the Land Improvement Loans Act, and the encouragement therein held out to improvers of land through the aid of State loans, will be extended equally to owners of wells sunk by the help of private capital, and that the weighty considerations which have influenced the Government of India in carrying out this measure will be carefully borne in mind when dealing with the well-assessment policy during the forthcoming revision operations in the Bombay Presidency, if that policy is to 'inaugurate a new era of improvements, or give an irresistible impulse to the building of wells.'*

Since the accompanying paper was written, certain articles on this very subject have appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* newspaper. And they seem to have led to the publication of Resolutions of the Bombay Government on non-assessment of improvements in this Presidency in the case of wells dug by the ryots at their own cost. I have the kind permission of the Editor of the

* Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Quinton in the Debate on the Bill.

Bombay Gazette to reproduce the articles and republish the Government Resolutions in an Appendix to this Paper. These Resolutions of the Bombay Government throw additional light on the question and emphasize the view taken here of the effect of section 107, proviso (b) of the Land Revenue Code. The Resolution, dated the 10th November, 1881, for instance, declares that Government are now prepared to give a 'general' assurance that clause (b) will not be applied to wells dug from private capital. In the same breath, however, it is asserted in the Resolution that "Government are competent at any time to declare how they interpret that clause, and to notify that it will not be held to apply to any particular class of improvements." Is it to be supposed, then, that Government will blow hot and cold according to the varying circumstances of the hour under the temptingly elastic and vague wording of clause (b) in deciding what improvement shall, and what improvement shall not, really be said to have consisted of having utilized a natural advantage? The Famine Commission thought that such departmental orders and rules, good as they were, were liable to retraction and change of view, and suggested that the course best calculated to remove all doubts and anxiety of the ryots in the matter was to come to a 'precise and permanent understanding' and ratify that understanding by law. The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Peile, who was a Member of the Famine Commission, would no doubt have set the Commission right if he had thought that the suggestion of the Commission was based on an incorrect view of clause (b). Again, it is to be remembered that when so able a revenue officer as the Hon'ble Mr. Hope had not in mind these Resolutions of the Bombay Government (he certainly made no allusion to them in his speech in the debate at Simla) in the discussion on the subject, how is a poor villager in a remote district to know what the departmental orders of the Government for the time being are? The villager's best referee and adviser is generally the local pleader and his advice, founded chiefly on clause (b) of section 106 of the Land Revenue Code, would probably be that it was at least doubtful whether his client will be exempted from taxation or not on account of the new well proposed to be sunk by him. To

set this doubt at rest all that Government need do is to introduce a short amendment of the Land Revenue Code, recasting clause (b) and embodying the very concession which Government are now prepared to make in a departmental Resolution. The effect of this procedure will be to give a fresh impetus to the sinking of new wells in the Presidency. That no system of irrigation is so well adapted as well-irrigation to the purposes and slender means of the peasantry in this country is shown by the remarkable testimony borne to it by so keen and competent an observer as Sir James Caird in his recent work on India. "Near Nariad," says Sir James, "there is very fine cultivation from wells, tobacco and garden crops beautifully farmed, and every sign of prosperity among the people. Their holdings are separated by low hedges; every one has his well, and, where this is attainable and the water good, I believe no other irrigation in India can compare with it. Each man can use it when and how he pleases, and as he must keep bullocks for the labour of his land, and he and his family do most of the work, they hardly feel the cost of lifting the water. Their villages are generally tile-roofed, the people are better clad, and their bullocks are stronger and bigger than I have yet seen. All this is the result of 'well' irrigation on a better soil, with a climate seldom so extreme in drought as to cause severe scarcity, never famine."* Curiously enough, it was in respect of the Nariad settlement that thirteen years ago I discussed the policy of well-assessment in my "Notes on Kaira." And it is no small satisfaction to me to see that official opinion is veering in the right direction. I have little doubt that a great deal will have been effected in the direction of promoting well-irrigation in this Presidency if the change in the law now so anxiously desired is carried out.

JAVERILÁL UMIÁSHANKAR YÁJNIK.

105, Dady Sett's Agiary Lane,

Bombay, 3rd January, 1884.

* INDIA: *The Land and the People*. By Sir James Caird, K.C.B., F.R.S., pp. 160-170.

LAND IMPROVEMENT LOANS ACT.

The debate which took place at Simla, on the 10th October 1883, relating to the Land Improvement Loans Bill, was one of unusual interest and importance. Very interesting information was given regarding the present position of the Agricultural Banks scheme, which, it was stated, had formed the subject of considerable correspondence with the Bombay Government. Sir Steuart Bayley mentioned that the subject had been thrashed out, and that most of the details were about to be submitted to the Secretary of State. Pending an expression of his opinion upon the scheme no further action will be at present taken. Meanwhile, the Select Committee on the Land Improvement Loans Bill resolved to omit from that Bill all mention of Agricultural Banks which require, it is stated, a separate Act to itself on account of the great importance and the difficulty of the various questions involved. The measure, therefore, finally introduced by the Honorable Mr. Quinton, was one of a simpler character than was originally intended, and is meant merely to consolidate and amend the law relating to loans of money advanced by the Government for agricultural improvements.

The necessity for amending the existing Law which is contained in Acts XXVI. of 1871 and XXI. of 1876 was, as Mr. Quinton said, forcibly pointed out by the Famine Commission, which drew attention to the present defects in the system, and insisted on the great importance of the whole subject as affecting the agriculture of the country. Amongst the causes alleged for the failure of the previous Acts a prominent cause is stated by the Famine Commissioners to be the uncertainty of the landowners whether agricul-

tural improvements effected by means of Government loans are or are not to form the ground for increased assessments at the expiration of the present periods of settlement. The Government of India clearly recognised the fact that a doubt of this kind strikes at the very root of the policy which they are so anxious to encourage. That there is ample ground for the doubt is clearly shown by the fact that the practice relating to the assessment of improvements differs widely in different parts of India, and has in no place except the Bombay Presidency been placed on a precise and permanent understanding by means of a formal legislative enactment. The Supreme Legislature have, in the present Act, clearly recognised that all such doubts must be finally removed before the Act will be extensively used for purposes of agricultural improvement. If agricultural improvements are to form the ground of additional taxation, it is perfectly certain that such improvements will never be very extensively made, and will never, in fact, be made at all except under the pressure of necessity. Now it is quite clear that the question raised by the Famine Commissioners goes very far beyond the immediate question which was discussed by the Legislative Council, *viz.*, how best to encourage the agricultural classes to make use of Government loans for the purpose of agricultural improvements. The question raised goes in fact to the very root of the whole land policy of Government; for if the taxation of improvements or the fear of such taxation has already operated to prevent application to Government for loans it is certain that enormous injury has already been inflicted on the agriculture of the country. If a cultivator has been deterred from applying to Government for a loan it is equally certain that he has been deterred from applying to his ordinary money-lender for the purpose. In other words, if the facts stated by the Famine

Commission be correct, and I see no reason to doubt them, it is certain that a check of the most serious character has already been given throughout the country to agricultural improvements of all kinds. That any such check should have been given seems to me to be deplorable, bearing in mind the responsibilities of the State as supreme landlord and the vital importance of doing everything in its power to promote confidence and to encourage improvements. That such a state of things should call for the prompt interference of the Legislature must be patent to any one who reflects on the present condition of Indian agriculture as portrayed by the Famine Commission, and, more especially, by Sir James Caird, in his separate report to the Secretary of State, dated 31st October 1879, and headed "Condition of India." The present Land Improvement Loans Bill marks, then, the first serious attempt of the Supreme Government to grapple with a problem of a formidable character, *viz.*, how to encourage effectually agricultural improvements in India without parting with the State right to share sooner or later in the value of such improvements. A more difficult and more embarrassing problem no Government ever had to solve, and it is perfectly clear from the tenor of the whole debate that the subject is one on which official opinion is very sharply divided. Nothing can be easier than to assert on behalf of the State the general principle of the assessability of improvements and to frame elaborate provisions to secure the interests of the State. But it must be remembered that there are two parties to every bargain, and unless the cultivator can be induced to accept the terms offered the Government will be left practically in the same position as it is at present, *viz.*, that few improvements will be made. Is it likely, I ask, that any intelligent cultivators will apply for Government loans when they are told that some of the highest officials in the

land assert, in the most explicit way, that all improvements are assessable in accordance both with native practice and sound principles. It is notorious that the views expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Hope are in entire accordance with the practice that has been followed in all parts of this Presidency. Both in the Deccan and Gujarat agricultural improvements have been systematically assessed, and it is now perfectly well known throughout the length and breadth of the land that the Government do not consider themselves to be precluded from taking full advantage of all improvements which have been effected during the currency of the existing settlements. Whether the policy of the local Government is good or bad we need not for the present consider, but the policy and practice of the Government being what it is, how, I ask, can any reasonable person imagine that much private capital will be invested in improvements under the provisions of the new Act? It is notorious, in all parts of the Presidency, that agricultural improvement in Government villages is practically at a standstill, except in cases where pressure of population and sheer necessity has compelled the landholder sorrowfully and grudgingly to spend his own money, well knowing that his improvements will only result in a heavier burden being imposed on him at the next period of settlement.

The practice followed in this Presidency appears to correspond very closely with the practice which is generally pursued elsewhere in India. There appears to be a consensus of agreement that the cultivators ought to be encouraged to make improvements, and there is also a tolerable consensus that the State landlord ought to share sooner or later in the benefit of all such improvements. Regarding the best means of encouraging improvements and the most convenient mode of protecting the State rights there is apparently much difference of opinion in the

Supreme Council. Mr. Crosthwaite proposed,—and the suggestion is one of great value— that all improvements made during the currency of existing settlements should be registered. “ The value of the improvements was to be settled by a Committee of arbitrators and registered together with the improvement and the area covered by it. Then he divided his improvements into two classes, one of which might be specified as quasi-permanent and costly, the other more temporary and less costly improvements, and partaking of the nature of reclamation. The first class Mr. Crosthwaite proposed to exempt altogether. The second class he proposed to exempt absolutely for five years and thereafter to let him recoup his interest by deducting $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on cost of improvement from the full assessment of the land.” Mr. Crosthwaite thought that it would be possible to legislate on these lines; but when his proposal came to be discussed it was found that his proposals clashed seriously with the opposing official view that the Government is a joint proprietor with the landholder, and is, by ancient law and custom of India, entitled to a share in the produce of every bigah of land.” Sir Steuart Bayley explained very clearly what he called the rival theories on the subject of tenants’ improvements in India. The first main difficulty, he said, on the subject of Mr. Crosthwaite’s proposals was, perhaps, one of theory; “ it was, in fact, to reconcile two conflicting theories—what I may call the English theory and the Indian theory. The English theory has regard to the relation between lessor and lessee, and from this point of view the English theory naturally urges that any increase in the letting value of the land caused by the lessee should be his and benefit him, and that he should get this benefit in the shape either of an increased length of lease on the old terms, or compensation for the unexhausted portion of his improve-

"ments. The Indian theory, if I may say so, disregards
 " altogether the relation between lessor and lessee and looks
 " upon Government as a joint proprietor with the landholder,
 " and that Government, as joint proprietor, is, by the
 " ancient law and custom of India, entitled to a share in the
 " produce of every bigah of land. The logical deduction
 " from the English point of view would be that the land-
 " holder should have, as a permanency, the full benefit of
 " any increased value caused by his improvement. Even
 " here I think myself that the fact of the landholder in
 " India having a permanent right of occupancy in his land
 " really divides off his position in a very marked way from
 " that of the leaseholder in England whose position is a
 " temporary one. The natural outcome of the Indian point
 " of view is that when the Government, as the sleeping share-
 " holder in the land, has provided that the improver should
 " receive full interest for his money spent on improvement,
 " and that he has been recouped for his original outlay,
 " thereafter the Government should retain its right to a
 " share in the improved produce of the soil."

Sir Steuart Bayley went on to say that these two theories
 were no doubt antagonistic, but he thought that it might
 have been possible to come to a reasonable compromise
 between them. He concurred with Mr. Crosthwaite that
 public policy required that the Government should do all
 in its power to encourage permanent improvements of a
 valuable kind rather than look to future increase of revenue.
 But they were then met by the further difficulty that it
 was difficult to distinguish satisfactorily the two classes of
 improvements which Mr. Crosthwaite desired to distinguish.
 Finally the idea of legislating upon Mr. Crosthwaite's pro-
 posals was abandoned, because, it was seen to be inextric-
 ably mixed up with the very much larger question with
 regard to the whole principle of resettlement in Northern

India which was at that time under reference to the Secretary of State. In referring that question to the Secretary of State, we are told that the Government of India expressed in very general and broad terms its desire that improvements effected by landholders should hereafter be exempted from assessment, and in reply the Secretary of State in equally general and broad terms expressed his thorough approval of the principle. The general question, including the special point of assessing improvements, is now, we are told, under the consideration of the local Governments. It is clear from the very interesting speech of Sir Stuart Bayley that the extreme importance of the matter at issue is now fully apprehended by the Supreme Government; and the question of assessing improvements being now under consideration by the Secretary of State and all the local Governments, no time can be more opportune for a reconsideration of the whole subject.

Pace the Honorable Mr. Hope I assert that the "Indian theory," described by the Honorable Sir Stuart Bayley, is a most mischievous and deceptive theory, and one that is opposed to all sound principles. The State landlord can of course claim in behalf of the State whatever the Supreme Government chooses; but it is the duty of that Government to consider the practical tendency and effects of these ingenious theories. I assert that the so-called Indian theory, even as a theory, is monstrous, and that its effects are simply ruinous. I ask any one having the faintest acquaintance with practical agriculture how far it is in practice possible for the State landlord to ascertain, with any reasonable certainty, whether the cultivator has received full interest for the money spent on improvement, and whether he has been fully recouped for his original outlay or not. If it be impossible, as I assert that it is, to obtain this information, then the theory is a mere theory, the truth

of which there is no means of testing; and to make such a theory the basis of State policy is, in my opinion, simply disastrous, for in practice it simply amounts to this: that whether the amount expended in improvements has been recouped or not, additional taxation is imposed. Again, the essential aim and object of expending capital in agricultural improvement is to create a fund for further improvement, but by the very terms of the theory, as described by Sir Stewart Bayley, this fund is to be swept into the coffers of the State as soon as the original outlay plus interest has been recouped. Is it, I ask, likely that any sensible person will voluntarily invest his capital on these terms? I think that Sir Stewart Bayley has performed an important public service in explaining in clear and intelligible terms what this so-called "Indian theory" really is, and now that it is expressed in all its nakedness, I trust that the matter will not be allowed to rest where it now is, and that the Supreme Government will take steps to satisfy itself as to the real working of this marvellous theory in practice. I confidently anticipate that if it will do so, some startling revelations will be made; and it is quite possible that the inquiry will lead to the growth of a more rational and healthy view on the vital subject of the State's claim to make agricultural improvements the basis of enhanced assessments, or a pretext for imposing additional taxation.

There are many indications in the debate that official opinion is by no means unanimous on the subject of this Indian theory. The rival English theory of tenants' improvement, as explained by Lord Ripon and Sir Stewart Bayley, has several very influential adherents in the Supreme Council; and it is quite clear that some compromise of the rival theories is absolutely necessary if any consistent and rational policy is to be pursued. The more liberal views expressed

by Lord Ripon, Sir Steuart Bayley and Mr. Crosthwaite, seem to be the views of the Government of India as a whole; and it is gratifying to know that the Government of India and the Secretary of State seem to be unanimous in the desire that improvements effected by landholders should hereafter be exempted from assessment. That this principle is not only thoroughly sound but one of vital importance to the agriculture of the country; I entertain no doubt whatever; and now that the question of assessing or exempting from assessment agricultural improvements has been fairly raised, I trust that no time will be lost in coming to a definite decision on the point, and in taking effectual steps to ensure that one definite and consistent practice is observed by all the local Governments. It is one thing, be it remembered, to enunciate correct principles, and quite another to give effect to them, more especially, when the new doctrine may happen to run counter to the views and policy of a certain school of officials who are practically pledged to their own system. The Honorable Mr. Hope stated in the clearest and most explicit terms that the Bombay principle of assessing improvements was "not only in accordance with old custom in India, but is also sound in itself, and in accordance with well recognised principles of political economy." It is not at first sight easy to see what common ground can well be occupied by those who assert and those who deny the principle that agricultural improvements ought to be assessed. If the general view, stated by the Government of India and the Secretary of State that improvements should be exempted from assessment, be right, it would seem to follow irresistibly that the practice of the Bombay Government and the view expressed by the Honorable Mr. Hope is wrong. Sir Steuart Bayley read to the Legislative Council the Bombay law on the subject of assessing improvements as it now

stands in sections 106 and 107 of the Bombay Revenue Code. He did not make any comments on the practical working of the Bombay rules, as stated in the two sections quoted, and it was left for the Honorable Mr. Hope to express the opinion that the proviso contained in section 107 (b) stated very clearly and satisfactorily the true doctrine which underlay the whole subject of improvements effected by the State tenants. The proviso declares that nothing contained in section 106 shall be held to prevent a revised assessment being fixed "with reference to the value of any natural advantage when the improvement effected from private capital and resources consists only in having created the means of utilising such advantage." Proviso (c) goes on to declare that a revised assessment may be fixed with reference to any improvement which is the result of the ordinary operations of husbandry.

It would, I think, have startled the Council to have realised what is the undoubted truth, that all the ordinary agricultural improvements within the capacity of a Bombay peasant farmer are, in fact, covered by one or other of the extremely elastic provisos (b) and (c) inserted in section 107 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code. In other words so skilfully has the law been framed as to include all improvements that are ordinarily feasible with the means at command of an Indian peasant, and the fullest possible effect has now been given under legislative sanction to the principle asserted by the Honorable Mr. Hope that all agricultural improvements are by custom and sound principle assessable.

These facts show, I think, very clearly that the theory and practice of the Bombay Government is in complete accord. The theory and the rules state that all agricultural improvements are assessable, and assessed they are

accordingly. The only other point of importance that occurs to me in connection with the existing Bombay rules is this, that section 107 provisos (b) and (c) practically stultify section 106 which, I may observe, represents the former law as it stood in section XXX. of Bombay Act I. of 1865. What is the use of solemnly proclaiming that revised assessments shall not be fixed with reference to improvements made from private capital and resources when in the next breath you go on to say that improvements of a certain class, which are in practice the only improvements which a peasant farmer can make, are assessable? The concession, which is thus solemnly made with one hand, is immediately after taken away with the other; and the only result of this legal subtilty is, I fear, to create general discontent and infinite disappointment.

Now let us consider for a moment what are the commonest forms of agricultural improvement and see how an enterprising agriculturist is likely in practice to be treated under the Bombay Rules. The commonest and, in many parts of India, the most useful direction which agricultural improvement can take is the construction of wells and minor irrigation works such as dams, bunds, tanks, water lifts, &c., and the conversion of dry crop into garden land. The Famine Commissioners remarked that

“There are large portions of the country to which, from various causes, it is physically impossible that irrigation should ever be given by canals, and in these protection against drought must depend, apart from rain-fall, on tank or well irrigation. In many localities the irrigation supplied by canals requires to be supplemented at certain seasons by wells, and in some cases the character of the crop and the soil is such that wells are, on the whole, preferable as a source of water supply to canals. Many hundreds of thousands of acres in every province are now under well cultivation, and the question of how a more general construction of wells may be carried out with State-aid as a means of protecting the country from famine, and

of the degree of protection which is thus attainable, has on various occasions been a subject of discussion."

The extension of well cultivation is one of those matters of public State policy which has always attracted much attention, and is universally considered to be of first rate importance. A large portion of the Bombay Presidency is admirably adapted by physical conditions for the construction of wells, and it might reasonably be supposed that every encouragement would officially be given to this useful and substantial form of agricultural improvement. But unfortunately the ease with which this form of improvement can in many places be carried out, and the great profits which well cultivation usually brings has presented too great a temptation to the survey officers of Government, and their ingenuity has accordingly been exercised to devise a plan for intercepting some portion of the profits for the benefit of the public treasury. It was found that Sir George Wingate, the greatest settlement authority on the Bombay side, had laid down the broad position that the State as landlord had a right to claim a royalty on the water of the wells sunk into Government lands; and if the State could justly claim a royalty it was considered to be entitled to levy that royalty in the shape of increased taxation on the land watered by such wells.

Sir George Wingate's reasons for this doctrine are stated in the following terms :—

"The application of the cultivator's capital to the construction of a new well or the repair of an old one does not *create* water for irrigation but simply provides means for raising the water stored in the subsoil to the surface and applying it to the land. The well is the production of the cultivator's capital, but the water is not. The operation is exactly analogous to the opening of a new mine, until which time the subterranean mineral lies useless to man and yields nothing to the proprietor of the land in which it exists. But when once capital supplied the means of bringing the mineral to the surface in a form

suitable to man's wants, it immediately acquires value, and yields rent or royalty to the proprietor of the land from which it is extracted. Water, like minerals, is a subterranean product of great value in tropical climates, and therefore capable of legitimately yielding a rent to the lord of the soil who is the Government in the present case."

And this doctrine has been generally accepted by the Bombay Government, and has been very extensively acted upon by the officers of the Settlement Department. The doctrine in question finally received public legislative sanction in section 107 (b) of the Land Revenue Code, and, as before stated, was quoted with approval by the Honorable Mr. Hope as expressing with clearness and precision the sound view of the subject.

It is only just to the Bombay Government to point out that they have not always insisted on acting up to the full rigour of the official theory ; and there are signs that more liberal counsels have occasionally prevailed. In proof of this I would invite attention to an important Resolution passed by Government on the resettlement of the Indapur Taluka under date 27th March 1868.*

* Bombay Government Selections, New Series, No. CVII p. 202-204.

In this Resolution Sir George Wingate's royalty theory was discussed by Government in the following terms, which clearly show that, in the opinion of Government, the question at issue is not only a question of abstract right but one of public policy.

" In regard to special taxation of wells, it is said with truth that water is, like mineral wealth, fairly taxable by the landlord when used by the tenant. His Excellency in Council, however, considers that the first principle of its taxation should be that which governs our taxation of the land itself, that is, the capability of being used rather than the use itself. If water of good quality could be easily available near the surface, it is more reasonable to tax such land by a light additional rate, whether the water be used or not, than to lay an oppressively heavy tax on those who expend capital and labor

in bringing the water into use. There is, however, a point at which this principle must be modified, for when the land is such that when water is not brought to it, it will bear nothing, and when water is used it will yield a fine crop, then even a light tax in the former case is impossible. Of this class are the sandy tracts in the Konkan, which under the influence of water become cocoanut gardens. It must be held that the right of Government to levy a rate by virtue of the water below the surface is in abeyance, or dormant, till the water is produced, but it is doubted greatly, even in this extreme case whether it is politic, though it may be asserted to be just, to levy more than would be leviable from first class rice ground, which enjoys also the benefits of water, not created, it is true, by the tenant, but utilized by means of his preparation of the ground."

Notwithstanding the wise and politic decision contained in the passage above quoted a very different course has been followed in other parts of the Presidency. In Gujarat especially the taxation of wells led in 1868 to much complaint and public correspondence. The whole subject was elaborately examined in a pamphlet entitled "Notes on Kaira" published at the *Times of India* office in 1870; and it was on that occasion pointed out by the writer that Sir George Wingate's theory was itself based upon an important misconception, and that the policy of taxing wells in Gujarat was simply ruinous. That the views expressed on the subject of well taxation in Gujarat are substantially sound is, to some extent, at least attested by the fact that they are in complete accord with the general views of some of the ablest Bombay Settlement Officers. Here is what Major Prescott, Settlement Officer for Gujarat, has to say on this vitally important matter:—

"We attempt to defend the false principle of taxing capital expended in sinking wells by the argument that as the produce of garden land is greater, so the share thereof due to Government should be in the same proportion. I have never been able to understand the force of this argument, or to recognise the right which the State claims to a higher assessment on lands irrigated by wells constructed out of the hard earned savings of the cultivators; and with the liberal

provisions of section XXX. of the Survey Act patent to all, I see immense difficulty in convincing the ryots of the justness of our *present* claim on their wells. Why, sir, have we such difficulty in making the incidence of the well assessment equitable—whether we put it on the bag, the well or the soil? Simply, I submit, because we cannot make right in practice what is wrong in principle.

“ I foresee that if any great calamity should overwhelm this Province—drought or famine, for example—our mode of taxing private capital expended in sinking wells, would be condemned by all sound economists.

“ Colonel Baird Smith was of opinion (Report para. 101) that to keep an agricultural population above actual want, under all vicissitudes, one-third *at least* of the cultivated land should be provided with the means of irrigation.

“ Now what is the present position of Neriad, in this respect the most highly irrigated Taluka in this Province ?

“ Of a cultivated area of 128,219 acres, 11,930 only or a little over 9 per cent (Government and alienated inclusive) is irrigated. Less than *one-tenth* of the whole available area.

“ We draw all we can out of Gujarat, do not expend one shilling in works of irrigation, and tax wells besides. I cannot think this is the way to be fore-armed for the evil hour, which may come when we least expect it.

“ I am well aware we cannot abandon this source of revenue at one fell stroke, but it is clear we must do it 30 years hence—when, as no new wells will be taxed, we cannot, possibly, levy a Kussur any longer on the old.

“ I hope, therefore, notwithstanding the heavy profits which, I am well aware, accrue to all well-owners in Neriad and Borsad, we may be induced to look on this source of revenue as condemned to abandonment after 30 years, and prepare ourselves for it by imposing a moderate Kussur now on principle.

“ If we do not, the Kussur will abandon us, for cultivators will take care never to repair old wells, or to prevent them falling to decay, well knowing that if they sink new ones, in the place of repairing old, they will be free of taxation for all time.” (See letter from Major C. J. Prescott, Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Assessment, Gujarat, to A. Rogers, Esq., Revenue Commissioner, N. D., No. 37

of 31st January 1867, printed at pp. 192 to 198 of Bombay Government Selections, No. CXIV. new series, 1869, paras. 14 to 22.)

In other reports, printed in the same volume of Selections, it will be seen that the doubts expressed by Major C. Prescott on the policy of taxing wells in Gujarat were shared, to a great extent, by Mr. W. G. Pedder, now Revenue Secretary at the India Office, and by the then Revenue Commissioner, the present Sir Barrow Ellis, Member of the Indian Council. The latter in writing to Government, 30th March 1865, submitted to Government for consideration the propriety of abandoning in future survey settlements in Gujarat and Khandeish all assessment upon wells; and in this important letter he used the following words which have a most important bearing on the subject now under discussion :—

“ I think it must be admitted that the taxation of wells not constructed by the State is a deviation from the broad principles of the Bombay Survey. All wells built hereafter by individuals will be free from taxation : it seems hard that wells, similarly built by individuals, but before the advent of the Survey, should be placed at a disadvantage and subjected to heavier taxation for no reason save that their owners were in advance of their neighbours in employing their capital in agriculture.

“ On the other hand, it is quite consistent with the principles of the Survey that if the inherent qualities of the soil be such that water is produced by digging for it within a few feet of the surface, this capability should be taxed as well as other elements of fertility.”

Mr. Ellis' scheme was ordered to be tried experimentally, but broke down under the circumstances explained in the correspondence. The controversy finally closed by a new system of well assessment locally known as the Bagayat Kassur system, being proposed by Major Prescott, and sanctioned by Government. The effects and bearing of this system were fully examined in the pamphlet already referred to, entitled “ Notes on Kaira,” in which it was

shown conclusively that the tax was unequal, arbitrary and unfair, and would infallibly impose a bar to all future agricultural improvement in Gujarat. The paper, it may be observed, was written just at the time when the Tukavi Act of 1871 had been introduced; and the following passage taken from it appears to have a very direct and obvious bearing on the present agricultural Loans Bill and the important debate now under review.

“The system of *Tuccavi* advances has more or less been in vogue in this Presidency, but of late it has hardly been much availed of, and it is doubtful whether, with the terms proposed for the securities to be offered to Government, many cultivators will at all be induced to receive any advances. But what the Government cannot hope to carry out by such offers, it can succeed remarkably well in promoting irrigation works by abandoning the cess altogether as being iniquitous in principle and obnoxious in operation, and as acting as a positive check to agricultural improvement. The removal of this most unpopular impost will at once afford a stimulus to every cultivator in Gujarat and the Dekkan, and will do more for advancing agriculture than any other inducements which Government may hold out. This can be done without much sacrifice of revenue. At any rate any sacrifice of revenue herein involved will be more than amply compensated for by the impetus which the measure will give to garden cultivation, so sadly neglected at present in Gujarat, notwithstanding the peculiar facilities that are there for it.”

The foregoing review appears to establish very clearly 1st, that the Bombay principle of assessing improvements, whether right or wrong, has been bitterly complained of, is by no means unanimously accepted by some of the ablest officers who have served in Bombay, and is at any rate disputable. Notwithstanding these notorious facts the principle of assessing wells has now received formal legislative sanction under the ingenious technical section which declares that revised assessments may be fixed with reference to the value of a natural advantage, such, for instance, as a water-bearing stratum, when the improvement effected

from private capital and resources consists only in having created the means of utilising such advantage, *e.g.*, by the construction of wells.

Under the circumstances explained it will at once be seen that the Famine Commissioners appear to be under some misapprehension regarding the practice of Bombay with reference to the important subject of well assessment, nor is there, as supposed by the Commissioners, any rule in this Presidency "that the assessment of land irrigated from a permanent well should not be liable to enhancement on account of the well at any revision of the settlement provided the well is kept in efficient repair." (See Famine Commission Report, Part II., p. 169, para. 5.) Had any such rule been recognised, the Neriad Settlement would have taken a very different shape, and the whole of the complaints and correspondence on well assessment might have been spared.

A similar process of reasoning will apply *mutatis mutandis* to all minor irrigation works suitable to the capacity of ordinary tenant farmers. Whether the work be the construction of a dam, a bund, a water-lift or what not, in all cases it may be predicated with certainty that the cultivator is merely utilising some natural advantage, the gift of God. He applies his private capital and resources to the means of utilising such advantage, and by so doing falls into the trap laid for him by clause (b) of section 107. If the Honorable Mr. Hope or any one else thinks that the assertion of the right of taxing all improvements for the benefit of the State will promote improvements, then all I can say is that he has a very strange idea of human nature, and of the motives which usually actuate peasant cultivators; but the matter is, I submit, too obvious for useful argument, and there are few persons, we imagine, who will dissent from Major

Prescott's sound view that it is impossible for the settlement officer to make right in practice what is radically wrong in principle. The disastrous effects of taxing wells cannot, in my opinion, be made more clear than in Major Prescott's own words :—

“Colonel Baird Smith was of opinion (Report para. 101) that to keep an agricultural population above actual want, under all vicissitudes, one-third *at least* of the cultivated land should be provided with the means of irrigation.

“Now what is the present position of Neriad, in this respect the most highly irrigated Talooka in this Province.

“Of a cultivated area of 128,219 acres, 11,930 only or a little over 9 per cent. (Government and alienated inclusive) is irrigated. Less than *one-tenth* of the whole available area.

We draw all we can out of Gujarat, do not expend one shilling in works of irrigation, and tax wells besides. I cannot think this is the way to be fore-armed for the evil hour, which may come when we least expect it.”

If the facts be as stated by Major Prescott and they are undeniable, who can doubt that the Bombay mode of taxing private capital expended in well-sinking would be condemned by all sound economists? The suggestive passage above quoted I must be allowed to set against Mr. Hope's surprising assertion “that an enormous increase of “wells and other improvements of a like nature involving “immense expenditure of money,” had been made by State tenants under the Bombay system. No such satisfactory result was recorded by the Famine Commissioners, and I cannot conceive to what district or what class of persons Mr. Hope's remarks can possibly apply. Either Major Prescott or Mr. Hope must, I submit, be under an entire misapprehension; and as the matter is one of great public importance it is to be hoped that the Government of India will satisfy itself regarding the reality of the improvements alleged to have been effected by State tenants under the

Bombay system. One word of caution is, however, no doubt necessary. Under the former law, as expressed in Sec. XXX. of Act I. of 1865, corresponding with Sec. 106 of the Land Revenue Code, it is stated categorically that improvements made from private capital and resource should not form the ground of revised assessment. No doubt a certain amount of capital has been expended in different places on the faith of this assurance which was made, be it observed, about the time when the correspondence above quoted took place. Those who so invested their capital and resources could never have dreamt that this assurance, which they must have regarded as their agricultural charter, would ever have been modified, as it has been modified, by the subsequent provisions contained in section 107 of the Land Revenue Code; and if any attempt be made, at any revised settlement, to tax the capital so invested, there can be little doubt what the persons concerned will then think about it. The subsequent proviso (c) declares that a revised assessment may similarly be imposed with reference to any improvement "which is the result of the ordinary operations of husbandry." A more elastic and convenient phrase could not easily have been invented. It will cover all the ordinary kinds of reclamation, and will include not only the conversion of unassessed waste into arable land, but all farming operations which fall under the general term of high farming. This comprehensive rule explicitly declares that all such improvements will be liable to taxation. Can any more fatal and suicidal land policy be possibly conceived than this? Not only are all improvements of the nature of irrigation works made taxable, but proper farming is, under the operation of the rule quoted, absolutely prohibited except at the price of the land being made subject to a revised assessment at the absolute discretion

of the settling officer. It is true that Sir Philip Wodehouse in 1874 insisted upon laying down fixed limitations to the discretion of the Survey officers, but these limitations are not embodied in the law, and merely depend upon the policy of the Government for the time being. Sir Philip Wodehouse also sanctioned a scheme by which unarable lands, included in the area but excluded from the assessment at the first settlement of a ryots' holding, were to be exempted from all additional taxation for the reason that the conversion of unarable into arable land was due to the labor of the ryot, and ought therefore to be regarded as an improvement exempted from taxation within the meaning of Section 30 of Bombay Act I. of 1865. But that liberal ruling, which seems to have been based both on good law and good sense, was overruled by the Government of India, doubtless on the ground that a liberal interpretation of Section 30 might form a very inconvenient precedent. The action of the Government of India on that occasion could, under the existing law, be amply justified, as the case is clearly covered, by proviso (c) attached to Section 107 of the Land Revenue Code.

The facts quoted abundantly show that the present law and practice of assessing all agricultural improvements has not been adopted in Bombay without a struggle. There are many traces in the official correspondence of liberal and reasonable counsels on this extremely important subject. But the broad fact remains that the moderate counsels have been overruled, and that the existing law on the subject of assessing improvements gives the most absolute power and discretion into the hands of the settlement officer. How this discretion is in practice exercised is abundantly clear from the revision settlements in the Southern Mahratta country where improvements have been

systematically taxed and the assessments enhanced enormously.

I have discussed in some detail the Bombay law and practice because, in my opinion, it furnishes the best illustration in India of the "Indian theory" of tenant's improvements described by Sir Steuart Bayley. My general opinion of this theory has been already stated in no ambiguous terms, and the best test of the merits of this theory is to be found in the ruinous effects which have already taken place. Major Prescott pointed out in 1867 that in Neriad the most highly cultivated Taluka in Gujarat, of the whole cultivated area less than 1-10th was irrigated, although the facilities for well irrigation are, perhaps, unique in Western India, and although 1-3rd of the whole area ought to be protected by such irrigation. This one fact will afford some measure of the disastrous consequences which have already attended the Bombay policy of taxing improvements, and the slightest reflection must convince any reasonable person that the avowed policy of taxing improvements can only have one result, *viz.*, to prevent improvements from being made, and to damage seriously the agriculture of the country. The taxation of improvements is, we believe, a principle entirely foreign to Wingate's system. The true doctrine on the subject is that which is laid down in Section XXX. of Act I. of 1865, which declares that a "revised settlement shall be fixed not with reference to improvements made by the owners or occupants from private capital and resources during the currency of any settlement under this Act, but with reference to general considerations of the value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce or facilities of communication."

The present system which is legalised by the provisos (b) and (c) attached to section 107 of the Land Revenue Code is, I believe, historically a mere innovation, and the

invention of a recent school of settlement officers, who have made much use of one ambiguous passage of the late Sir George Wingate. I believe that that eminent officer would have been the first to repudiate the unscrupulous use which has been made of his well known comparison between water wealth and mineral wealth ; and the general right of Government to levy a royalty on water. He would undoubtedly appeal to the rule embodied in section 30 of Act. I. of 1865 as containing his matured views on the subject, and would have been puzzled to understand how so reasonable and sensible a rule could possibly have been distorted into its present shape. The recent enhancements so much complained of in Bombay have been caused mainly by taxing improvements, and if improvements were really exempt, as provided by Act I. of 1865, section 30, and section 11 of the new Land Improvement Loans Bill, there would be practically very little occasion for any resettlement to be made at all. There are several other ways of providing for the legitimate interests of Government, besides the particular way adopted in Bombay of taxing improvements. Nothing can be simpler than to arrange for a reasonable percentage increase of existing rates at the expiration of the present settlements in all cases in which any increase at all is deemed to be desirable with reference to general considerations of any increase in the current value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce or facilities of communication. If this percentage increase were a fixed increase determined by Government on the general considerations above mentioned, and publicly announced not later than five years before the expiration of the current settlements, enormous relief and advantage of every kind would accrue to all classes connected with the land. All business relations could then adapt themselves with some degree of certainty to the

new conditions, and there would be some sort of guarantee that the assessment would not be arbitrarily raised on grounds which not one person in a hundred is in a position to understand.

No doubt the question of the best mode of securing the interests of the State is a question of the greatest interest and importance both to Government and the community. I yield to no one in a desire to protect in every way the legitimate interests of the State. All that I contend for is that the particular way adopted in Bombay is a bad way and simply ruinous to the interests of agriculture. The broad question at issue in this correspondence has in one shape or another been perpetually debated since the commencement of British rule; and to all who are interested in the subject I would invite attention to the interesting and suggestive correspondence which passed in Bengal in connection with the settlement of the ceded and conquered Provinces. (See Bengal Revenue Selections, Vol. III., 1826.) Among the papers which have been printed in these interesting selections is an admirable minute by Mr. Stuart, dated 18th December 1820. (Selections, Vol. III., page 214.) In this minute a very ingenious plan is proposed for reconciling as far as possible the public interests and those of the cultivator by means of a fixed but very moderate annual rate of increase, subject to the proviso that no levy of the proposed increase shall commence or having commenced shall continue "whenever the proprietor shall be able to show that he does not derive from his estate a sum equal to 30 per cent upon the gross income."

The proposed scheme is thus stated by Mr. Stuart :—

"In order to correct one great evil of the system, that is, the frequency of the settlements, without adopting the opposite extreme of an assessment fixed in perpetuity, settlements for lives, or for very long periods have been proposed.

"Such a plan would unquestionably be highly advantageous to the

zemindars, compared with short settlements ; but seems, notwithstanding, open to formidable objections.

“ If the uncertainty of the demand be not remedied, a long settlement will only be a respite from the disastrous consequences which may ensue upon a new settlement ; when at last it may come ; and the zemindars must live in constant dread and anxiety of the approach of that fatal period.

“ The precarious condition of families upon such a tenure is manifest. They would often, no doubt, rise to ease and affluence during the long interval of exemption from increase : but when the expiration of their term should arrive, they would be reduced to comparative poverty and distress.

“ By frequent settlements, the demand, however severe, is imposed by degrees, and men become gradually inured to the burthen. They have seen nothing better, and their wretchedness is, at least, not aggravated by comparison with a happier state.

“ With long settlements, it is to be feared that prosperity and happiness might often be called into being, only to be annihilated by a new assessment. A new settlement might fall upon families as sudden ruin, reducing them from an ample to a scanty income, destroying the comforts and enjoyments which affluence had yielded, and repressing all the habits and notions which it had formed. Such a system might often operate as a confiscation or revolution.

“ Viewed in the most favourable light, lands held under a long settlement would be only regarded as a mere leasehold tenure, which, instead of improving by the lapse of time, would every day be losing a part of its value.

“ After much reflection on the subject, a plan has occurred to me which would enable the Government to reserve its rights, and afford, at the same time, a reasonable protection to the interests of the landholders.

“ Supposing, then, a settlement of an estate to have been made upon the best information procurable, I would suggest that it be further made liable to a small fixed annual proportion of increase to the Jumma.

“ Let it be declared, for instance, that from a given time after the settlement (say ten years), estates shall be liable for a given period (say twenty years) to an annual increase (at the rate of, say, one-half per cent) upon Jumma of Government that such rates of annual

increase shall, at the end of the first twenty years, be advanced an additional half per cent, and so on every successive twenty years.

“ Provided always, that no levy of the proposed increase shall commence, or having commenced shall continue, whenever the proprietor shall be able to show that he does not derive from his estate a sum equal to thirty per cent. upon the gross income.

“ If we are allowed to indulge hopes of the advancement of the country in prosperity and wealth, such a plan would hold out a prospect of an important addition to the public revenue, within a period not excessive for a Government to contemplate, with an unlimited power of raising that revenue, in course of time, to any amount required by the public exigencies, and compatible with the resources of the lands.

“ I contemplate it as a further important advantage of the scheme, that it would, in effect, save the Government from the serious measure of assigning its dues from the land for ever, and irrevocably to one, and that comparatively a confined class of the community; and that it might thus prevent the evils and inconvenience with which that sacrifice might be attended. It is obvious that if, in the progress of time, the Government should find itself enabled to dispense with any portion of its land revenue, it might make an abatement from its demand in favour of the chief engagers of any intermediate classes, or of the great body of the cultivators, as experience might show, was necessary for the interests of any particular class, or conducive to the general good of the whole community.

“ Any sacrifice of this nature might be made conditionally, reserving to the Government the power of re-imposing any portion of the land revenue which might have been remitted, if the exigencies of the State should require the revenue to be again raised.

“ Any portion of the revenue which the Government could spare might, from time to time, be usefully employed in relieving estates too heavily assessed.

“ To the chief engagers with the Government the benefits of the plan, as compared with any mode of assessment short of a perpetual settlement, seem apparent.

“ It would protect the landholder from that great source of dread and anxiety, the constant recurring demand of a wholly uncertain increase.

“ He would know that, at the worst, he could be called on only for a very small annual fixed increase, by the payment of which

he would have it in his power to defend himself from all inquisitions into his profits, and from all pretences of the native officers to exact bribes from him on that ground.

“The plan would also, at the commencement, give the landholder all the advantages of a long settlement, in proportion to the period of respite allowed after the final adjustment of his Jumma. I have suggested ten years for that period; but, of course, any longer one may be adopted if judged expedient.

“As the increase would require a life-time to rise to importance, it would not be contemplated by the individuals with dread or alarm. Its gradual progress would likewise prevent its inconvenient operation on the habits and condition of families.

“To these benefits of the smallness and slowness of the demand, and of the entire certainty of the amount, is to be added the pledge, that no increase whatsoever shall be levied, so long as the landholder shall not derive from his estate a sum equal to thirty per cent. upon the gross income.

“The landholder would thus be sure that his income could never be reduced below a considerable portion of the assets of his estate, while he would be permitted to enjoy the whole excess beyond that proportion not absorbed by the progressive increase. Now, looking to the slow rate at which the increase would proceed for a long course of years, an estate must be very incapable of improvement which would not yield a growing profit to the landholder for a long course of years after the settlement. If so, the plan would hold forth to the landholders the most powerful incentive to improvement.

“It may be alleged against the plan, that it does not, more than that of periodical settlements, promise the landholders an absolute protection from uncertain exaction; since, if errors should be committed, the percentage of increase may from the beginning encroach on the profit left to the landholder at the settlement and that in time, though, indeed, in a long time, the encroachment might become of serious amount; that entire confidence could not be placed in the value of estates over which an uncertain demand would thus depend.

“The objection is, no doubt, valid to its extent; but admitting that the most moderate reliance could be placed on the integrity and ability of the British public officers, it will be seen that its extent is very limited.

“When it shall be considered how slight the amount of over-exaction from this cause must be, which could take place at any given

period, how long a time must elapse before errors could accumulate into importance, and how frequent must be the opportunities for correction, it will be conceded that the evil from this source could never be formidable in itself, nor even produce alarm or mistrust in the minds of the people.

“ The scheme is further open to what may be thought a far more serious objection. Allowing ten years for the period of exemption from increase after the formation of the settlement, the progress of the increase would be as follows :

“ At the end of thirty years the increase might be ten per cent. on the original Jumma ; at the end of fifty years, thirty per cent. ; at the end of seventy years, sixty per cent. ; of ninety years, one hundred per cent. ; at the end of a century the increase might exceed the original Jumma, and obviously must finally overtake any possible augmentation in the assets of estates. The whole profits of estates above thirty per cent. of the assets would be subjected to the demand of the Government, and the Zemindars, in respect of the excess, placed in the situation in which they stand.

“ It would be easy to diminish the force of this objection, by proposing a more complicated arrangement ; but it would seem preferable to leave the matter to the prudence of future Governments. The plan aims at encouraging the landholders to look forward with hope and confidence for nearly a century ; and, ultimately, to restore unimpaired to the Government the unshackled power of taxation and of remission of taxation. To attempt more would be to exceed the reasonable bounds of prospective legislation.

“ I do not know that my plan may not have to encounter an objection of a very opposite nature to that of its being unfavorable to the landholders. Whether it may not be urged against it, that the improvement of the land revenue, which it promises, is inadequate to the reasonable expectations of the State.

“ To such an objection I should first answer, that I only propose the scheme as applicable to estates which may be judged ripe for permanency of settlement. That the scheme is not meant to apply to estates on tracts, which hold out any just and solid hope of improvement consistent with a large and rapid augmentation of the revenue.

“ But I should also observe, that a great portion of the ceded and conquered provinces is indisputably very heavily assessed : that,

according to all concurring opinions, neither the means, nor perhaps the feelings of the landholders and agricultural population of those provinces, will admit generally of any but the most moderate and gradual increase of the revenue. To the greater part of those provinces, therefore, I hold to be applicable a scheme which, balances between the two extremes of renouncing for ever the essential prerogative of imposing or remitting taxation, or of continuing, by undefined exaction, to press upon the resources, the hopes, the spirits, and the affections of the people."

It seems to me that some plan of this sort will go far to meet the admitted difficulties of the situation, and now that the whole question of re-settlement is under discussion, I think that it may not be inopportune to invite attention to what seems to me to be a very valuable suggestion. In carrying out this or any other plan that may be suggested, many difficulties will no doubt be found, but Mr. Stuart's scheme has at any rate the cardinal merit of efficiently protecting all interests concerned, and of obviating all necessity for revision survey and re-settlements.

In conclusion it only remains to point out that matters cannot well be left any longer in their present position, for it is quite clear that section 11 of the new Agricultural Loans Bill is, as it stands, in direct opposition to Sec. 107 of the Bombay Revenue Code. A good deal of stress was laid by the Famine Commissioners on the importance of effecting a precise and permanent understanding on the subject of assessing improvements, and of ratifying such understanding by means of a formal legislative enactment. Legislation is no doubt in the highest degree important if based on sound principles. If not, it is far more mischievous and far reaching in its effects than any executive rules which are susceptible of modification from time to time. If my opinion of the Bombay rules be even approximately correct, it is clear that the Bombay Government has no cause for congratulation in being the only Government which has

as yet legislated on the subject. One other remark on the subject must also in fairness be made. The object of ratifying by law the precise and permanent understanding contemplated by the Famine Commissioners is to protect the material interests of Government and the cultivators. But in order to make such a law really effectual for the protection of the cultivator's interests, it must be capable of being enforced against Government whenever necessary. To enact a law which cannot be so enforced seems to be an act of very doubtful expediency. This, I fear, is much the position of the Bombay law referred to. It cannot possibly be appealed to or enforced against Government in the face of section 4 of the Revenue Jurisdiction Act which declares that

“ Subject to the exceptions hereinafter appearing no Civil Court shall exercise jurisdiction as to any of the following matters : —

“ (a)

“ (b) Objections—

to the amount or incidence of any Assessment or Land Revenue authorized by Government, or

to the mode of assessment, or to the principle on which such assessment is fixed, or

to the validity or effect of the notification of survey or settlement or of any notification determining the period of settlement.”

The proviso to this section 4 of Act X. of 1876 declares that “ if any person claim to hold land wholly or partially exempt from payment of Land Revenue under—

(b) Any enactment for the time being in force expressly creating an exemption not before existing in favour of an individual or of any class of persons, or expressly confirming such an exemption on the ground of its being shown in a public record or of its having existed for a specified term of years, or

(i)

(j)

(k)

Such claim shall be cognizable in the Civil Courts.

Among the illustrations to (h) above quoted No. 5 is as follows :—

“(5.) It is enacted that assessment shall be fixed with reference to certain considerations, and not with reference to others. This is not an enactment creating an exemption in favour of any individual or class ; and no objection to an assessment under such an enactment is cognizable in a Civil Court.”

The sections quoted abundantly show that effectual steps have been taken to prevent the possibility of any question being raised to limit the absolute discretion of the Settlement Officer.

Under these circumstances the protection afforded to the cultivator is wholly illusory, and if it be in contemplation to legislate on similar lines for other parts of the Empire it will be well to enquire first how the law stands in each place on the subject of withdrawing all settlement operations from the cognizance of the Civil Court.

If it be the case, as I believe it is, that similar provisions are in force in other parts of India, it should be considered whether any advantage is to be gained by embodying a precise and permanent understanding on the subject of assessing improvements in the shape of law. The only protection which the peasant cultivator asks for is the protection of the civil law of the land ; and as long as the usual civil remedy is withheld, he will be unwilling to risk his capital on the strength of any precise and permanent understanding, however ingeniously expressed, to which he cannot appeal.

APPENDIX.

THE LAND IMPROVEMENT LOANS ACT.

(From the "Bombay Gazette," December 12, 1883.)

The debate in the Viceregal Council on the Land Improvement Loans Bill, which passed through its several stages a few weeks back, was of a very interesting character. The various points which were raised in it related to questions of high State policy on which depended the future of Indian agriculture and the welfare of the millions engaged in it. Whether it was the intention to deal with the subject of agricultural banks, or of the application not merely of State loans, but of private capital, to the improvement of land, at some future period, or only with the question of State loans for the present, the course of the debate showed that our legislators were endeavouring to grapple with some of the highest problems of practical Indian statesmanship. It is an acknowledged fact that the condition of Indian agriculture has been far from satisfactory. Its neglect has been often ascribed to the fact that the State landlord, while exacting every anna of revenue from the soil, has not always—even with the best intentions—treated the tenant so as to encourage him to make improvements, in the full confidence that he would enjoy their fruits without sharing them with the tax collector. The British Government in India can scarcely boast that it has made the Indian ryot grow two blades of grass now where he grew one before. Any effort made to wipe away this reproach must carry the sympathy of every one who wishes well to the people of India and prosperity to its revenues. The Land Improvement Loans Bill is a measure conceived in this spirit, and as such has our hearty approval. Various inquiries have made it tolerably clear that one of the chief causes of unwillingness on the part of the ryot to improve his land is the fear that Government on the expiry of the current settlements would tax such improvements and deprive him of the full benefit of the labour and capital expended on them. This fear has taken a firm hold of his mind, and has deterred him from constructing such works as wells and tanks, which go far in India to protect him from the effects of long-continued droughts. The new measure, therefore, is intended to disabuse the cultivator in

India of this impression so far as improvements made from loans obtained from the State are concerned.

It has been found that loans offered by the State under the Taccavi Acts at present in force all over the country have not been availed of to any considerable extent. The Famine Commission carefully noted this fact, and forcibly pointed out in their Report that no single measure was calculated to afford a better protection against famine than successful undertakings to increase the productive powers of the soil. Among undertakings of this kind in India, the construction of wells, tanks, and other works for the storage, supply, and distribution of water has in all ages been looked upon with favour and approval by the rulers. The Commissioners accordingly urged in their Report the desirability of the Government of India taking such steps as would remove the existing obstacles to the ryots taking full advantage of the proffered help of the State. The subject has had the serious consideration of the Government of India, and the Bill passed in the Viceregal Council is the outcome of the proceedings adopted by the Government on the recommendation of the Famine Commission. In the course of the debate Sir Steuart Bayley described the various steps which the Government of India had taken to carry out the views of the Commission. It appeared from Sir Steuart Bayley's remarks that Mr. Crosthwaite had been consulted on the subject, and that he had drawn up a rough sketch of the lines on which legislation might be based. Mr. Crosthwaite proposed to provide for a registry of all improvements made by ryots during the currency of existing settlements. The value of these improvements was to be settled by a Committee of arbitrators. He proposed to divide improvements into two classes, namely, (1) quasi-permanent improvements of a costly nature, and (2) temporary improvements, partaking more of the nature of reclamations. The first class of improvements he proposed to exempt altogether from assessment; with respect to the second class, he provided for an exemption for a limited period, say five years, after which the tenant or the author of the improvements was to be reimbursed by being permitted to deduct $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the cost from the full assessment of the land. Thus these proposals, without in any way neglecting the interests of the State, leaned on the side of liberality and encouragement to those who made it worth their while to improve the productive powers of the soil by expending capital and labour, whether their own or borrowed, under the belief that they would fully benefit by it. When, however, Mr. Crosthwaite's proposals came to be considered in the Select Committee, they appeared to run counter to the official view, that the Government is a joint proprietor with the landholder, and is by ancient law and custom of India entitled

to a share in the produce of every beegah of land. According to this theory, the total exemption from taxation of permanent improvements would deprive the State of the revenue that would otherwise accrue to it from the land being liable to increased assessment on account of its improved character. The English theory, it is true, permits the tenant to enjoy the full benefit of the improvements introduced by him, and is in this respect opposed to the so-called Indian theory. Mr. Crosthwaite's object was to do that which public policy required to be done in this country, namely, to encourage ryots in the improvement of their land, rather than to aim at the increase of revenue. And Sir Steuart Bayley, to do him justice, made the following admission :— " In this view, as a matter of expediency, I most fully concur. I think it would have been very possible to arrange the two conflicting theories upon some such terms as these, if we had gone on and proceeded to legislate." But his chief objection to Mr. Crosthwaite's proposal was that it was difficult to distinguish between the two classes of improvements ; it was hardly possible to draw a line where the one class ended and the other began. The question, again, was intimately connected with the much larger question relating to the whole principle of resettlement in Northern India, which was at that time under reference to the Secretary of State. In making the reference the Government of India expressed themselves generally in favour of exemption from assessment of improvements by landholders, and the Secretary concurred in the principle in equally general terms. Sir Steuart Bayley, however, further proceeded to inform the Council that the general question, including the special point of assessing improvements, " is now under the consideration of the local Governments." Referring, therefore, to section 11 of the Bill, which, as it originally stood, exempted improvements from taxation, Sir Steuart observed : " When, therefore, section 11 was introduced in Select Committee, I had very great doubts as to whether it ought to be accepted. Not because I doubted the principle of it ; I quite accepted and most strongly endorse the principle that, as a matter of policy, we ought as a rule to secure to the improver the full value of his improvement ; but for the reason that the general question was then under the consideration of the local Governments, and that it appeared to me that modifications might have to be made by each local Government." It also became apparent that if one policy were adopted in respect of improvements made by money borrowed from the State, the policy in regard to improvements made from private capital could not be different. Sir Steuart Bayley's views, however, did not find favour with the majority in the Select Committee. Meanwhile it appeared that even in regard to the general principle of non-

taxation of improvements, that principle, if carried out, would result in a general diminution of assessments and consequent loss to the State, in the case, especially, of waste lands, which, as in the Punjab, might be made irrigable by a slight expenditure of money. The present practice in the Punjab is to give an exemption for twenty years. Under these circumstances the plan recommended to the Legislature was that it was far more important to improve existing cultivation than to bring additional land under plough, and on this principle an amendment to section 11 of the Bill was carried. It was to the effect that where the improvement consisted of the reclamation of waste land or of the irrigation of land assessed at unirrigated rates, the increase might be so taken into account, after the expiration of such period as might be fixed by the rules to be framed by the local Governments with the approval of the Governor-General in Council.

These were the chief points of the debate. Section 11 of the Bill, as it originally stood, exempted all tenants' improvements made with their own or borrowed money. The objection to this was that the provision was too elastic, and that the effect of it would be to cause a loss of revenue to the State, consequent on improvements made with small capital and little labour, as in the case of the reclamation of waste lands. It was, however, admitted both by the Viceroy and Sir Stuart Bayley that in districts where the land was wholly taken up and cultivated, where the population was large and the margin of waste small, it would be better for Government to act upon the broad principle of exemption. The Viceroy was distinctly of that opinion. "I think," His said Excellency, "that if a tenant, by his own exertion, and the expenditure of his own capital, adds to the letting value of my land, I ought, if he leaves his farm, to compensate him for the additional letting value of the land of which I am about to take possession. I think that is a perfectly sound and just principle with respect to land under full cultivation, because although it is, I know, said that there are two factors in the results of all improvement, namely, the expenditure of the tenant's capital and labour and the inherent qualities of the soil, in the case of cultivated land this second factor should not, as it seems to me; be regarded as constituting an appreciable element in the calculation of the value of a tenant's improvements. For the right to enjoy the inherent qualities of the soil is already covered by the payment of his ordinary rent, and the advantage to the letting value of his land arising from his improvements may therefore be treated as resulting only from his expenditure of capital and labour, and may fairly be taken as the measure of the compensation which should be given to him in respect of such improvements when he quits the land." In theory

probably no exception can be taken to the soundness of this doctrine, but the great point is to observe it in practice. It may be admitted that in the case of reclamation of waste land brought about by a small expenditure of capital and labour, it would perhaps not be a wise policy for the State to give up all prospective increases to revenue after the improver has had his fair share of compensation ; but in the case of districts where cultivation has reached almost its extreme limits, and where the improvements were of a solid and permanent character, and had cost a good deal of money to the improver, it was at best doubtful whether section 11 of the Act would stand him in good stead. There are many districts in this Presidency in which the benefits sought to be conferred by section 11 will at best be of a problematical character. At all events they will depend very much upon the view that the settling officer for the time being takes of the nature of the land, and the interpretation he puts upon section 11. The difficulties, at all events, are hardly less formidable than those pointed out in the working out of Mr. Crosthwaite's classification of improvements. On the whole it seems to us that that part of the amendment of Section 11 which has reference to lands in full cultivation will require to be put in force with great care if the object is to give encouragement to land improvement. How far the section will affect this Presidency we will take occasion to consider hereafter.

ASSESSMENT OF IMPROVEMENTS.

(From the "Bombay Gazette," December 29, 1883.)

In the debate in the Viceregal Council on the Land Improvement Loans Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. Hope drew attention to a provision in the Bombay Land Revenue Code which, if literally carried out in course of revision of settlement operations, could not fail to affect in a serious manner the future of agricultural improvements in this Presidency. He remarked that although under the Bombay Code no assessment was to be levied with respect to improvements made during the currency of a settlement, yet proviso (b) of section 107 of the Code gave permission to settlement officers to take such improvements into consideration at the time of the revision. That means that settling officers would be perfectly justified in taxing improvements, if they were so minded. Mr. Hope admitted that in districts where cultivation had reached its full limits, where the population was a tax on the resources of the land, and where the land assessment was already heavy, it would perhaps not be

worth the while of the settlement officer to make any increase in the assessment at all. But the right of the State to make such increase must, according to Mr. Hope, be laid down clearly and definitely in the law. Mr. Hope further remarked that some persons might fear that, under the right thus reserved to the State, capital would not be forthcoming for investments in improvements. It was his impression, however, that such a result had not followed in the Bombay Presidency, and that statistics could be given to show that an enormous increase of wells and other similar improvements had taken place under the thirty years' leases. These remarks of Mr. Hope's are likely, we think, to have an important practical bearing upon the action of settlement officers on the one hand and on the ryots' stake in the agricultural improvements on the other in this Presidency. It may therefore be well to see how the facts really stand.

It is needless for us to state that the most ordinary form of land improvement known to ryots in this Presidency is the sinking of wells. But the ryots, fearing that such wells would be assessed at special rates at the time of the next revision, have been always chary of investing their capital in such undertakings. Be it said to the credit of the Bombay Government, however, that they have done much in the past to encourage the sinking of wells by offering to exempt them from assessment. "I think it must be admitted," wrote Sir Barrow Ellis in 1865, "that the taxation of wells not constructed by the State is a deviation from the broad principles of the Bombay Survey. All wells built hereafter by individuals will be free from taxation. It seems hard that wells similarly built by individuals, but before the advent of the Survey, should be placed at a disadvantage, and subjected to heavier taxation for no reason save that their owners were in advance of their neighbours in employing their capital in agriculture." This statement on the part of Sir Barrow Ellis, that all wells built hereafter by individuals will be left untaxed in the future, was embodied in section 30 of Bombay Act I. of 1865. That section provided that such revised settlements should be fixed not with reference to improvements made by the owner or occupants from private capital and resources during the currency of any settlement under the Act, but with reference to general considerations of the value of the land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce, or facilities of communication. Thus the tendency of the opinions entertained by the then school of revenue officers was in favour of affording all possible encouragement to the sinking of wells. "There can be no greater inducement," wrote the Government of Bombay on the 8th June, 1866, "to the digging of wells than the exemption of

all wells from assessment. Of course this exemption could not affect retrospectively assessments now being levied, but whenever a revision takes place, the Survey commissioners and superintendents should consider whether the special rates imposed on existing wells may not be got rid of without a great sacrifice of revenue." The Bombay Government of 1865 was not content with a mere expression of these views. It desired that the fullest publicity should be given to its wishes, and accordingly circulars embodying them were sent round by the Commissioners of divisions to the district collectors, and by the district collectors to the mamludars; and in this way the word of Government was pledged to the mass of the peasantry in Gujarat in the north and the Deccan and the Southern Mahratta Country in the south. Personally, too, the district collectors exerted their influence in a similar direction, and encouraged the ryots in the sinking of wells by assuring them that such wells would not be taxed in future. To this circumstance mainly was due the construction of numerous wells in Gujarat and other parts of this Presidency to which Mr. Hope referred in his speech. If the honour and word of Government were not pledged in favour of this exemption, it is ten to one that we should not have witnessed the existence of so many wells. But these liberal counsels did not continue to influence Government for any length of time. On the contrary a retrograde policy seems to have moved the Government about the time the Bombay Land Revenue Code came to be enacted, nine years ago. Section 107, proviso (b) of the Land Code laid down that in spite of the exemption provided for in the previous section, nothing in it should be held to prevent a revised settlement being fixed with reference to the value of any natural advantage when the improvement effected consisted only in having created the means of utilizing such advantage. This proviso was in utter disregard of the views of many experienced district officers, who held that it was a violation of the liberal policy which had received the sanction of the Legislature in Act I. of 1865. Mr. Norman wrote:—"Omit this section. (a), (b), and (c) will lead to endless disputes and litigation." Mr. Monteath "would omit clause (b) as likely to interfere with the liberality of the previous section." Mr. Alexander Grey remarked that the section "requires more definiteness. Wells and tanks dug with private capital should be exempted. G. R. 3618 of 14th July, directing that drains, &c., may be constructed with the Collector's permission, and that a special rate may be levied for them, should be legalized, as otherwise no such increase of assessment is allowable during the term of the settlement." The result is that ever since the passing of that provision in the Land Revenue Code, which sets a trap for the

unwary authors of improvements, the ryots in this Presidency have grown more than ever suspicious of the real intentions of Government, and have been slow to invest their capital in wells. The first question that arises in the mind of Ramji bin Raoji, when inclined to sink a well, is whether in the revision survey the settling officer will not come down upon him and say: "You, Ramji, have built a permanent well during the currency of the last settlement, and your field, which has hitherto been assessed at dry crop rates, will be hereafter assessed at garden rates." Ramji has possibly only just succeeded in repaying the money he has borrowed for the purposes of the well, and is only just beginning to obtain any benefit from the improvement he has carried out, when he is called upon to pay to Government an assessment which may vary from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 per each water-bag, called "mot" in the Deccan and "kos" in Gujarat.

It is strange, however, to find that while the Bombay Land Code thus discourages the sinking of wells, the course adopted by the executive officers in the districts has been in the direction of a liberal treatment. An instance which has just come to our notice aptly illustrates our remark. In Gujarat, where cultivation has, in some districts, reached the extreme limit, the improvements in agriculture have taken the form of wells. These wells are of several kinds. In the first place, there are masonry wells, built at a cost varying from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500. These wells are treated as improvements, and as such exempted from present and future assessments. The second class comprises wells which, although of masonry, have not been built up to the top, and are without troughs. Then, again, there are wells built of burnt tiles and mud, known generally by the name of "khundia" wells, which cost from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 to build. Such wells were hitherto classed as "kutcha" wells, and were subjected to a heavy assessment. Where, however, the money necessary to build a well is not forthcoming the ryots have recourse to unbuilt pits, the sides of which are supported by gabions of wicker-work, grass, &c., on wooden rings, costing altogether from Rs. 60 to Rs. 100. Besides these, there are pits occasionally sunk in the ground without any capital worth naming. The last mode of irrigation to which the ryots have recourse is by means of water-lifts. Hitherto it was the practice of the Survey Department to assess all "kutcha" wells at rates varying from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12. Such "kutcha" wells, however, are seldom made use of by the ryots in the irrigation of valuable crops, such as sugar-cane, tobacco, ginger, plaintains, for the simple reason that there is great risk of their falling in; they are generally used for the irrigation of dry crops. Considering that upon the success or

failure of such crops depend the real results of the season, an assessment of Rs. 3 or 4 per acre must press very heavily upon the ryots. A cultivator who has no capital for extensive irrigation grows chillies, for instance, in one corner of his field, tobacco in another, brinjals in a third, and so on. The incidence of the well-cess in such a case is crushing. If water facilities were allowed free of charge, there is little doubt that many little crops of vegetables would be raised in ordinary seasons, while in case of deficient rainfall the cereal crop would be saved. Influenced by these considerations, Mr. Sheppard, the Commissioner, N. D., directed last year that all built wells, whether "khandia" or "kutchia," should be treated as "pucka" wells, and exempted from assessment. It is to be hoped that this wise and beneficent action on the part of our Government will not be allowed to be checked by such nice interpretations as the Hon'ble Mr. Hope put on the theoretic rights of Government, and that that course which commonsense and good policy alike have suggested as the one best calculated to promote agricultural improvements in this Presidency will be persevered in, and openly declared. The importance of discussing this question cannot be overrated, when it is borne in mind that the first of the thirty years' settlements in this Presidency will shortly expire in Dholka in Gujarat, and that the whole policy of assessing private property in wells will have to be reconsidered from a practical, business-like point of view.

THE NON-ASSESSMENT OF IMPROVEMENT.

(From the "Bombay Gazette," January 1, 1881.)

The following papers have been sent us for publication :—

REVENUE DEPARTMENT,
BOMBAY CASTLE, 10th November, 1881.

<p>Letter from the Commissioner in Sind, No. 2202, dated 18th June, 1881. Joint letter from the Commissioners, Central, Southern, and Northern Divisions, and the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, No. 2725, dated 28th Sept., 1881. Note by the Commissioner, N. D.</p>	<p>Submitting the report called for by Government Resolution No. 1389 of 8th March, 1881, an extract section 3, Chapter IV., of the Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part II, regarding Government loans to facilitate land improvement.</p>
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RESOLUTION.—Government are unable to see that any discouragement to improvements made by private capital need be caused by section 107, clause (b) of the Land Revenue Code. Government are competent at any time to declare how they

interpret that clause, and to notify that it will not be held to apply to any particular class of improvements. Government are now prepared to give a general assurance that clause (b) will not be applied to wells dug at the expense of the owner or occupier of the soil. In the same way, in any other specific case, Government will decide, at the request of an applicant for an improvement loan, whether the clause applies to his project or not. Government are also willing to give general application to the two rules as to wells in force in the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country (Nairne's Hand-book, page 1589). The Survey Commissioner may prepare a notification in accordance with the above views, and report whether any modification in the way of greater liberality or security is called for.

REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

No. 1028.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT,
BOMBAY CASTLE, 25th February, 1874.

Read again the following papers :—

Letter from the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, S. D., No. 1900, dated 17th November, 1873, soliciting, with reference to the revision of settlements in the Southern Maratha Country now about to be commenced, a reconsideration of the orders contained in Government Resolution No. 4050, dated 22nd August, 1871, regarding the assessment of well lands. Memo. from the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, N. D., No. 2247, dated 5th December, 1873, submitting remarks on the above.

Memo. from the Revenue Commissioner, S. D., No. 160, dated 15th January, 1874, forwarding the above, and stating that he hopes to submit his views in a few days.

Memo. by the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, S. D., No. 124, dated 26th January, 1874, stating, in reply to a reference made, that no inconvenience will result from the postponement of a decision on the above question, which has no practical bearing on the revision settlements of this year.

Resolution of Government on the above, No. 520, dated 30th January, 1874.

Read also a memo. from the Revenue Commissioner, S. D., No. 304, dated 27th January, 1874, submitting, as promised in his memo. of the 15th idem, No. 160, his views on the letter from the Survey and Settlement Commissioner, S. D., No. 1900, dated 17th November, 1873.

RESOLUTION.—Colonel Anderson requests that the orders of Government in respect to the revision of the assessment on lands irrigated from wells may be reconsidered. He objects to them as involving a needless sacrifice of public revenue.

Those orders are—

1. That in the case of old wells constructed before the first

settlement, in dry and arid districts, all special water assessment should be abandoned, and the maximum jera yet rate alone levied.

2. That in the case of new wells constructed subsequent to the first settlement, the ordinary dry crop rate should be imposed, without any addition whatever on account of the new wells.

3. The question has now been very fully discussed. His Excellency the Governor in Council has no hesitation in re-affirming the second order, which has been approved of by the Secretary of State, which has already been productive of good results in encouraging the construction of new wells, and which is based on the broad and liberal principle laid down in section 30 of the Survey Act, namely, that improvements made during the currency of a settlement are not to be taxed.

4. The opinions that have been elicited during the course of the present correspondence convince Government as to the policy and expediency of the first rule. It was intended in the first instance to be applicable to the drier talukas of the Deccan Collectorates, where the rainfall is, as a rule, light and uncertain. His Excellency the Governor in Council is now pleased to decide that it should be generally adopted in the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country, but that the Survey Commissioners should at their discretion be empowered, in the case of districts where well irrigation has been carried on on an extensive scale, to impose an assessment which should in no case exceed a well assessment previously levied.

5. Boorkies of permanent construction are to be treated as wells. There is no objection to the plan which Colonel Anderson states he has adopted, of classing at a higher rate land within a certain distance from a stream from which water can be obtained by means of a boorkie. The same principle may be adopted in the case of land which is found to derive benefit from its proximity to a tank. This should form part of the regular process of classification, in order that it may be tested by the classing assistants in the same manner as other classification returns.

WELL ASSESSMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(From the "Bombay Gazette," January 3, 1834.)

We published a day or two ago copies of certain Government Resolutions on the non-assessment of wells. Those Resolutions afford a remarkable confirmation of all that we urged in our article on Saturday last. We showed that whereas on the one hand the departmental orders and resolutions of the executive

Government in this Presidency displayed a tendency to liberality by directing the exemption from assessment of wells constructed while the thirty years' leases were running, on the other the effect of the provision embodied in law in section 107 (b) of the Bombay Land Revenue Code tended to discourage the sinking of capital in them. And this view was further confirmed by what the Hon'ble Mr. Hope said in the Viceregal Council with regard to the assessability of improvements provided for in that section. We were not alone in holding that view. Of the Resolutions published by us, that dated the 10th November, 1881, indicates that the Famine Commission, of which the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Peile was a member, held exactly the same view as that to which we gave expression on Saturday. In Section 3, Chapter IV. of their Report, part II. (page 145), the Commissioners observed that "we think it important that a precise and permanent understanding should be come to on the subject, and ratified by law." And it was, we think, because the provision in the Land Revenue Code did not contain such a "precise and permanent understanding on the subject," as was desirable, but, on the contrary, emphasised the "assessability of improvements," that the Commission recommended that rules and orders on the subject should be "ratified by law." No doubt the Bombay Government's Resolution of the 10th November, 1881, conveys an assurance to the holders of wells of the good intentions of our Government. But this is not enough, because, as was urged by the Famine Commission, these departmental orders, resolutions, and rules "have not the force of law." It is scarcely necessary to say that a departmental order or a Resolution of Government is one thing, and a provision embodied in a law quite another. Such orders labour under the disadvantage, to use the words of the Famine Commission, of being subject to retraction and change of view. At best their usefulness to the ryots is liable to be questioned. Who that knows anything of the administrative changes in our Government is not aware of the fact that the orders and resolutions of one Government are frequently upset by those of its successor, rendering a continuity of policy almost impossible?

It is well known that Sir Philip Wodehouse published a Resolution limiting the increase of assessment rates to 30 per cent. in revised settlement operations in certain Deccan districts. But it was never acted upon by Sir Richard Temple, his successor, and it has remained a dead letter ever since. In the matter of Local Funds administration, again, Sir Philip Wodehouse repeatedly sent orders to collectors to spend village local funds for the benefit of the villagers who paid the local cess. But Sir Richard Temple did not agree with this policy, and set aside the orders of his predecessor. If, then, as urged in the Reso-

lution of November, 1881, Government are now prepared to give a general assurance that clause (b) of Section 107 of the Land Revenue Code will not be applied to wells dug at the expense of the owner or occupier of the soil, why should not such an undertaking be embodied in the form of law? This would make the understanding precise and permanent. But it appears from this Resolution of November, 1881, that Government still desire to keep to themselves the power at any time to declare how they interpret that clause, from which it is evident that the understanding which the Famine Commissioners would insist upon between Government and the landowners is neither "precise nor permanent," and that it has not the force of law. Seeing that the practice is so uncertain, or at least of doubtful utility, are we to wonder at the backwardness of Ramji bin Raoji to sink his well, or at his fears and doubts as to whether, on the expiration of a term of settlement, he will be allowed to enjoy the whole profits of such improvement? It seems to us that the Government can do nothing better adapted to allay anxiety in the matter, and to set at rest all doubts and uncertainties, than to give their good intentions precision and permanency, and remove all danger of retractation and change of view. By this single act on their part, we venture to affirm, they will do more to encourage the construction of wells in the Presidency than any number of departmental orders and resolutions are likely to do. There is also another doubt entertained by landowners which should be set at rest by law, and that is whether such wells as have been sunk during the currency of the present term of settlement will be exempt from assessment only during the next revision operations and not thereafter. What is needed is to give legal effect to the good intentions of Government in the matter, so as to give an impetus to this most effective means of land improvement in this Presidency.

INDIANS AND INDIAN QUESTIONS:

THE DUTIES OF INDIAN JOURNALISTS AND
PUBLIC MEN.

An Address

TO

THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON,

BY

W. MARTIN WOOD,

*Author of THINGS OF INDIA MADE PLAIN, Formerly Editor of the "Times
of India", and of the "Bombay Review", etc.*

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LITICAL AGENCY, 25, CRAVEN STREET,

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AN ADDRESS TO THE
INDIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON,

At a Meeting held in the Rooms of the INDIAN POLITICAL AGENCY.

The CHAIRMAN, the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, in introducing the lecturer, said: You require no introduction of Mr. Wood to you. He was known as far back as twenty years ago in charge of the *Times of India*. His whole career has been one of sincerity and justice. We shall always feel grateful to him for the work done by him. There are those who, when they leave India, entirely forget all about it, although they draw their pensions from that country. But there are those who do not forget India. Among the latter who have worked for India, Mr. Wood stands prominent. Since his return home he has never ceased his efforts in behalf of our country, therefore, his address now to be delivered cannot fail to interest us. He has, as you know, published a book bearing the title of "Things of India Made Plain," comprising his recollections and the history of many public questions, described without party spirit, and in a spirit of simple righteousness towards India. Hence we shall listen with attention to any advice he can give us on our affairs.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD, on rising and addressing the Chairman, after some remarks deprecating the eulogy passed on him, then proceeded to say it had frequently appeared to him that Native students, journalists, and other Indian public men, do not give as much attention as they ought to some of the questions of greatest interest affecting their country. He did not wish to lecture them, but chiefly to remind them of many subjects well known to their fathers and uncles, and to encourage them to study these subjects for themselves and from their own opinions on them. He might mention an instance of the somewhat similar course recently taken by Mr. Lee-Warner in a certain lecture he had given, chiefly intended for the guidance of Indian journalists. That gentleman was at one time amongst those who were most irritated by the writers in the *Native Press*—that was about the time when Lord Lytton's Gagging Act was passed. Now Mr. Lee-Warner urges native journalists to use—but with moderation and discretion—the liberty

of speaking and writing, in which the British Government, above all others, persists. On this occasion, in any general reflections he (Mr. Wood) might make adversely, they must understand that he admitted large exceptions; and the confidence with which he took the freedom to address them, was founded in his knowledge that many Indians have been, and some are equal to the highest efforts in statesmanship, or in estimating the relative importance of diverse public questions. (Hear, hear.)

Now let them begin with that large question of the value of India to England. Many Radical politicians amongst us are very good friends to India, but they are beset with the mistaken idea that India causes burdens to the British taxpayer. They criticise details freely and denounce high salaries, but they shrink from the only effectual methods of reducing the financial strain on India, viz. : (1) By England guaranteeing the Indian debt, (2) by sustaining definite portions of the Home Charges, and (3) by showing willingness to bear the cost of Transfrontier policy. England might help India in these three ways, and the question is how to overcome this rooted aversion of these good friends of India to help your country, and relieve the overstrain on its resources? It would be easy to convince them that India pays, and is a source of great profit to England. More than twenty years ago your chairman went into this question in the first paper read before the East India Association, the title of which was "England's Duty to India." The topic is treated of in a general essay, but the permanent value of the paper consists in the two or three pages of tables given with it. Here they are in the Association's first volume; now consider the labour required in looking up those statistics, the perseverance in compiling them, the discrimination shown in assorting them and in tracing the real facts under the figures on the surface—that is the sort of work that requires special attention and abilities. Mr. Dadabhai had great difficulties in those days in digging up the figures at the India Office. The subject now requires bringing up to date and the amounts brought out, showing the very great monetary advantage the possession of India gives to England. There can be no substantial reform in Indian finance which does not require that England should sustain some share of the cost of maintaining the connection between the two countries. Now which of you will go into this large question, study it, and popularise it? Here it may be remarked as to the East India Association, why is it not better supported here? Perhaps it will be said the association has become reactionary and that it is not in sympathy with the objects and wishes of the Indian peoples. Why then do not more of you join that Association and thereby help to mould its policy? Then he might mention the Indian Reform Association. It was established to take up such questions as those which the older association passes by. Mr. George Foggo, whose name should be remembered here, took the secretaryship; but for want of support, especially from those Indians resident in London, it was allowed to die. Now another subject that affects so many others is the study of statistics. Indian writers have faculties especially suited to the

study of statistics, but few give themselves to it. The study is laborious and requires concentrated attention. But there is now ample material, far more than there used to be. Most of the Indian accounts are full and explicit. All cannot follow this branch of study, but some of you can, and the others should shew more appreciation of such labours. To illustrate this, consider that remarkable series of papers by your Chairman on "The Poverty of India." He took as the basis of his enquiry the detailed administration reports for one province—the Punjab. His paper thus affords a pattern that might be applied to some other province—Madras for instance, which could serve by way of comparison and test. You have to examine statistics so as to ascertain the total production of the presidency or district chosen. Then see what is the minimum of consumption enjoyed by the people, and trace what food and other commodities are sent out of the area chosen. There must be some men in each presidency or province who could gradually take this course for all India—thus mapping out its social and industrial economy. This little book before me, "Notes on the Agriculturists of Aurungabad," by Furdoonjee Jamsetjee, an officer in His Highness the Nizam's service, gives one instance of this; and probably you can recall similar works by local Native writers. There is Mr. Javeribal Umashankar, of Bombay, who has done a good deal of work of this kind relating to Gujerat and Kutch. The special value of this thorough examination of the condition of the country would enable you to hold your own in discussion with the officials, who, being familiar with all the returns and figures, have, or often appear to have great advantage over native writers and speakers. Again, let me acknowledge that many of your friends best qualified for this kind of work are closely engaged with official or professional duties; but there are others who, having retired or not being otherwise engaged, can undertake such voluntary service. As to material of another kind, there are the Trade Returns which are published every month; but how few native editors get these fresh every month and use them whilst they are new. The Railway Traffic Returns, again, require constant attention by your journalists, who might investigate the relative value of Native and European labor employed, and the general cost of working the railways. There are many questions arising out of these returns—how far the wealth-producing districts or villages, and cultivated lands, are connected with stations by proper roads. Then there is that large question of how far expensive railway carriage can serve the bulky produce of the country, and how much further that produce could be carried by cheap water ways. Excellent as most of the official returns are, they do not get to the public until they are out of date. But native writers have the means of getting much of the information for themselves, so as to make their own observations on the facts in their own districts. There was an inquiry of this kind carried out by the Poona Savajanik Sabha many years ago, which showed the advantage of these local investigations.

Now let us speak of the Financial Statements. My remarks

apply, in a different sense, to the treatment of these Annual Budgets. Many of the native writers are quite capable of dealing with them, and show a laudable zeal in scrutinizing the statements at the time when they come out. But they are far more apt to complain of the pressure of taxation than to trace out causes of the growth of expenditure; and they do not follow the work continuously. They seldom remember to compare the Budget as it looked when presented in Calcutta in March, with the Secretary of State's statement in July. They often lose touch in the meantime of the essential facts; they seldom make comparisons with a long series of years; and they satisfy themselves merely with reviewing the two years under notice. There is, I may remind you, no criticism of real practical value that is not comparative embracing a sufficiently long period. Since Lord Northbrook's time, the statistics of revenue and expenditure are very full and given in detail for each province; but those detailed returns are seldom made use of. When the new privilege of interpellation is really granted, there will be suitable openings for the following up of these subjects by having questions carefully framed by committees, or studious journalists relative to specific items of expenditure. Also when in any particular province there appears to be an excess of revenue over local outlay, it would be highly useful to trace what are the causes of that excess, and to what so-called Imperial purposes it may be applied. Then as to the large question of the condition of the masses. A few months before Lord Dufferin left, an enquiry was made throughout India as to the condition of the people—to what extent does absolute poverty prevail, or otherwise? Amongst the final proceedings of that Viceroy was the issue of a minute giving a summary of the results of that enquiry. The minute was fairly reviewed by the Native Press, and in the *Voice of India* there are some very good criticisms of the results of that enquiry. This circumstance bears out what he (Mr. Wood) had said as to the ability of Indian writers to deal with subjects of this kind. Although there are now more frequent inquiries officially arranged for as under the various Famine Commissions, native journalists might do much through well selected correspondents to check, or corroborate, these official reports.

Again there is that huge subject of military expenditure. This branch of public outlay far exceeds all others. There has been of late years much increase both absolute and relative. It is far more than in the Company's days, especially as the larger proportion of British troops swells the home charges, and armaments are necessarily more costly. There is no objection to this, but you should take care that India is not made the field for military experimentalists at the expense of the Indian revenues. Only four or five years ago when Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary of State, there was a large addition made to the number of the troops, viz.; 10,000 British and 20,000 Native troops were added. He would remind them that the change that was made through the abolition of the local European forces, and the amalgamation with the

British army has been the chief cause of the increased expenditure. This has been done mainly in the interests of large Departments here in England. Many Anglo-Indians are now convinced that the local European Indian army ought to be restored. Many officers of the late Indian army remained local, who, together with the formation of the Staff Corps, largely increased the number of unemployed officers. Many of us on the Anglo-Indian press pointed out at the time the proper remedy, namely, giving the superfluous officers a bonus and letting them go. But the India Office obstinately refused to move in the matter. We wrote year after year in the *Times of India* and in other journals of the period; but there was no assistance given us by the native press. The difficulty of the subject was no doubt formidable; but materials were available and the native defenders of the Indian revenues ought to have gone into the matter. Here he would venture to summarise, as bearing on the present position of this question, remarks in a letter by a European gentleman who was very largely connected with their new national movement: "As to the general question of excessive military expenditure we are all agreed. We consider that the recent addition of 30,000 men to the Indian forces was not needed and should have been obviated by other arrangements. Then we consider that a large portion of the British troops now stationed in and paid for by India should be replaced by a restored European local force; the men being acclimatised would be more efficient, and in the event of complication in Europe such local force could not be suddenly called away. We think that many reductions might be made by better organisation; but the Congress cannot deal with these subjects; we might alarm the authorities, and, then, we are not military experts."

Now, as to this last remark, it is very much to be regretted that it weighs so much with native publicists and writers. It throws the whole matter not only into the hands of officials, but really into the hands of military men, which is a disastrous and disheartening state of things. He would urge that more attention should be given to general military questions, and that the plea that they were not experts should be set aside. Your own judgment as to what the country really requires for its defence should be more depended upon. One leading excuse for the increased army expenditure is the assertion that India has now become connected with Continental politics. The fallacy of this plea should be exposed. The chief ground for it is that your rulers, the Indian Government, is impelled into this course from home, and by relying on military theorists instead of experienced Anglo-Indian knowledge. This is quite a new departure since 1875. No adequate notice was taken of the minutes of Lord Lawrence and his colleagues in 1867-69 on the Central Asia question. The full substance of those minutes was given in the *Times of India* at the time, but there was no appreciable response from the native press. Had your writers insisted on these minutes being published then, that fatal step of the rush beyond the frontier in 1878 might have been averted. Even under Lord Northbrook the proposal of giving over the Soinde Frontier to the Punjab politicals gave the opening for this rash and

fearfully mischievous policy. All this may be read about in a work entitled "Causes of the Afghan War".

Now here is a question of the utmost political importance. Is it not possible for the native press to demand a *reversal* of that policy? The great change, you must remember, was made in Lord Lytton's time and resulted in the Afghan war and the subsequent raids beyond the frontier, culminating in the Burmah war. The native press condemned the Afghan war almost without an exception. The people of India are not responsible for that disastrous blunder. They are well able to judge of the impregnability of the natural boundaries of India. They know that military strength is weakened by going beyond those ramparts. They should at the very least insist that the cost of occupying military outposts beyond the true line of India's frontier should be sustained by the British Treasury. Some great effort is needed by your leaders in regard to this question. Railways have been pushed beyond the frontier of India, and millions have been sunk on them and on the fortified outposts. Again I ask could not that policy be reversed? Sir Charles Dilke has placed his skilful pen at the service of the forward party and is writing a series of articles to back up that policy. But cannot native Indian writers take a firm stand in regard to this subject, urging either that these military outposts shall be withdrawn; or, seeing that this is the policy of the Home Government, that the British Treasury should bear the greater part of that military expenditure incurred beyond the frontiers of India in support of the so-called Continental policy? If Indian publicists would energetically address themselves to the subject there is no telling what they might not effect. There is urgent need for some fast stand being made on behalf of the Indian revenues. You may remember a phrase of Lord Lytton's about "India being surrounded by a belt of protected states." That was a chance disclosure of the schemes that are still going on. You have now got Kashmir and Gilgit on your hands, and soon you will have Sikkim and other distant territories drawing your revenues. There are plenty of indications of that being a settled policy with those who dispose of your resources. Native politicians should not be so diffident in dealing with this insidious policy, for it seriously concerns their country in the future. They should be more watchful so as to take time by the forelock, because after the mischief is done it is too late to take action. With regard to Sikkim at the present time, it is plain that preparations are again being made for the invasion of Thibet; but the native press, who, in this instance, have sufficient information, ought resolutely to oppose that scheme. As regards Burmah, that invasion was carried out at last so suddenly that there was scarcely time to raise any formal protest against it, though it is to the credit of the Indian press that it was promptly denounced. But the worst part of the proceedings in Burmah—the destruction of the native Dynasty—was scarcely seen in its true light by Indian writers. Lord Dalhousie bequeathed to us this policy of annexation; but even he had moderation in respect of Burmah for he refused to invade and destroy the Monarchy of

Ava. He submitted the draft of his minute on this one subject to that eminent political officer, Colonel Sleeman. In response that officer said "if you destroy the native kingdom you will have chiefs rising up against your Government in every direction so that you may not be able to pacify the country in ten years." Yet, with all this advice and experience before him, Lord Dufferin, backed by Lord Randolph Churchill, swept away the native dynasty of Burmah; and now you have the anarchy that has already lasted two years and seems to increase month by month. Now as Sleeman foresaw this, is it too much to expect that native politicians should have seen and exposed the central and fatal mistake which is the worst part of this deplorable blunder in the invasion of Upper Burmah?

That leads me to the wider subject of the maintenance of the Feudatory States. This is an essential consideration in any general treatment of Indian questions. Have native publicists done their duty by it? Each time any particular State is attacked, the native press speaks out fairly well; but it seldom traces to their foundation such official excuses as are given for the supersession of a Native State—such as misconduct of rulers, as in the case of Mulhar Rao, the former Guikwar of Baroda, the alleged disorders in Mysore forty years ago, and now the silly story of a plot in Kashmir. These pleas are usually found to be prompted by the schemes of underlings, who, though very clever, are corrupt and have contrived to get to the blind side of the political officer in charge. There is no continuous effort made in the native press to insist on the reformation of the Political Department and the Foreign Office, or to demand more publicity being given to its proceedings. If the system of interpellation should be introduced, as is promised, there is very great need for questions being put in this direction. I need say little to you, or to your friends, regarding this subject of the Native States; for you know when they can be reformed from within by native hands and thus show good reasons for their existence, that this is the true form of Home Rule for India. But I fear that Indian writers have not sufficient acquaintance with the late Major Evans Bell's works on this vital subject. So I will here give a quotation from chap. XI of his most valuable work "Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy": "The nearest approach to self-government that the people of India can make in their present phase of civilisation, must be by means of reformed Native States owing allegiance and subordination to the Imperial Power. By the medium of such States we can exert a far stronger influence over the native mind, and gain a far more secure hold over the resources of India, than we can by means of our direct possession. India is a continent, not a country; and there is no part of the world where provincial self-government is more imperatively required, where uniformity and centralisation may become a greater curse". Mr. Wood referred to several notable Anglo-Indian authorities cited by Major Bell in vindication of the policy of preserving the political integrity of the "India of the Rajahs," including the names of Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Robert

Montgomery, Sir Donald Macleod, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. C. W. Elliott, and others. He then pointed out that, in accordance with the convictions of these just men of large experience, there cannot be a better basis for genuine and durable progress in India than to work on the indigenous material through honest Dewans and other native officials, trusted by their Chiefs, instead of attempting to force on reform from without. By this means the principles of just Government and beneficial administration, which British statesmen desire to promote, can be carried out successfully by native hands, aided by the confidence inspired in the Princes and Chiefs, who feel that their rights will be maintained, and their power secure under a true imperial policy. He referred, as an illustration of this policy, to a small book just published by Mr. Javalal Udiashankar, of Bombay, the biography of Azam Gaorishankar Udiashankar, C.S.I., who, during his long career as Dewan of Bhawnagar, brought that small Katthiawar State to a high degree of prosperity. Here (said he) is a class of topics on which native publicists might often write such monographs with great advantage both to India and the British Empires.

This led him to draw attention to a subject of special historical importance, which affords great scope for some Indian writer who might devote himself to it. Anglo-Indian journalists often referred to the comparatively small amount of tribute paid by Native States, about £750,000 per annum; and they asked, what is this in return for the military defence which the British Government affords the native Princes and Chiefs of India? These writers forget that this is only what is seen on the surface. History shows that province after province, district after district, has been transferred by treaties to the British dominions, the revenues of which exceed that £750,000 many times over. Now, if some of your graduates, who are well fitted for such a task, would look up and set in order those numerous transfers of territories and revenues from Native States to the British Raj, quite a flood of light would be thrown on the modern history of India, and much would be explained relating to the past and present financial position of the Government of India. Here is a most valuable field of work for some native publicist who could afford and would give his time and energy to the undertaking.

He continued—another subject in respect to which I have thought that native writers sometimes evince shortsightedness is, that of Public Works, and the cursory way in which they treat the accounts of the Department. No doubt, there have been and still may be many abuses in and about the Public Works Departments. There are often grounds for suspicion of *khatput* in connection with contracts, and especially where the sub-contract system prevails. But it is another thing to go to the extreme and assume that nothing the Department can do is right. Even some of the best of native writers, do this more especially in Bengal. It has been matter of surprise for me to see that the *Hindu Patriot*, for instance, does not see that in any case the outlay in public works, other than railways, is nearly all spent within the country itself, mainly on

wages and rough materials. But whenever there is a financial scare native writers are apt to fall in with the official device, which is first of all to starve public works. This remedy is one of the most wasteful that can be chosen; for if, the outlay on plain substantial works is suddenly checked the percentage due to cost of establishment at once increases; because, while it is easy to cast off weekly labourers and monthly contracts you cannot dismiss any of the more expensive part of the staff. Meantime the funds "saved" by this wasteful method of "intrenchment" are lavished on military and other unproductive expenditure. We might expect native financiers to fix attention on this contrast more frequently than they do. There ought to be, and, in a few cases are better able than Anglo-Indians to see that India requires more, and more directly useful and productive public works.

Lord Mayo was an earnest promoter of such works; but I do not remember that the native press showed any due appreciation of that aspect of his too short administration. The Marquis of Salisbury when, first as Lord Cranbourne, he became Secretary of State for India announced his policy as that of "peace and public works," and no better motto can be adopted. With Anglo-Indian writers the idea of public works results in constant clamour for more railways; and it has been matter of regret with myself that native journalists do not seem to fully appreciate the relative value of waterways as against ironways. Railways are expensive exotic contrivances; whereas irrigation works and navigable canals are natural and indigenous—water storage requires little skill and labour from Europe, but affords considerable outlay on wages to the people while the natural resources of the country are thereby utilized to the fullest extent. Indian writers might be expected to see what Anglo-Indians seem blind to; railways can transport produce, they do nothing to make it grow. It is only to a limited extent that railways can take the surplus of one province to another, or to the coast; but canals are far more suited for the transport of heavy produce and materials over long distances. On this I advise you to read two or three of Sir Arthur Cotton's works. Many of his papers and speeches are in the journals of the East India Association. Then when you have got a grasp of the subject, make a pilgrimage to Dorking, and see the good wise old man whilst he still lives. It is much to be desired that a larger proportion of Indian youths would take up the engineering profession. I am well aware there is still this drawback, that there is not much prospect of an official career in this direction; but if you fit yourself for it, and the subject is more broadly treated by the native press some way will be opened. Referring again to Sir Arthur Cotton, he is one of those men who see below the surface; and he has shown how little, comparatively, railways have done to meet the great wants of India, and how much cheap water transit and abundant storage could do to feed the people and change the face of the country. Colonel F. H. Tyrrell has done this in his "*Waterways versus Ironways*," published 1874 (Stanford). He works out the difference between the effects of these two classes of public works, and shows what is

being lost to India and its people by the disproportionate amount of outlay on railways to the neglect of water works and canals. He expresses a highly favourable estimate, in which I fully coincide as to the capacity of Indians, not only for engineering works but for all public affairs. He shows how very largely they assist the European officials in keeping up that grand spectacle of the British rule in India. He speaks of the great irrigation works in Madras and again in Scinde as the work of native engineers, and shows how admirably suited those works are to the needs of the country and how they prove that there is genius for that kind of engineering work in the native mind of India.

On the general subject of the industrial development of India, Mr. Wood next made remarks. He said: Much has been written on this subject in all directions in the native press, but more in the Anglo-Indian journals. There is plenty of information, but your people do not seem earnest and practical enough in applying it. There has been plenty of talk, but more work is required. I am well aware that the difficulty that meets one at every turn in India is the lack of available capital; but sufficient of that can generally be obtained for the carrying out well-considered plans for extending local industries. Here may be mentioned as a passing illustration of the apparent backwardness of Indian youths themselves to take an interest in practical subjects of this kind. Only a few weeks ago at the Society of Arts, there was a notable paper on Indian Agriculture, read by Professor Wallace. Special efforts had been taken to bring the meeting to the notice of Indian residents in town; but there was only one Indian gentleman there. Practical subjects of this kind might be studied much more than they are—the elementary principles of civil engineering and construction, as well as the readiest methods of making agriculture more productive. Much of this directly useful study can be gained without any lengthened course at college. Here he might refer to an address he gave several years ago to the Bombay Branch of the East Indian Association (*vide* vol. XI part 1) on "The Conditions of Industrial Progress on India." That was followed by an important adjourned debate, the record of which would, he thought, be well worthy of being referred to even now in connection with the new desire for industrial training in India. He believed that there is now a more general desire to co-operate between the several provinces of India in regard to material improvement. They must remember that in respect of modern civilisation and industrial progress India is, as it were, only in the cradle; but if her own people would only work together on these objects that concern their everyday pursuits, he could see promise of substantial progress through indigenous channels rather than by exotic methods.

There was just one partly political aspect of the subject of which this reference to the different provinces had reminded him. Only a short time ago you held a meeting here, and passed resolutions expressing your deep sorrow and that of your countrymen because of the decease of your faithful friend John Bright, and testified your gratitude for the great services he rendered in past years to

your country and people. Your chairman gave a sketch of those services and placed the whole subject well before the meeting. But it seemed to him (Mr. Wood) there was amongst those present very few who had more than an imperfect acquaintance with John Bright's speeches and career as relating to India. One of the speakers did refer to his proposals for giving more direct power to the several presidencies and provinces of India; but this was very vague, and other speakers only knew of Mr. Bright's important argument for the decentralisation of Indian administration in the most general way. Now, why not begin your studies in public affairs by examining those proposals of Mr. Bright's for provincial autonomy? You may possibly be able to show that in such direction may be found a solution of many difficulties that stand in the way of India's progress.

In concluding he trusted that nothing he had said would be taken in the way of censure. He was well aware of the drawbacks of their position and the difficulties that they would have to contend with in striving to do their duty to their fellow-citizens and their country; but they could all respond to that sentiment of patriotism in the familiar lines :

“ Is there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land.” (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN having invited expression of opinion from the meeting,

Mr. J. N. BANERJEE said he had always heard the lecturer's services to India spoken of in high terms, and personally he had been much impressed with the good advice given this evening. There is only one point he would touch upon, that is what Mr. Wood had said to urge them to be vigilant in watching the growth of military expenditure. The drawback with us is want of knowledge in regard to army organisation and policy; but I do not know how we can gain that in a few years, because it requires special training. Until we are allowed to enter into military service our voice in this respect is feeble and without influence, and can hardly be heard as yet. It is only with fear and diffidence that Indian journalists can speak upon military questions. The Indian press had criticised Lord Dufferin's policy on Burmah, but it mattered very little to the English public what native writers say on this subject.

The CHAIRMAN said he could only repeat what Mr. Wood had urged with regard to the great need for more study of the public questions that concern them. Most of them come to England for their special studies; but whilst giving due attention to them it was possible also to bestow study on broad political questions. They might do a great deal in their leisure hours at this work on behalf of their country's interests. We know that we have to contend against powerful odds: the officials in this country have all the knowledge at their command and their position is very difficult to contend against. But we are bound to fight against

these difficulties; and this we must do in the proper constitutional manner. The time will come when we shall see many of these difficulties vanish like the mist, if we only persevere. We need not despair. - The advance of the past four years has depended upon the work of many years preceding, and he, for one, was quite satisfied with the progress that had been made since the first impulse was given so far back as the year 1851, when the first political association was founded. The position in which we stand to-day was due to efforts made during many years, and he trusted that they might find that each year would bring a better result. He did not mean to say that they should rest contented, as there was so much work before them yet to be done. The work done in these forty years might seem very little; but it is the first step towards the progress that await us. No doubt mistakes may have been made, and this partly accounts for the slow pace at what we have gone. The position of the last forty years is seen in the propositions formulated by the Congress on which we may congratulate ourselves as coming in the name of all India. But the Congress movement is only of yesterday; it may stumble as children do in learning to walk, and have its ailments as children have. Let us make up our own minds to give it a fair trial. The fruit has been forming as the tree has been growing, and now the blossom appears. Let us take heart; let us hope on. If we can emulate the John Bull doggedness of our rulers they will perceive that what we ask is reasonable, and that we are prepared for it. No Government, neither foreign or native rule, would ever be so likely to grant what we ask as is the British rule. We can ask for our rights, if we show that we know how to use them. Some of our official censors try to frighten us with the largeness and complexity of Indian affairs which are enough to fill an encyclopædia. But we can meet that difficulty in this way—we must divide the work. No man should attempt to know everything. If each one of us takes some separate branch of Indian affairs, then each man who has studied a subject for himself will find that his words carry weight. If we avoid asking in ignorance or carelessness, what we ask will be given. Now, only a person whose heart is in the work could produce such an address as we have had this evening. It is the best evidence, as it is ocular proof as to the amount of interest that anyone devoting his mind and study to a subject can throw into that subject.

We must confess to feeling some shame on behalf of our countrymen when we see an Englishman throwing his heart and soul into our affairs as Mr. Martin Wood has done and is still doing. Seeing that he studies our affairs so earnestly and continuously his example alone ought to be enough in our breasts a desire that we should do likewise. (Applause.)

Mr. Wood said he highly appreciated their kind expressions. The advice of the chairman was very practical. Everybody should not try to do everything, some should work one branch and others in different directions. With regard to the remark that Indians should feel humiliated, he thought that was not the way

to look at it. They should feel encouraged and stimulated—(hear, hear). Mr. Banerjee had repeated the usual apology for not going into the question of military expenditure—that you do not know how to formulate your questions. But you should get beyond that stage of hesitation. Certainly he acknowledged there is much to be learnt by your people about army expenditure. But it is not necessary to be officers in order to deal with questions of policy on which military expenditure depends. Military measures, and the policy on which they are founded, are or ought to be controlled by the civilian thought and power in a State. The civilian executive decides what is needed for the defence of the territory and what political objects are to be aimed at; then it is only for professional military men, to devise what is necessary to carry out such orders. Always remember it is the *policy* that determines the expenditure, and your people, being detached from the class and personal interests that sway military advisers, can consider these questions more dispassionately. It is at any rate easy for you to take a broad view of the financial aspect of the question. In Lord Northbrook's time the army expenditure of India was about 15 millions; now it is about 21 millions. It will be pleaded in excuse for this that there is a larger extent of country to be guarded; but you can well reply to this that there was no need for the Government of India to go into foreign territories beyond the natural boundaries of the country. And you have material to go upon in studying this question. Some may remember that Sir George Balfour was made President of the Commission appointed to cut down the enormous army outlay that was continued after the Mutiny, and Sir Richard Temple was Secretary of that Commission. Sir George carried out that unpopular duty with a manfulness that demands your respect to this day; for he, a military man himself, had to contend against all the military interests concerned, but the Commission of which he was President in 1862, carried out its duties with thoroughness and success. Take another aspect of this subject that you can all understand. It has always been one of the pleas for the great extension of railways in India that this would make the same number of troops go much further. But, as railways have increased the number of troops and the amount of military expenditure have also increased. However, I trust you will all lay to heart what has been said by your chairman, and no one with better reason, as to what labour is required year after year. We, and you have to keep up our spirits and persevere persistently, but dispassionately, and temperately, in promoting the public objects before us. But they are *your* questions and *yours* will be the successes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. NAIDU in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Martin Wood, desired to suggest that the substance of the address should be published so that it may be read in India.

Mr. D. M. COLAH having seconded the motion which was adopted with applause,

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, the Chairman said, I have known Mr.

Wood since he first went to India, and, as I said before, I am well aware of the good work he has done for us.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD, in responding, said the most practical counsel he could give was that they should revive the spirit and increase the activity of their own Indian Society; it was always a right course in any good cause to begin at home. (Hear, hear.)

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“I am, I conclude, indebted to your kindness for the copy of *The Voice of India* which came to hand a day or two ago. Many thanks for sending it. Please add my name to your list of subscribers. I had noted with great interest the proposition that such a paper should be started, and of all your many plans for the better government of India, I know of none so well considered and so important as this. It is precisely what everyone has been craving for whose business it is to write about India, or who feels any active interest in the people or the country.”—[Extract from Col. R. D. OSBORN’S Letter, dated 7th March, 1883.]

LONDON AGENCY: 14, COCKSPUR STREET, CHANCERY CROSS, S.W.

A

CONVERSATION

BETWEEN

MOLVI FARIDUDDIN, M.A., B.L.,

VAQIL OF THE HIGH COURT,

PRACTISING IN THE ZILLAH COURT OF

HAKIKATABAD;

AND

V2, L:51. M2

R A M B A K S H,

ONE OF THE MUKADDAMS OF

K A M B A K H T P U R.

(Scene: The CHOPAL,* in Kambakhtpur, Zh. Hakikatabad.)

Rambaksh.—*Molvi Sahib*, there is a great talk, now-a-days, of "RE-PRE-SEN-TATION" and "RE-PRE-SEN-TA-TIVE INS-TI-TU-TIONS," but what does it all mean? Last week a Bengali gentleman was staying for the night at the Sarai, and, as many of us were sitting, talking round the fire, in the gateway, he came and began to talk to us. We told him how bad the times were, and how the police bullied us, and how hard the zemindar and the money-lender were, and how everything seemed going wrong. Then he said it was all our own fault, that if we chose to undergo all this, and all the trouble that pervaded the country, that was our look-out; *no one could help us if we did not help ourselves*. But we said: "How can we help ourselves? Who can oppose the *Sirkar* (Government), and does not the *Sirkar* keep up the police, and do not the Civil Courts of the *Sirkar* support the zemindar and the sahookar (banker) in all their oppression?" He said: "That is true, and obedience to the Government of the time is the duty of all good subjects, but you could, if you chose, so alter the system (*dastur*) of the Government that it would do the things that are pleasing and beneficial to you, instead of, as now, often doing what you dislike, and what is harmful to you." And we said: "We alter the *Sirkar*; are we Rustams? Are we Devas? This is foolish talk, what can we poor people do?" He said: "By yourselves, you are very weak, and can do nothing; you are very ignorant, and can hardly see beyond the ends of your fields, but, for all that, if all you ryots all over the country would join those of your country-

* The raised earthen platform, where the villagers congregate to discuss village politics in particular, and all things in general. A substitute for a Town Hall.

“men who are better off, and better educated, in calling upon the Government to concede to us ‘REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS,’ then the good people in England would insist on these being given to us, and then, soon, many things would be altered for the better, and many of your causes for complaint would be removed.” Now there was a *Sahib* also putting up in the Serai. A *Chota Sahib*, an overseer on the canal, but a good man, and just then he came out and said: “That is all nonsense Baboo, these poor fellows are mere cattle; what can they understand of such matters, and what good do you think ‘REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS’ would do to such as these?” And then the Baboo and he began to argue in English, and we heard nothing more. And indeed I think the *Sahib* was right, and that it *was* all nonsense. Still we want to know what does “RE-PRE-SEN-TATION” mean? What is it?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well Rambaksh, I do not know that it is all nonsense. As for “REPRESENTATION,” don’t you remember last year, when you and Matadin and Rampershad, and some thirty others of you, had cases against Raja Harbansrai, just about sowing time, and as it was a bad time to be away from the village, and all the cases were quite alike, and you knew all about the matter, and had the best head of the lot, they all chose you out and sent you in, to me, to the *Sudder** to explain all their cases, and get me to put in petitions for *them* as well as for yourself? Well, that was “REPRESENTATION,” and you were their “REPRESENTATIVE.” The words may be new to you, but the thing is as old as the soil. Has it not ever been our custom, alike under Emperors or Kings, when any village or city, or *pargana*† or district, had any favour to ask, or any grievance to complain of, for all the respectable men of the place to have *punchayets*,‡ and at these to pick out the

* The head-quarters of the District.

† A Revenue Sub-division.

‡ Councils for consultation—originally consisting of five members only—any body of men selected to consider over and decide any question.

sidered and so important as this. It is precisely what everyone has been craving for whose business it is to write about India, or who feels any active interest in the people or the country.”—[Extract from Col. R. D. OSBORN'S Letter, dated 7th March, 1883.]

wisest and longest-headed men, and the best speakers, and send these to the authority, or *Sirkar*, to make known our prayers? Well, this again was "REPRESENTATION," and the men so sent, to plead the cause of those who deputed them, were "REPRESENTATIVES."

Rambaksh.—Well, I understand that; as you say, the words are new, and very long, but the thing is old and simple. But what has that to do with Government, and what do "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—There are Governments in all countries; without Government there would be no peace, no security of life or property. Governments are necessary, and, if good, a great blessing. But some Governments are better than others; of course one ruler is a good man and another a bad man; one clever and another a fool, or a madman. But I do not mean *that*; I mean that there are two chief kinds of Government, one of which is better than the other. Now you know Shamsapur, and the good old *Lumberdar* (or senior proprietor) Kour Dharām Singh. There are nearly 200 sharers in that village, but in the five years that I have been a vaquil here, I do not remember a single case coming up from that village, and we all know that there is no more prosperous place in the district.

Rambaksh.—That is true, and that is because the *Lumberdar*, though he is ten times as rich, and as clever, as any of the *Hissadars* (co-sharers), never does anything without consulting them. There is not a pie* of village expenses (*gaon khurch*), but what every shareholder has had his say about it; and whatever is to be done, it is all talked over on the *chopal*, and if there is any quarrel, it is all settled there. Of course there are Jivan Singh and Rajaram and one or two others whom the *Lumberdar* laughingly calls his counsellors (*darbarees*), who have most

* The smallest copper coin, value at the present time about one-third of a farthing.

to say, but that is because they are the leaders of the several *pattis* (main sub-divisions of the village), and all their *hissadars* look up to them as the best and wisest men. Ah! that's the way to manage a village. If only ours were like it!

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well I see you understand more than I thought. Now the management of Shamshpur is an example, in a small way, of what we call “CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.” If a ruler acts like that good *Lumberdar*, and in all he does and orders first consults his subjects and so manages that the best and wisest of them, on whom the rest rely as their leaders, approve and agree to what is done, then we call that a “CONSTITUTIONAL” kind of Government. And this of course is the only permanently safe kind of Government, for as the saying goes “*Pānch pānch mil, kijay kaj—Har jīt awai nahin laj*” (Do your work in association with five others, so that come victory or defeat, you will not stand alone).

Rambaksh.—And what kind of Government do you call that of our Rajah Harbansrai? He lives away in the *Sudder*, and he never comes near us, and he never reads any of our petitions, and never consults any of us; indeed he won't see us, but sends out an order for us to speak to the *Naib** or the *Gomashtak* (factor) who lives in the Rajah's house here, and as for the *Gomashtak*, he never knows any thing about us or the village, for one comes for six months and then goes, and then another comes for a couple of years and then he goes, and then another comes, and so on. And except dear old Rai Sacharam, there has never been a *Naib* or *Gomashtak* here who didn't think he knew more about every thing than any of us, or all of us, put together. They are all alike these *Gomashtaks*. “*Jau; Chupraho;*” (go away! hold your tongue) “do this; don't do that; pay this; pay that!”

* H's deputy or head manager, or agent.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, when a Government behaves as Rajah Harbansrai does, we call it a “DESPOTIC” Government. But how does your village thrive?

Rambaksh.—How does it thrive? Why, *Molvi Sahib*, you know that there is never a day but what there is some case from Kambakhtpur in court; that we are growing poorer and poorer, that land is going out of cultivation, that we have scarcely oxen enough to plough what we still till. Look down the street, why the houses are half of them nearly in ruins, and the two *abkari** shops, that the *Sirkar* has set up here, are always full. Even this chopal built by our forefathers and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shamsapur; it is twice as populous as this *Bustee* (village), and yet there is no *abkari* shop there, and the *Lumberdar* says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in this whole *zillah*,† Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst.

Molvi Fariduddin.—I am afraid that is too true. But why is this? Rajah Harbansrai is not a bad man. I live in the *Sudder* and see much of him. He is rather a kind good man, though so occupied with his great big house there, and his troops of servants, that he has no time to look after his affairs in the *Mofassil* ‡

Rambaksh.—That’s just it. I don’t say he is a bad man, but we never see him. We send him petitions, but he takes no notice of them. So far as any good to us is concerned he might be dead,—but, for all that, he must have his money, and, almost every year, more money and more money, till we poor people are almost skin and bone. Ah! if we were only cattle, as the *Sahib* said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of our skins; it is about all we have left.

* Liquor shops. Public houses.

† District.

‡ The rural portion of the country as contrasted with the urban portion is called the *Mofussil*; so again provincial districts as contrasted with the capital are also so designated.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Ah ! Rambaksh, I am afraid you say that because you haven't paid me what you owe me, for that enhancement case !

Rambaksh.—No *Molvi Sahib*. You have always been my friend, and I have the money for you safe ; have I ever been dishonest ? But what I say is too true ; we are all very poor now.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, but how is it ? The Rajah no doubt doesn't look after you, but he always keeps his *Naib* or a *Gomashtah* here, and he does seem to me to try to employ good men. I have had many cases for you people against them, but I have found most of them respectable men, far better than the *Naibs* many other Rajahs employ to look after their *Mofussil* villages.

Rambaksh.—That is true enough. They do not take bribes, they do not meddle with our women, they don't drink, but they are city people ; they know nothing of the *Mofussil* ; they don't understand our village ways ; they press in a hurry for rent, and force us to sell our crops below their value, when they ought to wait and leave us time to make good bargains ; they don't know the difference between a 6-anna and a 16-anna crop,* and press in bad times for rent, so that we have to sell our cattle ; they don't know who is reliable (*matbir*), and they make advances, when none ought to be given, to ne'er-do-weels and lose their money, and then say we are *all budmashes* (bad characters, rogues), and won't even give seed grain to the best of us, when times are such that we really need it. And then they are fussy and self-conceited, and won't hear a word from any of us. There was the old tank there, the Soorujkund, that from generation to generation used to irrigate half the village ; that burst when I was a boy fifty years ago. Well we wanted the Rajah to repair this. It wouldn't have cost many

* Sixteen annas go to a Rupee. A sixteen-anna crop therefore is a full crop, while a six-anna crop is one which only yields six-sixteenths or three-eighths of what a full crop would.

hundred rupees, and the whole village knew from their forefathers how well it worked. But, no! The *Naib Sahib* knew better, he wouldn't listen to us. "What do you cattle know? Hold your tongues!" He was all for new-fangled plans; he would bring a *kul* (channel) of the *Sirkari* canal to irrigate the village. We told him that canal water is cold, that our lands lay low, that it would not do. But what was the use? "What do you cattle folk know? Hold your tongues;" and so the *kul* was brought, and the first year it overflowed and swamped half the crops, and then, when the water dried up, the canal people came and measured up all the land, and made us pay tax for "one watering." A fine thing, seeing it had ruined our crops. But we had to pay, and now it is bringing the *reh*, (a saline efflorescence) all over our best lands. There is that five-bigah field that my ancestors have cultivated for centuries; such a good field; it never gave me less than Rs. 50 a year net profits, and now—now it is all white, and it won't pay the rent even. I don't like to give it up; for ages have my forefathers tilled it, but what can I do? I asked the *Gomashtah* to get the rent reduced, and all he said was "reduce the rent? you must be a fool or think me one; hold your tongue." And so it is in every thing. The *Rajah* pays no heed to us; his *Naibs* understand nothing of our affairs. They order this and order that, press us for money in season and out of season, they know nothing of village matters themselves, and they won't hear a word from us, because they think they are all-wise and we utter fools—and under such a system (*dastur*), how can a village be otherwise than ruined? What does it matter that the *Rajah* is not a bad man, or that his *Naibs* don't purposely injure us; nay at times some of them, after their own fashion, try to help us—it is the bad *dastur* that is ruining us.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Ah *Rambaksh*, the *Chota Sahib* may think you cattle, but you are wiser than he was. For this evil *dastur* which is ruining you and your neighbours and village is the "DESPOTIC" (*khud mukhtiar*) *dastur*. And

when rulers govern their subjects in this same way, we call theirs a “DESPOTIC” Government, and “DESPOTIC” governments always ruin the countries in which they are carried on for long. They may be necessary in the infancy of a nation; they become crimes when it grows up. Now you have a practical knowledge of both systems; you see how Shamshpur is prospering under a “CONSTITUTIONAL” system, and you know only too thoroughly what Kambakhtpur is coming to under the “DESPOTIC” system, and pray have you any doubts as to which of these two are best.

Rambaksh.—Am I an idiot? Who can doubt that the *Lumberdar's bandobast* (administration) which you call the “CONSTITUTIONAL” system is the best?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well now, you are only a villager; but you are a thoughtful man, and how would you call our present Sirkar, may its shadow never be less (*dam ikbalahoo!*)? Do you think our Government is a “CONSTITUTIONAL” one, or do you think it is a “DESPOTIC” one? Don't be in a hurry; think before you reply.

Rambaksh.—Oh! you must not ask me. What do I know of Governments? I am only a poor ryot!

Molvi Fariduddin.—You are only a poor ryot, but you nevertheless are not a fool; on the contrary you are, (and you know it and are proud of it), the wisest man in this village. Take the trouble to think it out; compare the management of this country by our present rulers with the management of Shamshpur by Kour Dharam Singh, and with that of Kambakhtpur by Rajah Harbansrai and his *Naibs* and say which does it most resemble.

Rambaksh (*after some consideration*).—Well there is our good Queen Empress, she never comes here certainly, and we never see her, and I hear the people in Hakikatabad sent her a petition last year, and they do say nearly a lakh of people signed it, but she never took any notice of

it. But they say she is so busy there, over in *Vallayat* (England), and has so many countries elsewhere belonging to her that she has no time to attend to us Indians. And when I come to think of it, may God long preserve her, but I don't know that it *does* signify much, to us, *who* sits upon the Gaddi* over there in *Vallayat*. I must say that this is all rather like Rajah Harbansrai's *dastur*. Certainly I never heard that she consulted any of us Indians on any point, and as to *guon khurch* (village expenses)—well, I have heard in Hakikatabad what krores and krores of money are every year spent by the *Sahib log* (Europeans), and without consulting any one! No! this is not at all like the Shamshpur *dastur*.

Molvi Fariduddin.—And then look at all the *Naiibs* and *Gomashhtahs* she sends. Are they not like Raja Harbansrai's? Very respectable men no doubt; they don't take bribes, they don't, certainly, try to injure us, but what do they know of us and our real wants? Don't they pooh-pooh our old customs and, *har ke amad*,† (each who comes) insist on introducing some new-fangled device for improving the condition of the country which, not unfrequently, ends in doing it harm? Do they consult us? Do they ever *really* talk over *any* thing with us? Do they take care to see that we approve, and agree to every thing, nay to *any* thing they see fit to do? Is it not with them as with your Kambakhtpur *Naiibs*? "What do *you* know, you cattle folk? Hold your tongues." "Do this." "Don't do this." Is this like the CONSTITUTIONAL management of Shamshpur, or like the "DESPOTIC" management of Kambakhtpur?

Rambaksh—Ah Molvi Sahib, you are a learned man, but I see now what you mean, and I suppose our Government is what you call a "DESPOTIC" one, and that,

* *Gaddi*, lit. cushion; equivalent to throne.

† Referring to Saadi's well known lines "*Har ke amad imarat-i-nau saht, Raft o manzil ba digeri perdahht, &c.*"

perhaps, is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why every thing seems, from all I hear, to be going wrong, and why the Government jumma is always being raised, and with it our rents, and new taxes are imposed and.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, certainly, our Government *is* a “DESPOTIC” one, and a “DESPOTIC” Government is always, when long continued, bad for every country, and we and our country are suffering in a hundred ways on this very account. But don't think I am speaking evil of our *Governors*, for I know many of them personally, and know that, as a rule, they are good and well meaning men—men, in many matters, far more highly educated than the best of us. It is not the officers, it is not the members of Government, or the Lieutenant-Governors or Viceroy, that I find fault with. I hate the foolish fault-finding spirit, in which some of our newspapers abuse, and wrongly attribute bad motives to, many of these whom I *know* to be good men. What I condemn and protest against is the system ; it is against the system (*dastur*) of the Government, not against the gentlemen who carry on that Government (and who are as much tied down by that system (*dastur*), as ourselves), that I complain.

Rambaksh.—That is very true no doubt *Molvi Sahib*, and our Collector *Sahib* is a good man, and in the bad fever here, a year ago, he came out himself and with his own hands gave quinine to many, and his lady herself helped to nurse my little girl, (the one I married this year to Ramrutton's son you know), and he stopped a whole week here, though it was the rains, and he spoke kindly to all. Yes ! he is a good man. But what has all this to do with “REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.”

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly Mr. Sidher is a good man, and besides all *you* know of him, though he does not care to talk much of such things, as the officials generally are not favourable to the idea, he in his heart agrees very

much with the views we educated natives hold as to those "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" about which you ask. What are these? Well you have yourself understood that our present form of Government is "DESPOTIC," that it resembles the form of management of Kambakhtpur, and that it is a form of Government that entails necessarily much suffering on those subject to it. On the other hand in Shamsapur, you have had an example of "CONSTITUTIONAL" Government, and you have seen how the people have prospered under it, and what we desire is gradually to transform our present "DESPOTIC" into a "CONSTITUTIONAL" form of Government.

Rambaksh.—But how can you possibly do that?

Molvi Fariduddin.—By "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS," that is to say by having "REPRESENTATIVES," of the country, and a considerable number of them, in all the councils, and thus allowing the country a real share in the administration.

Rambaksh.—By "REPRESENTATIVES," you mean then men picked out of each town and district who would say to the Government what we want, and how we want it done, and what we don't want, and all that?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, but not precisely that; rather the men whom such "REPRESENTATIVES" would pick out from amongst themselves, the wisest and best men, (just as your fellow-villagers picked you out to "REPRESENT" them in those enhancement cases) who would sit in the councils, and vote upon Government measures, and would have a right to ask the Government questions, and if any thing was being done that they considered wrong, would be entitled to insist on the Government explaining how the matter stood, or enquiring into it.

Rambaksh.—But I have heard that there were Raeeses and Rajahs in the council. Why did they not do something good for us?

Molvi Fariduddin.—A very proper question. But as a rule, the gentlemen selected by the Government as councillors, under the present DESPOTIC system, are not of the class of men who could do any good to the country. They are, too generally, men of moderate capacity, selected mainly because they are wealthy, and always make themselves agreeable to European officials. Some really good men are thus selected no doubt, but these are a minority. However, even if *all* were good men, they could still, under the present “DESPOTIC” system, do nothing, because they are too few in number, and all they are allowed to do is to speak and vote in regard to particular new Acts, which the Government has already decided to pass. They may say what they please, they may vote as they like, but the Act never comes before them until the Government has decided to pass it, and pass it the Government does. No doubt they may, and do at times, get a clause altered here, and a clause altered there, but as to any real power to influence the action of Government to any useful extent, their appointment is a pure farce. What we want is a much larger number of Indian members, and these not mere nominees of Government ready to say “*Bhot Accha*” (very good) or *jo hoolcum* (as you order) to whatever any official suggests, but the ablest and most independent men in the country, who shall be selected by the people themselves, and who will speak their minds no matter what any one likes. And this is only a small part of the business. At present, the Indian members, as I have already said, have only to vote upon new laws which the Government have decided to pass. But we want our “REPRESENTATIVES” to be consulted as to all public expenditure, and to have what is called the right of “INTERPELLATION,” that is the right to ask Government questions, and to receive full answers thereon, on all subjects connected with the administration. “Why is this done? Why was that not done? Why is this officer allowed to abuse his authority?” and so on. You surely remember Mr. Zabardast; he was long before my time. But I have heard all about *his* manner of working the district.

Rambaksh.—Remember him. Ram Ram, *uska nam mat lo* (don't mention him), I bear his marks now (where I can't show them to you Molvi Sahib) though it is twenty years ago. You see his *Lushkur* (camp) came to our village. That old villain Murtezur Shah (whom you, praise be to God, got transported four years ago in that torture case) was *Tahsildar* (or revenue head of the Sub-division.) When the *Sahib* rode in, about ten o'clock, his people complained that there was no grass for the horses. I was standing near. He shouted out "where is the *Tahsildar*?" The *Tahsildar* came trembling. "Protector of the poor," he said, "it is no fault of mine; it is these *budmashes* (bad characters) here, whom I instructed to have every requisite and who assured my people (I was in attendance on your honour's stirrup), that all was ready." "Who did you make answerable for the grass," said the Collector. "This man," said the *Tahsildar*, seizing me by the arm; "he is the *mukaddam*" (or head ryot) "Oh," said the *Sahib* striking me with his whip "you are the son of a pig, the misbegotten (*sūr ka bacha, haramzada*). I'll teach you how to attend to orders. Here *khlassi* (tent-pitcher) tie him up, and give him thirty *bents* (blows with a cane) on his bottom, and lay it well in." Now the *Tahsildar* had never spoken a word to me about the matter; it was the year of the drought, and there was not a particle of grass in the place; many of our cattle had died, the rest had been driven away to the dhak jungle beyond Salamabad, where Laik Singh allowed them to be grazed. I tried to explain this, but the *Sahib* hit me over the mouth and face with his whip, shouting out "Hold your tongue. I'll teach you, tie him up, tie him up, flog his life out," and I was dragged away and flogged till I became insensible. It was a month before I could walk. Yes he was a bad one; many Collectors have I known—some good, some indifferent, but this was the only real devil.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, and I have heard worse things of him than this; far worse. Now do you suppose that if we

had real REPRESENTATIVES in the local Council, that such a Bahadur would have been allowed to retain office for a single month? No! his misdeeds would have been authoritatively forced upon the notice of Government, and his career of oppression and violence cut short. As it was, some years later, Government came to know of some of his misdeeds, and he was forced to retire; the Lieutenant-Governor indeed, I have heard, wanted to dismiss him from the service, (for whatever their faults, not one in one hundred of our higher officials would tolerate such conduct), but he was highly connected, and the Governor-General thought his forced retirement a sufficient punishment. There are no men quite so bad as Mr. Zabardast, I believe, in the service, *any* where now-a-days. But still there are in every province many officers who do abuse their official powers, and who are guilty of most unjustifiable acts of high-handedness, and nothing of this kind would be possible under that form of "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" that we advocate. This is only one single branch of the question. In all matters and in all directions the Government would be improved, and the country benefited. The great drawback to our present form of Government is that our Rulers never know the facts, never really understand the wishes or the wants of the people; our "REPRESENTATIVES" would supply all this, while we should still retain the superior knowledge of methods which the Europeans' greater experience in administration has given them. Don't think I am against Europeans; I have no greater friend than Mr. Sidher; what I want is such a change of system, as shall prevent the incompetent and ill-disposed amongst them from doing harm, shall give the good ones a fairer field for the exercise of their talents and their virtues, shall utilize for the service of the country the abilities and local knowledge of our own people, and gradually train these up in that work of administration which at present few of them, owing to want of experience, would be competent to carry on without some aid from Europeans.

Rambaksh.—Well *Molvi Sahib*, it seems all right, but when you talk of picking out the best and wisest men, I don't seem to see my way. For the life of me, I should'nt know who to vote for. Of course if there was anything to get by it, Rajah Harbansrai would want to be elected and we should all be ordered to vote for him. Not that I, would ; but I am sure I don't know whom we in this *Tahsil* (revenue sub-division) could select.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Now what do you think the people of this whole *Tahsil* would say to Kour Dharam Singh ?

Rambaksh.—I forgot. Certainly every man would say he is a wise and good man; Yes, I would vote for him—so would the whole *parganah*. Every body wants him for *Sarpunch* (President of the Board of Arbitrators) whenever there is any arbitration matter.

Molvi Fariduddin.—And what would you say to my Mamun (maternal uncle) Molvi Amanat Ali? Do not the people of Hakikatabad all trust him and go to him for advice? For 30 years he was a leading pleader in this province—has any one a bad word to say of him?

Rambaksh.—I do not myself know him, *Molvi Sahib*, but I have heard only good of him. Yes, he would be just the man; how he holds his own as elected Chairman of the Municipality! I have heard much good of him.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, and do you not think that if Kour Dharam Singh and Molvi Amanat Ali and half a dozen others equally good men, equally well known and trusted in the neighbourhoods in which they reside, and almost equally certain to be chosen, were all to meet at the *Sudder*, (head-quarters of the District), that they would be able to pick out one man willing and thoroughly fit to speak up for the people of this district, and for all of us Indians in this part of the country? Able and willing to tell Government the truth (which it now never gets) about every thing

that goes on, about every officer's conduct, about all our troubles and grievances, all our wants and wishes?

Rambaksh.—No doubt, no doubt, and the same would be the case in other districts. But if every district sent only one man, there would be quite an army; the Government would never allow so many; they would be too many for them.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Very likely, at first, the Government would *not* allow so many, though we hope to see the day when every district shall send at least two men to our local "PARLIAMENT" as they call such Councils in England; but, to begin with, our fifty odd district "REPRESENTATIVES" might meet and select from amongst themselves twelve good men to "REPRESENT" them all. And Government, if it allows the thing at all, must allow at least twelve such members in each local council, as without at least this number, it would be impossible to have any adequate "REPRESENTATION," such as is required in a local council, of all the many interests involved. Then there is the great council, the Viceroy's Council, and for this the "REPRESENTATIVES" in the several Provincial Councils would select 2, 3 or 4 of their number, as the Government might settle, to "REPRESENT" them and their Province with the Government of India.

Rambaksh.—This would be all very nice, *Molvi Sahib*, if we could only be sure of getting your *Mamun Sahib*, and Kour Dharam Singh, and the other best men chosen. But people would consider it an honour to be so chosen, and some would fancy to make some profit out of it, and those men like Rajah Harbansrai, and worse still Sheikh Zalim, have many villages and tens of thousands of ryots, and they would be sure to order all to vote for them, and though I would not, nor would Matadin, the most of them are poor men, and they would be obliged to do so.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Very true, and that is why (although we look forward to a time, when every honest ryot shall

have a vote for the "REPRESENTATIVE" of his *Parganah* or *Tahsil* or *Tappah**), we do not propose in the beginning to give the "FRANCHISE," that means the right to vote for REPRESENTATIVES, to any of those classes of people who are unable to understand what a serious business this election is, or are liable to be *driven* to vote differently to what they think right. No! at first we should give votes to all the educated and well-to-do persons, to members of all local Boards, and all Municipal Committees, to the leading men or *Punch's* of any leading classes, or predominant castes, and so on. In every Province the arrangements will very likely have to be somewhat different, and in each district probably some minor special rules will be found necessary, but these are details which can only be worked out when the Government agrees to accept the "CONSTITUTIONAL" in lieu of the "DESPOTIC" system.

Rambaksh.—But I don't think much of several of the members of our local Board; and look at the *Choongiwallahs* (literally, Octroi people, *i. e.*, Municipal Commissioners) of Mutteenugger where Ramrattan lives. Why two of them are perfect fools, and as for well-to-do people, why some of them like Lalla Subkhata Ram, are worse than the Police!

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly in every pod of cotton there are black seeds, and in every collection of men there are some rogues, and a good many fools. All five fingers are not equal (*Panchon ungalyan, barabar nehin*). But take the upper and middle, fairly educated classes, and they contain, you well know, a majority of fairly sensible and reasonably honest men. And though even in *our* district some one or two bad men and some two or three stupids might get selected, the majority would be men whom all their neighbours look up to, like Kour Dharam Singh, and so the one man chosen by these to represent the district would be almost sure to be a good man. And,

* Different territorial sub-divisions.

again, if by chance one or two, say even six, of the districts (though this *could* never really happen) sent up unworthy men, what would these be amongst fifty, and what chance would one of these have of being selected by the majority for the Council? No! even at first starting there would be no serious difficulty, and after a very few years, every really suitable man would be known not only in his own district, but throughout the Province, and his private life and public acts would be patent to all.

Rambaksh.—Yes! I see it is not so difficult as I thought, and I suppose with such Councils that, as time went on, the condition of the country would improve, and things would be done more as we like, and we should be more comfortable. But please tell me what good this would do to us poor men in Kambakhtpur? And this is not quite the worst of the Rajah *Sahib's* villages. Look at those miserable folks at Sutyanas Kheyra! What could the Council do there? What could they do for Sheikh Zalim's poor folk?

Molvi Fariduddin—Surely you do not suppose that such disgraceful mismanagement, such shameless oppression and roguery as characterize the dealings of these two persons could go on, for long, unchecked under our new system? No! one or more of the Representatives would get up in Council, and call the attention of Government to the lamentable state of affairs existing in nearly 100 villages in this district. They would state a series of cases, they would give all the facts, and they would demand an enquiry. All this would be reported in the *akhbárs* (Press), public opinion would be roused against the incapacity in the one case, the wickedness in the other, that was blighting the lives of tens of thousands of poor honest souls. Their own kith and kin would fight shy of them, they would be *made* by social pressure to turn over a new leaf, and besides this, with full facts authoritatively laid before them, the Government *would* enquire, and indirectly add their pressure to that of the community, even if they did not find that they could take legal action, which

in the Sheikh's case I am pretty sure they could. And mind you, that the Government *wants* to prevent evils of this kind—it really does wish you all to be as happy and comfortable as possible; it is its misfortune that under its existing “DESPOTIC” system, it never knows what is going on, or what ought to be done to attain what it wishes, but ignorant alike of us and our customs and ways, blunders on trying to do us good, but, not unfrequently, doing us harm instead.

But don't you run away with the idea that when we get “REPRESENTATION” all injustice and oppression, all poverty and distress, are to cease. This it can never do, unless and until all men are good and kind and wise, and that won't be in our time, Mukkadamji. All we can promise is that the amount of these afflictions will be greatly diminished, and a very great check imposed on the evil omissions or deeds of men like the Rajah Sahib and the Sheikh.

Rambaksh.—Oh, I understand that. I know that some will be in trouble as long as the world lasts, but there is too much trouble now, and I can quite perceive that with a *bandobast* (arrangement) such as you propose, the state of affairs would become a good deal pleasanter. But ah! *Molvi Sahib*, there is one thing worse than the *Rajah Sahib*, one thing as bad as the *Sheikh*, as bad as death, and that is the Police, and what can your new *bandobast* do where that is concerned? No! Parmeshar, the Divinity in heaven, has created the tiger to prey upon the deer, and our Government, on earth, has created the Police to prey upon us.

Molvi Fariduddin.—What can our new system do with the Police? Why reform it; change it from a curse into a blessing. Truly, Rambaksh, you have hit upon one of those national curses, for the reform of which, above all things, “REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS” are essential. You hear much talk about this matter of police; people talk of it as if it were a great difficulty, but really it is the simplest matter

in the world ; no doubt the police are a curse, but there are just two simple reasons for this. The first is that the police are much more numerous than is necessary, and are not nearly well enough paid. And the second grows partly out of this, and partly out of the ignorance of European officers. The police work as enemies of the whole community, instead of as friends ; and why ? First, because being so ill-paid, they are driven to extort money and take bribes, and to assume a bullying attitude towards every one to frighten them into giving, and this naturally makes the whole community dislike and fear them. And, secondly, because their European officers, men as a rule of very moderate capacities, dealing, practically, only with the dregs of the population, think we are all thieves and scoundrels, and deal with us accordingly, and either hate or despise us. I have known many Superintendents of Police, but only one who had not an unreasonably bad opinion of the Indian community. They, as a rule, look upon us all as criminals not yet caught, as enemies to be fought with, as beasts to be kept under, and the only persons they show the least favour to are miserable toadies who poison their minds with lies about all their neighbours. It is not these poor Superintendent's fault so much, it is their misfortune. Very hard many of them work, but it is all in the wrong way, and generally does more harm than good. Mighty careful are they about accoutrements and arms and drill, and all kinds of outside polish (*námáish*) but does one of them try to raise the moral tone of his men, to persuade them to be good, true and just in all their dealings, to lead them to be kind and conciliatory to all people, to impress upon them that the only chance for real success lies in their having the whole of the non-criminal classes, the great bulk of the population in fact, with them as friends ? No, not one that I have ever seen or heard of ; on the contrary so far as their teachings go, whether by precept or example, they lead the police, already hated by all respectable people for their misdeeds, to look on the whole community as their natural antagonists. The whole question of police

reform lies in these two simple matters. The Government don't understand it, nor will it be possible to make them realize it until every council chamber contains a large admixture of independent "REPRESENTATIVE" Indians, but believe me that within five years of our securing this, the police force of the country would have been entirely reformed, and would have begun to be regarded by the country as their natural protectors and champions.

Rambaksh.—Ah! *Molvi Sahib*, what a thing is learning; rightly do folks say, *vidya bari chiz hai*; all this, now you explain it, is simple and certain, but it would never have occurred to me. Now I know something about it, I am all for "REPRESENTATION." "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION" *ke jay** I say. But Oh! *Molvi Sahib*, you are like one who holds aloft, out of reach, a cup of delicious water to one parched with thirst, and fainting for a draught. I see how good a thing it would be. I think if we *could* get it, that the country might, in time, almost be happy again, as in the old days when I was a boy. But how is it possible to bring about this good thing? Alas! we are poor men, and we cannot help, but you are so clever and so wise, perhaps you and others like you can manage it. Oh! pray try and we will all bless you, and pray for you.

Molvi Fariduddin.—No, Rambaksh, I and other educated men are doing our best, but with very little results. It is your help we require, your support, and that of others like you, that is necessary if we are to succeed.

Rambaksh.—Our help. What can we feeble beings do? Who cares for us? Don't you remember the saying, *Ghure pai sowen, mahalon ke supne dekhen?* (They sleep on dung hills and dream of palaces).

Molvi Fariduddin.—That is a huge bundle of Urher stalks that you have here tied up; it must be very heavy and strong; do you think you could break it over your knee?

* May it triumph, or be victorious.

Rambaksh.—Break it over *my* knee? No! nor could the *Rajah Sahib's hathi*, (elephant); let him try ever so! But what do you mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—But I can; see! I pull out one stem, and thus I break it *easily* over my knee; and now another, and now a third, and a fourth. See! in about ten minutes, though I don't want to spoil your bundle, I could break the whole. Nothing can be weaker or feebler than each single stem, yet see how very strong they become when banded together, each supporting and strengthening the other! Let that teach you, that weak and feeble as you and your fellows are, if once you all unite in good earnest in a good cause, you will be so powerful that no *Rajah Sahib's hathi* can break *you*. (*Sát pánch ki lakri, ek jani ka bojh.*)

Rambaksh.—But surely you don't want us to join together and fight with the Sirkar. If we killed all the Europeans how should we get along? All would be anarchy (*ghader*), as I remember when I was young. You cannot mean this.

Molvi Fariduddin.—God forbid! This would be a sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans? Many of them are really good men, most of them *mean* at any rate to do right. They are ignorant no doubt of the rights of most matters concerning us; they blunder, they cause us misery, but they do it from ignorance—from an ignorance unavoidable under the system which they work on, and which, even did they wish it, they could not change without our help. Besides, though we of the new generation are growing up able to assist them and do much for the country, the whole of us put together have not yet sufficient experience and self-reliance to manage the administration entirely without their help. Kill the Europeans? No Rambaksh, let us say, rather, God bless all of them (and there are many such), who feel kindly towards us in their hearts, and according to their lights mean well towards us, and God forgive those amongst them (and let us hope they

are *not* many) who dislike and despise us, and care nothing what becomes of us.

Rambaksh.—That is very good *Molvi Sahib*; you are a true *Rishi* but what then do you mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—It is growing late, and I must be going; but I will try, briefly, to explain this. Although the Government of our country is DESPOTIC, the Government of England is CONSTITUTIONAL, and there every respectable man, even the cultivators and artizans, have the FRANCHISE (power to vote for REPRESENTATIVES, you remember); and the people dislike DESPOTISM, and they only allow it to continue here, because they do not understand how this country has changed during the last 25 years (owing mainly to the education, and railroads, and post offices, and the like that *they* have given us), and believe us still to be children who *must* be managed, as a father manages young children, by orders, or in other words “DESPOTICALLY.” But if we could once make the English Nation at home (who have none of the prejudices on these matters that Europeans who have lived long out here so often insensibly contract) that we are no longer all of us children; that, thanks to their education, numbers of us now are quite fitted by our superior local knowledge, not only to fill a great majority of the posts now held by Europeans, and discharge the duties thereof far more satisfactorily than these by reason of being foreigners possibly can, but even to instruct and advise in most matters of domestic administration, they would at once through their “REPRESENTATIVES” insist upon our association in the work of governing the country on a much larger scale than at present, and on the concession to us of some form of “REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.” To many of the best and highest of them the fact that the Government of India is still what they so greatly dislike, *viz.*, “DESPOTIC,” is a source of real regret, and they would gladly accept any reasonable evidence that the continuance of such a system

was no longer necessary. Besides this, even those who are less liberal and less high-minded are sensible. Practical common sense is the leading characteristic of the British nation; they know perfectly well that it is better to rule a contented, than a discontented people, and one of their own holy texts says that a dinner of herbs where peace is, is better than the grandest banquet where there is strife; and if once they saw us all, high and low, banded together and determined to obtain these "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS," then they have too much common sense not to allow us to have them. Now perhaps you understand what I meant by that bundle of Urher stalks, *viz.*, that UNION IS STRENGTH.

Rambaksh.—Well *Molvi Sahib*, I am with you altogether, but what must we do, and what are you learned gentlemen doing?

Molvi Fariduddin.—The first thing to be done is to make all the more intelligent of your fellows understand all I have explained to you to-day. Let these again teach it to all their friends, and these again to others, till there is not a sensible man in the whole district who does not understand the rights of the case, and does not really from conviction, desire "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." Other friends are telling the ryots, the shop-keepers, the artizans, these same things in other districts, and if you all bear in mind that this is a matter in which you all, high and low, rich and poor, are in one way or another, personally interested, it will not be long before the country as one man is united, in real truth, in their desire for this great reform.

Rambaksh.—I see this, and I will do what I can. I will explain it every night on the *chopal* till every one who has any head (and the headless people will do what we tell them) knows it as well as I do, and if some one will put it into a little book, I will make the children read it in the

school. Do not fear that in this neighbourhood we shall not be all crying very soon for "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS. But what *then*, and what are *you* doing ?

Molvi Fariduddin.—I am founding at Hakikatabad a political association, and later, you and other head ryots, who have brains and honesty, and are not what that *Chota Sahib* thought you, mere cattle, must join it. This association will be a branch of the larger Association at the capital, and will work with it. Then in this district, in any place where there are many intelligent ryots like yourself, or clever shop-keepers, or artisans, there smaller branches must be formed to work in concert with our Hakikatabad Association.

Now the object of this system of associations, which will soon have spread into every *Parganah* or *Tahsil*, will be two-fold. First, to teach the people what I have this day been teaching you, and give them rational ideas of their rights and duties as free citizens; and, secondly, having brought about a national agreement on these matters, to make it clear, both to the Government here and the English Nation, what that agreement and determination is, to which we have come. For both purposes a good deal of money is required. We have to print, publish, and distribute books and papers. You want some one to write a little book about these matters I have been talking about? Well, if such a book be written, we should want at least five thousand copies for this district only, for there must be at least one copy for every village and hamlet, and in the larger places, there should be 2, 3, 5, 10, 20 copies, according to the size of the place, and that costs money; and this is only one thing, and constantly matters arise about which it is necessary to circulate information. And then we must keep up communication with each other—you in the *mofussil* branches with us at the *Sudder* Station, and we with other district associations and the head-quarters, and the books and pamphlets and papers I have referred to have to be sent about, and

to a great extent by post, and this costs a great deal in postage. And then in connection with other associations, we have to prepare memorials setting forth our views and wishes, and to send people to considerable distances to present these to the Viceroy or to the Lieutenant-Governor, and speak on our behalf. And again we have the National Congress, which meets yearly, and to which every district ought to send at least one "REPRESENTATIVE," and it sometimes happens that the very man we know to be specially fitted for either task cannot, unaided, bear the expense of the long journey. And then, if the truths I have been trying to impress upon *your* mind are to be imprinted, within any reasonable period, on the minds of the entire population, merely distributing the books will not do. We must have earnest and clever men to go round from village to village, and expound them, and though some of us, whenever they have leisure, do this, such work is intermittent, and we want men who will do nothing else but keep at it every day and all day, and though such men may do it for the love of their country, still they must live; and it is not amongst the rich and happy that we can usually look for such, but rather amongst those who are poor, and have suffered, and can therefore feel for all the suffering so rife amongst us; and for such, of course, we have to provide the necessary funds. And then where the work of an association develops, it becomes necessary to have a paid Secretary to manage the clerical business. None of these are large sums, but still in the aggregate a good deal of money is indispensable to successful work, even of that kind of work which may be called purely provincial. But then again in conjunction with other Associations and Leagues, we have national work. We have to get some of our appeals printed and largely circulated in England, circulated not by the hundred, but by the hundred thousand. And again it is absolutely essential that we should select able and earnest men, like the Delegates we sent not long ago to England, and send them to England not for a week or

two, but for a year at a time at least, to go round the country there, to all the larger towns and cities, and attend Public Meetings and speak at them, explaining our grievances, and the remedies we desire to see applied, and generally to educate Public Opinion there as to the true state of affairs here, and gradually force home upon the minds of the people the conviction that we here have now really made up our minds as a nation that we do want "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." Moreover it is equally necessary that some of our countrymen should obtain seats in "PARLIAMENT," so as to be in a position to advocate authoritatively our country's cause, and to insist on a hearing for our complaints and memorials. And all these things will cost a very great deal of money, and though other Associations will pay most of this, we too ought to give our share. So you see the old saying that "money is the sinews of war" is true even of this bloodless campaign against "DESPOTIC INSTITUTIONS" that we are undertaking, and money and a good deal of money, we *must* have.

Rambaksh.—And how is it to be got? Of course there are plenty of rich men who think nothing of giving Rs. 10,000 to repair some old tank that nobody wants, or even to build a Racket Court for the *Sahib log*, so as to curry favour with these, and perhaps get their names published in the Gazette. But we shan't get any thing from them, for, say what you like *Molvi Sahib*, the officials won't like all this. I don't say Mr. Sidher, but where is there another like him? But what will the Joint *Sahib*, Mr. Oonchanak say, and what will Mr. Bahadur, the Judge *Sahib*, think of it all? No you won't get much from the rich, and the poor have next to nothing to give, and so, I fear, you will *not* get that good deal of money you say you *must* have.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well; as to some of the wealthy, the mean selfish time-servers, whose only thought is for

themselves, and who care nothing for their country and countrymen, a base herd, but, thank Heaven, not a large one, we shall of course get nothing from *them*. But there are, despite these miserable exceptions, a great many good men, amongst the well-to-do and wealthy who *have* helped us and who *will* help us. No doubt, not a few of these consider it inexpedient to join us openly; some think they can do better for us and the country by maintaining friendly relations with the officials, however prejudiced and narrow-minded these may be, by humouring their prejudices and affecting to take no great interest in our movement; some again are really afraid of giving offence or of the consequences of this. Well, they give privately; they wish to aid the cause and do so, and we take care that no one knows it at present, and that they get into no trouble about it. But the time will come when the battle has been won, when they will be proud enough to have their names published as early benefactors of the scheme.

Rambaksh.—But will these private donations suffice for your needs? I can hardly think so.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly not, and our main dependence is on you and your fellows; on the masses. There are twelve lakhs of people in this district, and if only two lakhs out of these gave us each four annas, on an average, during the year, that would yield us Rs. 50,000 a year, *far* more than we could, now-a-days, require. And, you see, what we think is this; that wherever there are good men like yourself who have got the people interested in the matter, they might at the Dusehra, and the Holee, collect a pice or two from each villager for the Association. And then at marriages, the man who is going to spend Rs. 20 might resolve to spend only 19 and send in one rupee to the Association. And the tradespeople and the money-dealers, when they make up their accounts yearly, might resolve to set aside a cowrie in the rupee for this work, just as they now set aside a great deal more for other public and sacred

purposes. After all, what purpose can be more of a public one, what more sacred, than this which promises to bring about relief and comfort to all classes throughout the Empire? Every ryot may give only a pais, but as we say *phui, phui karke, taláo bharta hei*. (Mony a mickle maks a muckle).

Rambaksh.—That is a capital plan, and I promise you that you shall have something even from Kambakhtpur at the next Dusehra, and from this day forwards, be sure that all the little in my power shall be done to advance this good object. And now you are going *Molvi Sahib*; please take this Rs. 4-12 I owe you for stamps and fees in that case you won for me. It ought to be far more for all the trouble you took, but that was what you said in your *Rooqua* (note).

Molvi Fariduddin.—Oh! I make those who can afford it pay; we've all got to live. Thanks! Now you owe me nothing, and now I shall enrol you as a Member of our Association, and pay in this money in your name to our slender Treasury. One word more old friend. You said I was a true *Rishi*. I hope, as a good Mahomedan, I am in no way behind a true Brahmin, or a true Christian in my love of all that is good, and in my desire to be of service to my fellow-men. Trouble yourself little about what men call themselves, whether Hindu, Moslem or Christian. Look to what they are, and if good, remember that though they may wear different liveries, they are all humble servants of the one Lord. And may I say this more—"REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" we shall get, but if we are to get all the good that is possible out of these, we must not only induce others to do justice to us, but we must do justice to ourselves. It is not merely by political enfranchisement that a people rises; they must grow in goodness as they grow in power, or evil will come of it, and while we band together to struggle against "DESPOTIC INSTITUTIONS," we must each and all in our inmost hearts resolve, and keep that

resolve, to live henceforth better lives, to love our fellow-men more, and gradually sink the all-absorbing interest in our own selfish cares, in a wider and nobler interest, in the welfare and the progress of our country and our fellow-countrymen. SUPHAL KAMAI SUDH KI JO LAGR HUR KE HET. (Blessed are the earnings of the virtuous which go to the service of God).



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PROHIBITION
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Notes of Personal Enquiries in the United States and Canada

BY
HENRY J. OSBORN,

(One of the London Superintendents of the United Kingdom Alliance.)

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR WILFRID LAWSON, BART., M.P.

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DOES PROHIBITION PROHIBIT?

INTRODUCTION

BY
SIR WILFRID LAWSON, BARRISTER AT LAW,
of the UNITED KINGDOM

"DOES PROHIBITION PROHIBIT?" might seem to be a curious title for a pamphlet. One would think that it would be almost as sensible to ask "Does fire produce warmth?" "Does lightning destroy life?" "Does fire produce warmth?" "Does lightning destroy life?" "Does fire produce warmth?" "Does lightning destroy life?"

Clearly, the writer intends the question as a retorted statement that "Prohibition Does n't Prohibit." The real question really is whether the laws enacted for the prohibition of liquor traffic have effectually secured the object for which they were passed. There could hardly be a more important inquiry on which we could embark.

The statements as to Prohibition across the Atlantic have been overwhelmingly in the hands of those who are opposed to the policy. I remember an American minister saying some time ago that on no question had "the world, the flesh, and the Devil" combined to tell so many lies as they had on the working of Prohibition in America. Never was there a moment when it was more important than now to get the light of truth thrown on American proceedings with reference to the liquor traffic.

Mr. OSBORN has been striving to obtain facts relating to the laws in that country, and as a collection of such facts, I have pleasure in recommending a perusal of his pamphlet to all who are interested (and who is there who is *not* interested?) in the solution of the mighty drink problem. Mr. OSBORN is by conviction a prohibitionist. "Ah," some one will say, "then he is biased." Probably. Everybody is biased. A man without a bias is a man without a brain. But from my knowledge of Mr. OSBORN I believe him to be an intelligent observer and a faithful recorder of facts which come before him.

The liquor traffic, according to LORD RANDOLPH CROMWELL, is "destructive and devilish" one. I am not aware of any country where it is allowed free course. All governments

INTRODUCTION.

have resulted in what is called the Licensing

in that system has been overhauled, altered, by the best statesmen of all parties, and may now be the outcome of their united legislative efforts. It satisfies hardly anybody, with the exception of those living by the trade which they carry on under its regulations.

Introduction of our citizens, experiencing this dissatisfaction, Does Prof. he perpetual misery arising from the traffic, have Model ends that the time has arrived for giving a fair trial to True C however, we are to conclude, as some writers tell us, cannot prohibit, then indeed is the look-out for the low- bly black and gloomy. In that case we are at our A trade in drink is admitted, virtually unanimously, to G intolerable evils. Regulation, brought as I have, est pitch to which it can be brought, by our politicians is producing those deadly horrors against which MR. said some years ago that if they were not speedily, "the very stones would cry out." If it should be proved, it is impossible to work any Prohibitory law, I do not expect there is of any fresh telling or effectual blow to our ruinous drinking habits.

That all the available evidence shews that the great as the Atlantic who control their own destinies, slowly, it may be even painfully, but still steadily getting bath-grapple with this monster evil. the Democracy here, who are now also the controllers of destinies, to watch narrowly the American struggle, to that is good in the methods employed, and to take warning mistakes in carrying on the campaign.

OSBORN'S pamphlet will be a useful aid toward that end; and aid in any way to accelerate the hour of our delivery from the tyrannical tyranny of the Liquor Traffic, he will be more than repaid for his labour in collecting the facts of which his pamphlet is the

WILFRID LAWSON.

—On October 1st, 1839, after this pamphlet was in type, the States in America, just admitted into the Union, voted on the subject of inserting in their first Constitution a clause Prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and keeping for sale, of any intoxicating liquors. The first news sent to this country stated that on all four States the Prohibitory clause had been defeated. Within a few days it was made clear that in two cases—North and South—Prohibition had been carried, the latter by ten thousand

DOES

PROHIBIT,

PROHIBIT

PERSONAL ENQUIRIES

IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BY J. OSBORNE

Superintendents of the United Kingdom

—o—

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FRED LAWSON, B.A.

—o—

"AS IT IS THE COMMENDATION OF A GOOD HUNTERMAN
TO HUNT IN A WIDE WOOD, SO IT IS NO IMPUTATION IF HE
HAS NOT CAUGHT ALL."—Plato.

LONDON: "Alliance News" Office, 30, Fleet Street.
National Temperance Publication Depot, 33, Paternoster Row.

MANCHESTER: United Kingdom Alliance, 16, Deansgate.

BIRMINGHAM: Permissive Bill Association, 112, Bath Street.

GLoucester: The Prevention of Intemperance, 1

St. James, Eustace Street.

Order of all Booksellers.

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DOES PROHIBITION PROHIBIT

FEW, if any, public movements of the present day excite a sustained interest then does that which has for its object abatement, and ultimate cure,—by the legislative removal of its copal cause,—of that which the *Times* newspaper has called nuisance and scandal—our national drunkenness.”

Like other phases of Temperance effort, that which seel process of law into contact with the liquor traffic had its origin America; and several commonwealths on that continent, differing widely as to many things, have agreed in this: that a right consideration for the best interests of their people requires that the commission of intoxicating liquors should be outlawed. There is much that is attractive to the ardent Temperance reformer in the varied experiences of these communities, while the importance of a correct appreciation of the facts, in relation to all legislative Temperance efforts, being, cannot be over estimated. At the same time it is uniformly true, (as SIR WILFRID LAWSON has said, in the introduction to which the writer is deeply indebted to him) that, so far, the bulk of the available information on the subject has been supplied by the opponents of a prohibitory policy, and has been so framed as to discredit that policy.

It was therefore a great satisfaction to the writer to have, during the summer of 1889, the opportunity of paying a second visit to America; and it was no inconsiderable addition to that satisfaction to be the accredited representative of a dozen of English, Irish, Welsh, and Scotch daily newspapers, as well as of the *Alliance News*, for the purpose of making enquiry into the facts of the great Prohibition controversy. In pursuit of this quest then, starting from Chicago, much time was spent in the Prohibitory States of Iowa, Kansas, and Maine, in parts of the Dominion of Canada, and in sundry additional places on the American continent, outside these limits. It is not intended to be supposed that the succeeding pages (the substance of which has already appeared in a series of newspaper articles) state the whole case for Prohibition. They do, however, give the results of personal observation and enquiry, made on the spot, and possess the merit of stating only such things as the writer has himself seen and heard. During the bulk of these investigations the writer was accompanied by Mr. W. Williams, Alliance Superintendent, Southampton.

There is a good deal of Prohibition in America outside the Prohibitory States proper. New York, Massachusetts, and other States permit *townships* (by means of “Local Option”) to veto the liquor trade, and many places do it. Illinois, and other States, extend the same powers to the inhabitants of *counties*; while, numerous special acts, the provisions of town charters, and other methods, are employed to the same end. LEANSTON, for instance, a *hamlet* in a *prohibitory township*,

located in a perfectly charming position on the shore of Lake Michigan, and twelve miles north from the great city of the West. The point of the lake, is not only beautiful and beautiful, but is a great boon to physical advantage. In all its miles of streets and avenues, broad and straight, and edged with long lines of stately mansions, there is not a single drink-shop of any kind to be found, or, in fact, a saloon. Evanston has over 12,000 inhabitants, comprised in Evanston proper, and North and South Evanston—three contiguous sections of one township, and the nearest "saloon" is four miles from Roschill. The history of this prohibition district is deeply interesting, dating back as it does, thirty years or more. The town is named after a Mr. Evans, who gave some land for purposes of a university, hence its name. The generous donor wisely bargained in the College Charter should secure prohibition of the liquor traffic—hence the peaceful and happy condition of the place. The ordinance so imposed was duly incorporated, and forbids the keeping of any saloon, or any sale of liquor, as beverages, within a radius of four miles from the college buildings. This provision is thoroughly enforced, and it keeps the place free of the liquor traffic. The town is bounded on three sides by land, and on the fourth into the lake. The will of the people has fully endorsed this whole arrangement, and the prohibitory clause has been made secure for ever by an enactment of the Illinois State Legislature. The town is a stronghold of the prohibition party. Close and particular enquiry failed to discover any place where drink could be bought. Stately church buildings abound, and they are well filled; thirteen hundred students read in the College Hall, and nine-tenths of them are in favour of the prohibitory principle; there are only three undertakers, and not one pawnbroker, while in Evanston proper two policemen help one another to do nothing, and the offices of the local justices are, figuratively speaking, grass grown for want of criminal business to be done. Naturally a high tone of Temperance pervades the two weekly papers issued.

Another suburb of Chicago—PULMAN—a city a dozen miles to the south, with a population of over ten thousand, gives a somewhat similar view of Prohibition secured by the will of the landowner. Pullman is a new place, founded by the famous builder of the "Pullman Cars," who established vast works there, and built a town for the accommodation of his workpeople. A thriving place it is, and beautiful withal. The proprietor has always forbidden the common sale of drink, and the town does not contain an open bar. It was stated, however, that the manager of the one residential hotel had allowed a small loophole in the shape of a private bar, "for the convenience of visitors staying in the house," but even that departure from strict Prohibition was as nothing compared to the "saloon" of a "vice" in a neighbouring town of like size. A magnificent Free Library and Reading Room at Pullman is full every evening of intelligent workmen, who, so that "saloon" is not only a disgrace to the prohibition, and there is no other "saloon" and it is a disgrace to the town.

Chicago presents the greatest contrast to its small neighbor. "High License" is in force in the city, and every "saloon" keeper pays 300 dollars (£100) instead of fifty dollars as in former times. As these sums go into the city treasury, there are plenty of people who regard the system as an advantageous one, but we could shut our eyes in passing through and about the city, to the enormous number of drink-shops, and passing enquiry elicited the facts that number is over four thousand, that high license has not materially lessened the number, that the style and attractiveness of nearly all has been altered, and that more drink is consumed now than ever. The liquor sellers do not, however, have it all their own way, even in Chicago, for the writer was present at the time of a signal "Dram Shop Act" victory in one of the Courts. The Dram Shop Act, set in brief, is an act that enables relatives of inebriates who may meet their death by accident whilst intoxicated, to sue for damages, not only the keeper of the saloon, but also the owner of the property. The "civil damage" law, it is commonly called. In the case in question, a man commenced drinking at a certain saloon, on Christmas Eve, 1887, and continued to drink there and became intoxicated. He was drunk there during the night and during the next day. He got on a road-car at two in the afternoon of Christmas Eve, fell off the platform of the car, was run over, and died two weeks after. The widow brought an action under the Act, suing for five thousand dollars, and after a three days' trial, a verdict was given in her favour, jointly against the saloon keeper and the owner (who is a Chicago Alderman) for three thousand five hundred dollars—£700. That is a phase of compensation that needs to be ventilated in this country.

There is also in Chicago, a society called the "Washingtonian Home Association," the object of which is the maintenance of homes for the care, cure, and reclamation of inebriates. It is established by an act of incorporation of the State of Illinois, and at present receives a yearly grant of twenty thousand dollars (£4,000) from the State, drawn from the licence revenues of Chicago. The Washingtonian Home accommodates between seventy and eighty male inmates, and the Martha Washington Home, about half that number of women. In both cases the inmates are drawn from two sources—voluntary seekers after reclamation, and involuntary patients committed by the courts to the care of the Home. In the latter case, however, the managers have the option of refusal. A visit paid, in company with one of the managers, to the two principal homes, afforded some insight into the methods employed. The appointments of the home, the rules laid down and enforced, the system of treatment, all appear to be empirically well calculated to secure the end in view. Patients must stay three months, many stay longer. Most touching were the different cases, and sad to see, such are the abounding and seemingly insuperable temptations outside, that many return again and again, having abandoned the drink demons, and lost whatever good a previous stay in the home had effected. These visits confirmed us in the opinion that the present provision for the compulsory

LEAVING Chicago, we pursued our quest for the answer to the query, "Does Prohibition Prohibit?" in the State of Iowa. A recent writer in the *Century* magazine has said of this State far from being "a commonwealth of Temperance cranks," as it has been called, it is, to borrow a phrase from Lincoln, a commonwealth of "plain people;" people "who do their own thinking, and do their own way of doing, and are daring enough to believe that things can be done which the wisdom of the Conservative East pronounced impossible." That exactly expresses the estimate formed by personal contact with many leading spirits. The commonwealth was adopted, in relation to the drink traffic, the common-sense plan that the majority shall decide whether the evil shall be "tolerated, controlled, or prohibited." An amendment to the State Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors was submitted to the people in 1882, and was adopted by a majority of over forty thousand votes. But, owing to some informality, that amendment was declared by the Supreme Court of the State, to be invalid. The Legislature, however, honoured the clearly expressed will of the people, and in the spring of 1884 a prohibitory law was passed. It was endorsed by the State Legislature, at the subsequent sessions of 1886 and 1888. Some strengthening amendments have also been adopted, and Prohibition is to-day a firmly-fixed plank in the social and political platforms of the State.

IOWA, is a great state, containing 99 separate counties and two millions of people. But opponents of prohibition, both in America and in England, talk of the failure of prohibition in the whole State if they hear of a single town where the law is badly enforced. That is as absurd as it would be to say that all England is being decimated by some disease because of an epidemic in a small village say at Lands End. For instance, a Chicago newspaper stated that at Davenport, Iowa, the United States Tax collector had issued notice to all the saloon keepers to pay their license tax within so many days, or they would be proceeded against; and the paragraph was headed "And yet Iowa is a Prohibition State." What are the facts, as we found them? Why, that Davenport is a town on the most eastern border of Iowa, the principal town in a county chiefly peopled by Germans; that the enforcement of the law—not *this* law only but all laws—devolves upon the *local* officials; that in this instance the officials neglect their duty; that while the cat's away (or asleep) the mice play, that is, the saloon business defies the law. The law is a State law, and it makes liquor selling a crime. But the United States Treasury law steps in, and says to every man who sells liquor, "No matter whether you sell by leave of the State law or in defiance of it, you sell, and you must pay"—but the tax is not a permission to sell, *that* the State refuses to allow; it is a consequence of selling, and proof, therefore, of law breaking.

Yet, even as we leave Davenport, and take our dinner in the dining car which accompanies the train on its journey of two days and more, we observe the "wine list" on the bill of

A FRUITLESS SEARCH.

headed in unmistakably plain characters, "NO LIQUORS SOLD OR CLASS RUNNING IN IOWA," and the courteous black waiter, when we ask him if that is so, says "Yes, sah, prohibition in Iowa!" So much so that the railway company is not allowed to carry the liquor even for sale on the dining car after leaving Iowa. It all has to be left at the Illinois frontier, and a fresh cargo obtained at the Nebraska point. So prohibition prohibits on the rolling cars.

It is true, nevertheless, that in some places, in eleven out of the one hundred counties in the State the law is more or less defied; and that extent fails for want of enforcement. But even in these eleven counties are included Jackson, Clinton, and Muscatine, where a full half the saloons have been closed; Des Moines (*county* not *city*)—there is a vast difference, both in location and in the facts) and Letts, where there is *some* enforcement; Pottawattamee, a large county, where the only exception to enforcement is Council Bluffs, a somewhat rough and wild city on the extreme western border; and Scott, Dubuque, Johnson, Crawford, and Carroll, several of which skirt the Mississippi river, the earliest settled portion of the state, and include a large proportion of Germans—who prove more difficult to deal with than other people.

Well, having seen, and admitted, the fact that in Davenport on the Illinois border, prohibition, not being enforced, does not entirely prevent the sale of drink; and making the opponents of the law a present of any comfort they can get from that fact, always remembering that Davenport is the best case for them and the worst for us to be found in Iowa, we take next the Capital, Des Moines City (Polk County), which is situated nearly in the centre of the State. Iowa has a population, roughly, of two millions, and of these Des Moines has about 50,000.

The first thing that struck us was the quiet and orderliness of the streets, and the absence of loafers; the next, the entire absence of drink-shops, and a closer search, through streets first, second, third, and fourth rate, failed to discover a single open saloon—the one remnant of the traffic being one-half the glass door of a dilapidated and closed-up fifth-rate building which had once been a saloon, and on which still remained in sometime gilt letters LIQ—the rest of the word having gone to the same oblivion as the business it once advertised. We asked for liquor at soda-water counters, in hotels, of policemen, and on the street, and the one answer was "You can't get any" here." The conclusion, therefore, from which there was no escape was that in the Capital, the largest city in the State, Prohibition Does Prohibit, and that thoroughly.

But personal observation is not enough, even though we rest on the Bible axiom that in the mouths of two witnesses a thing shall be established. We resolve to go to the fountain head. So we march the dusty mile between West Des Moines and the Capitol on the hill east of the river, whose golden dome and minarets flash and glisten in the hot sun like a huge beacon light. Arrived at the State House we had no difficulty in obtaining an audience of His Excellency, Gov. Larrabee, a spare, plain, old-faced man of middle age and

ourly manners, who puts us at ease at once by remarking that he visited England in 1873, and cherishes still the pleasantest memories of the trip and a warm regard for English people. We waste but little of His Excellency's time in brief, but warm, reciprocation, and then plunge into the subject matter of our enquiry:—

"You have Prohibition enacted here, Governor?" we ask;

"Yes, sir."

"And does Prohibition prohibit in Iowa?"

"Yes, sir!" with increased emphasis.

"Here, in the capital city, too?" we persist.

"Yes, Sir," so emphatically as to require capital letters.

"I will give," added His Excellency, "ten dollars for every saloon that can be found in this city."

Plying the Governor with additional questions we rapidly learn further that the law was passed in 1884, and came into force on July 1st of that year, that it made but little headway until 1886; that at that time there were seventy-five saloons in Des Moines city, but one of which is left now, that since then (in three years) over 700 saloons have been closed in the State, that as a result there is but one-twentieth of the drink consumed there used to be; and that the law has made itself felt in many ways, not least in its effect on crime. "Ask the judges," said the Governor, "and four out of five will speak in warmest praise of the law, and tell you that business in the criminal courts has been lessened by 30 or 35 per cent. and the number of prisoners held in our two state prisons three years ago was 706 but now is 588," and he handed us the official list, showing a gradual decrease every month during the period in question.

"And does the law really prevent the manufacture of drink?" we ask.

"Yes sir. You can see from this building the remains of the largest distillery in the world—so it is claimed, but it is idle now. The law shut it up, and when its owners appealed to the courts the Supreme Court decided against the claim that the owners had the right to make liquor in spite of the Prohibition law to the contrary, and they have never made any since.

"Was any compensation claimed or given?"

"No. They rested their case on inherent right to carry on business, and they lost."

"Have you a Civil Damage law, too?"

"Yes; and if damage is incurred through drink being sold in defiance of the Prohibitory law, then the Civil Damage law runs."

"And is the law well enforced in the State generally?"

"As well as any other criminal law, and its results are quite as satisfactory as those of any other. In fact, the law has to a very large extent made drinking (apart from selling drink) disreputable."

"And does public opinion generally support the law?"

"Yes. Public opinion is now stronger than ever. The majority in the entire State for Prohibition was in 1884, 50,000. If the question were submitted now, the majority would be 500,000."

DRINK SELLING A CRIME

enthusiastically endorsed, for the women are especially in favour of it. Many wives of workmen have come to me years ago, and prayed me to get this law passed. But I then thought 'High License' more likely to be successfully enforced."

"And now?"
"My term as Governor has taught me the value of the present law. Now, tell us, please, what is done if people are found breaking the law?"

"Well, they are taken before the courts, and are usually fined from one hundred to a thousand dollars, in some cases imprisonment, and in many cases if they cannot pay the fine, and so they are added to the gaol."

"And how long must they stay there?"
"One and costs are paid, or until, for good reason, the Governor sees fit to release them on what you call a 'ticket of leave' often done?"

"Is that what raises a question that will interest you. I never grant suspension of sentence except I have good evidence that the man means to reform, and then only on condition that he signs a declaration promising to abstain from drink, not to break the law again, and to behave as a citizen should. During my three years Governorship I have secured perhaps a hundred total abstinence pledges in that way."

At this point we were interrupted by the entry of a Counsel-at-law, whose name and business had been sent in to the Governor; and by his Excellency's courtesy we were afforded an object lesson on the very point under discussion. The visitor, Judge Carruthers, came to plead for the Governor's clemency on behalf of a man some months in gaol for violating the prohibitory law, and the governor, having first examined the papers, put a number of questions, and finally said:

"Well, I can only grant this suspension on two conditions, additional to the usual declaration by the prisoner. First, all the costs in the case must be paid."

"That is done," said the lawyer, "I told him I didn't presume your Excellency would forego that; and so I paid the costs to-day."

Then the second, pursued the Governor, "is that you yourself make a written declaration, that from your own knowledge this man is not in any way mixed up now with liquor selling?"

This was accepted, the declaration written and attested, and orders sent for the necessary certificate of suspension to be made out.

"Here," said his Excellency, handing us a packet of documents, "are some declarations of the kind in question."

And then, turning to a box we travelled in State papers that put and held a crowd of interesting facts, pointing them these: (1) There is a prohibition law. (2) It makes liquor selling a crime. (3) Punishment for this is imprisonment or fine. (4) Suspension of sentence is only granted on condition of a written declaration to abstain from liquor, and to keep the law. (5) This is the law as passed by the Governor. By the courts it is enforced. (6) The courts may release, and nearly all are released to drink and sell.

SOBER BY A TICKET OF LEAVE.

of some of these documents made out on the actual blank in regular use in the Governor's office. One is here transcribed as a matter both of curiosity and of interest. It runs:—

STATE OF IOWA.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To all who may see these presents—Greeting:
Know ye, that by virtue of authority in me vested by the law, and good and sufficient reason to me appearing, I, WILLIAM LARRABEE, Governor of the State of Iowa, in the name and by the authority of the people thereof, do hereby SUSPEND the further execution of the sentence of the District Court of Wapello County, where C— was at the January term, A.D. 1888, sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars for the crime of selling intoxicating liquors. This suspension is granted upon the following conditions, viz:— That the said C— De F— will hereafter refrain from the use and sale of intoxicating liquors as a leverage; that he will not come directly or indirectly interested in the illegal sale of liquors at frequent saloons, but will in all respects demean himself as a good and law-abiding citizen; and the further condition that he will first pay the costs, and fifty dollars of the fine.

The Governor of the State may at any time, and especially upon the violation of any of the foregoing conditions, summarily revoke this instrument, and direct the execution of the sentence as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused to be affixed the

Great Seal of the State.

Done at Des Moines, this 13th day of April, 1889.

(Signed) WM. LARRABEE.

SEAL

BY THE GOVERNOR:

(Signed) FRANK D. JACKSON, Secretary of State.

I accept this suspension upon the conditions named therein.

(Signed) C— De F—

A similar instrument, suspending the sentence on a woman, contains the further condition, that not only the woman, but also her husband, shall become an abstainer, and help her to become a good citizen.

So ended our visit to Governor Larrabee, and we came away thinking his testimony the more valuable because, as he himself told us, he voted, when a member of the Senate, against the enactment of the law, believing that a high license law would be easier to enforce. But his term of office as governor has completely convinced him he was wrong, and he has found out how beneficial and successful the law has been. The cases of failure are wholly due to lack of enforcement by the local officials, and they in turn carry no weight with the people with an eye on continuance in office. Being elected by popular votes and the Governor and Executive can only act on the basis of opinion applied by the local authorities. That is the reason why the head set resister can in most instances...

KANSAS, as the first of the newer States to adopt the Prohibitory law, presents a most interesting field of enquiry, scarcely second to Iowa, in the richness of the harvest of facts lying ready to our hand, and waiting to be gathered, in further proof that, here in the West, "Prohibition *does* prohibit." With this conviction, and keenly alive to the importance of the issues, we leave Des Moines and take a journey south-west for three or four hundred miles, partly through Iowa, partly through Missouri, and so into Kansas, alighting from the comfortable cars of the "Great Rock Island Route" at the capital of the State—this city of Topeka.

Following here the plan we adopted in Des Moines, we first perambulate the city, on the look-out for any evidences of the open sale of liquor—and find none. Street after street tells the same story. Business of every other kind goes steadily on, the fruit and iced socials do a thriving business, dry goods stores do not lack customers, luncheon is being served in many a restaurant, boarding-house and hotel, cases in the civil court excite keen interest, last night's shooting case is discussed by the hotel loungers seated in high-backed rocking-chairs in the lobbies, and last week's lynching has not lost quite all novelty, but liquor—well, from all appearances there might never have been such a commodity in existence. This evidence of the eye is sufficiently remarkable in a town of over forty thousand people; and it was fully confirmed by the result of repeated enquiry, the same answer, varying in terms, but consistently negative—being given by every person who was asked for information as to where liquor could be got. And when after a long search, we finally sat down to dinner in one of Topeka's hotels, our renewed question as to whether any alcoholics were to be had, was met by the courteous proprietor by another question,—“Do you know you are in Kansas, sir?”

The prohibitory law of Kansas dates from the passage by the people of the State in November, 1880, of an amendment to the State Constitution, for ever forbidding the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes. The liquor law, enforcing this amendment, was passed in February, 1881, and went into force on May 1st, 1881. Since that time every effort that the self-interest of the liquor faction could devise, or their liberally contributed funds pay for, have been persistently brought to bear to defeat the practical operation of law; and the whole American liquor trade has helped with money. Misrepresentations as to the condition of things in Kansas have been very persistently made during the whole period, and especially with regard to the extent to which the law is enforced, and the result of its enforcement in diminishing the sale and use of liquor, and pains have been taken in many quarters to spread the idea that the law has interfered with and retarded the business and material interests of the State.

For the purposes of this present enquiry we sought for information in many quarters that should be capable of elucidating these and other points; and while the answers obtained from divers sources, and summarized here for the sake of convenience, are in some respect-

KANSAS PROSPERITY

same as have over and over again been given, yet in many particulars they are new.

First, then, as to the question of material prosperity. In September, 1869, Governor J. A. Martin (the immediate predecessor of the present Governor) who was not originally a prohibitionist, gave some remarkable facts. From his statement it appears that in 1880 the population was 996,096, attained after twenty-five years' settlement; that five years later the figures had grown half a million, and stood at 1,500,000; that at the former period only 55 towns and cities supported 1,000 people, and only six had over 5,000; but in 1885, 91 over 1,000, and 12 had each above 5,000. In 1880 the cultivated acreage was 8,868,884; and in 1885, 14,252,815. In 1880, the production of farms was 234,178,936 dollars, and in 1885, 3,073,454 dollars. In 1880 the assessed property, real, personal, and railroad, was valued at 160,891,689 dollars; and in 1885 it aggregated 248,845,276 dollars. In the same period the railways were increased from 3,104 miles to 5,117 miles; the schools from 1,115 to 6,673; the expenditure on common schools, from 1,818,356 to 2,977,763 dollars; the newspapers, from 346 to 581, and the churches from 1,514 to 2,976.

The development of Kansas as a State has ever been remarkable, but these figures prove beyond dispute that the period in question, covering as they do the first six years of the Prohibition law, far exceeded any other period as regards the growth and increased material prosperity of the State. And these facts can be supplemented by others, showing that a like rate of progress has continued, and is continuing to this day. For instance, the voting at the last presidential election established the fact that the population in 1888 was fully 390,000 more than in 1885; during the past four years twenty-three counties have been organized, making a total of 106; and the permanent school fund, which amounted on January 1st, 1885, to 3,268,985 dollars, was, on January 1st, 1889, 4,853,540 dollars—an increase of 1,784,555 dollars.

But opponents when driven by the inexorable logic of facts to admit the material prosperity of Kansas, commonly fall back on the statement that all this is in spite of and not because of Prohibition; and further, that Prohibition don't prohibit, anyhow. Well, since the amendment was carried, the people of the State have at two general elections re-affirmed their decision, and commenting on the result of the election of November, 1887, Governor Martin said, "A great reform has certainly been accomplished in Kansas. Intemperance is steadily and surely decreasing. In thousands of homes, where woe and wretchedness and suffering were familiar guests, plenty, happiness and contentment now abide. Thousands of wives and children are better clothed and fed than they were when the saloons absorbed a large portion of the earnings of husbands and fathers. The public sentiment in Kansas is overwhelming against the liquor traffic. Thousands of men, who, a few years ago, opposed Prohibition, or doubted whether it was the best method of dealing with the liquor traffic, have now acknowledged the beneficial results, and its practical value."

There is not an observing man in the State who does not know that a great reform has been accomplished in Kansas by Prohibition, and there is not a truthful man in the State who will not acknowledge the fact, no matter what his opinions touching the policy of Prohibition may have been."

As to the effect of the law in closing saloons, so recently as January of this present year, 1889, Governor Martin, in his message to the Legislature, declared that "Neither distilleries nor breweries exist in Kansas. The saloon does not exist in Kansas. Where secret selling is carried on, it is hunted from its lair, and dragged to punishment. In the very few exceptional localities in which secret selling to an important extent has been maintained, there is increasing efficiency in enforcing the law."

Then with regard to crime, notwithstanding the fact that the population is steadily increasing, many of the gaols are this present year practically empty, and all show a marked falling off in the number of prisoners. In the district of which the Capital city is the centre, with a population of sixty thousand, there was not a single criminal case for trial when the January term of 1889 began, and there is abundant evidence that in the larger cities the Police Court business has steadily dwindled to one-fourth of its former proportions, while in the smaller places Governor Martin says the "occupation of police authorities is practically gone."

Not content with documentary evidence, or that of observation in the Capital, or with such personal promiscuous enquiry as was possible, we next invade the State House, and are favoured with a personal interview with the present occupant of the Capitol, Governor Lyman U. Humphrey. Nothing could exceed the courteousness of our reception, as declining, on account of time, the Governor's invitation to meet him at dinner, we put such questions as seemed likely to answer our purpose. First, as to the extent to which Prohibition has diminished the consumption of drink, we learn from Governor Humphrey that while it is difficult to procure exact information, the fact has been fairly expressed by ex Attorney-General Bradford, who puts the consumption at not more than 10 per cent. of what it was before 1880, while some other officials put it as low as 5 per cent.

"How many saloons are there now in Topeka?" we ask.

"None; but in 1880 we had over sixty," was the reply.

"And is that pretty generally the case in Kansas?"

"Why yes," says the Governor, "the change is more striking still in the smaller cities. It is a happy one for Topeka, but more so in the smaller cities. With the saloons closed, the diminution of crime and drunkenness follows. For instance, the docket of the district court for this city and county, at the last January term, did not contain a single criminal case, and court dockets, from the highest to the lowest, attest the same result."

"And what is the state of public opinion on the matter?"

"It endorses the law," his Excellency replies. "In fact the law is in operation the better it is appreciated. As in Kansas public re-submission is as dead as slavery. The

MEDICINE UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

saloon as a factor in politics, as a moral iniquity, has been outlawed and made a fugitive and a vagabond in Kansas. In ten years' time we shall have a population composed largely of the boys of to-day, and to them the idea of keeping a saloon or of selling liquor will be altogether degrading."

"Then prohibition is not likely to be repealed?"

"No, sir," is the emphatic reply. "Prohibition has come to stay in Kansas. A proposition to restore the saloon in this State would, it is safe to say, be voted down by a majority of 100,000 at least. It will never be done. What my predecessor, Governor Martin, said is true—that 'Kansas is to-day the most temperate, orderly, sober community of people in the civilized world.'"

"What do you do with people who violate the law, and sell liquor, or try to sell it, in spite of Prohibition?"

"Send them to the rock pile," is the sententious answer, "Rock pile" *Anglice* being the stone-breaking yard. This we gather is plus a fine of considerable amount, and we also learn that the few who risk this tender treatment are called in the expressive vernacular of the west, "boot-leggers," from the fact that the capacious leg portion of the boots largely worn offer convenient facilities for hiding small vessels of liquor. But it is a poor subterfuge, which does not pay, and the "rock-pile" is having a most salutary effect. Thus the Governor, as was the case in the Capital of Iowa, amply confirms all other sources of information, and a like result rewards our persistent enquiries addressed to other Executive officers.

So we turn to the one or two loopholes which the system affords, and we find that here, as elsewhere, the United States law allows opportunity for liquor sellers in other States to send into Kansas unbroken packages of liquor. Thus we read in a Missouri paper an advertisement headed "Liquors for Kansas," and containing an invitation to "send for prices and conditions of shipment." In the second place the sale of liquor is permitted by *Druggists*, under certain stringent conditions, for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical purposes. Thus, to obtain alcoholics for physio the person who purchases it must fill up, sign, and swear to a declaration as follows:—

"State of Kansas. County of _____ Date _____

No. _____
 "I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear that my real name is _____, that I reside at _____, County of _____

"State of Kansas. That _____ of _____ is necessary and actually needed by _____, to be used as a medicine for the disease of _____

"That it is not intended for a beverage, nor to sell, nor to give away, and that I am over 21 years of age. I therefore make application to _____ druggist for said liquor.

"Signed, _____, *Applicant*
 "Subscribed in my presence, and sworn before me this _____ day of _____ 1888. "Signed _____, *Pharmacist*

"We copied this document (and a similar one for mechanical purposes) in the largest drug store in Topeka. We found the forms have to be sworn, and then filed with the clerk of the _____

and, further, that on the day of our visit, up to four o'clock in the afternoon, this drug store had sold, under this rule, one pint of wine for use in an accouchment case, and one pint of alcohol for some mechanical purpose. The interesting question occurred, how much more liquor would have been sold in Kansas Avenue, Topeka, that day, had that fine thoroughfare been lined on both sides with opiate saloons, as it was in the prior Prohibition days?

We may be pardoned for bringing away with us from Topeka a confirmed belief that in Kansas, as in Iowa, Prohibition *does* prohibit. The evidences are indisputable, and the fact is not materially weakened by the fact that there *are*, according to Governor Humphreys, four large cities with an aggregate population of 117,000 (out of about 2,000,000 in the State) where the law is not enforced. These are Leavenworth (30,000), Kansas City (Kan.) (30,000)—as distinct from the other port of Kansas city, which is chiefly in Missouri, and is under "license"—Atchison (22,000), and Wichita (35,000). This is wholly due to local defection on the part of the authorities in the cities concerned. Let it be remembered that these four cities are *not* Kansas and the Prohibition facts of the State will stand a striking and indisputable monument to the beneficence of wise prohibitory legislation.

Here are some items of additional information. Ex-Attorney General Bradford furnishes his opinion in terse sentences. He says: "Prohibition is here to stay. It is a fixed fact. It is indelibly stamped upon our statute books. A vote of the people would never erase it. It is depopulating our penitentiary and reducing parperism to crime to the minimum. The county jails throughout the State are comparatively empty. From reports made to this department there is not now in Kansas more than one place where liquor is sold to every 2,200 people, and it is safe to say that there is not to exceed 10 per cent. as much liquor sold in Kansas now as there was in 1880."

Again, the last report of the Stock Holders' Committee of the Farmers Loan and Trust Company of Kansas, referred to the Prohibition question with no "motive other than to apply the deductions [of an investigations specially made] to the value of your Kansas investments," and the committee added, "noting the practical effect of Prohibition upon the people in the State, our observations lead us to believe that this movement is a grand success in Kansas, which adds and will continue to add to the value of all the lands in the State. Whatever makes human existence less burdensome, reduces taxation, prevents crime, and destroys pauperism, is sure to give tangible and material wealth to any State." That may be called the hard headed view, from the standpoint of *dollars*.

I read in the *Capital Commonwealth* of Topeka that Kansas' marvellous prosperity was ushered in with the adoption of the prohibitory amendment. "The greatest growth in immigration, in the prosperity of our towns and cities, in the building of railroads, school houses, churches, colleges, libraries, &c., has been made since the adoption of the prohibitory amendment. Prohibition has stimulated the business of the State in every line and avocation."

which. In some cases, too, the party agents charged with enforcement had themselves been liquor men, and in these cases enforcement became a farce, and the result was that the Temperance people became disgusted with the partisan enforcement of a law that as a result fell so far short of their legitimate expectations, and thus they passed into indifference, so that when a "repeal" bill was taken, there was not being the strong Temperance effort which originally applied the Act. Yet the liquor party rallied all their forces, and these in turn were aided by the thick and thin Liberal partisans, for purely party ends, with the result that the application of the Act was repealed. This is the case practically throughout Ontario.

The question has been asked, How is it, if prohibitory laws are so much in accord with the moral sense of the community that Ontario, for instance, has not herself adopted *provincial* legislation to enforce effective prohibition in the province? The answer is that, so far, the friends of Prohibition have been looking to the Provincial officials to enforce the Scott Act; but now that they have found out that party political reasons hinder that, there is a decided call for effective Statutory prohibition—Provincial or Dominion, or *both*. There has not been time, however, at present for much to be done in the way of securing this. It is one thing to have a large or even predominant moral sentiment favouring a given line of conduct; it is quite another thing to get that moral sentiment concreted into law. That is never done unless and until some combination of the supporters of the sentiment unite to demand the law, and so press the demand that legislators must listen. Even then it is often a long time in coming. The demand is being made in Canada, and there is ground for the belief that it will succeed.

It must not, however, be supposed that Ontario has gone over to free trade in drink, or to an untrammelled licencing system. The province is simply where it was before the Scott Act was passed, with a form of Local Option under the "Crook's Act," by which the provincial Government issues liquor licences through special commissioners. The Municipal Councils have the power to fix the amount of the licence fees, and also within certain limits to fix the absolute number of licences, beyond which the licence commissioners cannot go. The councils may, in short, increase the fees to any extent, and at the same time reduce the number of licensed places to a minimum of one. They may grant four for the first thousand people, and one for each four hundred beyond. In addition, the law secures Sunday Closing from seven o'clock on Saturday night till six o'clock on Monday morning, being in this respect ahead of the recommendation of the British Sunday Closing Select Committee. It may easily be seen that under such provisions the liquor traffic will be kept under control of the people, even though the "Scott Act" is not enforced. The City of Toronto is governed by the "Crook's Act," never having adopted the "Scott Act," never having done more than to repeal the "Scott Act," and therefore there are no special licence

EFFECTS OF THE MAINE LAW.

As we drove, in company with Neal Dow, through these streets, a few in number, for orderliness and prosperity are the general rule. I was curious to see how the loafers eyed the white-haired, evidently recognising in his very presence a condemnation of their evil practices, and in his keen eye a glance that sees through the subterfuge behind which the liquor hides. There is, however, a clinging to *this* cloud, for as we pass the Salvation Army "barrack" we hear with interest that "the Army is getting hold of the drunk people."

We utilised this same drive, while we admired the many natural beauties of the place, to pursue those enquiries on which we were bent.

"How far is Prohibition operative in the State?" we ask the General.

"In the rural parts entirely," is the reply. "In Bangor, the next largest city to Portland, there was not always much enforcement, but the present Mayor is doing his duty with good results."

"Then the law is not, the failure the liquor people in England would have us believe?"

"No. The law is as well enforced as any other. And there is not one-twentieth the drunk consumed in Maine that there once was. I remember when we had twenty-four breweries, and in Portland alone seven large distilleries. Now, and for many years past, *not one.*"

"The liquor papers in England never tire of saying the Maine death-rate is higher than other states, that more divorces take place, and things of that kind. How is that?" we pursue.

"Don't they also say we consume enormous quantities of opium, too? These things are liquor-lies. They have been lying against Prohibition from the beginning, and I expect they will do so to the end. The death-rate is probably better ascertained in Maine—an old settled State—than in many others with less perfect registration systems. Hence their death-rate can only be approximated."

"Maine," continues the General, waving eloquent as he warms to his favourite topic, "Maine was once the poorest State in the Union—that was before Prohibition came to stay, but she is now one of the most prosperous. Her people have saved at least twenty-four millions of dollars a year as a result of Prohibition." No man who isn't blind, or else won't see, could help seeing the benefits Maine has derived from Prohibition. The difference in this city of itself is marvellous; and there is a manufacturing town three miles from here, which in the old days was drunken and quarrelsome and squalid; but when the drunk-shops were done away it began to improve, and now there isn't a pleasanter or more prosperous township anywhere. And that is the case all over the State.

"And what about the numbers of persons whom we are told at home pay the licence tax every year, in spite of Prohibitory laws?"

"Well, it is *not* a licence tax. It is an United States Internal Revenue Tax, levied by the national government, and collected from all who sell liquor. In Maine it is collected from those who sell in defiance of the law, but it is not a *licence*, nor a permission to sell, and in many cases the collector comes down on men who are in good for unlawful selling, and makes them pay."

non are figures the English liquor papers, sometimes give
 where people who, under the laws of the State, are entitled to
 rent for selling?
 "Yes," answers the general.
 "I went at the City Hall, we once again see the cellar where some
 liquor is locked up, and under the guidance of one of the
 Sheriff's Liquor deputies, investigate the process of "distri-
 bution" which, as pursued in Portland, consists in pouring the contents
 of the seized vessels through a hole in the floor, communicating
 with the city sewer. Here are a number of barrels, which contain, or
 did contain, beer, of pint or quart bottles similarly devoted to spirits,
 and also of "sprinklers,"—half gallon tin water cans, used to convey
 the beer from the barrel, usually hidden under the ground floor of a
 cellar, to the customers in other parts of the "tipping-house." Each
 vessel is labelled with the name of the owner, the place and date of
 seizure, and particulars of contents.

"And what," we ask the Deputy Sheriff, "are those queer things?"
 indicating a number of lengths of rubber tubes, with taps at one end,
 and at the other joined to cross pieces of metal tubing of various
 shapes.

"Those," is the answer, "are portions of the apparatus used in
 order to deceive the officers. They were connected with receptacles
 containing liquor, buried underground, or between floor and ceiling.
 The tubes run behind wooden casing, and the tap is sometimes hidden
 in a hole cut behind a wooden upright, or behind a loose board."

"Then liquor sellers in Maine, to sell at all, must invent ingenious
 subterfuges?" we suggest.

"Yes, sir." And then our entertaining guide enters into particulars
 of some searches for liquor in which he has lately been engaged, in
 which women were the offenders, but these can hardly be transferred
 to paper and type. They tend to show how far removed from honest
 "respectability" is liquor selling in this favoured State.

"Do you also lock up the people who try to sell?" we enquire.

"Yes, sir. There are some here now." And the Sheriff Deputy
 turns from the liquor-cellar to the liquor-sellers' cells, but we forbear to
 look upon them in durance vile. So, bringing away copies of the Prohi-
 bition as used in enforcing the law before the courts, we leave the City Hall,
 filled with admiration for a Commonwealth which has the good sense to
lock up the drink, in order that the people may be free. And as
 part, we bid farewell to the earnest old man whose life has been so
 unflinchingly devoted to the highest interests of his fellow-men, and to
 charming Portland, and rugged Maine, we feel that whatever may be
 said of temporary official failure in duty, and consequent complete dis-
 sension of the liquor faction at this point or at that,—yes, the
 present difficulties of enforcement in a State whose laws and
 are sagacious—yet the Prohibition facts of Maine, in justice, we
 said the fact, only showing to fuller advantage the true theory of
 temperance. They serve to lay as much as to the purpose of
 begeth to encourage the peoples of other States and countries
 to do what we do, thus showing the true theory.

MAINE was the first State in America to adopt Prohibition. The State motto is *Dirigo*—"I direct." It is the hope, that it should lead the way in this matter, and that it has kept the Maine Law in force for thirty-eight years, which Maine we pass through portions of two other early Prohibition States—Vermont and New Hampshire.

In passing, it may be said that New Hampshire enjoys a prohibitory law, under which the traffic in alcoholic liquors is prohibited excepting by duly appointed but not licensed agents for certain reserved purposes, and that neither the State nor any of its municipalities derive any revenue from the sale of liquors. The law further provides a fine of 50 dols. with imprisonment for thirty days, either or both, as punishment for bringing within, or transporting within the State, any intoxicating liquors to be sold or kept within the State.

Vermont also has a prohibitory law, passed as long ago as 1852, and improved by means of various amendments adopted since that time. Only last year (1888) the Legislature adopted eight or ten minor acts amending the liquor laws, among them a provision that the "payment of the United States special tax as a liquor-seller shall be held to be *prima facie* evidence that the person or persons paying said tax are common sellers of intoxicating liquors, and the premises so kept by them are common nuisances." Clauses having for their object the facilitating of search for the seizure of liquors, and others in relation to the suppression of "nuisances," were amended so as to be more rigidly enforced. It was also provided that men found drunk were to be fined and imprisoned, and the sale of cigars and cigarettes to persons under sixteen years of age was forbidden. In the same session an effort to substitute "High License" for Prohibition was defeated by 149 votes to 57.

The Maine law, as established in the Revised Statutes of the State prohibits the sale of any intoxicating liquor within the State, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for unlawful sale, and the keeping of drinking-houses and tipping-shops; provides various penalties of fine and imprisonment for the punishment of offenders against the act, together with elaborate forms of procedure for its enforcement; and enables "every wife, child, parent, husband, or other person who shall be injured in person, property, means of support, or otherwise, by any intoxicated person, or by reason of the intoxication of any person," to have a right of action against those who cause the damage by contributing to the intoxication—not only against those who sell or give the liquor, but against the owner of the building in which the intoxication occurs. Liquors, kept for unlawful sale, and the vessels containing them are contraband, and forfeited to the State; the liquors are ordered to be destroyed "by pouring the same upon the ground," and the vessels sold for the benefit of the community; no action can be maintained for the value of the liquor unlawfully sold, and the duty of enforcing the law is stringently laid upon the mayors of cities and other local authorities. The sale of liquors for scientific, mechanical, and medicinal purposes, under stringent regulations, is vested in a

commissioners and municipal agents; who are paid salaries for their services, receive no profit on their sales, and report and are answerable to the authorities of the State, city, or town.

Neal Dow is an unique figure in Temperance and Prohibitionary history. Now in his eighty-sixth year, he has out-lived the generation of Maine people who enacted Prohibition, and has seen a younger generation still more emphatically endorse the system, when, for two years ago, by a majority of over 40,000 (three times as large as the negative), they put a Prohibition amendment into the Maine Constitution. In his active old age, he lives quietly in the quaintly beautiful house on Congress Street, Portland, which he built in his youth, and into which he moved on his wedding-day, sixty years ago. Here in his well-filled library he reads every current publication on his favourite theme, pens his frequent and trenchant expositions of the blessings of Temperance and of Prohibition, and his exposures of opposition fallacies; and watches the doings of others in respect of the enforcement of Prohibition—duties which he himself performed with no sparing hand in the year when Prohibition first came into force in Maine, when he filled the onerous and honourable office of Mayor of his native city, in the days now so long ago.

Here, then, we once again met the patriarch, after the lapse of six years since last we sat in this cool room, years that do not seem to have left any but kindly marks on the grand old man. If his locks are somewhat more snowy, his figure is as upright as ever, his step as firm, his eye as bright, his voice as mellow, his welcome, warm yet courtly, his interest in the progress of the movement in the old country, and his faith in the righteousness and ultimate triumph of Prohibition principles keen and firm.

In Maine, as in other States, enforcement very largely depends upon the willingness and *bona fides* of the local officials, so that if these latter are neglectful, then illicit liquor selling creeps in. Just now Portland is blessed, or otherwise, with a Mayor who, for some cause or other, had at his election the undivided support of the pro-liquor section, and who, during this year, has altogether failed to fulfil the duty laid upon him of "enforcing the law" against the unlawful sale of liquor. Hence, Mr. Dow and others see with regret an increased illicit sale. The selling however, is all done in dark places, in disreputable houses, in cellars far beyond the view of passers-by, surrounded by subterfuge and trickery, and confined in the main to sections of the people least amenable to considerations of respectability. In fact, the evasions of the law are similar in character to those in England associated with other abominations, but are infinitely small, as compared with the licensed liquor traffic.

We drove and walked throughout the whole city, as we have done before, and it is the simple fact that the city does not contain a "saloon" in the ordinary sense, not a place where liquor is openly sold, and the "tippling houses" in the low quarters have nothing to distinguish them except their relatively squalid surroundings, and the occasional "loafer" on guard to give timely warning of the approach of officers of the law.

A BRIEF stay in Toronto, the beautiful "Queen City," of Canada, in the Dominion capital, Ottawa, and in the City of Churches, Montreal, in all of which we are in touch with leading Temperance men, and Canadian politicians, and Government officials, affords a capital opportunity for refreshing one's knowledge of Canadian Temperance laws, grasping the present situation, and finding out "of the reason why" of some recent occurrences.

To take the last point first, "we want to know, you know," how it is that the Scott Act has been repealed in parts of Canada; and it is necessary at the outset to bear in mind that it is only "repealed" in parts. As a fact, the recent "repealings" have occurred in about twelve counties of the province of Ontario, but Ontario is only one of seven provinces of the great Dominion, and a large portion of four of the others still has Prohibition by local option, while all over the great North West Territory statutory Prohibition prevails.

In the province of Ontario the cause of Temperance holds a very advanced position, as to which, perhaps, there could be no better evidence than the fact that *one half* the members of the Provincial Parliament are total abstainers, as are four of the seven members of the Provincial Cabinet. These very facts however, only throw into greater relief the other fact that so many of the counties where formerly the "Scott Act" was in force have gone back on their former votes, and by varying majorities have reverted to a system of licence, tempered, however, by Local Option. To this point, then, we direct our enquiries in several quarters, and we gather a considerable amount of opinion, differing according to the source, in the form, but agreeing as to matter to a degree that gives us a reliable consensus of view, and enables us to reach something like an intelligent conclusion.

First of all, then, the Scott Act, by which the people in each county may by popular vote enact Prohibition for that county, is an Act passed by the Dominion Parliament, which, like the Dominion Government, is decidedly Conservative. But the province of Ontario is as decidedly Liberal, and one consequence has been that the enforcement of the Act has caused friction in many places, and in ways that would probably have been avoided had the Act been one of the local Legislature. Then a grave defect of the Act is that it provides no machinery for the enforcement of its provisions; and therefore all efforts at enforcement devolve upon the authorities of each province, and it has happened in some cases that when the Act has been adopted, the Temperance party has not found itself strong enough to compel enforcement. Then, again, liquor-licensing provides a certain amount of patronage; and, as nearly all the liquor-sellers are Liberals, and as all the provincial officials are Liberals, there are not wanting cases in which these circumstances have told against the success of the Act. In the same way, the punishment of offenders under the Act, has been half-hearted; and doubtless for the same reason; since while the Act provides fines for first and second offences, and imprisonment without fines for a third, it is no uncommon thing for a man to be fined over and over again for a "second" offence, while the law he ought to have been sent to jail, and kept out of

In some cases, on the party agents charged with the execution of the law, and in these cases of law enforcement became a force, and the result was that the Temperance party, which disapproved with the partisan enforcement of a law, was not satisfied with the result of their legitimate expectations, and was thus forced into interference, so that when a "special" pool was taken out of the liquor party raised all their forces, and these forces were used by the thick-knotted Liberal partisans, for party effect, with the result that the application of the Act was repealed. This was the case practically throughout Ontario.

The question has been asked, How is it, if prohibitory laws are so much in accord with the moral sense of the community that Ontario politicians, by and by, have adopted *provisional* legislation to effect a live prohibition of the pleasure? The answer is that, so far as friends of Prohibition have been looking to the Provincial officials to execute the law, they have now found out that, for all practical reasons, under that, there is a decided call for a better Secondary prohibition - Provincial or Dominion, or both. There is a feeling, not a fever, at one end or another to be done in the way of securing this. It is not enough to have a large or even prodigious number of sentiment favouring a given line of conduct; it is not enough to get that moral sentiment converted into law. There is no sense unless and until some combination of the supporters of the sentiment and of the demand the law, and to press the demand the legislators must listen. Even then it is often a long time in coming. The demand is being made in Canada, and there is ground for the belief that it will succeed.

It must not however, be supposed that Ontario has gone over to free trade in drink, or to an untrammelled licensing system. The province is simply where it was before the great Act was passed, with a form of Local Option, under the "Corks Act," by which the Provincial Government issues liquor licences through a local committee. The Municipal Councils have the power to fix the amount of the licence fee, and also within certain limits to fix the total number of licences, beyond which the licence committee cannot issue. The councils may, in short, make the law to any extent, and at the same time reduce the number of licensed places to a minimum of one. They may grant four for the first thousand people, and one for each four hundred beyond. In addition, the law, since Sunday closing from seven o'clock on Saturday night till six o'clock on Monday morning, being in this respect ahead of the requirements of the "Corks Act," never having adopted the "Corks Act," the law is in part more than the "Corks Act," and is in part more than the "Corks Act."

The city of Toronto is covered by a law to the effect that, under the "Corks Act," never having adopted the "Corks Act," the law is in part more than the "Corks Act," and is in part more than the "Corks Act." The city is a people's commonwealth, and the law is in part more than the "Corks Act," and is in part more than the "Corks Act."

LOCAL OPTION IN CANADA.

150 places where drink is sold. There were once 400, reduced some years ago to 250, but a more recent election of the Mayor and City Council turned on the question of reducing the number by one hundred, the Temperance party won the election, the reduction was made, and that without any thought or mention of "compensation." An outlying township of several thousands of people was recently annexed to Toronto, and its only liquor-shop had to shut up, because the full number voted by the City Council was already in existence. Still further reductions are in contemplation, but in the meantime this exercise of power on the part of the municipality has the effect of putting those who obtain licences on their best behaviour, since licences are not only difficult to obtain but easy to lose, and there are many applicants for every vacancy. The Sunday closing law, for instance, is rigidly observed.

The other provinces of Canada have a variety of Temperance laws, in addition to the "Scott Act." For instance, in Manitoba the law requires that an application for licence shall be backed by four-fifths of the nearest voters to the place to be licensed, and this and other provisions of the provincial law has given Prohibition in seventy-two out of about one hundred municipal areas. The North-West Territory has statutory Prohibition, except that the Lieut.-Governor may issue "permits" for sale in certain cases, and the present Lieut.-Governor has interpreted the clause as allowing permits to "hotels" to sell; but even these are few and far between. Quebec applies the Scott Act to some counties, and, for the rest, has an ancient system of provincial law, by which the parish council has the power to enact Prohibition. Under that power, largely at the instance of the Catholic priests, half the province, roughly speaking, is prohibitory territory. In Nova Scotia the "Scott Act" is applied in twelve of the eighteen counties and cities, while the provincial Local Option law is so strict, and so well enforced, that there is practically Prohibition throughout the province, except in Halifax, the Capital. The licence inspectors who are charged with the enforcement of the provincial law must be members in good standing of some Temperance organisation, and if such membership lapses, the office becomes vacant. Probably such a provision in Ontario would have saved the "Scott Act" from failure. In New Brunswick, in nine of fourteen cities and counties, the "Scott Act" is applied, while in Prince Edward's Island the exercise of Local Option has secured entire Prohibition; but British Columbia has an approach to free trade in drink, under an arrangement for the charge of a small licence fee.

The relative sobriety of Canada is shown in a marked degree by the consumption of alcoholic drinks in the Dominion. The corrected Inland Revenue Returns for 1888 show that the consumption in Canada for that year, taking imported and home-manufactured spirits, beer and wine together, was less than four gallons per head of the population. The value of this fact is seen when it is remembered that in the United States the consumption per head is over 12 gallons, and in Great Britain about 20 gallons. This vast difference is accounted for by the fact, that about three-fourths of the area of Canada, and probably two-thirds of the population, were in 1888

of the provisions of prohibitory enactments, while in the larger towns and places where Prohibition is not applied, the general licence laws are, as has been already shown, vastly more stringent than is the case in many of the States of the American Union, or in the countries of the United Kingdom.

The *proportional* consumption of drink, in the separate provinces, taken relatively to the different degrees of Prohibition and licence, is still more interesting. Thus, British Columbia, where the Scott Act has not been tried, and where the licence law is very lax, shows the highest drink rate, and, naturally, Prince Edward Island, where the Scott Act is in force all over the province, is at the bottom of the list; the rest vary, as will be seen, according to the amount of territory and population under Prohibition. The table from which these deductions are drawn is as follows:—

GALLONS OF LIQUOR CONSUMED PER HEAD OF POPULATION IN 1888.

British Columbia	...	...	...	83¼	gallons.
Ontario	...	...	...	5½	" "
Quebec	...	...	...	3¾	" "
Manitoba and North West Territories	...	...	...	2	" "
New Brunswick	...	...	...	1½	" "
Nova Scotia	...	...	...	1¼	" "
Prince Edward Island	...	...	...	½	" "

It should be added that the Scott Act was not in operation in any part of British Columbia; that in Ontario it was only in force part of the year, and in only twenty-seven out of forty-nine cities and counties, not including any large cities; that the Scott Act was inoperative in a large part of Manitoba, which being bracketed in the return with the North West Territories, does an injustice to the prohibitory character of the latter.

Another form of comparison gives quite as striking results. Thus the returns already quoted show that for the ten years before the passing of the Scott Act the average consumption per head per year of drink in Canada (taking the *alcoholic strength* of all combined) was 1780 gallon of proof spirit. For the ten years after the Act was passed (and partially in operation) the yearly average per head was 1206 gallon of proof spirit. So that in ten years, under the Act, there was a decrease in the consumption of alcohol amounting to one third. The three years ending with 1888 only give an annual average consumption per head of 1029 gallon of proof spirit, from which it may fairly be deduced that the more Local Option the more Prohibition, and the more Prohibition the *less drinking*. Compare these averages with those of the United Kingdom, and it will be seen how much ahead of this country is Canada. Mr. Goschen, in his recently published Drink Diagram, gives the per capita consumption for 1888 in the United Kingdom as 37 gallons of proof spirit, while, as shown above, the Canadian consumption was only 83¼ a little over a third as much.

DURING the progress of the enquiries here recorded two events occurred bearing on the subject. A prohibition struggle in Pennsylvania, and a repeal contest in Rhode Island, a small State in New England. In Rhode Island a special election was had, on a proposition to expunge from the Constitution a prohibitory amendment placed there a few years ago. In both cases the decision was, nominally, against Prohibition, but also, in both cases, the facts put an entirely different face on the occurrence. The Constitutional amendment which enjoined prohibition has been, throughout the period of its existence, practically a dead letter, in consequence of the failure of political partizan officials to administer law in the spirit of the Constitution. Hence there was no semblance of enforcement, and that in many cases meant an unrestrained liquor traffic. Despairing of fair dealing under the existing system, the friends of Prohibition have preferred to go back to stringent regulation, plus the power in the townships to vote the traffic out of existence, and to locally enforce the edict. The immediate result is that the new license law proved very unpleasant and uncomfortable to the liquor sellers, because of the measure of Prohibition which it enforces. The most that can be said, therefore, is that in Rhode Island Prohibition failed to prohibit because it was never given a chance to do so. As well expect a locomotive engine to do its appointed work with the fire left out.

In Pennsylvania a fierce battle raged on an amendment to the Constitution which proposed to prohibit the manufacture, or sale, or keeping for sale of any intoxicating liquors whatever for use as a beverage. This amendment was submitted to the people on June 28th, 1880, and the people by a large majority (though a fact of comparatively few voted) decided against the proposal. It was, perhaps, natural that the opponents of such laws should claim the decision of Pennsylvania as a victory, and hold it conclusive proof of the "failure" of Prohibition. Two sets of facts need, however, to be known, as a help toward understanding the situation. In Pennsylvania the liquor party poured out money like water in opposition to the amendment, and most persistently, though quietly, laboured to secure its defeat. The opinion of the liquor interest on the subject of Prohibition generally, may be gathered from its attitude towards the Pennsylvania campaign. *Bischoff's Wine and Liquor Circular*, a representative organ, said: "We must defeat the Pennsylvania amendment. It is too important a State to lose. The moral effect of a defeat in that contest would be incalculable. It would demoralise trade from the Atlantic to the Pacific." The *Champion*, another strong liquor paper, says, addressing "the trade," in language more forcible than polite: "If ever Federal Prohibition laws are enacted against not only the manufacture, but even the importation and sale, of intoxicating liquors, *your rig is up!*" In this spirit no stone was left unturned to compass, by any possible means, the end in view.

A favourite device was to represent the contest as one rather between Prohibition and "High License" than between Prohibition

and the liquor traffic - and many *ad misericordia* appeals were made to the people of the State not to give up the certainty of High License for the unknown quantity of Prohibition. And it is the fact that the license laws of Pennsylvania are of a kind that would be warmly welcomed by Temperance reformers in England.

The existing law in Pennsylvania is a so-called High License law. While the license fee ranges from 75 dollars to 500 dollars, the good achieved is ascribed, not to the amount charged, but to the provisions in the law. Briefly, the Act, which was approved by Governor May 13th, 1887, provides that licenses shall be given only to citizens of the United States of temperate habits and moral character; by the court of quarter sessions for the county for one year only. The petition for license must state "that none of the applicants are in any manner pecuniarily interested in the profit of the business conducted at any other place in the county where liquors are kept for sale;" that "the applicant is the only person in any manner pecuniarily interested in the business so asked to be licensed;" and "that no other person shall be in any manner pecuniarily interested therein during the continuance of the license." Two reputable freeholders of the ward or township, worth at least two thousand dollars over and above all claims, must be bond for each applicant; the petition must be endorsed, as to its truth and bona-fides, by at least twelve reputable citizens. The court must hear petitions in favour of and remonstrances against the application, and in all cases shall refuse the same whenever, in the opinion of the court, having due regard to the number and character of the petitioners for and against such application, such license is not necessary for the accommodation of the public and the entertainment of travellers. The license must be framed, glazed, and exhibited; no sale of liquor is allowed where groceries are sold; stringent rules are provided for the punishment of offenders under the Act, including constables who are charged with certain duties of enforcement and who may fail in the performance of their duties; heavy penalties are incurred by selling without a license; druggists cannot sell liquors except on the written prescription of the registered physician, except preparations of alcohol for mechanical, scientific, and medicinal purposes; no liquors can be sold to any person more than once on any one prescription; and physicians willfully prescribing intoxicating liquors as a beverage to persons of known intemperate habits are subject to fines and penalties. The law further requires that no liquor shall be sold or given away on election days, nor on Sundays, nor at any time to minors, persons of known intemperate habits, or visibly affected by drink, on pain, upon conviction, of the payment of a fine of from fifty to five hundred dollars, together with imprisonment for from twenty to ninety days.

The Act does not authorize any sale of liquor in places where special or local prohibitory acts are in force.

The result of the administration of the law by the courts in Pennsylvania seems to have been greatly to reduce the number of licenses issued, but this is due solely to the strictness of the

"HIGH LICENSE" EXAMINED

under the restrictive powers given them, since nowhere has the number of *assessments* fallen off. In Philadelphia, only one saloon is now licensed in a "block," where in many cases there were almost unbroken squares of drinking places. In Allegheny County, which came within the scope of our enquiries, there are now only about one in thirty of the licensed places which existed before this law was passed, in Pittsburg only one or two are allowed in each ward or district, the total being 93, as against 1,500 before; but, on the other hand, in Lakawana and Lucerne counties it was found that there had been more licenses granted this year than ever before.

One result of the system seems to be greatly to increase the value of the monopoly in the hands of those who obtain licenses. One man stated in court, before Judge White, in Pittsburg, that his year's sales reached 83,000 dollars, and this would be largely increased by the closing of many of his competitors. It remains to be seen whether the check, which the great reduction in the total number of drinking places in the State has undoubtedly given to the drink trade, will prove permanent in its effects. A decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court rendered June 28th, to the effect that the courts have, not the power—though hitherto they have exercised it—to refuse "wholesale dealers'" licenses as well as retailers', is likely to have an important effect, as there appears to be reason to fear the "retailers" who are refused may find means of turning themselves into "wholesale" demand licenses as of right, and thus defeat the object and intention of the law.

"High license" has for a long time past been prescribed as the most effective means of dealing with the liquor traffic—a more effective means than prohibition many people have contended. So far as the phrase merely indicates an increased license fee there is no ground for supposing the system would be effective. In cases, like Chicago, where a higher fee has been charged, but practically no other restrictions imposed, the improvement effected has proved to be infinitesimal. In many cases the liquor party has warmly espoused high license as a means of escape from Prohibition. That fact speaks volumes.

Enquiries made in a number of States, of a variety of persons, and in many directions, elicited the fact that there is no one standard of charge under High License laws, and also, what is of far greater importance, that such laws are not by any means confined, in some cases at least, to the regulation of the license fee, but include provisions of a more or less drastic character, altogether dissociated from the mere question of the amount of money to be paid. There is plenty of variety as to the sum charged in different States. For instance, the State of Nebraska charges 1,000 dollars (£200) in cities, and 500 dollars (£100) in towns; Missouri, 500 dollars; Minnesota, 1,000 dollars in cities, and 500 dollars in towns; Chicago, 500 dollars; Ohio, 250 dollars; Pennsylvania, 75 dollars for townships, 150 dollars for boroughs, 500 dollars for cities of the first grade, and 300 dollars in others; New Jersey, 100 dollars in towns less than 3,000 inhabitants, 150 dollars in all of 3,000 to 10,000, and 250 dollars in large cities. Michigan charges 300 dollars for beer, and

500 dollars to 800 dollars for spirituous liquors. At all the other cities there is no discrimination as to the kind of liquor, or quantity of beer. It was found that under a beer license all kinds of liquors were sold. It will be seen that only two States, Nebraska and Minnesota, place the fee particularly "high."

A good deal of attention has been and is being given in the United States to the discussion of the "High License" question, particularly during the past few years. Nearly every legislature that was in session in that period had some form of High License Bill before it, and these were usually advocated as being easier to enforce than Prohibition.

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The High License law, passed by the State legislature, in February, 1881, briefly stated, provides that the authorities of all cities and villages have power to license, regulate, and prohibit the selling or giving away of any intoxicating, malt, spirituous, or vinous, brewed or fermented liquors, within the limits of such city or village, the license not to extend beyond the municipal year, and to determine the amount to be paid—not less than 500 dollars where the population is under 10,000, and not less than 1,000 dollars in cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants. The general provisions of the Act govern the municipalities, and applications must be endorsed by thirty freeholders, or if these are less than sixty, by a majority of the freeholders of the ward or village where the sale of liquors is to take place.

Outside the municipalities the "County board" of each county may grant licenses, but not to operate in, or within two miles of, any city or incorporated village, upon application of thirty resident freeholders, vouching for the respectability of the man to be licensed, accompanied by the fee of 500 dollars, and the license may be granted after two weeks' notice in five public places. If objected to be taken, and it is shown that the applicant has within a year violated any of the provisions of the Act, or if any former license has been revoked for any misdemeanor against the laws of the State, then the board must refuse the license. The license, if issued, must state the time for which it is granted, not exceeding one year, and other particulars. Every person licensed must first give bond in the sum of 5,000 dollars, payable to the State, and secured by two good sureties, freeholders of the county, and these bonds may be surety for any person, or his legal representatives, who may be injured by reason of the selling or giving away of liquor by the person licensed, or by his agent or servant. No person can give more than one third. The law makes it an offence to give or sell liquor to any minor, apprentice, or servant under twenty-one years of age; and for any such person to misrepresent his age; to sell liquor to any insane, insane person, idiot, or habitual drunkard; to sell or give away liquor (subject to imprisonment), to adulterate liquors; to sell or give away liquor on any election day, or on Sunday. Further, "The person licensed shall satisfy all demands that the Government or individuals

...shall support all papers, notices, and stamps, and the expenses of all civil and criminal prosecutions growing out of, or justly attributed to, his traffic in intoxicating drinks; and it is lawful "for any married woman, or any other person at her request, to institute and maintain in her own name a suit for all damages sustained by herself and children on account of such traffic, and the money when collected shall be paid over for the use of herself and children." There are other provisions for the enforcement of the Act, for the suppression and prevention of interlopance, and for the regulation of the sale of liquor by druggists for medicinal and mechanical purposes.

During the first year of the adoption of this law the number of licenses was reduced from 1,340 to 1,114—no great matter after all, especially when it is remembered that the price had gone up from fifty to five hundred or a thousand dollars. It does not appear that even this moderate reduction has been maintained; while if the sale of beer in the State is any indication, things are now worse than they were before. The *New York Pioneer* gives the sales of beer in Nebraska in 1886 (with "low" license) as 40,000 barrels, and in 1887 (with "high" license) at 108,000 barrels.

However, there is evidence of other kinds. For instance, a series of questions has been addressed to a number of resident ministers of religion in Nebraska. One of the questions was "Does high license diminish the per capita consumption of liquor?" and out of eighty answers seventy-two unite in a general agreement that it does not. Another question was, "Does it make Prohibition more easily attainable?" and of the same eighty, seventy-five said no; and this for the reason, generally, that the influence of the largely increased revenue tends to more strongly intrench the traffic. Add to all this the self-ascertained fact that the liquor sellers themselves are not much averse to the law (except as against "low" license), and it is not surprising to find that the "Father" of high license, Mr. H. W. Marty, Ex-Mayor of Lincoln, Nebraska, under whose mayoralty the system was inaugurated, is now strongly opposed to it. In a recent letter he calls it "a whisky devil in Temperance garb, and is one of the devil's best devices to deceive good Temperance people." I might wish Mayor I had done a good thing to reduce the number of saloons, but when I saw it did not lessen the curse, I saw my mistake.

The religious bodies in Nebraska, are very decidedly against the license system. The Presbyterian Synod of the state, at its meeting, resolved: "We have no faith in compromise; no faith in ease—high or low. We want no legal enactment to protect the national standard from the vengeance of an outraged people. The Baptist State Convention followed suit, resolving, among other things, "we believe that voting for men who favour the liquor traffic is a sin." The same sentiment is fully expressed by the

THUS, whether enquiry be made in the vast Dominion whose people delight to live under the Union Jack, and are proud to be subjects of our Queen; in isolated townships in divers States of the great American Republic; in the old, staid, long settled States of New England, whose peoples still possess, in marked degree, the sterling qualities and high principles of the Pilgrim Fathers; or among the newer, courageously "go ahead" communities of the "Middle West"—all of them busy, thriving, and pursuing with young life,—abundant evidence is easily available in proof of the high value, and of the success of Prohibition. Wherever the law is fairly done by it accomplishes all that is claimed for it. Prohibition does not stop all drinking. That is not the aim of such laws, though it is a favorite device of the liquor party, to represent all anti-liquor legislation as "sumptuary"—determining what shall or shall not be eaten or drunk. The fallacy of such a contention lies upon its face. Prohibition laws do not dictate personal habit; though, happily, it is true they have a salutary reflex action, lessening the tendency to drink by putting drink itself under a ban, just as license fosters drinking, by giving the drink the imprimatur of legality, if not of respectability.

Governor Larnabee, of Iowa, summarized the whole case for Prohibition, when in his last message to the Senate of his State (in 1888) in terse and telling language he said of the Iowa Prohibitory law: "Public sentiment has improved, judicial officers are more disposed to enforcement, judges testify of its value, crime has decreased, as have court expenses, jails are empty, and there is a marked improvement in the condition of the poorer people, as to which hundreds of witnesses can be cited." Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, of Missionary fame, writing from Kansas, in Oct., 1889, to the *Christian*, gives like testimony. He says, "Kansas is a marvel! Roomy, bright, sunny, Christian; with no drink traffic, no drunkards, no drunkards' wives, no drunkards' children, empty gaols, and no pauperism."

The constitutionality of such laws is no longer in question in America, for when a year or two back a prohibition law was appealed against as being unconstitutional, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the law, and at the same time put the authority of the legislature beyond dispute. In the course of the decision the Court said: "We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, the public safety, may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks. If, therefore, the State deems the absolute Prohibition of the manufacture or sale within her limits of intoxicating liquors to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts cannot, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives."

May the day soon dawn when the people's mandate shall be given to this country from the liquor traffic, rightly called by a London orator "the greatest curse that ever afflicted this or any other State." England's legislators shall courageously do that which, as a happy consequence, the people

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ADAM K. RODGER, Secretary.

"Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts."

DEVASTATION
OF
INDIA'S MILLIONS
BY
OPIUM UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Will God permit its continuance ?

BY
A RESIDENT IN INDIA.

"These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes. Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver."

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DEVASTATION OF INDIA'S MILLIONS BY OPIUM.



MUCH has been written—although not too much—concerning the ravages of the opium habit in China, and Great Britain's responsibility in reference thereto; but comparatively little has been publicly made known regarding the stealthy spread of this terrible vice under British rule in India and Burmah. The people of Great Britain are almost in total ignorance of the grave moral issues involved in the Indian aspect of the opium question. It is neither proper nor safe that such lack of information should continue. Behind British administrators in the East, who come and go, many for no higher objects than pay and pension, the British people are responsible for the welfare of the unrepresented millions of India and Burmah. Upon the ministers and members of the Christian Churches of Great Britain, responsibility rests in a double degree.

The serious beginning of the evil may be traced back to rather more than a century ago, when the profligate Warren Hastings, Governor General of India, finding that there was a small market for opium, for medicinal purposes in China, conceived the abominable idea of inculcating a taste for the drug as a sensuous indulgence among the Chinese, for the purpose of developing a trade in India-grown opium. With that object ships were sent to the Chinese coast, and quantities of the pernicious drug were given away to the inhabitants. The next year the same ships carried it for sale at a low price; and thus the disastrous trade sprung up.

In India, Warren Hastings obtained seeds, advanced money to Native cultivators of the poppy, bought from them the crude opium resulting, and had it manufactured at a Government factory for export to China. The system thus wickedly begun is continued by the British Government to this day.

Wherever the Indian Government established an opium plantation, the opium vice, as a natural sequence, grew also. Even in the earlier stages of this plague, Europeans in India, as well as Natives, became its victims. Lord Clive, who was for some time Governor-General, was a slave to the opium habit. He would sit "silent and torpid for hours," and again, "in acute physical suffering." He committed suicide at the age of forty-nine.

A brief leaf from the history of the opium pestilence in Burmah will help to throw light on a great deal in India also.

The opium habit was spread in Burmah by a similar Satanic device to that which had been so successful in China. Under Native rule, the punishment for using opium was death. But with the introduction of British rule, "organized efforts were made by Bengal agents to introduce the use of the drug, and to create a taste for it amongst the rising generation. The general plan was to open a shop with a few cakes of opium, invite the young men, and distribute it to them gratuitously. Then, when the taste was established, the opium was sold at a low rate. Finally, as it spread throughout the neighbourhood, the price was raised, and large profits ensued." (*Vide* evidence of Dr. George Smith before a Parliamentary Committee in 1871). In 1886, Sir C. U. Aitchison, Chief Commissioner of Burmah, reported officially: "The papers now submitted for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralization, misery, and ruin produced amongst the Burmese by opium smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province, and Natives everywhere, bear testimony to it. To facilitate examination of the evidence on this point, I have thrown some extracts from the reports into an appendix to this Memorandum. These show that, among the Burmans, the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jails with men of relaxed frame, predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations."

Sir C. U. Aitchison also wrote: "When reviewing the Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for the year 1877, my attention was drawn to the change which was alleged to be gradually coming over the Burmese national character under British rule. One of the principal causes assigned was the growing habit of opium smoking. Shortly afterwards, when on a visit to Akyab, I was waited upon by a large deputation of the most influential Natives of the town, who presented a petition describing, in very forcible language, the misery entailed on the population by opium, and praying that the traffic in opium might be altogether abolished in Arakan."

In consequence of these disclosures, the Government felt obliged to order a reduction in the number of opium shops in Burmah, and public indignation was thereby (as will be seen) too easily appeased. It was subsequently officially stated to the British House of Commons that the number of opium shops in the whole of Upper and Lower Burmah had been reduced to thirty; and to one in the Akyab district, from which the before-mentioned petition had been presented to the Chief Commissioner, the highest Government official. The key to this assuring Parliamentary statement is furnished by Mr. Maurice Gregory, one of the editors of the *Barat of Asia* (Bombay), who, writing from Akyab in December last (1890), says: "It is perfectly true that there is only one opium shop in the Akyab district dealing directly with the Government, but this opium shop distributes the Government opium to many hundreds of other shops. I saw yesterday at Akyab fifty of these dens in less than forty-f

minutes. Mr. Htoonkyawoo (a Burmese gentleman who kindly acted as my guide), told me that his estimate of the number of dens in the Akyab district, the town included, was at least a thousand, all supplied by the one licensed shop which appears in the Government reports."

- Another paragraph from Mr. Gregory will complete this picture of what British rule is doing for the inhabitants of Akyab (notwithstanding the protests of its best citizens); and, as per sample, for the people of Burmah generally: "I have been through the accident wards of the largest accident hospital in the world, the East London Hospital. It was a sorrowful sight, but the sympathy for the sufferers was mixed with a feeling of satisfaction that they were so well attended to. But my visit to the Akyab dens yesterday was one of unmitigated pain of heart. The emaciated frames, the stertorous breathing, the fevered pulse, the wrecked lives, the ruined souls, lay heavily upon me. Dozens of the victims, thinking that I was a missionary, asked me for some medicine to stop the terrible pain which accompanies the slightest cessation of the use of the drug after the first few months from the commencement of the habit. They all knew the drug was ruining them, and they all wanted to give it up, but dared not face the racking torture of the process. Eventually I had a sort of an open meeting of about a hundred of them, to whom I explained through Mr. Htoonkyawoo that I had come to assist them if I could, and, God helping me, I would tell all the Christian people I could reach, about their sad case."

While these facts illustrate the oft-shown value of official Parliamentary statements on moral questions in far-distant possessions, ought they not also to touch the quick of the Christian conscience of Great Britain, and lead God's people to ask with mourning and tears, and a resolve for practical repentance, What He thinks of a thousand licensed opium hells at a place under a so-called Christian Government while in the city itself there is not one resident Christian missionary?

How the opium policy of a Government which is Christian in name, tends to thwart the work of ambassadors for Christ, while it attacks home-life, has lately been forcibly depicted by the Rev. A. T. Rose, a missionary in Burmah. He says: "May I give one of many similar instances? I am in the town of Danubyu, and call at a house where the mother and two daughters are busy making thinbyu mats. I give and receive in return a polite salutation. I ask, 'Can you read?' The mother says, 'Yes, we can read.' 'Would you like to read one of my books?' The mother asks what kind of books. I reply, 'About Jesus and His religion.' The mother answered, 'No, I know enough of your religion.' After a pause I said, 'May I ask what you mean?' 'What do I mean?' she replied with flashing eyes: 'twenty years ago my husband was an industrious and respectable man; he had paddy fields and bullocks, and two large boats, and traded to Rangoon; now all is gone, and I and my daughters have to work night and day to supply him with opium;—and my two sons are going the same way!' I afterwards saw this man, a mere skeleton, a wreck, body and soul. The two sons, then in an opium and gambling den, soon found their way to the jail. There are thousands of similar families in Lower Burmah."

But now let us turn to India.

500 dollars to 800 dollars for spirituous liquors. At all the other places there is no discrimination as to the kind of liquor, or a matter of beer. It was found that under a beer license all kinds of liquors were sold. It will be seen that only two States, Nebraska and Minnesota, place the fee particularly "high."

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accomplices, with a Satanic smile, produces, unasked, a large unbroken ball of the infernal commodity, and exhibits to me, with an air of satisfied pride and exoneration, the seal of the Queen's Government which it bears. This is the crowning infamy in India—of government without God. But doth not God see; doth not He consider? Yes: 'I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the afflicted, and the right of the poor.' 'The way of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord' 'The way of the wicked He turneth upside down.'"

AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY ON THE GOVERNMENT SHAMBLES.

Rev. Arthur W. Prautch, an American missionary in Bombay, who is well acquainted with the haunts and the homes of the people, writes, on December 22nd, 1890: "The thought oppresses me that, in this city, there are ten thousand persons addicted to the opium vice. This involves untold misery for the families of the victims, as well as for the victims themselves. There are two ways in which opium is sold (1) in pellets to be taken home; (2) in liquid form to be smoked in the licensed retailer's den. I have seen forty customers waiting at one shop to be served. Why do they buy? Some, because they are slaves to it. Others are nurses to European children, who put opium into their finger nail, and let somebody's baby suck itself into a stupor; the mother, seeing the quiet child, and not knowing the cause, is pleased with the nurse. Others are Native mothers, who go out to work, and who dose their children while they follow their employment. It has been remarked to me by strangers, 'How very quiet many Native children are!' Yes, they are very quiet; but what will the harvest be? Of course, these drugged European and Native children will grow up with an awful craving for opium and stimulants, and will soon make shipwreck of life.

"As I write, and think of the scenes of these licensed human shambles, the masses of people who are suffering through this officially-fostered vice, the army of children who are getting the insatiable passion for opium, my heart is bowed in sadness. I see no light, except from a righteous God, who now bears with the British nation. It seems that heartless statesmen, who tempt these poor people to their destruction, will not move unless compelled to do so, and we in India cannot move them. It is never right for a Government to collect revenue at such a fearful price. What will the condition of things be when the habit becomes more universal? Who will shoulder the responsibility of the harvest of suffering?"

A MAHOMEDAN MOTHER AND HER WRECKED SON.

One other scene from the commercial capital of India. Mr. M. Gregory, writing in August, 1890, says: "I took an up-country to see some of the Bombay licensed opium dens last night. These places was up a filthy, narrow gully, about four feet wide and about in the most crooked manner. My missionary companion hesitated such a cut-throat looking place, but I assure safe. Here a striking incident occurred. O

missionary, One of the broad, which is kept by a man about going to quite a Mahomedan

young man and his old mother. The young man is a confirmed slave to opium. His mother said his age was only twenty-one, but he looked at least fifty, shrunk and bent, and a mere skeleton. He does no work, but his father gives him four annas (about 6d) a day for opium, else he would die. All he can now eat daily is a small tea-cup full of food. Mr. Robert Thompson, who accompanied us, earnestly explained to the old mother that it was wicked Europeans who, were not Christians, who licensed such dens, and that there were real Christians, followers of Jesus Christ, who were trying to put a stop to this legalized wickedness. She listened intently, and then, lifting her outspread hands above her head, like an inspired prophetess, she said, 'Man indeed cannot do it. Only an Almighty God can stop this awful thing!'

RAVAGES OF THE OPIUM PLAGUE IN SMALLER CITIES.

Dr. Morison, Presbyterian Missionary at Rampore Beaulah, Bengal, having been asked for information concerning the opium plague in that place, towards the close of 1889, visited the Government opium dens, and replied in part thus to Mr. Donald Matheson, Chairman of the "Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade," London :

"I stepped into a den, and found 12 men sitting down to their pipes. My sudden entrance was followed by a rush for the door, but I stayed them, and told them to tell me all about the habit. Many of the smokers I knew personally, all belonging to the labouring classes. On looking over the smokers, I saw that most of them were sallow-complexioned, and one in the last stage of emaciation. I asked what was the effect of smoking upon them. They all, with one accord, said that it dried up their bodies, and the craving for it was such that they could not give it up. They said that 'if they gave it up they would die, but, Sir, if you would give us some medicine to help us, then we might give it up.'

"I asked how many men came there. They said about 50 or more daily. This was the testimony of the shopkeeper, whose interest it is not to show too large a consumption lest his license should be enhanced. I found none of them willing that these dens should be extended. On the contrary, all the men implored me to do what I could to have them closed, 'only let us die first, for if you deprive us of it suddenly we must die.' 'Ah,' said the shopkeeper, 'don't think the Maharanee (the Queen) will close these shops; she gets too much money out of these opium, ganja, and liquor shops, to think of closing them.' I replied, 'Not so, you are wrong; if the good Maharanee and the good people of England knew that these shops are demoralizing and destroying the people of this country, they would shut them, and deliver you from the temptation.'

My next visit was to another den, a quarter of a mile distant. I counted 25 at their pipes, and others waiting to take up each pipe as soon as it was used. What shocked me here more than in the previous den was to find that the majority were young men under 25 years of age. Here I saw many whom I knew intimately, but whom I had not suspected of the habit. The lad in charge of the shop was a youth of 18 with brilliantly black eyes—characteristic of the opium trade and its influence. I asked him how he came to

be there. He said he was serving in charge of the shop, and received so much per day—I think he said four annas—of which he smoked the half, and the other half went to purchase food. The next man, who was in the act of smoking, told me he too was serving in the shop, and that if he smoked the value of 2d. per day he had usually only 2d. to give to his father and mother for food. Here were two young men in one shop, bound slaves by the fascinating drug! But I had not seen all yet. I turned to a young man of about 21 years of age standing near, and asked, ‘What are you doing here?’ He hung down his head and did not answer. The shopkeeper (*i.e.*, the first boy) said, ‘Sir, he too is smoking opium.’ ‘But,’ I said, ‘how can you smoke it when you are not earning any money; you are out of work now (for he had applied to me for a situation as school teacher a few weeks before)?’ He replied, ‘I sometimes get work to do.’ ‘No,’ said another smoker, ‘his father supplies him with the money, and he smokes 2d. per day, or more, when he can get it.’ ‘But,’ I said, ‘his father is a poor man getting eight or ten rupees (16 or 20 shillings) per month, with a large family, how can he afford to encourage his son in this vice?’ ‘Why, Sir, if his father will not give him the money he will commit theft or some other crime to get money, and therefore his father, to save his good name, gives him six or eight pice (2d. or 3d.) per day.’

“I began to realize, for the first time in my life after 12 years’ residence in this town, that there were forces at work under my very eyes that were swiftly and surely bringing ruin and degradation upon innumerable families in India, and that, account for it as we may, our Government was responsible for fostering and propagating this demoralizing plague. And yet I had not seen all, nor sounded the depths of this polluting stream.”

ANOTHER QUALIFIED WITNESS,

Also in answer to a letter of inquiry, the Rev. W. B. Phillips, of Berhampore, Bengal, writes to the London Missionary Society on the evils of opium-smoking in that city, and in the district of Moorshedabad in which it is situated. From an able published summary of his lengthy communication, the following is taken:—“Moorshedabad contains a population of 1,353,000. The inhabitants of Berhampore, the chief civil station, number 27,000. Opium and *ganya* shops are scattered all over the district, the extent of which is about two and a half times that of Warwickshire.

“The first licensed opium den in Berhampore, which Mr. Phillips describes, was visited by him on February 10th, 1850. It was in a bye-lane. The door was shut, and over it hung a dirty piece of sacking. As he pushed open the door and stood among the astonished smokers, some of them beat a hasty retreat by an opposite door; one man drew a covering right over his head, but others put on a bold face; and made no difficulty of answering his questions. The shed was divided into three compartments, one for smoking *chandu*, and two for *gooli* (both forms of the opium drug, as explained hereafter). In this licensed resort of vice, Mr. Phillips confined his attention especially to the *chandu* slaves. There were five of them sitting or lying round a lamp, which

was merely a small jet of flame, enclosed in a pyramid-shaped glass case about six inches high. There was an opening at the top, and it was placed in the middle of a large trencher. Around the edge of the trencher was a row of little saucers filled with a black, semi-liquid substance. This was the *chandu*, which is liquefied opium. He watched the horrid process of opium intoxication in the person of a pale, thin man. Among those present in this inferno were butchers, bakers, a domestic servant, and others unknown. They were very uneasy at his presence, and tried to get rid of him quickly by saying what a vile and disreputable place it was.

"The next evening, Mr. Phillips visited two more dens, both confined to *gooli* smoking. The first was behind the busiest thoroughfare of the town. It was capable of seating about forty smokers. On his entrance twelve were present. On the floor was a plate of thick, pasty-looking sweetmeat. 'What is that for?' he asked. A mason, deeply engrossed in *gooli* smoking, looked up and replied, 'That is to take along with the *gooli*, so as to help on intoxication.' *Gooli* is a compound of fried guava leaves and opium. The man put a little into the hand of Mr. Phillips. It looked like a mass of minute charcoal shavings cemented together. He then broke off a piece, and rolled it into a little ball, the size of a pill. This pill he put at the top of a small, hollow, earthenware cone, which was fitted on to his *hookah* (pipe). The *hookah* was fitted into the neck of a broken earthen vessel; with a small pair of bamboo tongs, he then applied a little cake of glowing prepared charcoal to his *gooli* till he had smoked it all away. Mr. Phillips remarks—'It made me sad to think of the certain consequences of his vile habit.' Some of these men will smoke 36 or 48 *goolies* at a sitting, which means an outlay equal to the whole day's earnings of most labourers.

"Attention was next directed to a thin, tall, respectably-dressed man. His face looked very haggard, and he stood up in evident shame at being caught in such a place. He was a shopkeeper's assistant, and would inevitably lose his work in a short time, as opium-smokers can never be trusted near the till. Looking across the shed, Mr. Phillips saw three emaciated, crouching, ragged women, and asked in surprise, 'Do women also smoke *gooli*?' 'Oh yes, many of them.' In the centre of the shed was another skeleton of a woman, who had charge of the business for a time, and was doing out by weight this poison from the devil's own workshop. Her customers were not only those who smoked on the premises, for others came who took it away for home consumption. A young man of twenty-two received his dose in a screw of paper. Mr. Phillips asked to see it. While he was unscrewing the paper, the visitor looked into his face and said, 'Why, I know you.' 'Yes sir, I made the rail for your mission boat.' That was eighteen months before. 'I felt at that time,' says Mr. Phillips, 'that some evil habit was robbing him of all life and energy, and rendering him a worthless carpenter. I see now what it was. Though so young, he is practically a wreck. I spoke next to two young men engaged in the silk trade. They were strong and well clad; but opium-smoking will soon change all that.'

"The next shop he visited was 'right upon the main thoroughfare, without any screen to shield smokers from the public gaze. Formerly

they used to have a piece of dirty sacking to hide their shame ; but why should they blush when they are such important pillars to the British Empire in the East? A Government license gives boldness even to the scum of society.' The walls of the building inside were covered with soot and cobwebs. It was evening, and, as customers gathered thickly from that time onwards, the servant was busy cooking a large supply.

"Among those who were smoking as Mr. Phillips entered, was one of the most miserable objects he ever saw, a young man of twenty, with face thin, dirty and haggard, and clothes filthy and ragged ; as he looked at him, a former pupil of his mission school spoke from the road, and said, 'A few years ago that man's father died and left him two thousand rupees, but he has spent it all in this way.' With such a sum in India, he might have done great things for himself and family, but he had become merely a broken down cumberer of the ground.

"The following morning, Mr. Phillips visited another similar licensed vestibule of hell. He says these four dens have slain their thousands. The last three are all on the same line of road, and within a quarter of a mile of each other. Between them there is, in the one case, a shop for the sale of block opium, and in the other a *ganja* shop. *Ganja*, a twin abomination to opium, is an intoxicating preparation of Indian hemp, which engenders lascivious imaginations, and finally destroys the intellect. In Berhampore Asylum, at the time Mr. Phillips wrote, there were fifty-one victims of this licensed article of *revenue* !"

DEGRADATION OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AT LUCKNOW.

How the opium pestilence strikes a visitor to India, who sees its causes and fruit for the first time, is vividly illustrated in Mr. W. S. Caine's brief word-picture of an opium den at Lucknow, contained in the volume which is one of the results of his tour in India in 1838-39.* He says :—"A large Native house is passed, through the door of which streams in and out a swarm of customers. It is perhaps 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Entering with them, you will find yourself in a spacious but very dirty court-yard, round which are ranged fifteen or twenty small rooms. The stench is sickening, the swarm of flies intolerable, and there is something strange and weird in the faces of those coming in from the street. This is the establishment of another Government contractor, the opium farmer. At the entrance sits a comely, well-dressed Native woman, whose husband is sorting the arriving customers into the least-crowded of the side rooms. Before her is a table, on which are large bowls rapidly filling with copper coins. Enter one of the small rooms. It has no window, and is very dark, but in the centre is a small charcoal fire, whose lurid glow lights up the faces of nine or ten human beings—men and women—lying on the floor like pigs in a sty. A young girl, some fifteen years of age, has charge of each room, fans the fire, lights the opium pipe, and holds it in the mouth of the last corner, till his head falls heavily on the body of his or her predecessor.

"In no East-end gin palace, in no lunatic or idiot asylum, r

* "Picturesque India"

see such horrible destruction of God's image in the face of man as appears in the countenances of those in the preliminary stages of opium drunkenness. Here you may see some handsome young married woman, nineteen or twenty years of age, sprawling on the senseless bodies of men, her fine brown eyes flattened and dull with coming stupor, and her lips drawn convulsively back from her glittering white teeth. Here is a younger girl, sitting among a group of newly-arrived customers, singing some lewd romance, as they hand round the pipes. There is a bonny little lad of six or seven, watching his father's changing face with a dreadful indifference. At night these dens are crowded to excess, and it is estimated that there are upwards of 12,000 persons in Lucknow enslaved by this hideous vice. 'Green' hands can get drunk for an anna, or even less; but by degrees more and more opium is needed, till hardened sots require two hundred or three hundred drops of thick opium mixed with tobacco, to secure complete intoxication. An opium sot is the most hopeless of all drunkards. Once in the clutches of this fiend, everything gives way to his fierce promptings. His victim only works to get more money for opium. Wife, children, home, health, and life itself at last, are all sacrificed to his degrading passion."

OPIMUM SLAVES APPEAL FOR MERCY.

The opium victim, in his best moments, is seized with helpless, hopeless despair, as he contemplates the iron habit which holds him in its relentless grasp. The sanction given to his vice by the spectacle of a so-called Christian Government pandering to it and profiting by it, has not utterly debauched his conscience. Allahabad (or "The City of God") is the capital of the North-West Provinces. The scenes described below point to its being made, under British auspices, two-fold more the city of Satan.

"On July 30th, 1889, in the evening," writes Mr. Maurice Gregory in *The Banner of Asia*, "I went with an earnest Native Christian to an opium shop, near the Gudri Bazaar (Second-hand Market), Chowk, Allahabad. The entrance was by a short, broad passage, at the end of which was a counter where liquid opium was sold ready for use. Beyond this was a yard with several sheds opening on to it. From the sheds there were filthy little black dens, with only the door, and no window, in which hardly anything could be discerned but the flickering gleam of the opium-lamp. When the eyes became accustomed to the gloom, a group, or rather heap, of people lying on each other round the opium-lamp was discerned. In each of the sheds there were also several groups, each round a lamp. In addition there were a number of upstairs dens. There were eighteen groups altogether in dens and sheds. Very few of the smokers had any clothes on except their loin-cloths, and they looked pauperized, emaciated and starved."

"They were of all castes. There were also women present, inmates of ill-fame, loaded with jewellery, and smoking with the men. As to the number in each group, as many as can lie on each side of the lamp will do so, taking their turn with the lamp and there were about 150 in this opium-hell altogether at the time

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other round
side. T

that we were present, and people were coming and going all the time. Before we had been there long, my Native Christian companion was asked, referring to myself, 'Is this your *Padri Sahib*?' ('Padri Sahib' is the vernacular term for missionary, and I was easily mistaken for one). My companion replied, 'No, he is only a *Sahib*.' Then they asked, 'Has he then come to take an opium contract?' to which the reply was given, 'No, we hate such things, we are your real brethren, like the children of one mother, and we know it is evil. God, our Creator, does not like it. Do you think that it will please him?' They said, 'No.' The Native Christian said, 'Brethren, does not your conscience condemn you?' They said, 'O yes! *Is se Bhagwan razi nahin* (God does not like this); we know that, and we are very sorry to say that we are unfortunately entangled in this net through the enticement of our friends. In the beginning we thought it would make us strong when we were ill, but now we are become slaves of it. If we cannot get it, we are not able to work or eat our food. We have ruined ourselves. We are good for nothing.'

"We then said, 'Surely we love you, and our desire is to save you from this evil.' On this an intensely earnest look came on their faces, and all in the group we were conversing with rose up, and several others joined them, and they all eagerly conversed with each other, and then they said to my Native companion, 'Please tell *Sahib* to

WRITE TO THE QUEEN TO STOP THIS.

If *Sahib* will write, surely she will stop it. *We are become destitute and beggars.* Some of us were rich people.' Then an old man rose up, and taking hold of a young man about thirty years of age, said 'Oh, *Sahib*, please look at this man. He was a very strong, muscular gymnast, but this opium has made him like he is now, weak and good-for-nothing.' This is precisely what he looked like. He had a big frame and broad chest, as though he had once been a strong man, but now his shoulders were bowed, and his legs shaky, like an old man of ninety."*

There are Western vices that are strong and terrible; but the opium habit is the most imperious and relentless under which humanity can fall. An illustration of this is found in the remark of a Chief Justice of one of India's most important Provinces, who recently said, "It was quite a common thing for the whole proceedings of his court to be stopped because a witness became confused, and the interpreter would say to him, '*Sahib*, the witness must have his opium, or he cannot go on;' and the whole court would have to be adjourned while the witness went out somewhere to smoke his pipe of opium."† In missionary opium refuges in China, it is usual for the patients to be kept under lock and key, the windows of the wards being also strongly protected by iron bars to prevent escape. The agonies that have to be endured for several days on the cessation of opium smoking are so great, and the power of

* Similar testimony could be given in regard to Calcutta and other Indian cities and towns, but enough has been said under this head.

† *National Righteousness*, No. 4, published by Morgan & Scott, London.

the victim's will is so destroyed, that reformation without restraint, while opium is obtainable, is almost unknown. When the habit is once broken, to recover, by the impossibility of obtaining the poison (as shown by the case of prisoners and lunatics under confinement), the physical condition, as a rule, rapidly improves. Hence the necessity of making the pernicious drug inaccessible.*

In Great Britain, legal precautions are taken to prevent the sale of opium for common use. Under the Pharmacy Act of 1863, "to regulate the sale of poisons," it is unlawful for opium to be sold except by a duly qualified and registered chemist or druggist, and not then "unless the box, bottle, vessel, wrapper, or cover in which such poison is contained be distinctly labelled with the name of the article and the word POISON, and with the name and address of the seller of the poison" (Pharmacy Act, 1868, sec. 17). Who can contrast without shame the action of the British Government in England with the action of the British Government in India?

It is a British axiom, and has been an Englishman's boast, that British law is equal for all British subjects. But in the British opium administration in the East, there is the principle of slavery, viz., that the rights and welfare of men of one race may be disregarded and sacrificed by men of another. It is an ungodly and dangerous principle. It is ungodly, and not less dangerous when applied by British authority to the more than 250 millions of India and Burmah.

The machinery of the Indian opium administration is of a piece with the opium policy—to increase the sale of the poison as an article of common consumption. An ingenious device in this direction is contained in an order issued in March, 1889 (and still in force), by the Accountant-General, for the guidance of certain officials in the Bombay Presidency. It empowers them to refund to persons holding contracts to sell opium any penalties they may have incurred for deficiencies of sales, if they make up the deficiency in subsequent months. Surely no justice-loving Englishman, remembering the care taken to keep opium from common consumption among the people of Great Britain, can contemplate without indignation the foregoing cold-blooded official incentive to larger sales among the people of India.

The opium farmers and their underlings understand and obey the behests of the Government. Some months ago, a member of the editorial staff of the *Bombay Guardian* visited a newly authorized place that was being fitted up for opium-smoking in that city, and which was opened for its vile purpose on the following Sabbath morning. His remarks are appropriate to the phase of the subject to which we have now come. He writes:—

"Grant and Duncan Roads are two of the great arteries of traffic in Bombay. The spot where these two main thoroughfares cross each other resembles a square, or open market or meeting place, on account of the two eastern water-tanks which give breadth to the junction of the roads. Here in the morning may be seen labourers waiting to be hired (Matt. xx. 3);

* For some particulars concerning the aspect of this great evil as it affects China see the Appendix.

and usually in the evening a multitude listening to a Native orator. The neighbourhood is densely populated.

"It is within a few steps of this junction of main roads that a Chinaman has received a Government license to open an opium-smoking hell. It is new ground for the Satanic business. It has not been carried on before, so far as can be learned, in this locality. The teeming thousands of this quarter of the city also, are to be tempted to their ruin by a fascinating temptation—the teeming thousands whom it is the mission of the Christian Church to save. Why is this terrible temptation being planted across the pathway of the already wretched and perishing people? The Government's Chinese licensee knows the reason. He said to us in answer to a remonstrance against spreading here a habit that was ruining his own countrymen—'*The Government wants the money.*'"

"Yes; that is the reason why this plague is being spread in Bombay and throughout India, as well as in China. British government in the East has reached the carrion-bird line and principle. The greater the plague, the more that are stricken down by the pestilence (from which few ever rise again), the greater the sum of money that is grasped by the vulture-hand of authority.

"The financial policy of the Government of India is a policy of death and destruction. We have heard sufficient at present of what British rule has saved India from; it is high time to consider what it is bringing India to. No class of material prosperity can atone for a fiscal system which is hastening the masses to irretrievable ruin. It is no figure of speech to say that by the opium traffic the Vulture of Government has fastened itself at the heart of the people. The Vulture's grip tightens year by year. If the victim's struggles are not violent, it is because the victim is losing sensibility under the fatal breath of its antagonist, and not because the life-blood is not oozing out."*

It is high time for the British people to take the matter in hand, if British administrators in India will not look beyond their own term of service, but consider it a fit substitute for statesmanship, good enough for India, to raise revenue by a method which increasingly devastates the homes of the people, and promises to eventuate in national ruin. It is unpleasant reading, and ominous of the troubles to come if this suicidal policy be persevered in, to learn, for instance, that in a city like Lucknow, with its terrible history, the consumption of opium increased from 36,240 tolas in 1883-4 to 64,320 in 1887-8.†

All who believe in God and are not ignorant of the facts of history, know that sin, unrepented of, brings retribution in some way or other as by a natural law. Will God make an exception in the case of Britain?

* Mr. Wallace J. Gladwin, editor of the *India Watchman*, Bombay, at the close of a recently-published article on the opium plague, entitled "The Vampire of India," pathetically says that at the final reading of his mass of facts, he had "to pause and weep in pained sympathy for the awful sufferings of the many millions of Asia; and also in patriotic shame at the conduct of the British nation."

† This means the quantity of the raw article upon which duty has been paid; but there are numerous forms of opium adulteration, and the ashes of one smoking of opium are smoked and re-smoked. The quantity of opium, therefore, upon which duty is paid, is not an adequate gauge of the extent of the vice.

come against India, Burmah and China; for the British attack upon the millions of China by the opium traffic cannot be excluded in estimating the enormity of our national sin? Divine Revelation furnishes no ground for supposing that judgment will not fall upon Great Britain in this case, as it did upon the United States for Negro slavery, if the present call and opportunity for repentance be disregarded. The official fool is saying in his heart, there is no God. While extravagance and waste run riot in Indian administration, he is talking of the necessity of the bloody revenue which falls into the Indian Exchequer through this slaughter of our fellow-creatures. Truly God is long-suffering, but how long will He suffer?

The word for the Christian Churches of Great Britain to utter at this solemn crisis in the ears of responsible statesmen, while there is opportunity, is PROHIBITION. It is not yet too late to stop the traffic by cutting at the root of it, and prohibiting the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in any British dominions or by any British subject. God, and suffering and wronged humanity in countries embracing half the population of the globe, await the answer of those who name the Name of Christ in Great Britain. Will His professing people stretch forth, in atonement as well as in mercy, the Christly hand to save; or by their silence and inaction join the official fool in his vain attempt to exclude the Creator from the government of His universe, notwithstanding that the Divine Judge and Avenger of blood is so near at hand?

"There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death."

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

"Unto the upright there riseth light in the darkness."

APPENDIX—I.

SPREAD OF THE OPIUM PLAGUE ELSEWHERE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG.



IN the British Crown Colony, known as the "Straits Settlements," of which the principal town is Singapore, the reckless and devastating opium policy of the Government of India has been copied, and carried to such a pitch as to evoke an energetic protest from the Chinese themselves, usually so submissive in foreign lands. Chinese and Indian immigration to the Straits Settlements is encouraged by the local British authorities. When the poor immigrants arrive, they find unparalleled temptations to the opium habit. Nearly one half of the revenue of the Colony is raised by fostering, and pandering to, this awful vice. At least two missionaries on this account have refused to take the usual Government grant-in-aid to schools, feeling that the receipt of the price of blood was not permissible in Christian work; and if received, would blight rather than help their efforts. Some of the streets in Singapore are crowded with opium dens, outside of each of which is conspicuously and unblushingly exhibited a board inscribed "Licensed Opium Shop," with its translation in Chinese.

In July, 1890, the authorities of the Chinese Thien Hok Temple at Singapore adopted the extraordinary step of calling a meeting upon the subject, "because," as the circular convening it said, "it is needful to deliberate about petitioning the Upper and Lower Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain to put a stop to the opium [trade]." On the appointed day (July 17th), considerably more than a thousand Chinese attended, and by three o'clock in the afternoon nine hundred and ninety had signed the petition, while many took copies away to secure other signatures. Missionaries and other Christians also took up the matter, and ultimately a petition signed by over eleven thousand residents of Singapore was sent to Sir Joseph W. Pease, M.P., for presentation to Parliament. After referring to "the terrible evils of opium-smoking among so many of the thousands of the Chinese who crowd to these parts of the British possessions," the petitioners pray that the policy of British administration towards Chinese labouring on British soil be "not to ruin them morally, physically, and materially, by affording facilities for carrying on the traffic in this most pernicious drug. Your petitioners, therefore, pray your Honourable House to address Her Majesty the Queen upon the subject of the above-mentioned evils, with a view to the immediate prohibition of the growth of the poppy, and the traffic in opium, in and from any of Her Majesty's dominions, except for strictly medicinal purposes."

PROTEST OF CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN HONG KONG.



HE Chinese Christian Churches in Hong-Kong, in May, 1890, united in a petition to the British Parliament. The following is an extract:—"To this day there remains the great curse of opium unremoved. Imported from India, and flowing from here into every part of China, it inflicts more harm than tongue can tell. Those in authority know this, but because the revenue is benefited, they take no account of the infinite harm done. Though it comes here under the name of medicine, opium inflicts suffering and misery more than slavery, and besots men more than lust or gambling, so that there is scarcely a human being so hardened as not to commiserate its victims. The East was the first to suffer, but now it is also spreading to the West, and it bids fair to overspread the whole world. Surely God, the Nourisher of men, and Christ, the Redeemer of men, must abhor a wholesale system of poisoning like this. Converts to Christianity here of all denominations without exception prohibit the use of opium in their Societies, just as they would seek to save men from burning or drowning. But all they can do is of little avail while the Government does nothing to stop it."

The petitioners then ask that a "stern law may be passed prohibiting forever the importation of opium into Hong-Kong, and from thence to China," and that all cultivators of the poppy in India, and all British merchants dealing in opium, may be respectively enjoined to cultivate and trade in something else.

The petition is signed as follows:—

WONG YUK CH'O
 WAN KAM TSUNG
 WONG SHING
 FUNG FU
 T'ONG CHAN
 HO KAN FU
 LAI FUK CHE
 KWAN TSET TONG
 KONG WAI TSING
 LI TSEUNG KWONG
 TAI SUN TAT
 IP MU CHAN
 FONG YAT SAU
 FOK TSING SHAN
 UN YNG FONG
 TANG LIM TSUN
 LI YNG PU
 HO HUNG SZE
 LEUNG ON TING
 CHAK IU KAI
 CHAN IU TAN
 CHAU CHI HING
 WONG TAT YUNG
 CHAU CHAK PU

Pastor and Elders of the
L. M. S. Church of 260
members.

Minister and Elders of the
Basil Mission Church of 256
members.

Pastor and Elders of the
Church of England Mission
Church of 95 members

Pastor and Elders of the
Wesleyan Church of 50 mem-
bers.

THE PESTILENCE IN THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF SHANGHAI.



THE length to which the opium policy of desolation, destruction, and death, has gone in the British settlement of Shanghai (which perhaps, more than Hong Kong, has been the head-quarters of unprincipled British merchants dealing in opium), may be gathered from a few lines from a published letter of Mr. Alfred S. Dyer, who investigated the condition of things there in February, 1890. He writes: "This British settlement, covering a space no larger than an ordinary English country town, contains *one thousand and sixty licensed opium shops*, several of which are capable of accommodating from five hundred to a thousand persons. Adjacent to the opium shops are dens of moral leprosy. The latter places are as many in number as the opium shops. The female inmates of some of them are registered by the municipality, including little girls of fifteen years of age. If the last fact should be denied, I will give the names of girl-victims, and the names of the municipal doctors by whom they have been surgically violated. For the security of other wicked men, the municipal council of this so-called 'model settlement' cause a photograph of each registered girl to be attached to her card. The card is signed by a municipal doctor, and is practically an *authorization or license to sin.*"

It is not surprising that Mr. Dyer, after this, comments severely on the example thus set before the eyes of the Chinese nation, and concludes a letter of burning facts with the words: "For the sake and in the eternal interests of China's millions, and in support of the faithful few in Shanghai who pray to God day and night for the removal of the legalized iniquities which I have but faintly depicted, let the people of God in the home countries arise and stop the plague by thrusting themselves between the dead and the living."

In March, 1890, the United Christian Churches of Shanghai addressed an appeal to Christian members of the British Parliament, in which, alluding to the great anti-opium memorial to the Chinese Government from Christians in India, and to the repeated protests of the anti-opium party in Great Britain, they say, "We join our voices with theirs, praying that you will consider our heartfelt words and take steps to end the trade for ever. By so doing you will respond to the life-loving attribute of God above. THE EVIL COMES FROM ENGLAND, AND TO ENGLAND WE LOOK FOR DELIVERANCE THEREFROM. Our persons are humble and our words are feeble, but we will pray to God to aid England and China to remove this evil, and thereby to bring a blessing to our people." The signatures to this appeal are given on the next page

in order to illustrate the unanimity of the Native Christian Churches upon this unspeakable curse:—

London Mission	...	...	...	HWANG YUCH-CHOW, Minister SZ WUN-HE, Evangelist.
English C. M. S.	...	..	...	HO AI-DING,
				LI HOW-KWAY,
				HO MING-YAUG,
American Baptist Mission	..	..	..	CHEN KE-DAO,
				WANG YEU-SAN, Evangelist.
American Protestant Episcopal Mission				YEN YUNG-KING, Priest.
				CHU YU-TANG,
				HWA SZ-CHIU,
				TSANG KIH-JEU,
American Methodist Mission (South)				TSANG TSZ-MING,
				TAN PING-LING,
				FAN SHU-CHING,
				SZ TSZ-KIA, Minister
				WOO TUNG-HIEN, Evangelist.
American Presbyterian Mission	...			TANG CHU-T-ONG,
				SZ TSZ-PING,
American Presbyterian Mission.				CHU T. O-SAN,
				BAO WO-FOO,
				WO T. z-ZIANG,
The American Woman's Union				FANG-TUNG-SUN, Evangelist.
				CHOW LIANG-DING,
China Inland Mission				HUNG WUN-SEN, } Evangelists

APPENDIX—II.

THE GUILT OF BRITAIN TOWARD CHINA.

Appeal from the Chinese Christian Churches at Canton to the Churches of Great Britain against the Opium Traffic.



THE following is a translation of the letter which is reproduced in *fac-simile* on the next page. It solemnly appeals to every Church member in the United Kingdom :—

The Christian Churches of Canton respectfully address the Christian Churches of England.

This year, when holding our Annual New Year's Meetings, we were favoured with a visit from a Western Evangelist (Alfred S. Dyer), who told us how the Christians in India, to the number of several thousands, had improved the opportunity afforded this year, before the time fixed for the revision of the Commercial Treaty in reference to opium expires, to appeal to the Executive Council and the Emperor of China to co-operate with your Government in abolishing the opium traffic. Having been told this, we were incited thereby to prepare this letter, signed by representatives of all our Churches—beseeching your Churches, pastors and teachers to combine your strength, in devising some efficient means to remove this curse of opium. Years ago, Mr. Turner, besides other good works, presented an appeal to your Parliament to prohibit the importation (by British merchants) of opium into China.

Although the object sought has not been attained, the agitation of the matter should not be allowed to flag, for the calamities which opium brings are numberless.

Permit us to set forth briefly a few of the more conspicuous forms.

The introduction and sale of opium extends to all the cities and villages of the land, the Chinese expending on it more than \$50,000,000 (about 10,000,000 pounds sterling) every year. By this means the rich are made poor, and the poor led to sell their children, and its curse appears in the dissipation of the wealth of the land.

Scholars, Agriculturists, Artizans and Merchants, represent the constant and productive employments of the people. When once they acquire the opium habit they become weak, inefficient and indolent in every department of labour: every form of handicraft deteriorates, business suffers and time is squandered. There is no worse evil than this, and its curse appears again in the gradual destruction of the industries and trade of the country.

Our people originally are comparatively strong and healthy, but when once they acquire the opium habit they become mere skeletons and can neither eat nor sleep with comfort. The physical deterioration is transmitted to their children and grandchildren, and the curse of opium is seen in the injury it inflicts upon the very life of the people.

* For further particulars of the Indian and Opium Memorial and Deputation, see "Chinese Statements on Great Britain and the Opium Curse," page 31.

When a man has enough to eat and to wear, he observes the proper regulations and customs of Society, but when once he takes to opium he

中國廣東各會華友書上

大英四各公會教長大人 鑒 恭啟者 粵省各會每當新正連日聚集 德西教士自印度來者 述其在印度會後 四教友 數千餘名 趁今歲 英中所立鴉片商約 期滿 擬將中國 辦理 衙門 大旨 請

旨與 貴國 議除鴉片一事 設於 粵省各會 聞之 俾共 竭誠 簽名 修書 奉懇 貴國 各分會 牧師 先生 合力 設法 奏 除 烟膏 前 粵 丹 拿 先生 料 台 委 會 已 在 貴 國 院 議 禁 鴉 片 不 入 中 國 其 事 雖 未 舉 行 其 誠 萬 不 容 已 夫 鴉 片 之 為 患 指 不 勝 屈 今 祇 就 其 要 者 略 陳 使 檳 鴉 片 售 入 中 國 分 散 城 鄉 華 人 每 歲 去 銀 五 十 餘 兆 富 者 因 而 成 貧 貧 者 因 而 鬻 子 其 害 在 耗 財 士 農 工 商 華 人 窮 業 一 經 吸 食 鴉 片 變 成 癮 病 凡 事 懶 作 百 藝 無 成 廢 時 失 事 莫 此 為 甚 其 害 在 廢 業 天 生 丞 氏 大 略 康 壯 一 食 鴉 片 形 消 骨 立 食 睡 不 寧 所 生 兒 孫 每 多 劣 弱 其 害 在 傷 生 凡 人 衣 食 若 足 日 積 月 聚 一 食 鴉 片 件 件 無 力 財 用 日 困 遂 以 欺 騙 為 事 甘 居 汗 賤 其 害 在 敗 俗 凡 此 害 於 華 人 者 固 多 然 礙 於 傳 教 者 亦 復 不 少 貴 國 來 傳 福 音 之 士 都 是 本 誠 與 人 為 善 而 見 者 每 誣 鴉 片 與 教 士 同 自 英 產 遂 疑 教 士 亦 是 疑 此 理 都 是 假 嗎 貴 國 來 傳 福 音 之 士 都 是 本 誠 與 人 為 善 而 見 者 每 誣 鴉 片 與 教 士 同 自 英 產 遂 疑 教 士 亦 是 暗 惡 而 且 聖 會 設 立 聖 學 雖 甚 有 益 華 家 但 不 禁 鴉 片 不 能 塞 未 受 學 者 之 口 聖 會 開 建 醫 院 雖 是 救 人 症 病 但 不 禁 鴉 片 無 能 驅 不 受 醫 者 之 心 是 貴 教 友 一 片 執 心 許 多 尊 聖 竟 為 鴉 片 盡 付 諸 流 水 矣 而 說 者 曰 華 人 好 食 鴉 片 豈 由 自 作 聖 我 英 人 無 關 於 新 約 有 云 勿 共 與 於 惡 事 今 貴 國 種 鴉 片 以 誤 華 人 之 惡 是 共 與 之 也 何 說 可 辭 乎 今 幸 天 假 之 緣 印 度 諸 友 再 興 義 舉 上 稟 中 朝 議 禁 所 願 貴 國 教 友 戮 力 同 心 不 顧 利 害 果 能 密 除 鴉 片 可 以 解 華 人 之 厄 卽 以 去 傳 教 之 礙 弟 等 無 能 為 力 惟 自 日 夜 禱 頌

上主默助 英中共除大害等華友書中國幸甚謹此恭候

太安

光緒十六年正月

- 倫敦會 英國總督 麥嘉樂
- 巴色會 荷蘭總督 馬德遜
- 長老會 荷蘭總督 馬德遜
- 惠師禮會 周禮心 吳廣福
- 浸信會 吳廣福 吳廣福
- 美福丹會 吳廣福 吳廣福
- 等 同 此

RELUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE CANION CHURCHES.

loses all self-respect, and as money becomes each day harder to obtain, he resorts to dishonest means to gain a livelihood, and becomes utterly debased, so the curse of opium appears again in destroying the character and manners of the people.

While these evils are preying upon the people of China, the obstacles they present to Christian work are not a few. Your people come to preach the doctrines of the Gospel, which are indeed the truth, and your real desire is to lead many to believe: but those that hear them, say that opium and the Gospel have come together from England, and the doubt arises and finds expression in words that the Gospel is false. Your missionaries come with the real desire to benefit the people, but those who see them, maliciously declare that opium and missionaries are alike English productions, and they suspect the missionaries of secretly doing evil. Moreover, the Church opens free schools, and although they are meant to benefit the youth, yet it is impossible to stop the mouths of those who are not taught, while opium remains unforbidden. The Church has opened hospitals, but, although they are, saving men from disease, it is impossible to influence the hearts of those who have not been healed, while opium remains unforbidden.

Your Christians, with singleness of heart, are zealous in many works, but while opium remains, they are all like so much water poured out.

It is said by some that Chinese are fond of opium and the calamities they suffer are of their own making, and the English have nothing to do with it. The New Testament says: "Have no fellowship with evil." Now when your Government plants and sells opium to minister to the evil propensities of the Chinese, you are partakers with them, and what can you say in excuse thereof?

An opportunity having now been providentially afforded by our friends in India to renew the agitation of the matter in the memorial they have presented to the Throne of China for consultation and prohibition, our hope is that your Christians will, with one heart, exert themselves without regard to profit or loss, and be enabled to abolish opium, that the Chinese may be released from this yoke of bondage and the obstacles to the preaching of the Gospel be removed. We have but little strength, but night and day we pray the Lord above to reveal Himself, and help England and China to abolish this great evil. May this exceeding blessing come to us and to China. For this we reverently wait.

SIGNED ON BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF CANTON:—

For the London Mission (which has 300 Native Communicants).	{ LEUNG TÓ. AN FUNG SHI. YEUNG WING CHI.
For the English Wesleyan Mission (which has 700 Native Communicants).	{ CHAU HOK-SHUE MAK KANG NIN.
For the Berlin Mission (which has 350 Native Communicants).	{ U PIN-OM. WONG KWONG-FUK.
For the Baptist Mission (which has 470 Native Communicants).	{ FUNG FUNG TSUN-TAK. CH'AN SUN-MAN.
For the Presbyterian Mission (which has 600 Native Communicants).	{ KWAN HIN-SHAM UE MUNG-LING TSÓ TAU-SHAN.
For the American Scandinavian Mission (which has 10 Native Communicants).	{ NG UEN-LI.

Canton, China, March, 1890.

APPEAL FROM THE PEKIN ANTI-OPIMUM SOCIETY

(*Principally composed of Native Christians*)

TO ALL LOVERS OF VIRTUE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

(*Translated from the Chinese. For fac-simile of the original, see next page.*)



One would humbly state that, since Opium came to China, it has been like an evil ulcer, daily spreading and putrefying, infecting the whole body from head to foot until there is scarcely a sound piece of flesh thereon. We think you have only heard a vague report. At present six men in ten smoke Opium. If so many now are cursed by it, to what will it grow if not prohibited?

The evil is the greater since, by bringing Opium to China, she has learned to grow it. Opium stops the cultivation of the soil, squanders property, ruins a man's prospects, makes him *lasy*, hungry and cold, destroys his good example, causes him to lose his virtuous heart, makes thieves and robbers, estranges brothers and makes enemies of parents. It causes every sort of crime, destroying body and soul.

Alas! there is no virtuous or benevolent Chinaman who is not sick at heart at the ruin of Opium. If a man fall into fire or water, one would instantly spring to save him, but the danger from Opium is greater than from fire or water. Myriads on myriads perish by it. Men all say that the wretch who robs and murders should not be left alive. But the evil poison of Opium robs a thousand myriads of their goods, and ruins the reputation of myriads on myriads. Who will say: "It should be left in China and not prohibited?"

The Bible says: "I will not eat anything that makes my brother sin." How then can one covet such usury and so kill myriads of men?

We have from afar admired your noble country. Your benevolent heart has long been known far and near, how with all your might you stopped the slave trade. But is killing men by Opium a less evil? Truly we fear it is a greater. Recently there was a famine in China. Your noble country generously sent assistance and Chinamen proclaimed your benevolence. But some said: "It were better not to receive your help and die, if only the deadly Opium might be stopped and be brought no more to our shores." So it appears your noble country, because of Opium, receives a bad name.

Frequently men say of the Missionaries: "Your words exhort us to virtue, but your heart conceals poison, since you kill us with Opium and carry our money to your own country."

Alas! we can not see you; and pen and ink cannot paint the terrible reality. One man can not move 10,000 lbs., but one hundred men can. We ask you with united heart, Pray for us, and with united

strength stop the curse, cast out from China this giant evil, and prohibit the traffic.

北京戒大煙會致函於

樂善諸公臺前敬啟者自大煙販我中土如毒瘡日見癢胃傳染遍體自頂至足幾無完膚矣諒諸公得聞其大概矣目下計販煙者十中有六受害業如此之眾設仍不禁絕日後將如之何並且因販賣串引中華效種害滋更甚快農田敗家產自快終身情念饑寒品行不振心術有失偷盜槍劫兄弟不親父母若仇種種傷天害理之事無一不為害身體並及靈魂哀哉鴉片之害我中人仁人君子莫不傷心如見一人墜於水火且急往救况鴉片之害甚於水火墜之者萬萬人乎且見惡人路劫殺人奪物人皆云當不容斯人活於世况鴉片之惡毒奪千萬人之財傷萬萬人之名孰得云可留於中土而不禁絕聖經云勿因我欲食斯物而陷兄弟於罪又焉可圖此倍徙之利害萬人乎每遙羨 貴國仁心久著遐邇如禁賣奴之事急力禁絕然鴉片害人較賣奴輕乎實恐為害尤重且邇來中土飢荒 貴國努力賑濟中土人士口揚貴國之仁然有人云寧不得此賑而死不若能禁絕煙害不販我中土可知中土因鴉片之事貴國落此不美之名每有人向傳道者云爾等口中勸人行善心却暗存毒害將大煙害我中土賺我等錢財運往爾國噫不得面視諸公苦訴真情筆墨不能盡繪其狀所願者一人之力難移萬斤百人之力不難移動求 諸公同心新籌同力禁絕成此大事除此大患中國幸甚願請

近安

邵康吉

榮霖

薛沛卿

潘楨

謹識

Great will be the benefit to China. We wish you peace.

SHAO K'ANG CHI,
JUNG LIN,

HSUEH P'EI CH'ING
P'AN CHEN,

} Committee.

Pekin, August 2nd, 1890.

Letters from China, by Alfred S. Dyer,

Editor of "The Bombay Guardian" (Indian National Christian Newspaper).

THE GREAT PLAGUE OF ASIA.



There is no friend of God or humanity who attempts to underrate the gravity of the opium scourge, which is not now confined to China alone. India, Burmah, Ceylon, and other parts of Asia are involved. In and from every British port from Bombay to Shanghai, the plague is spreading. Concerning its ravages among China's millions, the voices of Christian missionaries have so often been raised in appeal to the British people that, through hope deferred, many seem in danger of sinking into the dumbness of despair. Not a few there are who work on in silent agony, while the fell fruits of the plague are multiplying around them, thinking what might have been if their appeals had been heeded ten, or even five, years ago. But is anything too hard for the Lord? Maybe He has yet a message which British Christians will hear, and, humbling themselves for the sins of their nation, will do something more than listlessly behold the spread of the great plague of Asia, and stand unmoved, while, amidst the wail of heathen anguish hell's gatherers of the slain cry, "Bring out your dead!"

From Bombay to Peking I have now been an eye-witness of the effects of this pestilence. Among the letters I received upon this subject from China before I entered upon this journey was one from a China Inland missionary at Yunnan Fu. He wrote: "Our work lies amongst the wreck of a nation ruined by the English. In this province, one of the largest in China, it is a generally acknowledged fact that seven out of eight of the men are slaves to opium. Some go so far as to say nine out of ten. From personal experience I should think the latter estimate is as true as the former. Large numbers of the women smoke. The mandarins smoke, and their retainers with scarcely an exception. We come across cases where children are born with the craving."

The province thus referred to is in the extreme south-west of China, adjoining Burmah. A few days since, when I was at Tung-Chow, within a few hours of Peking, I had to listen to similar testimony as to the extent of the opium curse from an American Congregational missionary who had recently been in North Shan-si, a province at the other extreme of China, where it joins Mongolia. In both instances the testimony is based upon personal observation, supported and emphasized by the statements of the Chinese themselves. In some other provinces, happily, the opium habit is less universal; but everywhere it is spreading.

Having briefly indicated the extent of the opium curse, a few facts may be given to throw light on its nature. Many good people in Great Britain have been misled by the astounding statement, repeatedly made by certain Englishmen in official position, that taking opium is no more harmful than smoking tobacco or drinking alcoholic liquor. I can say confidently that the victims of the opium habit, whether in

India or China, hold a different opinion. Confirmed opium smokers do not condone, but hate the vice that clutches them in its relentless grasp. It is pitiable to hear them plead their inability to throw off its galling chains. In China, wife and children are often sold to satisfy the hated but imperious habit. A few, proportionately, enter missionary opium refuges, where they are usually kept away from the fateful drug by lock and key; but the invariable testimony I have received from medical missionaries since I landed in China is that, except the small percentage who become Christians while under treatment, from 80 to 90 per cent. of those who leave as cured ultimately relapse. The estimate of the habit by those who have not contracted it is illustrated by a case in which one of a family possessing an undivided property having taken to smoking opium, with its accompanying vices, had his sight destroyed by his brothers as the only means of saving the family from pecuniary ruin.

Chinese Christians are unanimous in their condemnation of opium, I have heard the expression of their feelings in large gatherings. No opium taker can be admitted into Church membership; but many members, alas! have had to be disowned on account of falling or relapsing into the vice, including some of the most prominent and promising ordained native preachers.

If the opium habit is so relentlessly cruel when contracted in mature years, let Christian parents who read these lines consider what it must be when acquired in childhood. It is not an uncommon sight in a Chinese opium den to see a mother smoking opium, with her baby propped up beside her. But nearer home than China, namely, in licensed opium dens in the commercial capital of India, I have seen little children, from three years old upwards, lying in a comatose state from opium, grown, manufactured, and sold under the auspices of the British Government. Oh, the hell within, against which the adult of such a childhood has to struggle. As I have gazed upon little children in Indian and Chinese opium dens, their lives thus damned for the sake of bringing a blood revenue into the British-Indian exchequer, I have thought of the day when He who once said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not," will sit upon His throne of judgment. In that day the mouth of every implicated British administrator, legislator, and opium merchant, and of their apologists, will be stopped. They will call upon the mountains and rocks to fall upon them and hide them. But well will it be in that great day of revealing and judgment for those of unseared and pitying heart who dare in this crisis to place the value of souls above the revenue from their destruction.

It has been said by certain cynical and superficial Englishmen, "If the Chinese ruin themselves by opium, that is their own affair; why do they not abstain from it?" If thousands of the sons and daughters of respectable parents, in nominally Christian countries, fall annually into the condition of habitual drunkards, is it to be wondered at that hundreds of thousands, in an unchristianized land like China, yearly fall victims to the much more fascinating opium vice, not to speak of the children who are born with the craving? It needs a residence among Asiatic races to comprehend how fascinating this vice is, and especially to understand how awful the struggle that is required to break

it off, in which so few succeed. Evil habits are always contagious, but more emphatically it is thus with the great plague of Asia, which breaks down the power of the will, and holds its victim with a grip equal to that of impurity, with a legion of other devils also. The plea of "Am I my brother's keeper?" by the tempter of his brother, the opium producer, and his aiders and abettors, is not more likely to avail than when it was first uttered by Cain, and he was driven forth as a fugitive and a vagabond. To-day, in consequence of the plague which Great Britain has let loose upon China, India, and other parts of Asia, the voice of our brother's blood is crying unto God from the ground.

The opium plague does not discriminate as to class. The worst wrecks perhaps are seen among the poor, whose penury leads them to smoke a compound composed largely of the ashes of the first smoking of opium, a preparation said to be more poisonous than the unmixed drug. The pestilence finds its victims in all grades. A Chinese gentleman of good social position, in telling me at Canton that the opium habit was the greatest evil that had ever fallen upon China, said that of the sixteen of his father's family, eleven were addicted to the habit. Few things in Chinese history are more pathetic than the experience of the Emperor Tao Kwang. Three of his sons had died through the opium habit; and finding the curse stealthily spreading among his subjects, he ordered Commissioner Lin to proceed to Canton in 1839 to stop the smuggling of opium into China. The monarch wept as, recounting the dire effects of the drug, he sent forth Commissioner Lin on his momentous mission. Then followed, in the interests of rapacious and criminal greed, and in defiance of the elementary principles of morality, one of the blackest pages in the history of Britain's dealings with other nations—the first Opium War. The Emperor died, while the plague which had laid waste his own family was still forced upon his people at the point of British bayonets.

China's greatest living statesman, Li Hung Chang, said in 1881, in reference to China's consent to legalize the opium traffic, having endured two wars and paid vast "indemnities" to Great Britain, that the legalization of the traffic was "not from choice, but because China submitted to the adverse decision of arms." Notwithstanding the audacious charges of insincerity made by some Englishmen, I record my belief, the outcome of information from high sources, that China's leading statesmen detest the traffic. If their protests have grown less urgent, it is not, as is sometimes alleged by the partisans of the scourge, that their consciences have been bribed by the revenue derived from imported opium, but because they have feared that continued remonstrance might bring a recurrence of the calamities which attended former protests. Effective action to put down the native growth is impossible until the foreign import is stopped. Do my country-people, do the home Churches, realise that the action of the Chinese Government is paralysed against the curse which is ravaging, impoverishing, demoralising, and, as sure as the eternal law of cause and effect, tending to the break up of their nation, because of the shadow of the black and brutal hand of British power, already gory with injustice, which they fear again to offend?

In the interests of China and India alike, and of Malaysia, I ask my justice-loving country people to intervene. The plague can only be effectually stayed by cutting off its source. Let no consideration of so-called expediency hinder an irresistible demand for the prohibition of the growth as well as the sale of opium in India, that thus China and Malaysia also may no longer be cursed by its export.

ALFRED S. DYER.

Pekin, China, 2. IV., 1890.

CHINESE CHRISTIANS AND THE RAVAGES OF THE OPIUM PLAGUE.



FEW days ago, I was present as a spectator at a large meeting of Native Christians in this capital, called together under the auspices of the Prohibition of Opium Society of Peking. In the course of the proceedings, there arose in the body of the mission chapel a Chinese Christian, whose venerable appearance indicated that he was nearing the close of his earthly warfare. In earnest tones he suggested that the followers of Christ in Peking should issue a call to Christians of other countries to humiliation and prayer on account of the traffic in opium which curses beyond description the people of his native land:

"The heart knoweth its own bitterness." Christians in western lands, either through ignorance, thoughtlessness, or consciences seared by listening to the unsanctified judgments of the world, may think lightly of the opium traffic, but it is no light matter to the Lord's people who have been gathered out of heathenism in China. There is no variation in their estimate of this devouring abomination; everywhere the attitude of Chinese Christians towards the opium habit and traffic is one of firm and uncompromising condemnation.

Not only does the Chinese Christian have to bear the taunt of having adopted the religion of "the foreign devils, who are making China into a hell by their opium," but he has also the bitterness of seeing the little Christian Church decimated by the infernal drug. Whole families sometimes go back into heathenism under its influence. In other cases the wife and mother alone remains true, widowed and childless while her husband and sons are yet alive, more bereaved than if she had buried them. In some instances, the womanhood of the deserted wife is further outraged by having to witness her fallen husband's marriage with another. A month since, at a meeting of the Christian Women's Anti-Opium and Temperance Union of Tien-tsin, the proceedings were broken by sobs and crying, as the Christian wives and mothers recited their experiences of the ravages of the opium fiend.

Is God deaf to the wails of sorrow and double bereavement that continually arise from His people in China? Has He suddenly changed His attributes and forsaken them? Verily, no! Infidel politicians in Great

Britain, wicked administrators in India, with a handful of ex-missionaries in China, who have risen to positions of worldly influence in occupations which they find more congenial and lucrative than preaching the Gospel, may apologise for and condone the shameful deeds by which the opium traffic was forced upon China; but God will avenge the slain of His people, and in the day "when He maketh inquisition for blood," it will be better for the back-slidden opium slave than for the guilty principals and their apologetic and therefore guilty accomplices in the stupendous crime that is now being perpetrated in China through British-Indian opium. "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

Who will say that humiliation and prayer are not needed in Great Britain and India, together with fruits meet for repentance?

In a conversation with some missionaries at Peking upon converted opium-smokers, one of the missionaries mentioned a case, at which another missionary remarked, "It is only safe to talk about such reformations when the persons are dead." Converted opium-smokers justly call forth rejoicing both here and on missionary platforms in Great Britain, but in such instances it is necessary to rejoice with fear and trembling. In the English mail steamship that brought me to China (unhappily along with 1,500 large chests of opium from India), was Mr. Macgowan, of Amoy, returning with his family to the scene of his nearly thirty years' labours; and also six other missionaries. In Mr. Macgowan's recently published missionary book, "Christ or Confucius: Which?" he narrates the deeply interesting story of a converted opium smoker, who is now one of the principal native preachers in the Amoy Mission. He says: "The man is a miracle to me, and yet I never think of him without a dread feeling of anxiety that I cannot control. Is he really for ever free from that awful opium? For thirty-four years it held him in its grip. It controlled his life, and destroyed his manhood, and absorbed his will so completely that he had no thought of resisting it. Has it, indeed, given up its mastery over him? It would seem so, and yet some of its roots may still be embedded far down in his nature, and some day, in a moment of weakness or temptation, these may again assert their power, and he may once more fall under the awful and mysterious fascination with which opium charms its victims. My hope that this may not happen is entirely in the grace of God. No power of will, no selfish thought of life, no human affections will save him. Nothing short of Divine power can keep him a free man."

Can we be surprised, then, at the depth of feeling in the Native Church upon this monster evil? That Chinese Christians desire a war of extermination against opium is illustrated by the pledge of their Prohibition of Opium Society at Peking and elsewhere. Its members "promise to be faithful unto death," not to eat, smoke, cultivate, nor help others to cultivate, nor to trade or assist others to trade in opium; and "with all my heart and strength to use every righteous method to destroy the evil and injury of opium taking, and to exhort others to do likewise."

Such indications of the intensity of feeling among Christian converts

in China should be as the voice of God to their brethren in Great Britain, that while they send the Gospel, they will insist upon the poisonous deluge of British opium being stopped at its Indian source. Let not the streams of salvation and damnation, of blessing and cursing,



REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE PEKIN ANTI-OPIMUM PLEDGE.

flow any longer together into China, while the latter might be speedily ended, under the blessing of God, by a supreme effort on the part of His Church in the lands of the guilty aggressor.

The evils which Great Britain has inflicted upon China by the opium traffic are too immeasurable to allow of adequate compensation being

offered. The victims of wholesale massacre are beyond compensation. If it is too late for the British nation to do an act of justice in this respect, it is not too late for it to act righteously in the present, and thus, perhaps, avert the judgment which the crimes of Britain towards China richly warrant and deserve.

It is presumption to pray for a revival of religion in China if by our silence we still connive at the destruction of her people. "To obey is better than sacrifice." Nothing will do so much to prepare the way of the Lord in this many-millioned land as humiliation, prayer, and action in Great Britain to destroy China's greatest curse.

ALFRED S. DYER.

Pekin, 14, IV., 1890.

CHINESE STATESMEN ON GREAT BRITAIN AND THE OPIUM CURSE.

WILL THE BRITISH PEOPLE PERMIT THE INFAMY AND CRIME
OF A THIRD OPIUM WAR?

INTERVIEW OF THE INDIAN ANTI-OPIUM DEPUTATION WITH THE
VICEROY, LI HUNG CHANG.

WELL-INFORMED persons in China among my countrymen have looked at me in astonishment when I have asked—"Are sincerity and love of country extinct qualities of Chinese character?" I have not made the inquiry for my own benefit and information, but to repeatedly test the statements of a small class of persons who have managed to make themselves heard in England in a degree far above the value and reliability of their information.

But while charges of insincerity have been freely levelled against Chinese statesmen in reference to their reiterated protests against the opium traffic, they have their views as to the conduct of the British in forcing the Chinese Government by the bloody and iniquitous second opium war to legalize that traffic, and in placing in the treaty which closed the war, that the Christian religion "inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by." Chinese statesmen justly conclude that if that is the Christian religion, it has not penetrated a great way into the diplomacy and actions of the Government of Great Britain. Having stood upon the ground both in Canton and Peking, where the chief atrocities of that war were committed, and recalled the slaughter and plunder in which my countrymen were engaged, I can understand the iron that enters the soul of an intelligent and patriotic Chinaman—and there are multitudes of them—as he contrasts the precept and the practice of the official representatives of Great Britain.

A week ago, I and Mr. W. E. Robbins, of Bombay,* had an interview at Tien-tsin, near Pekin, with China's Prime Minister and greatest statesman, the Viceroy, Li Hung Chang. Our object in seeing him was at least two-fold. First, we were the bearers of two anti-opium memorials to the Government of China from India and Scotland respectively; second, we wished to convey to the Supreme Authorities of China, through him, information beyond that contained in the memorials concerning the position of the Christian Churches of Great Britain and India on the opium traffic.

The idea of a memorial from Christians to the Government of China originated in the *Banner of Asia*, published at Bombay. Many missionaries warmly took up the suggestion. Without any paid agency or machinery, 10,345 signatures were sent to the editors of the *Banner of Asia*, of Christians only. Among those who signed were 800 missionaries, a number of editors of Christian newspapers and periodicals, and over 1,200 native pastors, evangelists, and others wholly engaged in missionary work, the autographs being in many languages. Although the memorial was designed to be primarily from India, some devoted Christians in England, the United States, and Australia, having heard of it, sent in their own and a few other names.

The second or Scottish memorial, above referred to, was signed in a short time by between six and seven thousand Christian ministers and others in Scotland, at the suggestion of the Scottish Anti-Opium Society, when the news of what was taking place in India reached its energetic Secretary, Mr. Robert Brown, of Olrig Terrace, Pollokshields, Glasgow.†

The memorials were the same in effect, although differing slightly in the wording. The one from India will give the purport of both. It said:—

“We, the undersigned ministers and members of Christian Churches, desire to record our sorrow at the moral and physical havoc which has been wrought among the people of China in consequence of the opium policy of the British Government—a policy which has been totally at variance with the principles of the Christian religion.

“We respectfully express our deep sympathy with the Supreme Authorities of China in their desire to save their nation from the curse of the opium habit; and in order to further so wise and laudable an object, we would emphasize the importance of acting upon the opportunity presented in the year 1890, under the Additional Article of the Chefoo Agreement (ratified May 6th, 1886), to terminate that Article, and to secure the execution of a new treaty repealing the Tien-tsin Treaty, as far as it relates to opium, and also enacting the prohibition of the legalized importation of opium into China.” ‡

* Mr. Robbins is one of the most respected American missionaries in India. He has laboured, chiefly in the Bombay Presidency, for about eighteen years, and is therefore an authority upon Indian questions.

† The exact title of this organization is “The China Liberation Society.” Its sole object is the Abolition of the Opium Traffic.

‡ While the opportunity began May 6th, 1890, it is not confined to that year. If the Chinese Government's not unreasonable fear could be removed (see closing paragraphs of this letter), they might now give the twelve months notice “at any time” (*vide* sec. 7 of the Additional Article of the Chefoo Agreement).

The special suitability of such an expression of opinion from India is evident, showing, as it does, that there are large numbers of the best and most intelligent of India's inhabitants who, in advising an opium prohibition treaty for China, thereby resent the implication that the ruin of a great neighbouring nation is essential to Indian finance.

Our reception by the Viceroy Li Hung Chang at Tien-tsin was cordial and sympathetic. He had received, in advance, copies of the text of the memorials, and a lengthy statement thereon, so that he understood the object of our mission to a considerable extent prior to the interview. He expressed his satisfaction at the presentation of the memorials, examined the bulky originals with much interest, and promised to lay them, with our statement thereon, before his Imperial colleagues, with a recommendation that evidenced his desire to see the fateful opium curse extinguished. He spoke in strong and emphatic terms of the moral and material evils of opium smoking. He said the Central Government were most sincere in their antagonism to the opium traffic, and if the foreign import were prohibited, they would at once turn their efforts to effectually put down the home growth. But, he asked, Would not the demand for a prohibition treaty with Great Britain bring on a third opium war?

That culminating question undoubtedly voiced a real fear which exists among the Chinese Imperial authorities—a fear which paralyzes their action. Their experience in this matter has been unspeakably sad. I and Mr. Robbins had an appointment to see the Marquis Tseng at Peking four days prior to the date of his death. On the day of the appointment he was too ill to keep it, but he knew the object of our visit to China, and sympathised with it. In regard thereto he repeated what may now be taken as his dying message, "WE ARE NOT FREE; we cannot take the first step."

May God cause the Viceroy Li Hung Chang's question and the Marquis Tseng's message to sink deep into the hearts of the people of Great Britain. *Will they not quickly answer the question in the light of the message?* If the British people who more than fifty years ago nobly decreed the emancipation of the West Indian negroes, can now permit a nation of four hundred million souls to drift to disintegration and ruin, with the calamities of pestilence and famine combined, because the tyrannical and cruel shadow of British power overawes the Government of that nation, then surely the oppressor is in a no less perilous position than the oppressed, for "God sitteth upon the throne of His holiness."

ALFRED S. DYER.

Shanghai, China, 29, IV., 1890.

THE ANTI-OPIUM CRISIS.

The following forms and hints are issued as a guide to those who wish to join in the protest that is being made against the wrong done to the people of China and India by the calamitous Opium traffic, but who need information as to the manner of procedure. Of course the wording of petition forms can be altered, if desired, to more exactly express the views and feelings of the petitioners, but every petition to be accepted by Parliament must end with the words, "And your petitioners will ever pray."

An important auxiliary to petitioning Parliament is the writing of personal letters to members of Parliament, or to Parliamentary candidates (not once, but several times if necessary), couched in firm if respectful terms, calling attention to the momentous issues involved in a continuance of the Opium traffic, and the determination of the writer to place the settlement of this matter, by the prohibition of the traffic, above every party tie and consideration.

Let every Christian and justice-loving man and woman in the United Kingdom unite at this juncture to wipe off the stain which rests upon the English name, and to help to save the millions of India and China from the great and terrible plague of Opium, remembering the words of Scripture, "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

HINTS TO PETITIONERS.

1.—Petitions to be valid must be written, free from mistakes, alterations, erasures, and interlineations.

2.—The written heading must have one or more signatures upon it, after which successive sheets of signatures may be attached so as to form a continuous roll. Both men and women may sign.

3.—Signatures must be in the own handwriting of the petitioners or have their mark appended; and in signing a petition, the full name and address should be given.

4.—Names must be written *on one side of the paper only*, and be those of adult persons.

5.—In the case of a petition adopted at a public or other meeting, or religious assembly, the petition may be signed by the person who presides, *on behalf of the meeting*.

6.—When a petition is completed, it can be forwarded post free to your Member of Parliament, if the words "Petition to Parliament" are written on the cover, and the packet is left open at both ends like an ordinary book post parcel. A letter to a Member of Parliament, requesting him to present it to the House of Commons, should invariably accompany the petition.

Suggested Forms of Petition to Parliament.

*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and
Ireland in Parliament Assembled.*

The Petition of [here state whether it is from the "inhabitants ofin the county of....."; or from "a public meeting held on....., 1891, in....., in the town (or village) of, in the county of....."; or from, "a meeting of members of the.....Church, in the town of, in the county of....., held on....., 1891"; or otherwise as the case may be.]

Respectfully Sheweth :

That your Petitioners have heard from their fellow-Christians in China of the lamentable effects upon the people of that country of the habit fostered by the opium grown in India under British official supervision.

*That as opium is classed according to the law in Great Britain as a **Poison**, and is only permitted to be sold by druggists, when labelled as such, your Petitioners cannot regard the connection of the British Government in India with the production of this poison for sale for common consumption by the Chinese people as consistent with Christian morality, and with the principles which should regulate our intercourse with a friendly nation.

That your Petitioners have also learnt with great concern of the rapid spread of the opium habit among our fellow-subjects in India, and of its frightful moral and physical effects in that country.

That your Petitioners therefore pray that alike in the interests of the more than two hundred and fifty millions of our fellow-subjects in India and Burmah, and of the four hundred millions of China, with whose Government we profess to be in peaceful relationship, that you will at once take such action as will lead to the total prohibition of the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in India and other British possessions, and of its export from or through British territory, placing it amongst contraband articles, and making it unlawful for British subjects in any place to deal therein.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

Signed : [If the Petition is from the inhabitants of a town or village, the full name and address, including the name of the street or road of the persons who sign, should follow here, one name and address to a line. If the Petition is from a public or Church meeting, it should be signed by the Chairman thus—"Signed in and on behalf of the meeting,.....Chairman." If the Petition is from a Y.M.C.A. or other organization, it should be signed on its behalf by some or all of the officers of the Association or organization.]

[No. 2 FORM.]

*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and
Ireland in Parliament Assembled.*

The Petition of [*See instructions at head of previous Petition Form.*]

Respectfully Sheweth :

That your Petitioners have learnt with sorrow and alarm of the rapid spread of the habit of opium smoking in the British Indian Empire—a habit leading to immeasurable degradation, misery and impoverishment.

That your Petitioners regard the production and sale of this pernicious drug under the auspices and license of the British Government in India as utterly indefensible on moral grounds, as an offence against God, and as a wrong to the millions who are under British rule in that vast land.

That your Petitioners are also deeply impressed with the great wrong done to China by the export of opium to that country from India, in continuation of a policy which in the opinion of your Petitioners is sufficient to bring down upon Great Britain the severest judgments of God.

That your Petitioners therefore pray that you will cause immediate measures to be taken to secure the total prohibition of the growth, manufacture and trade in opium, in and from India and all other British possessions, placing it amongst contraband articles, and making it unlawful for British subjects in any place to deal therein.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

[*See remarks at end of previous Petition Form.*]

[No. 3 FORM.]

*To the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in
Parliament Assembled.*

The Petition of [*See instructions at head of No. 1 Form.*]

Respectfully Sheweth :

That in view of the immensity of the evils which the British Indian opium traffic has inflicted, and is still inflicting upon China ; and in consideration also of the rapid spread of the desolating habit of opium smoking among the people of India, Ceylon, Burmah, the Straits Settlements, and Hong-Kong, all under British rule ;

Your Petitioners respectfully entreat that in pity for the millions of Asia you will cause immediate steps to be taken to stop the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in all British possessions, except for strictly medicinal purposes, and its export from or through British territory, placing it among contraband articles, and making it unlawful for British subjects in any place to deal therein.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

[*See remarks at end of No. 1 Form.*]

☛ If any further information is required in regard to petitioning, write to Dr. James L. Maxwell, Hon. Secretary of the "Christian Union against the Opium Traffic," 49, Highbury Park, London, N.W.; or to Maurice Gregory, Anti-Opium Committee of Urgency, 31, Paternoster Square, London, E.C.

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ASSOCIATION

MR. A. O. HUME'S

Farewell to India.

AS REPORTED FOR
THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

London.

1894.

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V2, L: 51. 119

London.

1894.

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MR. A. O. HUME'S FAREWELL TO INDIA.

PRESENTATION OF AN ADDRESS BY THE
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

MR. HUME'S PARTING WORDS TO INDIA.

ONE of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings of Bombay citizens which has ever assembled within the walls of the Framjee Cownajee Institute, was present there on Sunday afternoon, the 18th March, 1894, to assist at the presentation of a farewell address to Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, by the members of the Bombay Presidency Association. Mr. Hume, who was accompanied by Mrs. Ross Scott (his daughter), Mr. Hubert Morgan-Browne (Secretary to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress), and others, was received by a loud and prolonged outburst of cheering, a perfect snowstorm of white flowers descending upon him as he made his way to the platform. The Hon. Mr. JAVERILAL U. YAJNIK occupied the chair, and there were present on the platform, most of the leaders of the Indian community of Bombay. After a slight pause, rendered necessary by the vehement and continued applause which followed on Mr. Hume's taking his seat on the platform, the Chairman rose and opened the proceedings. He said:

Gentlemen,—We are met here this afternoon to bid a hearty farewell to one who is bound to us by ties of gratitude, friendship, and affection, I mean, Mr. Allan Hume—(*loud cheers*)—now on the eve of retirement to his native land for good. I am sure no one present here will grudge Mr. Hume the well-merited repose he seeks. I am sure you all know how hard he has worked for us, how he has felt for us, and how he has suffered for us in money and other respects. (*Cheers.*) If self-seeking had formed part of his nature, he would, I dare say, have returned a different man. But, gentlemen, while among us Mr. Hume has given us abundant proofs of the possession of some of the finest qualities of a high-minded Englishman, such as disinterestedness, a love of justice and fair play, genuine sympathy with the poverty and helplessness among the people of India, and a desire to see the horizon of their political liberties widened. (*Applause.*) In the establishment of the Indian National Congress as a focus of scattered Indian opinion, and in the constitutional methods of its work, Mr. Hume sought for a powerful means of working out their political regeneration. And now, gentlemen, after nine years spent in hard work in connection with the Congress, it cannot but be gratifying to Mr. Hume to know what fruit his efforts have borne and what they are capable of bearing. (*Hear, hear.*) For such a result, gentlemen, it is scarcely possible for us to

express in adequate terms our sense of gratefulness to him. If the Congress had done nothing else, the fact of its having succeeded in promoting personal intercourse and friendship among all the more thoughtful and earnest workers in our country's cause, this circumstance, I say, would of itself suffice to entitle the Congress to the gratitude of every Indian. But as all know the Congress has done far more. The expansion of the Legislative Councils of India on their present basis is another practical result of Mr. Hume's earnest and persevering efforts. Gentlemen, at no time were the merits and defects of the constitution of these Councils, and especially of the constitution of the Legislative Council of India, more freely and keenly canvassed in India than they are at present in connection with the Import Tariff Legislation. The Congress has regarded Lord Cross's Indian Councils Act as a halting measure and as a compromise. It did not go far enough. Anglo-Indian opinion now sees that under the present constitution of the Legislative Council of India, the Council is reduced to the position of a dependent body charged with the duty of registering the decrees of the Secretary of State, and having no independent judgment or action of its own; so that it comes to this that the real Government of India is not to be looked for in Calcutta but in Lombard Street or Lancashire. Gentlemen, by a cruel irony of fate, we have entered upon times when I dare say the reasonableness of many of the Congress demands in respect of reductions in the overgrown civil and military charges, and in respect of the grant of exchange compensation allowances will commend itself to the approval of the authorities. In this connection, gentlemen, it is consoling to find that the new Secretary of State for India has been able to secure in Lord Reay an adviser and guide of tried ability and wide Indian experience. Lord Reay's appointment as Under Secretary for India has met with general satisfaction throughout this country. It has inspired a hope that Indian interests will not suffer from want of knowledge of the true bearings of the Indian problem. I will not, gentlemen, take up more of your time, but will ask one of our secretaries to read the farewell address. (*Applause.*)

Mr. DINSHAW E. WACHA then read the following Address :

" BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION,

" APOLLO BUNDER,

" BOMBAY, 18th March, 1894.

" To A. O. HUME, Esq., C.B.

" SIR,

" We, Members of the Bombay Presidency Association, beg to accord you a hearty farewell on this the last occasion of your visit to our country. In thus taking leave, while we are deeply moved at the prospect of parting with one who has proved a most valued and sincere friend, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing to you, in howsoever feeble a manner our high sense of gratitude and esteem for the many solid and substantial services you have rendered to our people. (*Applause.*) To your unselfish and generous nature any praise or acknowledgment of your work made in your presence will not be agreeable. But we owe a duty to ourselves and to our country to put on record the public estimation of your self-sacrifice—(*applause*)—and devotion in the cause of India.

" 2, It is a pleasure to us to acknowledge that you are one of those high-souled Englishmen who have evinced genuine and earnest sym-

pathy for our people and have striven hard to help us in reforming ourselves and remedying our evils. It is a well-known fact that even in the dark days of the Mutiny, when strong prejudices were aroused, you retained, in spite of provocation and trials, a warm regard for your Indian fellow-subjects. (*Applause.*) Your love for this country is almost unequalled in its intensity. It is no exaggeration to say that that love has shown itself in so marked a manner as to be rightly regarded as exemplary. (*Applause.*)

" 3. After a long, laborious, and distinguished career in the public service, at a time when most of your brethren long to seek quiet and repose in the pleasant surroundings of their home, you elected to remain in this country and to put to active use your long cherished love for its people. You inaugurated a movement for our political progress which for its activity and expanse has had no parallel in the history of India. (*Applause.*) Ever since the advent of the British and the diffusion of British Education, there has been an awakening among our people to a sense of our political rights and duties. That awakening first showed itself among other ways in the institution of organised bodies having for their aim and object the representation to the Government of the wants, the wishes, and the grievances of the people in a constitutional manner. These bodies rendered useful service in their time; but their efforts were inadequate and localised, as they could not but be in the initial stage of the country's progress. There was no movement that could bring together and focus the scattered political forces of the country and bring the people of the different parts within the fold of a common and unifying influence. (*Applause.*) The unprecedented and unbounded enthusiasm which was keenly aroused throughout the country by the righteous rule of Lord Ripon—(*applause*)—enabled you with your rare insight to realise the fact that the time had arrived for the inauguration of such a movement. You embraced that golden opportunity and utilised it in a manner so as to put the political life of India on what may be truly called a sound national basis. (*Applause.*) It is the barest truth to say that your appearance at the helm of our political movements marked a new era in their history, for it gave them a new life and a new impetus. You threw yourself into the work with such vigour and enthusiasm that younger men could only look upon your inspiring energy with admiring despair. To your capacity for arduous work you added fertility of resource and skilful powers of organisation. Your inspiring example reared around you an unique band of workers prompted by the same zeal and devotion. (*Applause.*) None but those who have seen you work both in and outside the Congress camps can realise the intense enthusiasm and incessant activity which you have invariably brought to bear upon the Congress cause. The Congress was but a sapling when it first budded into existence in Bombay nine years ago. Under your fostering care and guidance it has grown into a full-blown tree—(*applause*)—spreading its invigorating branches throughout the country and making its influence felt in all quarters and in all directions. (*Applause.*) At its first appearance, and for long afterwards, it met the fate of all great and good movements, being scoffed at and misunderstood. With perseverance, steady work, and moderation, it has not only succeeded in out-living ridicule, calumny, and opposition, but has come to be respected as a valuable exponent of the feelings and thoughts of the people of India. (*Applause.*) To you, who are the central figure of the movement, as to us, your humble admirers, it cannot but be a source of gratification for

the present and hope for the future that such work as has been done and such labour as has been bestowed on it have already borne good fruit. Some of the views strenuously advocated by the Congress have not only been accepted by the Government but have become part of the administrative policy of the country! (*Applause.*) The Congress is now a living institution; and though it has not yet reached a stage when it could afford to forego the help of its first parent it may well be trusted to continue its onward course with the life and energy imparted to it by you. Whatever successes it may gain hereafter, and however strong and useful it may grow, it will never forget the deepest debt of gratitude it owes to you who are its recognised Father and Founder. (*Loud applause.*)

" 4. In thus arraying yourself on the side of India's people and helping them to move onwards in the path of Progress and Duty, you have set us an example of undaunted courage and of patience under difficulties without which no good work can either be begun or accomplished. It is no secret that your unselfish and fearless advocacy of the cause of the Indian people has brought you odium, and even hostility, in some quarters; but so strong and so living has been your sense of duty that you have braved it all, and have by your spirit of self-sacrifice and incessant work crowned the Congress cause with the success that it has achieved amidst many struggles and vicissitudes. (*Applause.*)

" 5. Your residence in this country, your intimate and varied experience of the administration, and more specially, your familiar acquaintance with the people, have given you a true insight into and keen appreciation of their condition. You have lived to see many of your views, notably on the question of agricultural poverty and distress, accepted in quarters where they were at first opposed and ridiculed. The agrarian problem still continues to engage the attention of the Government; and it is satisfactory to note that the value of the warnings you sounded, both before and after your retirement from office, is being realised by those responsible for the administration of the country and its people's welfare.

" 6. While it gives us unbounded delight to speak of your services to India—services that claim the heartfelt gratitude and ready recognition not only of the present but of the generations to come of the Indian people,—it gives us a pang to part from you. For your return to your mother-country deprives us of the presence of one of our most steady friends and counsellors. But your past work here and in England is an assurance that your withdrawal from this country will not diminish your usefulness to us. You have formed a British Committee of the Congress in England and an Indian Party in Parliament, and with such able, disinterested, and indefatigable colleagues as Sir William Wedderburn—(*applause*)—and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, you have striven hard, and in some cases successfully, to get a hearing for India's grievances. There are many burning topics which demand your attention and which only the interference of Parliament—that ultimate Court of Appeal—can settle in the interests of India. The new measures of taxation, the Exchange compensation allowances, the distribution of the Military Expenditure, the constitution of the Provincial Services, and the Land revenue settlements—these and other questions will engage your attention. We are sanguine they will receive the same unremitting care and thought that you have hitherto bestowed on all that is calculated to further the interests of this

country and promote the cause of union between England and India. (*Applause.*)

"7. With these expressions of our feelings and sentiments, we bid you an affectionate farewell, and pray that Providence may give you long life and health—(*applause*)—for carrying on the noble work which has made your name dear in every Indian home, and which has made your life and life-work a source of the noblest inspiration for all succeeding generations. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

"We have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, *President.*

"DINSHA EDULJI WACHA, } *Honorary*

"N. G. CHANDAVARKAR, } *Secretaries.*"

"A. M. DHARAMSI,

The address was then presented to Mr. Hume, beautifully engrossed, in a most charming cover of the finest Bombay carved work, specially designed for the purpose.

MR. HUME, who on rising to reply was received with loud and continued cheering, then said:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—When I arranged some days ago, just as I was leaving Jhansi, to meet you here to-day, I had it in my heart to say many things to you, and, through you, to all the people of India, in regard to your future and the future of the India we all so dearly love. But I am afraid now that the major portion of what I intended to say will have to remain unsaid, for somehow the words don't seem to come. As you know, I am not one who generally finds any great difficulty in expressing my views, or in setting forth what I think and feel—(*applause*)—but somehow to-day, for perhaps the first time in my life, I feel, as it were, tongue-tied and incapable of replying as I ought to do to your most generous, kind, and all-too-flattering address. (*Cries of "No! No! not at all, sir."*) Nay, incapable of finding words to formulate that heartfelt, kindly, and loving farewell that I so plainly owe to you and all my many friends throughout the country. (*Cheers.*)

No doubt I have been for some time, and still am, in very indifferent health, rendering me, for the moment at any rate, unfit for any real work, mental or bodily. My brain works less quickly than it did, words flow more slowly from my tongue than of yore, and altogether, at this present moment, I feel as unfit to address a large and cultured audience such as I see present here to-day as some poor worn-out cab-horse with nothing but the knacker's yard and death before him would be to run once more in one of those great races in which perhaps scarce a dozen years before he had contended, and perhaps not ignobly.

But the truth is that it is not merely ill health that renders it so difficult for me to speak as I should wish to speak to-day; it is rather a feeling akin to that of the poor condemned prisoner when he looks round for the last time upon his fellow men and upon the glories and wonders of this world of illusions; the feeling that I this day have to bid farewell, not only to you, my friends, but to all the thousands of friends spread over the length and breadth of this vast Empire—friends with whom I have laboured in India's sacred cause for so many years, friends who have so cherished and befriended me, friends that I have so long and dearly loved. (*Prolonged cheers.*) It is not only Bombay that I am leaving, I fear, for ever, but that dear India in which, with brief sojourns in England—brief and few—I have spent forty-five years of my life—India in which all the best and brightest, the worthiest and happiest, days of my now waning life have been passed. (*Applause.*) Youth, manhood, age, with all their dreams and hopes, their efforts, failures, and successes, good and evil fortune—all are inevitably bound up in India, India that a failing vitality now warns me that I am, all too probably, separating myself from for ever. (*Loud cries of "No! No!"*) How can I forget the happy, happy hours, the friendships, the love that India has given me, or how fail to remember that here sleep my own dearest? India is sacred to me not alone by that one pine-shaded grave in the far-distant hills, but scarcely less so by the memories of other dear friends and fellow labourers, bright stars, too early lost alike to India and to me—Girija Bhusan Mookerjee, George Yule, Ajoodhia Nath, Telang, and others no less beloved, though less well known to fame—India that has become an integral and the best part of me myself, my thoughts, my hopes—India and India's people, that, with all their faults and failings, I still so dearly love. And from all this, to-morrow, I am to wrench myself away—for ever. (*"No! No!"*) You can hardly, my friends, understand what the sadness of this parting is to me. Hundreds of others have served you and thousands of others will serve you and yours better and more to the purpose than Fate has permitted me to do. To you my going is but as one dim star dropping from your firmament, in which thousands of brighter luminaries still shine. But to the poor lost star it means the end of all things, and when I think of this final parting from you, from India, from everything that for years has filled my heart, it seems as if all colour were fading out of life.

If, then, on this the last occasion when I shall ever have

an opportunity of addressing an Indian audience, I fail to say all I ought to say; if I fail to warn you as I ought to warn you of the dangers and difficulties I see ahead for you, and to exhort you as I ought, to look more to higher and nobler things than you have generally looked to in the past—if, I say, I fail now in my duty in these my last utterances, India and my Indian friends must forgive this as all my other shortcomings, remembering that it is mainly the disquietude I feel in parting with them which makes me dull in brain, and leaves me standing here, like Moses of old, slow of speech.

It may be that all this inclines me to pessimism, but I must confess that to me the present outlook promises ill for the speedy fruition of our most cherished hopes and aspirations. Unfortunately lacking wholly even a vestige of local autonomy—(“*Shame! shame!*”)—we are dependent for all progress in the direction in which we desire to move on the sympathy and support of the political party for the time in power in England.

To me there seems little prospect of the stability of the Liberal party in England. I apprehend that this year will hardly close without witnessing a general election, and, greatly as I regret it, to me there seems little hope that this election will re-establish the Liberal party on a stable or satisfactory basis. But many of you may at first be disposed to say, “When the Liberal party can play us such a mean trick as they have just played us in the matter of exempting cotton goods from the import duty levied on every other conceivable thing—except machinery, coals, and railway iron—on scores of the most petty and insignificant things, which can yield no fiscal result at all proportionate to the inconvenience and annoyance entailed by the levy of the duty. When the Liberal party can do this, what can it signify to us which party is in? Could the Tories have done anything dirtier or baser?” These are pertinent queries, and I desire to face them fairly; but it is necessary that you should understand clearly and grasp the situation as a whole.

The great bulk of the leading politicians on both sides, the professional politicians as one may designate them, the men who mostly compose our ministries, however virtuous, honest, and upright they may be in private life, are in public life the veriest humbugs—(*Hear, hear*)—talking like angels, but ready ever to do the devil’s work—to sacrifice principle to party, and justice to those who are weak and politically dumb, as India is, to the exigencies of

party political warfare. (*Loud cheers.*) Taking them in the gross there is not a pin to choose between the professional ministerial gangs of both parties. They are politically dishonest to the core. They will vote against what they know to be right, merely because their opponents propose it. They will bring in and carry a measure that they believe to be wrong, merely to cut the ground from under their adversaries feet. The Tories will do anything to dish the Whigs—the Whigs anything to dish the Tories. These ministerial gangs are, as a body—of course there are exceptions—absolutely devoid of conscience and of any fixed principle except that of retaining place and power for themselves and friends, and preventing the other side from enjoying any share of these. (*Loud cheers.*)

So then whenever the party in power is at all in a difficult position, sits weakly in the saddle and feels that it could easily be ejected, there is scarcely any conceivable injustice to India, or any other non-combatant party or region, of which it would not be guilty if it saw its way thereby to retain any wavering, or secure any new, supporters. But admitting all this, it is still of vital importance to India that the Liberal party should remain in power, and it will be a real misfortune, a deadly blight and frost upon all our most cherished aspirations if the Tories get into, and remain, for any considerable period, in power.

You see when they are *not* in a difficulty, when things are going fairly smoothly with them, the Liberal leaders have no incitement to oppose, actively, our just claims. All our demands are strictly in accordance with the basal principles of that great and growing democratic power which Liberal ministries in the present day claim to represent, though, as a fact, they do so most inadequately. For decency's sake, and under the pressure of the democratic members of their party, whom they dare not cross except in emergencies, they feel bound to pose in a sympathetic attitude towards our aspirations, and find it wholly impossible to prevent our English parliamentary organisation, snatching from their hands, from time to time, some morsels of comfort for, and justice to, India. Moreover, the Liberal party generally, excluding the official section, knowing what our great British departments, checked as they are by the most powerful and, on the whole, most righteous public opinion in the world, have a constant tendency to become, instinctively and intuitively range themselves on our side against our governing bureaucracy. That anything like full justice will be ever done to India until our working-men put

forth in earnest the power now vested in them, and bring into office a real democratic ministry, I do not suppose and never for a moment have supposed. But so long as a so-called Liberal ministry, such even as that we now have, is in power, although when their existence almost hangs on it, they are quite capable of an infamy such as the exemption of the cotton goods, it is none the less certain that as a compensation they will assuredly from time to time be cornered into granting us certain instalments of our most urgently pressed demands. (*Loud cheers.*)

But it is quite different with the Tories. Rightly or wrongly, they are no doubt honestly opposed to the principles on which our claims are based. They are bureaucrats and aristocrats by birth, training, and associations, and they necessarily range themselves on the side of our bureaucrats and against us. It is true that in England the most radical measures have, at times, in the past, been carried by the Tories against their own convictions and those of their obedient and well-drilled supporters, in view to "dishing" the Liberals. But the conditions are wholly different in India's case, and it is impossible to conceive any important measure of relief to India's peoples passed by the Tories, because no such measure could, so far as one can see, strengthen their hands against the Liberals. No. So far as one can judge from the principles professed by both parties and from past experience—and for fully half a century I have closely watched the game—India must remain helpless and hopeless so long as the Tory party are in power. Official misguidedness may rise to any height and run to any lengths, the liberty of the press may again be suspended, anything, everything may be done, but there will be no real redress afforded, and the bureaucracy will be freed from the abiding fear, which now somewhat restrains it, of interference by the Government at home. Certainly all good Indians who believe in the efficacy of prayer should ever pray: "From all Tories and Liberal Unionists, good Lord deliver us!" (*Laughter and cheers.*) But I greatly fear—and this is one of the signs of the times being out of joint for India—that pray as we may, we shall *not* be so delivered.

The present Liberal party in the House comprises, to ignore minor subdivisions, three separate sections, which thus far have worked harmoniously enough together, united by the magic influence of Mr. Gladstone's great abilities and almost greater name. This influence, unfortunately alike for India and England, as I think, is practically about to be

withdrawn, and it is difficult to believe that that union can long be maintained. It is eminently a case of unstable equilibrium. You have first the section to which I myself claim to belong—the true Radicals or Democrats; you have the so-called moderate Liberals, whom we should have called Whigs forty years ago—the men who profess liberal principles, but only give effect to these in concrete measures so far as they may be driven into it by the radical wing of the party; and you have the Irish party. Not only is this latter divided into two sections, not easy to reconcile, but even the Radical party has a section, which wants to make out that the labour section has interests different from and scarcely reconcilable with those of the rest of the Democratic party. With these elements of disunion, it seems to me almost certain that a dissolution will scarcely be deferred beyond the close of this year. Then what will happen? Of course we are told that it is always the unforeseen that occurs. It would be wiser to say, only, that it is *often* the unforeseen that occurs. Here the immediate result of a general election seems pretty clear. The Democratic and Labour section will return in greater strength; the irreconcilable section of the Irish Brigade will be greatly strengthened, at the expense of the Macarthyites, whom one may reckon the Constitutionalists; the moderate Liberals, the Whigs, as such (for some will slide over to Conservatism), will be much diminished in strength; the Tories and Liberal Unionists will gain somewhat. As a net result, I fear the Tories will come in; and one thing is certain—that if they fail to do so on this occasion, nothing but an European war, in which England is involved and takes a part unsatisfactory to the nation—either gets defeated or finds the arrangements conspicuously muddled and mismanaged as in the Crimea—seems ever likely to bring them in again. Certainly they realise this. They will make, even for them, unheard-of exertions. Money still goes for much in England—money bags still outweigh manhood. They will spend thousands—for they have the money—for every hundred the comparatively poor democratic party can scrape together for the campaign; and personally I, as an impartial looker-on, see no reason to expect that their exertions and money will fail, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone's great name, to secure a temporary victory.

This, then, is the first thing I wish all India to be prepared for: a comparatively early dissolution, the re-entry of the Imperialists into power, and the consequent arrest for a

time of all progress in the direction in which we long to travel. Be prepared for this; but when it comes be not disheartened—contain your souls in patience—work on steadily—organise—provide funds for the work in England—never relax your efforts, but keep these ever rigidly within the bounds of loyal constitutional agitation—and rest assured that this time of frost shall not endure for ever, but shall melt away before the rising sun of Democracy which, despite temporary clouds, which more or less obscure and distort it at this its rising, is yet as certain to triumph and dissolve these clouds as anything can be certain in this bewildering world of surprises. (*Loud cheers.*)

And there *are* clouds—and this is another source of disappointment—for which you must be prepared, and which may also operate for a time to retard greatly the fruition of your brightest hopes for India. Partly owing to the crimes of the Anarchists; partly to the unwisdom, nay recklessness, of certain sections of the Labour party, especially in Australia, America, and the Continent; partly owing to the inevitable ebb and flow of public opinion, a certain reaction against democratic principles, which are really in no degree answerable for these unfortunate developments, is clearly springing up, even in quarters where it seemed least likely. How far the pendulum will swing, how far the reaction against democratic principles will go, it is beyond my powers even to guess; but it may well go far enough to render for some time all progress along democratic lines here—that very progress in fact on which all our hopes and hearts are set—practically impossible for a time. Still, again, be not disheartened. The day of despotisms and bureaucracies is drawing to a close. The day of democracies is opening out. We may have to wait, but we are on the winning side. It is with the rising, not the setting, sun that we have thrown in our lot, and as surely as day follows night so surely shall justice, freedom, and constitutional government replace the existing anachronistic administration, which leaves us so much to deplore. (*Applause.*) It may linger, but it comes. All progress may for a time seem arrested; but be of good cheer. If only you people of India do your duty, India, our beloved India, shall yet be free and happy. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

But, alas, a darker shadow yet broods, for all who have eyes to see, above us in the near distance—a shadow which when it emerges into manifestation will arrest all constitutional progress, not only in India, but even in Great Britain

itself. No greater calamity can befall the civilised world, and yet though none may prophesy its exact time of appearance, every thinking European politician feels that it is already in the air. Years *may* pass before the bolt falls, but that fall it will and must, before the close of this century, few can doubt. A great European war, in which despite all efforts England will be involved—I do not pause here to deprecate, or deplore, this terrible visitation. You all know from history what these outbursts of legalised murders and national demoralisation import and involve. Famines are bad; cholera and plague are terrible; but war, a great European war, with all the incalculable loss of life and misery that it entails, and its involved arrest of moral progress and of freedom's onward march, is the most terrible of all the scourges which crime and the violation of natural laws in their ultimate results entail on the human race. Throughout Europe they are crying Peace, Peace, but all know that war is already trembling on the horizon.

For this you must be prepared as for the other hindrances to the triumph of your cause, but why I specially dwell on this, as some may vainly fancy visionary, danger, is because I know that some have said, and in an evil sense, that England's difficulty will be India's opportunity. Believe them not. In touching upon this question, remember that it is not our well-meaning, but too often obstructive and short-sighted bureaucrats, not even ministerial groups of unprincipled professional politicians, whose existence will be at stake, but that of a noble nation, that has ever sounded the advance to all the listening peoples of the world along the paths of freedom—the nation to which you owe most of what you now most highly prize—the nation which though not, alas! omniscient and omnipotent, to secure at once the full enforcement of its beneficent designs, has ever in all its most solemn utterances decreed that you shall be—as you shall be if you will only deserve it—some day, free and happy. (*Loud applause.*)

No, if war should break out and England should unfortunately be involved, subordinate all considerations to the welfare and safety of the entire commonwealth. Hang up for a time all political programmes, and band together as one man, with one design—to support and strengthen England. Let the then Local Government be good or bad—ignore this—for if good it is only an additional incentive to action—if bad, they are only unfaithful servants of England. Join together—volunteer to serve as peace-keepers, special constables, and the like, so as to leave the

trained soldiers as free for employment as possible. Subscribe, spontaneously, as much as you can each and all possibly spare. Organise, with Government permission, measures to collect funds; and give England, in all your papers, in all your speeches, your fullest, warmest, most generous and unquestioning moral support. You have hundreds of thousands of brave and capable youths, fit to make soldiers second to none in the world. Let every family that has two such make it a point of honour that one at least volunteers and presses Government to enrol and train and arm him, and send him if needs be to the world's end to fight for what after all is one of Freedom's strongest and most reliable bulwarks, the fall of which would, for perhaps whole generations, arrest the higher progress of the world. (*Cheers.*)

No doubt I may be taken from the evil to come, and be dead and gone before the storm bursts, and I pray that it may be so; but when the time comes—and come it will—let all who have ever cared for me, followed me, believed in me, remember my words and rally as one man, not hesitatingly and grudgingly, but spontaneously and enthusiastically, to the side of those little isles which have been justly designated Freedom's last stronghold—Freedom's keep! (*Loud cheers.*) Yes, in the nobler sense of the words, a great war will be India's opportunity—opportunity for proving that if in periods of Peace she clamours—at times somewhat angrily—for equal civil rights, in the hour of *War* she is ever ready and anxious to accept equal military risks. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Thus it seems to me that you have looming in the near future three formidable obstacles to that political enfranchisement of our dear India on which we have all set our hearts:

- 1st. The advent of the Tories to power.
- 2nd. The development of a reactionary feeling opposed to Democratic Progress.
- 3rd. A great European War.

Be it so—forewarned is forearmed. Let nothing discourage you—hold fast to that conviction which all the best and wisest share: that right must, and ever does triumph in the end, and that nations have only to deserve, to secure all that they aspire to. Checks to progress *may* come—alas, I fear, *must* come—as I have warned you, and many years may pass during which apparently you gain no single inch—nay, it may be, even lose ground; but throughout it all work on

dauntlessly, preparing for the good time assuredly coming—work on ceaselessly, and India shall one day reap a glorious harvest of your labours. Let nothing—no temporary checks, no temporary losses—dishearten you. The spirit of the age is behind you, and win you must before the end comes. Keep *at* it, preparing the way for the realization of your hopes, and, hackneyed though they be, let these noble lines of Longfellow ring ever through your brains, stir ever the pulses of your hearts :

“ Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.”

(*Loud cheers.*) But, some, perhaps many of you will say : how can we achieve anything?—what is the use of pursuing anything, if these times of non-progress come upon us? Are we to go on holding Congresses, finding funds for an organization in London, holding meetings and making speeches, during periods when the circumstances are such that we know that no real advance is possible? Certainly—except in case of a great war, when these matters may be shelved, except in so far as they may be turned to account for the support of England, and to prove to England’s foes that India is with her heart and soul. No matter how impossible immediate progress may, owing to the tyranny of circumstances, appear, you are bound as true men to hammer on—hammer, hammer, hammer—never relaxing your efforts, and so gradually acquiring that habit of unwavering persistence that as a nation you so sadly lack. You can work at high pressure for a week, but to run at low pressure, uniformly and unwearyingly for a year, is beyond most of you ; and yet this power of sustained continuous exertion is the very first requisite for political success, and if these anticipated checks only teach you this they will prove not misfortunes but blessings in disguise. (*Hear, hear.*)

But my dear friends, these political labours, essential as they are, are only a portion, and now no longer even the most important portion, of the great and honourable task that lies before you.

You have heard it said that,

“ They would be free
Themselves must strike the blow.”

but I say to you,

They would be free
Must first deserve to be so.

Do you as yet so deserve? Lover as I am of India and

India's children, I cannot answer this question as I would wish to. No, my friends. You, the people of India, must raise your general level, physical, mental, moral, above the pitch at which it now stands, before you can either deserve to be or really call yourselves free. (*Cheers.*)

What have you to do? Perhaps you know this better than I do, but yet, as a father parting for ever from his children that he loves, and whose future he fears for, I will not shrink from trying to tell you some of those things which it seems to me that you must first and foremost do. I am an old man. I have lived my life amongst you, and perhaps know as much of India as a whole as anyone living; but for all that I do not pretend to dogmatize—I only tell you what I who love you believe to be essential to your ultimate success. If in doing so I offend any of my strictly orthodox friends I shall deeply regret it; but I have to say truly, as I shall answer for it hereafter, what I honestly think and believe—*salus republicæ suprema lex*—the welfare of the nation is the highest law. I care not about orthodoxy or heterodoxy—doxies were made for man, not man for doxies—what I care for is that India should grow great and glorious, that her people should become free and happy, and nothing of all this is possible under the existing conditions of the world so long as the reforms on which I shall lightly touch are disregarded. (*Cheers.*)

First you must have the sound body in which the sound mind may grow. I know that of late some feeble attempts to introduce gymnastics and athletic sports and games, have been made here and there, especially in Bombay, but these are mere flea-bites, and if really carried out to the fullest extent would only benefit the males of the middle and higher classes—an excellent thing, which has my fullest sympathy, but we must go far deeper if we desire to regenerate India physically. All these are mere tithes of mint and cumin, it is to the weightier matters of the laws of nature that you must give heed. YOU MUST PREVENT THE MARRIAGE OF IMMATURE PERSONS. (*Loud cheers.*) If anyone says that the Shasters enjoin such marriages, I reply that in my opinion they are mistaken, but that if they are right, then the Shasters that do enjoin these are wrong. For the laws of nature, which are God's own voice speaking ever to those who have ears to hear and brains to understand, tell us on the contrary that the union of immature individuals produces a progeny far inferior as an average, physically, to that resulting from connection between mature individuals. These are facts that have been demonstrated to absolute

certainly not only in the case of human beings, but in that of all the larger and more important domestic mammals. Undoubtedly very fine children have been born to immature parents, there are exceptions to all rules, but broadly speaking, and taking a wide average, the children of the immature will be physically far inferior to those of mature parents. Racial degeneracy, in a word, is the inevitable consequence of any general practice of marriage amongst the immature. You have only to look around you to realize this, it is written in a large, clear hand over the length and breadth of the land. (*Loud applause.*) Does God, think you, put us into the world to degenerate either physically or in any other way? Is it not rather our mission here to rise? If then any Shasters, which we take for messages from the Divine, seem to us to enjoin the marriage of the immature, let us be sure that either these Shasters are spurious or, in the course of ages, have been interpolated, or that we misunderstand them. Any one of these things are possible, but as to the ever present laws of nature it is impossible for them to err, they cannot lie; for they are the eternal expression of the Divine will. (*Cheers.*)

Here then is one great first work that you have to accomplish. A work that may go on without let or hindrance, even though Tories rule the roast, though democratic ideas be at a discount, though the ensanguined battle flag be waving over us; and the war drum throbbing round us—and to no man who will not buckle to this work can I accord the name of patriot, for herein lies the first foundation stone of that national greatness which we fondly hope will hereafter clothe, as with a robe of glory, old India and her regenerated sons. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

I will not deal now with any of the many kindred questions, which are involved—none of you are quite blind to them—accept these premises and all the rest follow.

With the sounder body, a somewhat sounder average mind necessarily follows, but we cannot rest content with this, we have to train and develop the mind, and not merely cherish healthier and stronger caskets to contain this. You must struggle for more and better education for the boys, not only of the upper and middle classes as now, but of the entire nation; but I lay less stress on this—for so much has been done already, that all this will come, and YOU MUST EDUCATE THE GIRLS. No doubt you have men of the highest intellect, born from uneducated (though as you will ever find, naturally clever) women, but here again natural laws speak with no uncertain sound, and tell us as an

absolute certainty that a community in which both sexes are thoroughly educated and mentally developed, will produce twice as many great and distinguished men, as another in which one sex only are educated, and the other wholly uneducated, too often mere human animals.

You cannot get round the laws of nature, earthly laws you may dodge, or drive a coach and four through, but the laws of physiology, the synthesis of the divine impress are inexorable and irresistible. Clever women, as well as clever men, are born, no doubt, even where one of the parents is absolutely cultureless, because children of both sexes, inherit as the world says, now from one, now from the other parent, but by systematically retaining one of the two sexes in positions and in a status little better than that of beasts of burthen, you reduce by one half at least, the number of children born to do good service and grow into an honour to your country.

Next to, therefore, but not less important than, the reform of your marriage laws, comes the raising of your women, and their thorough education. I cannot go into the question now or I could show you that the result of this would not only be to secure a far higher intellectual average amongst the national progeny, but also to raise indirectly the moral standard of both sexes. Believe me that a nation whose women are degraded to the position of mere ministers to man's pleasures, mere toys and household drudges, goes into the world's struggle with only one arm. In all the affairs of life, public and private, the interaction of the female and male, intellectual and moral activities which are complimentary each to the other, are essential to a right resultant. Assuredly there is no greater, grander, or more glorious work before you, than the reinstatement of India's women on the exalted pedestal which is their due, and which your wiser forefathers, thousands of years ago, when India was great and glorious, accorded to them. (*Loud cheers.*)

This is as much a moral as an intellectual question. Raise your women and you will have raised incredibly the moral tone of the nation. But there are one or two moral shortcomings, all too widely spread amongst us, on which I must touch and which you must stir your people up to overcome, if our dream of a renewed and glorified India is ever to be realised. (*Loud applause.*)

David said in his haste, "All men are liars," and speaking hastily rather over-coloured his statement; but a want of reliability—a want of a due conception of the sanctity of a

promise—has always, unless given under circumstances of special solemnity, been amongst the failings of all Oriental nations, who, for the most part, have ever been the prey of tyrants. Western nations have their sins, from which the East is free. This want of reliability is the characteristic sin of the East, and is much less so that of the freer West: India, that for countless ages has lain in bonds of slavery—slavery to native despots or foreign conquerors—has not escaped the taint that slavery ever impresses on its victims. Here—and I speak from painful experience—men promise, promise, promise—no doubt in all good faith; but when the time comes for performance, how often do they allow any trifle to intervene to prevent their redeeming their word? It is a very serious matter; nationally it weakens you more than it is possible now to detail. You cannot rely on your fellows as a body. There are naturally bright exceptions, men whose words—as *all* Indian men's words should be—are as good as their bonds; but taking Indians in the gross, you cannot tell in the least whether, when the time comes, they will do what they promise. They often do not mean to deceive—nay, when they promise they mostly wish and intend, let us hope, to fulfil—but when the time comes the merest trifle suffices to prevent this. They have no adequate conception of the sanctity of the spoken word—no feeling that come what may, despite inconvenience, trouble, loss, they must for their own honour's sake, if it be in any way possible, make good their plighted troth. (*Hear, hear.*)

But some of you will say: have I seen nothing like this in England? Now in the first place I am far from holding up Englishmen to you as models in all points—(*laughter*)—on the contrary in some matters the people of India are decidedly better than the people of England—(*loud cheers*)—and I want you to be better in *all* respects than they are; and in the second place, though I have seen this kind of thing in England, I have not seen it there to anything like the same extent to which it prevails here. And there is this difference. If a concrete case of such breach of faith comes up in England, and is brought clearly home to a man, he is ashamed of himself, and his fellows so set upon him and make it so hot for him, that he is very careful thereafter not to be so caught again. But here, it is very different. I go to a lot of mutual friends and say, "A and B promised faithfully to do so and so—very likely pay some money—on a certain day, and more than a year has passed and now they say they cannot pay." What do these friends do? Do they rush out in their anger and seize him and shake him and

say, "You rascal you are not fit to be an Indian, you are disgracing the country, you are disgracing the caste, and we will kick you out of it." That is practically what they would do in England. But here they simply look down and say, "Well you know it is very bad; it really is too bad," and then a certain smile comes over their faces, and there is a side look at each other which seems to say, "How could the fellow have been so green as to expect it?" (*Laughter.*) This an occasional experience in England, but it is chronic in India, and I tell you that unless you get rid of it you will never be a great nation, so make up your minds to it. (*Applause.*) I entreat all to set their faces against this kind of thing, be chary of promising, if you will, but having promised, perform punctually, despite all temptations to sneak out of the matter. Believe me this is not a little thing, but where national interests are concerned, one of the greatest moral reforms. Without it no powerful combination is possible, with it, strength can be united to strength, until the combination grows irresistible. (*Cheers.*)

Then there is another point—a thing that has almost broken my heart time after time—and that is the internecine jealousy that every active man seems to cherish towards every other active man who is working on the same side as himself. (*Applause and laughter.*) Yes, you laugh, but do you know that this is a cancer eating into the very heart of our national greatness. Believe me, until the greater number of your workers are content to fight the battles of India solely for India's sake, careless who gets the credit, who reaps the fame, who wears the laurel, careless who is ranked first or last in the army of progress, by the world, but careful only that his country's cause prevails—(*loud cheers*)—there is little chance of that ultimate triumph, that glowing national revivication, which we all so earnestly long for. (*Cheers.*)

We have seen case after case of men leaving the side they believed in, deserting the cause which their own hearts pleaded for, joining the men they disagreed with, advocating the views they disbelieved, solely because they could thus acquire leading positions, which on their own side they would have had to work and wait for. To me nothing can be meaner or baser than this moral suicide. Here is a real devil, that tempts men to the sacrifice of conviction and principle on the unholy altar of personal aggrandizement and interest. And if ever any of you feel so tempted I pray that you may have strength to say boldly, "Get thee behind me Satan;" and to remember that creatures of day, in this

world of *Maya* (illusion), honour, and wealth, and credit amongst your fellows signify little, only this signifies greatly where your everliving Ego is concerned, that you should be true to the light that is in you, and that you should set your heart only on the good and true, seeking mainly the welfare of mankind, and the development of your own higher natures. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I must leave, I find, much unsaid that I would gladly say. Your patience even has limits—(*Cries of No! No!*)—and my own failing strength and voice warns me that it is time to conclude.

To all my kind and generous friends, then, throughout this ancient land who have helped me, worked with me, and borne with me so patiently, let me send now my most loving and grateful farewell. From all I must crave forgiveness for my many shortcomings—and all I would thank, though I can find no adequate words to express my feelings, for the patience and unvarying kindness with which they have ever dealt with me. It is a great thing to be able to say, and say truly, after a residence of five and forty years that I have *never* yet met with either unkindness or discourtesy from any Indian. Indians have their faults, but where kindness and courtesy are concerned, no people on the face of the earth can rival them. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

Farewell, dear friends, farewell. A little space and I shall have left you for ever—a failure—for I have not succeeded in securing for you any appreciable fraction of what I hoped to win for you—a sower of seed never destined to see the harvest—a planter of trees whose fruit I shall never taste—but yet not disheartened, because I know to a certainty that the land I have loved will surely some day win all I hoped for for her, will some day reap that harvest and some day enjoy those blessed fruits. Then when those happier times come round, may I too be sometimes remembered, and may India's kindly sons accord me this epitaph, not graven in bronze or marble, but written in their loving hearts:

He laboured zealously in India's cause,
And if he sometimes erred, he greatly loved us.

Good-bye, once more, good-bye. And may the Divine blessing rest ever on you and yours, and upon the whole of this dear land of India and all her teeming children. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

The CHAIRMAN then decorated Mr. Hume with a magnificent garland of choice flowers, and whilst this ceremony was taking place

a persistent shower of floral tributes was rained down upon the platform by the occupants of the galleries.

Mr. N. G. CHUNDAVAKAR then rose, and said : I rise to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Javerilal for presiding over this meeting to-day. But, gentlemen, I don't wish on this occasion to discharge a merely formal duty. I must say I have listened with the greatest attention I could possibly bestow upon it to Mr. Hume's eloquent, instructive, and thoroughly edifying address. My heart is so full that I must give expression to what I feel at this moment. No one is more fitted, no one can claim greater authority to speak to us, to admonish us and to point out our shortcomings, than the gentleman who is the father and founder of the National Congress. (*Loud applause.*) I know there are some amongst us who don't like to have their faults pointed out, and who always cast censure and reproaches upon those who say we must raise our intellectual, physical, and moral standard. But I think you will all agree with me when I say that advice coming from such a gentleman as Mr. Hume, even if he kicked and abused us, is advice we must all value, for he has every authority to tell us what we are and what we should be. Gentlemen, I must say I have passed through that pessimistic mood of which Mr. Hume spoke on this occasion. Mr. Hume knows, and those of my friends who know me best and with whom I have worked also know, that there was a time when I took an active part in the political movements of this country ; but a cloud came over me, caused by the fact that I found there was a great deal to make a man like me and of my temperament and my sensitive nature moody and melancholy and hopeless for the future. But after all, I must say, if you will allow me the indulgence of giving expression to it, that I have passed through what I may call the phase of discipline. Having shut myself out from some of these movements, and having watched them from a little distance and tried to utilise that opportunity by observing, reading, and pondering over the questions at issue, I came to this conclusion—that this world is one in which we must work, with good men it may be, with bad men it may be, but it is not given to men to criticise each other ; but the duty of each is to go on, everyone working in his own way, and not allowing a pessimistic spirit to come over him ; every man must do his duty without worrying about the results, leaving these confidently in higher hands. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is quite true, as Mr. Hume has said, that we have many and sad shortcomings to answer for, and when it comes to touching our pockets it is a duty in which we fall short. At the same time, let me say that most of us unfortunately cannot devote to the task of gathering money for public causes that time which is absolutely necessary for a man to devote if the cause is to prosper. Each has his own business to do. But I will not put this forward as a plea or excuse ; but each one of us will be prepared to see his own shortcomings if he does sincerely sympathise with the Congress or any other cause in which the welfare of the country is interested ; and each one must realise the fact that he must go on working in the same way as Mr. Hume has gone on working. It is true we cannot equal him, for his sympathy, his energy, his earnestness, and devotion to duty are of an unsurpassed character, and it will be impossible for the best of us to equal him. In him we have an ideal ; let us follow him, let us bear in our hearts his words, and from this moment if we fall short of what he has told us to be, if we do not think seriously over what he has told us, if each one will not set to the task of reforming our physical, intellectual, social, and

political life, I say then we shall not only be falling short of our duty, and not only wanting in our duty to the country, but quite undeserving of the support, the self-sacrifice, and the devotion to duty which this public-spirited man has shown. (*Loud applause.*)

The Honourable Mr. JAVERILAL U. YEJNIK then called for three cheers for Mr. Hume, which were given with intense enthusiasm, and the assembly dispersed.

PEOPLE'S EDITION.

SPEECHES

OF

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA

1880—1882.

VOL. I.

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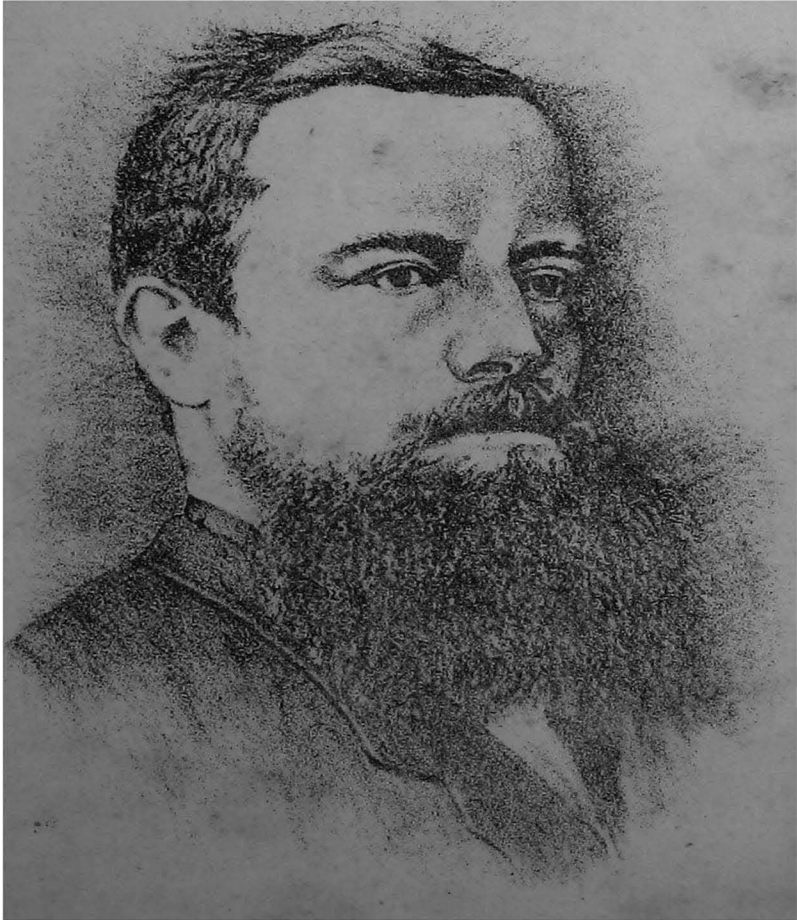
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KALI PRASANNA SEN GUPTA

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DEDICATED

TO

Kumar Indra Chandra Sing, Bahadoor,

OF

PAIKPARA.

As a Token of Sincere Gratitude for the numerous acts of uniform kindness and encouragement which the Publisher has always received at his hands ; and of admiration for his uncommon love for his country.

PREFACE.

THE Publisher of the present Volumes of the Marquis of Ripon's Speeches, including his Excellency's most recent utterances on some of the vital questions affecting the well-being of this country, hardly needs any apology for offering them to the Indian Public at the present moment. It is a mine of gold,—a rich treasury of noble thoughts and sentiments, befitting the Statesman who, by his eminently just and generous policy, has established himself deeply and securely in the hearts of the teeming millions of India. In the annals of British Administration in the East no Englishman has, like our present beloved Viceroy, achieved such deservedly universal and lasting popularity amongst peoples and nationalities, who, whatever their faults, are credited alike by friends and foes, with a lively sense of gratitude for benefactions received. The Publisher, therefore, feels assured that, a permanent record of such a nobleman's views and sentiments on the general policy of the empire will be welcome to the varied communities of India, and under this belief, the present compilation has been got up in an exceedingly cheap form to make it accessible to all classes of His Excellency's admirers.

The Publisher will take this opportunity to announce that, he has obtained His Excellency's permission to translate the speeches into all the vernaculars of the country, and that arrangements have been made for their publication on an early date.

In conclusion, he has to thank H. W. Primrose, Esq., Private Secretary to his Excellency for favouring him with a copy of the Speeches from His Excellency's own collection. His thanks are also due to Babu Kumud Nath Dutt, Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, and Babu Krishna Gopal Bhakta, Proprietor of the New Bengal Press, Calcutta, for the assistance he has received from them in the publication of these volumes.

KALI PRASANNA SEN GUPTA.

CALCUTTA,
The 4th October 1833. }

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SPEECHES

BY

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

ADDRESS FROM THE CORPORATION OF BOMBAY.

[On Wednesday morning, the 2nd of June, a deputation from the Bombay Corporation waited on Lord Ripon at Government House, Malabar Point, to submit the address of welcome which had been drawn up by the Corporation for presentation to the Viceroy on the occasion of his landing in Bombay. The deputation, which was a large one, was headed by Rao Saheb Vishwanath N. Mandlik, who read the address. Lord Ripon, who was accompanied by Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay, replied to it as follows :—]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Corporation of Bombay,—I am very grateful to you for the address which you have just been good enough to deliver. I have observed with great satisfaction the assurances which you give in that address of your loyalty and devotion to the Queen-Empress of India ; but I can assure you that it is altogether unnecessary that you should give those assurances to me in words. I am very well aware of the feelings of loyalty and devotion to our Gracious Sovereign by which you are actuated—loyalty and devotion which is due, indeed, to the royal lady who has always taken, as you are all well

A

Address from the Corporation of Bombay.

aware, a very deep interest in all that concerns the welfare of her Indian subjects. (*Applause.*) For myself, gentlemen, I can assure you that I am deeply sensible of the great responsibility which devolves upon me in respect to the great office which Her Majesty has been pleased to entrust to me. We are told that it does not become him who putteth on his armour to boast himself as the man who takes it off; and therefore I am not at all inclined upon this occasion to make to you, and, through you, to the community of India, any large promises, or to lay before you any extensive programme. I should prefer that your judgment should be pronounced, as I am sure it will be, intelligently and fairly upon my conduct when you have been able to judge of me by my acts. (*Applause.*) I will only say this,—that it will be my constant endeavour to devote earnestly and assiduously any powers which I may possess, faithfully to discharge my duty to my Sovereign and to the people of India. (*Applause.*) You, gentlemen, have alluded to that grievous affliction of famine which during recent years has from time to time been productive of so great suffering and misery to many portions of the population of this great Empire. I trust that it may please God, in His providence, to grant us now a cycle of more prosperous years; but I hope also that the lessons of those periods of distress, hard though they may have seemed, will not be lost upon the Government of India, and that we shall profit by the experience which has been gained during these years of suffering, both in preparing such measures as may be calculated to guard against a recurrence of the evil, and also by alleviating in the most effectual manner the miseries entailed by famine, if it should again come upon us.

Gentlemen,—You have spoken also of the war which has been in progress almost without intermission for the last two years on our north-western frontier. No one can think

Address from the Corporation of Bombay.

of that contest without feeling his heart beat quicker with an honourable and just pride at the recollection of the gallant deeds which, in this war, as on so many previous occasions, have been performed for our Queen-Empress and our country by Her Majesty's troops, European and native alike; and we are proud to recollect that, in these later times, both these services have shown themselves fully able to maintain the great and glorious reputation which the soldiers of England have won for themselves in every quarter of the globe. (*Loud applause.*) But, gentlemen, it will be my most earnest endeavour to bring that war, so far as lies in my power, to an early and to an honourable conclusion, in the hope that, with returning peace, the Government of India may again be able to devote its attention to those works of internal improvement to which you have so rightly and wisely alluded. And I can assure you that if it should be my lot during my tenure of office to contribute in any degree to the development of the resources of this great country—agricultural and industrial—and to promote to any extent the happiness and the welfare of the people of India, of all races, and creeds, and classes, and especially the prosperity of the mass of the people, I shall esteem it the greatest honour of my political life. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for giving me this opportunity of meeting you—the representatives of the great and progressive community of Bombay. Through the kindness of Sir James Fergusson, I have already this morning had an opportunity of seeing something of this important city; and I need not tell you how greatly I have been struck by the beauty of the public buildings which have been recently erected here, and which certainly put to shame some of those which I have seen in great towns in England (*applause*); and yet more, I may say, by the proof that you are engaged in other works—not above

Vaccination Bill.

ground, but under ground—which are calculated to confer great benefits upon the community over which you rule, I am rejoiced to find that you are fully awake to the importance of sanitary improvements, which are of the greatest value to every country, and of the value of which men are becoming more and more convinced in the present day, and which, I venture to think, are as of great necessity in India as in any other part of the world. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen,—I have mentioned the name of your Governor, Sir James Fergusson. (*Applause.*) I hope he will permit me to take the opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction I feel at finding that I shall have him, during my tenure of office as Governor General, as one of my colleagues in the administration of this country. (*Applause.*) Sir James Fergusson and myself sat for many years in that great school of public life, the House of Commons, and I know enough of him to be aware of the zeal and earnestness with which he will devote himself to the discharge of the great duties which will fall to his lot as Governor of Bombay; and I know also that I may rely with the most undoubted confidence on his support on all occasions, and on receiving every possible co-operation from him. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen,—It only remains for me to say how heartily I wish you, as well as the community over which you rule, every possible prosperity. The kindness of your welcome to-day will be a great encouragement to me in the work which has been entrusted to me, which it will be my earnest endeavour, with God's assistance, faithfully to discharge. (*Loud applause.*)

VACCINATION BILL.

y 1880.

[In the Legislative Council, on Friday, the 9th July, the Hon. Sayyad Ahmad, Khán moved that the Report of the Select Committee

Vaccination Bill.

on the Bill for giving powers to prohibit the practice of inoculation and to make the vaccination of children compulsory, in certain municipalities and cantonments, be taken into consideration. Mr. Grant and Sir Robert Egerton explained that, owing to the modifications made by the Select Committee in the Bill, they were now in a position to withdraw the opposition to it, expressed by them when the measure was introduced. The latter's opinion, however, was unchanged, that the time had not arrived for the introduction of compulsory vaccination into the Punjab; but as the application of the Act would rest with Local Governments, he thought it might be safely allowed to pass and introduced into places where its action was expected to be beneficial. Mr. Gibbs gave the Council a brief sketch of the circumstances under which vaccination measures were introduced into Bombay and Karachi, and of the general success which had attended their working.]

His Excellency THE PRESIDENT remarked that what Mr. Gibbs had said afforded very satisfactory evidence that a similar measure to that now proposed had been introduced into a large city and into very small places with success, and with the approval of the people concerned. He was glad to see that the Bill had been amended and put into the shape in which it now stood. He thought that in legislation of this kind, particularly in India, it was very desirable to proceed in a cautious and tentative manner. In England we had had for a considerable time a Vaccination Act. There was a certain and rather increasing movement against it, and cases were cropping up from time to time in which even persons in a respectable position in life absolutely refused to comply with its provisions. He might mention a case in point which occurred within his own knowledge—that of the organist of Ripon Cathedral, who had positively refused to allow his children to be vaccinated; had been fined from time to time, had regularly paid the fines, but continued to refuse compliance with the provisions of the Act, on the ground that one of his children had died, and he attributed its death to vaccination. Cases of this kind, where such feelings were evoked, required to be very carefully dealt with, and, of course, if in this

Vaccination Bill.

country any religious feelings were aroused, there again was a very delicate matter, which we should touch with a very light hand. It seemed, however, to His Excellency that the Bill as it now stood was so entirely of a permissive character, and gave such a complete opportunity to the inhabitants of each locality to state their objections, if they entertained any, that the measure itself, being extremely desirable, might be safely passed into law; and he thought that the Council was very much indebted to the Hon. Sayyad Ahmad for having taken up the question and brought to notice that, in generally extending vaccination, we would be conferring the greatest possible benefit upon the people of India. His Excellency was inclined to think that when the Bill was passed it might be advisable to consider, as an executive measure, whether a circular should not be issued to the Local Governments, impressing upon them the necessity of proceeding very cautiously and tentatively, of strictly conforming to the intentions of the Act, and seeing that not merely the views of the municipalities, but the feelings of the populations concerned, should be carefully considered.

There was one point to which he would wish to draw the attention of the Council, namely, the amount of penalty which it was proposed to inflict for continued non-compliance with the order for vaccination. Under section 22, sub section (d), of the Bill, it was provided that

“whoever neglects without just cause to obey an order made under section eighteen after having been previously convicted of so neglecting to obey a similar order made in respect of the same child shall be punished as follows (that is to say) :—

* * * * *

“in the case of the offence mentioned in clause (d), with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.”

HIS EXCELLENCY was not sufficiently acquainted with Indian legislation to know what was regarded as ordinary severity in this country; but he certainly thought a

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

punishment of six months' imprisonment rather severe, and, if his memory served him right, there was no similar power taken in the English law. You could prosecute from time to time for continued disobedience, but there was no power that he was aware of for imprisonment.

[After some discussion, the Council agreed to the amendment of the last clause of section 22, so as to remove the Viceroy's objection on the ground of extreme severity. The motion was then put and agreed to; and the Bill was subsequently passed into law.]

PATRIOTIC FUND MEETING AT SIMLA.

[On Tuesday afternoon, the 14th September, a meeting was held in 14th Sept. 1880 the rooms of the United Service Institution, Simla, for the purpose of discussing proposals for extending the organisation of the Fund for the relief of sufferers by the Afghan war. The Viceroy presided, and took the chair at 5-30 P.M. The room was fairly well filled, and the audience was very enthusiastic.

In opening the proceedings, Lord Ripon, who was received with cheers, spoke as follows:—]

Your Honor, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,— It becomes my duty, as occupying the chair on this occasion, to place briefly before you the objects of the meeting which is assembled here to-day; and I am confident that the purpose which has brought us together this evening is one which will fully command the sympathy of all who are present (*cheers*), because we are met here for the purpose of marking our sense of the great services rendered to their Sovereign and their country by the troops of the Queen during the Afghan war (*cheers*).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it must be borne in mind that this is a public, and not an official, meeting. We are not met here to call for subscriptions by an order of the Government; but to submit an appeal which we think worthy of the attention of our fellow-subjects in this district, and, through them, to other parts of India: and I am bound

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

to say, for myself, that I rejoice to find in India those free habits of public meeting to which I have been accustomed at home (*cheers*), and to be able to make my appeal to you not in the tone of command, but upon grounds which commend themselves alike to our hearts and to our intellects, and which prove how much of true and honest sympathy there may and ought to be among all the Indian subjects of our Queen-Empress (*cheers*). We stand here upon this occasion, ladies and gentlemen, upon common ground, and we appeal to feelings which are shared alike by all men: and I rejoice to think that the support which this movement is receiving on the present occasion, and has already received in other quarters from native gentlemen, as well as from Europeans is a happy omen of that ever-increasing co-operation which ought to exist, and which I trust will exist more and more, between men of all classes of the Indian community (*hear, hear, and cheers*).

Now, before I proceed to lay very briefly before you the grounds upon which I think this movement is entitled to your sympathy and support, I will recall to your recollection the steps which have hitherto been taken in this matter.

Some time ago, communications were received from various native princes and native gentlemen in different parts of the country, expressing their desire to contribute to the comfort of our troops in Afghanistan, and to the provision for the wives and families of those who fell in the war. Some very large subscriptions were offered upon that occasion, and the matter was brought under the consideration of my predecessor, Lord Lytton; and he determined that it was desirable that this movement should not take an official form—a sentiment in which I cordially share—but that an independent Committee should be established to receive the subscriptions which might be offered, and to see to their proper application; and a Committee was consequently formed by my predecessor, under the presidency of my honourable

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

and gallant friend Sir Edwin Johnson; and various subscriptions (some, as I have said, of large amount) have been received—entirely, I believe, from native gentlemen—by that Committee. Soon after the Committee was formed, there took place that unhappy and unprovoked renewal of hostilities in the southern part of Afghanistan which in its tragical, and also its glorious events, have excited so much of sympathy and of attention in the public mind (*cheers*); and the consequence was that, as a large portion of the troops serving in that country belonged to the Bombay Army, my right honourable friend Sir James Fergusson, the Governor of Bombay, yielded to a wish expressed to him on the part of the leading gentlemen of that city, European and native, and undertook to preside at a public meeting for the purpose of establishing what has been called a Patriotic Fund. That meeting, as my right honourable friend informs me, was of a most enthusiastic and loyal character, and it was, he tells me, a very great pleasure to him to preside on that occasion; and it was then determined that there should be opened a list of subscriptions for the Patriotic Fund in aid of the widows and families of our soldiers, European and native, who had fallen in the course of the Afgan war (*cheers*). The original Committee established by Lord Lytton—having to deal almost, if not quite, exclusively with the subscriptions of native princes and gentlemen—had intended, I believe, to devote any money they might receive to the native army alone; but when it became evident that the Bombay meeting had adopted a wider scheme, and had determined to include in the benefits of the Fund to be raised, all Her Majesty's soldiers, of whatever race, who were serving in the present war, it was clear, as it seemed to me, that it would be altogether impossible to confine the operations of the Central Committee within the limits originally intended. I am bound to say that I think the example set by Bombay was

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

a good one, and that I am very glad that we should now follow it (*cheers*); and I entertain no kind of fear that any of those distinguished native gentlemen who have already subscribed to the Fund will object to this extension of it to Europeans as well as to natives. I feel confident that it will commend itself to them as much as it does to us (*hear, hear*); and at all events, should any difficulty arise in the matter, it is one that can easily be arranged.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the history of what has passed in respect to the Fund in whose interests we are assembled this afternoon. And now let me ask you to consider for a few moments what is the nature of the claims which our soldiers of the armies engaged in the Afghan war have upon the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and I may also say, of their fellow-countrywomen. We are not here, ladies and gentlemen, to discuss any questions of policy; we are here to consider the claims of those who have performed, bravely and loyally, the duties which were imposed upon them, and have responded unhesitatingly to every call (*cheers*).

The late Afghan war has been distinguished by many acts of bravery, and by many deeds which show that British soldiers, European or native, have not degenerated from their former reputation (*cheers*). Ali Musjid, the Peiwar Kotal, Charasiab, Kabul, Ahmed Kheyl, and Kandahar are there to prove the truth of my assertion (*loud cheers*). But it seems to me that no less honour has been won by the patient endurance of the weary march, of the wearing escort duty, of the climate so trying, especially to native troops, and of the long waiting when no active duty was going on, and when thoughts of home naturally rushed into the soldier's heart (*loud cheers*), than was secured by the desperate charge, the gallant onslaught, or the firm resistance to the attack (*continued cheers*). I admire, ladies and gentlemen, with a just pride, the deeds of the

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

victors of Ahmed Kheyl and Kandahar; I admire those splendid soldiers who, under their gallant chief, Sir Frederick Roberts (*loud cheers*), have lately performed a march which will long be famous in Indian military history, and who won a battle which has displayed alike the skill of the general and the admirable qualities of his troops (*cheers*). But I no less admire those who for long weary months have guarded the Khyber Line, and who, in a pestilential climate and ever-recurring round of monotonous duty, have fulfilled the task entrusted to them with unalterable steadiness and devotion; and I admire yet more the conduct, scarcely sullied by a single crime, which our troops have manifested towards the people of the country which they have been lately occupying (*cheers*). We have here, it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, a display of all the best military qualities—courage, endurance, patience, self-restraint; and it is to honour such qualities that we are assembled this evening (*cheers*). In those armies, European and Native, so gallant, so loyal, so enduring, many have fallen—some in battle, some by disease, some by the ambush of a desperate foe; and they have left behind them wives and children, dear to them, dependent on their exertions, and in their dying moments they have entrusted them to the care of their fellow-countrymen (*cheers*). Shall we not, then, answer to that call? Have they no claim upon us, who have not had to endure any of those trials, but who on this, as on so many former occasions, will profit by the valour and the firmness of our troops (*cheers*). Surely, ladies and gentlemen, we may hold it an honour to be permitted to minister to the wants of those who have been left behind by the men who have suffered and died for their country (*cheers*). The Government of India is not ungenerous toward the families of its soldiers, and upon this, as upon other occasions, it is most ready to do its duty; but the powers of the Government of India in

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

this matter are necessarily limited by the consideration that the money at its disposal comes from public taxation, and that we cannot be generous at the expense of others, when our taxes come, as they do to so large an extent in this country, from the pockets of the poorest classes of the community. There is, therefore, as it seemed to me, a large field for public exertion and a just and ample necessity for an appeal to public support. Everything which tends to promote independent public action in India seems to me to be in itself a great benefit, and I rejoice that we should upon this occasion be able to afford to the public of all classes and of all races an opportunity of taking part in this noble work (*hear, hear*).

Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is not a large meeting such as might have been assembled in Calcutta or Bombay; but we have present here to-day some who are well entitled to be heard on an occasion like this. In the first place, we have His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the head of the Army in India, European and native, with whom I rejoice to think that ever since I came out here I have co-operated with the most entire and unclouded cordiality (*cheers*). From him I have received the most hearty assistance, and to him it has been my pleasure as well as my duty to render the utmost support in my power (*continued cheers*). We have here also one, not to speak of others, who has won for himself the acknowledgments of his Sovereign and of his countrymen (*loud cheers*) by his eminent services, both military and political, in Afghanistan.

. . . . I see, ladies and gentlemen, that you know I am alluding to my gallant friend Sir Donald Stewart (*loud cheers*). They are ready to address you, and I will not, therefore, detain you longer, except once more to exhort you, and, through you, the people of India, to mark, by your free and ready answer to the call which is now made upon you, your deep sense of the claims which our soldiers of every

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

race and every clime have upon the generosity of those who have witnessed their courage, their patience, and their endurance, and who, without sharing their trials, will still partake of their glory (*loud cheers*).

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to state that it is my intention to contribute Rs. 3,000 to the Fund it is intended to raise (*cheers*). I will now call on his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to move the first resolution.

[His Excellency was warmly cheered on resuming his seat.

The following resolutions were then proposed to the Meeting, and carried,—the proposers and seconders in turn addressing the audience at some length :—

Proposed by the Commander-in-Chief, and seconded by Archdeacon Mathew :—That, in order to mark the high appreciation in which their countrymen hold the gallantry displayed by the troops in Afghanistan, and the courage and endurance with which they have borne the hardships of the campaigns, a fund be raised for the relief of those who have been disabled, and of the families of those who have died, during the war.

Proposed by Sir Donald Stewart, and seconded by Mr. A. C. Lyall :—That the fund be called "The Patriotic Fund"; that the subscriptions already received from the Princes of India and others be incorporated with the Fund, subject to the consent of the donors; and that further subscriptions be invited from all classes of the community.

Proposed by Mr. Gibbs, and seconded by Mr. James Walker :—That the following gentlemen be invited to act as a central working Committee :—Lieutenant-General Sir Donald Stewart, Mr. A. C. Lyall, the Hon. C. Grant, Colonel Allen B. Johnson, Colonel T. E. Gordon, Colonel S. Black : with Lieutenant W. J. Bird as Secretary ;—and that on the arrival of the Government in Calcutta there be added to the Committee, on the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, representatives of the non-official sections of the community.

Proposed by Sir Robert Egerton, and seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Peterson (Simla Volunteers) :—That the Committee be instructed to take such steps as may be found desirable for organising local Committees to receive subscriptions in the various provinces, and to put itself into communication with the Committees which have already been formed in Bombay and in London, with a view to arranging a concerted plan of action.

Patriotic Fund Meeting at Simla.

At the close of the proceedings, the Commander-in-Chief proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Ripon for the manner in which His Excellency had presided. The proposal was warmly received, and was seconded by Major Nisbet. The Viceroy, in returning thanks, said :—

*Your Honour, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*I am much obliged to you for the very kind manner in which you have received this resolution, and which I think, from the manner in which you have acknowledged it, I may take as having been passed cordially on your part (*cheers*). I can assure you that it has been a very great pleasure to me to be able to be present on this occasion. Naturally, from the position which I have been called to fill, I must feel the strongest possible interest in all that interests those brave men who have been fighting now for two years the battles of their country beyond the frontiers of India (*cheers*). Besides this, I may perhaps be permitted to say that I have all my life had a very deep interest in the welfare of our soldiers. Indeed, in my early youth it was the great object of my ambition, if I had been permitted to follow it, to have had the honour of serving in Her Majesty's army myself (*cheers*), and, having served for a few years under that distinguished man who, as Secretary of State for War, did perhaps more than any one else to promote the welfare of the British soldier—I mean Mr. Sidney Herbert—I have, from the lessons learnt at his feet, always felt an earnest desire to promote in every way in my power everything which could tend to increase the happiness or the welfare of the British soldier; and I heartily recognise that the same sentiments which prompt us at home to look after the interests of the European soldier, should prompt us equally and to the full share in India in regard to all that concerns that gallant native army which has, in late campaigns, so highly distinguished itself (*loud cheers*).

[The Meeting then dissolved. A sum of nearly Ra. 10,000 was subscribed in the room, in addition to Ra. 6,000 recorded by Dr. Leitner

Opening of the Fine Arts Exhibition at Simla.

on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, for the education and maintenance of ten sons of native soldiers killed in action, till they are able to gain their own livelihood.]

OPENING OF THE FINE ARTS EXHIBITION AT SIMLA.

[On Saturday afternoon, the 18th September, the Viceroy opened 18th Sept. 1880.
the annual Exhibition of Fine Arts at Kennedy House, Simla. His Excellency, accompanied by his Staff, arrived at the Exhibition-rooms at half past four o'clock, and was received at the entrance by Sir Robert Egerton, Vice-Patron and President of the Society, and the members of the Committee. A large number of visitors were present, though the evening was gloomy and unfavourable for viewing the pictures. In opening the proceedings, Sir Robert Egerton made the usual statement regarding the progress of the Society during the year. He thanked the Viceroy for consenting to become Patron of the society and presiding on the present occasion; he explained the causes which had tended to diminish the number of contributions; conveyed his acknowledgments to those who had assisted in the work of arranging the pictures, and concluded by requesting His Excellency to declare the Exhibition open.

The Viceroy (who, on rising, was received with cheers) then delivered the following address:—]

Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In rising to comply with the request just made to me by the Lieutenant Governor, I feel myself in one respect at some disadvantage, because, although this is (as you have just told us, Sir Robert) the thirteenth Exhibition of the Simla Fine Arts Society, it is the first occasion upon which I have had an opportunity of seeing the collections made for the Exhibition, and, under these circumstances, I have no means of instituting any comparison between this Exhibition and those which have preceded it, and knowing, so far as my own judgment might go, the progress which I doubt not has been made by this Society from year to year (*applause*). I must therefore content myself—in the remarks which, according to custom, I am about, with your permission, to address to you before formally opening the Exhibition—

Opening of the Fine Arts Exhibition at Simla

with asking you to consider with me, for a short time, what are the objects of the institution on whose behalf we are assembled here to-day? It must be borne in mind that the Exhibition collected within this compound has a twofold object. Here in the house itself we have a collection of drawings and paintings, and in the building outside we have another collection of Native works of industrial art; and it is in these two separate aspects—first as a Fine Arts Society, and then as an Exhibition of Native Industrial Art—that the exhibition ought to be considered. Now, ladies and gentlemen, with respect to the object of the Fine Arts Society, I think it may briefly be defined to be to promote to the utmost the cultivation of the fine arts by persons in private life, and to establish, by means of prizes, a relative standard of excellence. Now, let us consider for a moment under what difficulties amateur artists in India have to do their work in connexion with artistic matters. It seems to me that those who devote themselves to the cultivation of the fine arts in this country generally labour under some disadvantages to which persons at home are not so much exposed, because I think it may be said with truth that almost everybody in India has plenty to do. There seems to be much less of that leisure which is so largely enjoyed by persons in England, and which those who are very fortunate devote to the cultivation of the fine arts; for the military man in India has a hundred calls on him daily, and the civilian is hard at work from early morning till the shades of evening, and has but little time to devote to the worship of the Muses. But yet, if I mistake not, this Exhibition shows what soldier and civilian can alike accomplish, even under the difficulties which I have described, when they devote their leisure (perhaps the more keenly enjoyed because it is so short) to the cultivation and pursuit of the fine arts (*applause*); and we see on these walls ample proof that the amateur artist in India does not fall behind the same description of persons in England, and that, in spite

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of such difficulties as hot sun, and scorching wind, and sandy desert, he is still able to give us records of places famous in history, of the grand scenes of oriental nature, and of the customs and features of the many races which dwell in this land (*applause*). We have, for instance, here an interesting spot on the coast of Bombay, represented alike in storm and in calm; the Himalayas, on whose ridges Simla has so strangely perched itself, are depicted under various and striking aspects; the sports of the field have supplied their characteristic subjects; and, in the midst of all their arduous and successful labours, those gallant officers whose absence Sir Robert Egerton has so justly lamented, and who, I trust, will soon return and next year fill these rooms with their works, have found time to give us spirited sketches of those scenes in Afghanistan which have been rendered memorable by the deeds of the British army (*applause*). Take it all in all, as it appears to me, India is a rich field for the artist, abounding, as it does, in places of interest and buildings of great architectural beauty, and in scenes upon which Nature has lavished all her grandeur and her charm; and I think that the truth of this estimate may be proved by even a cursory examination of the works which now adorn these walls. I feel, ladies and gentlemen, no little diffidence in venturing even upon the faintest criticism of works such as those which we see before us to-day, because, unfortunately, I am nothing of an artist myself, and I particularly dislike to hear people talking about that which they do not understand (*laughter*). I am bound to say that I never felt greater regret that, if I have any artistic talent, it was unfortunately so ill-cultivated that it was never developed (*laughter*), as I have done since I came to India, because it would have been most interesting and agreeable to me to have taken back with me on my return home some sketches which would have served to recall the beautiful and interesting scenes which I have already passed, and

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yet hope to pass through during my connection with this country (*applause*). But if you look at the pictures on these walls, representing Indian scenes, I think you will find ample proof that India is, as I have said, a rich field for the artist. There is that drawing of Major Pullan's of "Dwarka in storm," which is a remarkable work of art, and Captain Strahan's most successful representation of mountain scenery "On the Chini Road," while Lieutenant Radford and others give us very interesting reminiscences of the scenes through which our army has passed in Afghanistan, and Colonel Sankey contributes some charming landscape pieces. We have, too, a flower subject by Mrs. Graham, which, I confess, gave me quite a start, from the feeling of freshness, and the odour of flowers that seemed to come from it as one stood before it (*applause and laughter*). But it is not India alone that we find depicted here. We have also most pleasant reminders of England and the English life to which we hope some day to return; we have those shady beeches so characteristic of many parts of our country, the representation of which by Dr. Willcocks has been so highly appreciated that the Committee have awarded to him the prize which I have the pleasure of giving upon this occasion (*applause*). And then we have a charming pair of "Blue Bells" by Captain Pierson, which I am certain all of you have seen with very great pleasure (*applause*.) But I have heard it remarked that there is some dissatisfaction in Simla Society because there are so few works from Captain Pierson's pencil in this Exhibition. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I feel bound to take this opportunity of defending my gallant friend from any criticisms of that kind, by pointing out to you that the person who is addressing you is the real culprit in the matter, because I have been guilty of throwing upon him an amount of work, which he has done to my great advantage in a very able manner, however much it

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may have been to your detriment (*applause*). There is yet one other picture to which, even in this cursory examination of the contents of this Exhibition, I must invite your attention. To my mind it is a very striking picture, a picture in the other room by a native artist, Mr. Pestonjee Bomanjee, representing a Parsi priest at prayers; and, I am bound to say, it seems to me that in its highly effective light and shade and warmth of colouring it is well worthy of the prize awarded to it, and an admirable example of what native artists are capable of doing (*applause*).

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I will pass on, that I may not detain you long, to the consideration of the claims which the other portion of this Exhibition has upon our attention—I mean that part of it which contains specimens of Native Industrial Art, and which owes so much to the zeal, taste, and ability of my friend Captain Cole (*applause*). To me, ladies and gentlemen, that Exhibition has an especial interest. It is only in its infancy, for this I understand, is the second year of its existence; but I hope and believe it may ultimately accomplish a valuable work, and that it will help to cultivate and encourage Native Art; that is to say, Art really native, instinct with the style of the country, and based upon its ancient and historical artistic traditions (*applause*). I will venture to say that all the best Art which the world has ever seen has been truly national, the outcome of the religion, the history, and the civilization of each race. I confess, for myself, that I have no faith in eclecticism in Art. Art is not a dead thing, to be merely copied from the models of the past; it is in its full power and perfection, the result and, as it were, the flower of a nation's whole life (*applause*); and therefore, if Art is to flourish among the Natives of India, it must be Indian Art, not a cold and barren imitation, however clever, of the Art of Europe, but the real product of the life and traditions of this land (*applause*). I rejoice to hope that, from the small and

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humble beginnings of this Exhibition which we see here to-day—those small beginnings from which almost all great and useful things have their commencement,—may come forth the cultivation by the natives of this country of their own Art, which will restore their claim to be counted among the artists of the world (*applause*). In this, as in all things in India, it is our duty, not to stifle or overpower the national life of the country, but to develope and uphold it (*applause*). If we were here only for a day, holding our position solely by our power, and retaining our grasp on India merely from the lust of empire, then we might perhaps desire that all national feelings, all recollection of their early history, all love of their characteristic art, should die out of the hearts of the Indian people. But if we believe, as I believe, that we occupy our present place in India in the course of God's providence, not merely as passing conquerors, but with a great work to do for the people of the country, which will be interwoven with their history, and which has its due part to fulfil in their progress, then it should be our aim to keep alive all that is high and beautiful and noble in their past traditions and their past national life, and to encourage them to reverence and to admire it (*applause*). Nothing is easier than to destroy, and of all things Art can perhaps be destroyed most easily; and one form of destruction is sometimes known in Europe under the name of restoration. I hope the day is not far distant, when the ancient monuments of India may be placed under such control as will tend to preserve them intact and unutilated to future ages (*applause*),—for it should be our endeavour more and more in this country, not to destroy, but to improve; not to overthrow the traditions and native civilization of some of the most ancient races of the earth, but to elevate and purify and develope them; to retain and strengthen what is good, to remove what is false and evil, and thus to wed together in indissoluble and prolific union the earliest and

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latest developments of the Aryan races (*applause*). I am the last man in the world to shrink from changes which the advance of time renders necessary, or cling to obsolete usages merely because they are old. I have no sympathy with the dry and barren spirit of conservatism which struggles to preserve institutions and habits from which all life has departed; but, at the same time, I am strongly convinced that reform, to be real and effective, must be tempered by reverence, and must be a growth, and not a mere construction; and, while I would give the people of India the fullest benefit of modern science and modern knowledge of Western progress and Western civilization, I should desire to blend them with their own historical traditions so as to supplant no portion of them, except by something better, and to retain the harmony and continuity of their national life (*applause*).

Now, if I am not mistaken, it is in something of this spirit that the Committee who have got together this Exhibition—and who, I trust, will continue their labours in future years—are conducting their work. There are there, in that outer building, many works which are modern in date, but what all those who have most judgment in this matter value in those works is the skilful reproduction of ancient patterns, or, what is better than the most skilful copying of such patterns, the working on ancient lines. It can be seen, from an examination of this Exhibition, how successfully this has been done in many cases; and I am very glad to find that many Schools of Art (and I think I may specially mention the School of Jaipur) are working thoroughly in the true spirit, and have already done much to resuscitate the beauties and attractions of Ancient Indian Art. Therefore it is, ladies and gentlemen, that I rejoice to see such an Exhibition as this, and that I trust, as I have said, that it is only the beginning of a large and valuable work (*applause*).

There is one circumstance which has been mentioned to me to-day, which, I think, is interesting, and that is, that

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this exhibition contains, in much larger proportion than the Exhibition of last year, works which have been contributed by the artists or manufacturers themselves,—the proportion of loan articles being much larger last year than this year. Now if an Exhibition of this kind is to have any practical effect upon Art, that is exactly what we want. Up here at Simla, the exhibition of the best models of Ancient Art would have very little influence on artist workmen; but the bringing together the works of the present day and submitting them to the criticism of competent judges, and sending down the best of them with prizes and commendations—that is the most effective mode of cultivating good taste and encouraging the advance of Art (*applause*).

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel a great interest in this undertaking, not only for the reasons which I have mentioned, but also for another. There is, I fear, much in the conditions of modern life which tends to separate and keep apart the European and Native in this country somewhat more than was the case in former days. The rapidity of communication, the weekly mails, the frequent furloughs, in spite of their numerous advantages, all tend to a certain extent in that direction; and therefore it is a great satisfaction to feel that there are other circumstances connected with our time which may counteract the evil; and among them we may count that greater acquaintance which we possess in the present day with the history, the art, and the jurisprudence of the past, which ought to help us to know better, to appreciate more highly, the native civilization of India,—to feel how ignorant is the inclination to disparage it, and that it is upon the ancient foundations of that civilization alone that we can hope to erect firm and enduring the superstructure of that wider and higher life which it should be the great aim of our Government to foster and advance.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I now declare this Exhibition open (*loud and prolonged applause*).

BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL, SIMLA.

[The annual Distribution of Prizes took place at Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on Saturday, the 25th September, the Viceroy presiding. His Excellency arrived at the School shortly after 5 P.M., and was accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Mr. Primrose, Private Secretary and Major White, Military Secretary. He was received by the Head Master and the Governors, and was conducted to the School Hall, a guard of honour of the School Volunteers being drawn up on the ground. The proceedings were opened with a statement by the Head Master, the Rev. S. Slater, in which he reviewed the progress of the School, remarked upon its success in recent competitive examinations (more particularly in the Vernacular languages), explained some of the causes which tended to apparent inefficiency in the students, and concluded by bringing the pressing want of a cricket-ground to notice. After distributing the prizes, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen, and Boys of Bishop Cotton School,—It gives me great pleasure to be present on such an occasion, and at such an interesting institution as this; but it would have been far more pleasant if it had not fallen to my lot to be called upon by the Head Master to say a few words. For many years I have bored my countrymen with speeches on education, and now I am going, as it seems, to bore an Indian audience with the same subject. I have felt all my life a very deep interest in education, and therefore it is most agreeable, so early in my period of Indian affairs, to be present at an institution which, notwithstanding Mr. Slater's modest assertions, is, I am sure, well worthy of the support of the public. This school was, I believe, originally established as a thank-offering for the ultimate suppression of that fearful event—which, fortunately, none of you boys remember—the Mutiny, by one who did good service to this country, and who in the midst of labour met his death by an untimely end. And it seems to me that no more appropriate offering to God for that deliverance could have been made than an establishment for the education of European boys, for I feel con-

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fidest that there is no better means of strengthening British rule in India than by taking every opportunity of training English youths in this country to show themselves worthy the position they hold by the uprightness of their lives, and that there is nothing so dangerous to our position as that the lives of Europeans should be disgracefully and dishonourably spent. I listened with great interest to the speech of the Head Master, and wish to make a few observations on it. Now, one reason why I feel a deep interest in this institution is that it combines religious and secular training. We all know that Government made a solemn promise that it would observe a strict and impartial neutrality in all matters relating to religion, and it is quite right that it should be so; but this does not imply that individual responsibility is thereby set aside. I feel convinced that we cannot have a true education unless religious and secular training are combined, as both are in the teaching of this school, so that you may have a complete education. It gave me great pleasure to hear from Mr. Slater of your success in the native languages; and I consider it a great satisfaction to have disturbed the authorities in the Adjutant-General's Office in the manner described: and I hope you will continue so to astonish them. Mr. Slater has mentioned some of the difficulties that beset such an institution as this, but I am not altogether ignorant of them, as it has been my duty to read Archdeacon Baly's excellent report. One difficulty is very trying, namely, that boys should so frequently come up later than the fixed time for returning to school. If such a thing happened in England, the boys would be sent home again, and not allowed to return. So if my voice can reach your parents through you, I would earnestly entreat them to remember how hard it is to you boys, how injurious to your prospects in the future, if by any weak indulgence on their part you are kept at home; and I would urge upon them not to deprive you of the

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advantages you might gain, and to allow you to come up in time, for, if they do not, it is impossible to give you the education you would otherwise receive. Mr. Slater also alluded to the few openings for European boys, and the increasing competition. I hold that that competition should exist, and boys of English birth must look for a keen competition with the intelligent native races, which competition will become yet keener; and the only way to meet it successfully is by the cultivation of your intellects. I can scarcely count the difficulty of finding employment a ground for listlessness in your studies; for, granting the difficulty, you have not a ghost of a chance unless you avail yourselves of the opportunities here afforded you. Education now becomes more and more a matter of necessity. In former days there were many ways in which men could get a living without it; but this is not the case now, and those who do not develop the intellect which God has given them will be beaten in the race,—and there are few things more unsatisfactory than a listless, idle European in India. Let me say, however, then, that I hope you will set before you a higher standard of education than that of merely getting employment. You must recollect that God has given to all certain faculties, for the right employment of which he holds them responsible. They are no inheritance of class or station—talents are not possessions: they are entrusted to you to be employed in the service of God and of your fellow-men, and for your own advantage—and mark, I put this in the last place. The curriculum here appears to me wide and extensive, and I hope that the returning arts of peace will open a larger field for employment. I see here (referring to a motto on the wall) *Arma cedant togæ*, and I hope that the great battle which has been won by Sir Frederick Roberts, and which I am sure will be thoroughly appreciated by you boys who are volunteers, will restore peace to India and that once more we may say *Arma cedant togæ*. And there I see (referring to another motto). *In*

Distribution of Prizes to the Simla Volunteers.

veritate victoria. Yes; the real source of our power is not so much the victories won by the gallantry of our noble soldiers, as that the natives feel that they can rely on the truth and honour of England. And one word with regard to the volunteer movement. I had the honour, not actually of being its father, but of being entrusted with the care of nursing the infant, and had the responsibility attendant on its teething. For I was at that time Under-Secretary at the War Office. I have therefore a great interest in it, and rejoice that the movement has spread to India, and congratulate you and your commanding officer on the appearance you presented to-day. I could tell, by simply looking at you, that you had a good officer, for regiments, as well as schools, depend for their proficiency on their leaders. What I have seen to-day will make me watch your progress with increasing interest, and I hope you will all endeavour to profit to the utmost by the education you receive here, and that when you go forth from hence to fight the battle of life, you will remember that you have to maintain the good name of Englishmen and the honour of Bishop Cotton School.

[His Excellency concluded his speech (which was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause) by offering a donation of Rs. 100 to the cricket field, and took his seat amidst the cheers of the boys.

The Lieutenant Governor moved a vote of thanks, saying :

“ I ask you to join me in thanking the Viceroy for coming here, and for delivering the soul-stirring address which he has given, and which I am sure will go to the hearts of all here. The advantage to the schools of his presence and what he has said, cannot be over-estimated.”

Archdeacon Mathew seconded the resolution, which was passed enthusiastically—the boys loudly cheering ; and the proceedings were brought to a close by the choir singing “ God save the Queen.”]

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES TO THE SIMLA VOLUNTEERS.

9th Oct. 1880.

[On Saturday afternoon, the 9th October, the Viceroy presided at the annual Distribution of Prizes to the Simla Volunteers at Annan-

Distribution of Prizes to the Simla Volunteers.

dale. A large number of people were assembled on the parade-ground ; and with the Viceroy, within a small *shamianah* pitched on the hill side, where the distribution took place, were Sir Donald Stewart ; the Hon. C. U. Aitchison ; Mr. Primrose, Private Secretary ; Major White, Military Secretary ; Lieutenant-General Olpherts, and a number of others, including many ladies. After going through some "extended order movements," the corps advanced in review order and formed up three sides of a square in front of the *shamianah*, when His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the regiment as follows :—]

Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Members of the Simla Rifle Volunteers.—I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to meet you upon this occasion. I believe that this Volunteer Corps now numbers some twenty years of its life ; and that reminds me that twenty years ago, in England, I was engaged under the orders of my distinguished chief, the late Lord Herbert, in taking a part, as Under-Secretary of State for War, in the organisation of the Volunteer movement at home. It is therefore natural that I should feel a deep interest in this, the first occasion on which I have had an opportunity of seeing before me an Indian Volunteer Corps ; and it was with unfeigned pleasure that I heard the remarks which have been made by Colonel Williams upon the result of his inspection of the corps to-day, and that I was able to conclude, from the language of that experienced and distinguished officer, that you, the Simla Volunteers, are in a condition of high efficiency, and would be ready at any moment faithfully, valiantly, and effectively to discharge your duties, if called upon to do so. (*Cheers.*) In England, it was a great object in the Volunteer movement that the Volunteer force should be as numerous as possible. I have never been one of those who have thought for a moment that any force of Rifle Volunteers would enable us to dispense with the services of any portion of the regular army. (*Hear, hear.*) In India, however, we cannot look to raise such a large force of Volunteers as has now, happily, for twenty years existed at home ; but if

Address from the Municipality of Umritsur.

you are less numerous, that is an additional reason why you should endeavour to make yourselves as efficient as possible. (*Cheers.*) You must recollect that the existence of such a force—the existence of corps like this—leads the Government to expect that they may rely upon you in the hour of danger, if ever it should arise, and that you must use your best endeavours not to disappoint the hopes and expectations which are raised by such efficient manœuvres as have been witnessed upon this occasion. These are days in which all opinion points to the concentration of military force at great centres, and therefore it becomes more and more necessary that we should be able to rely upon a force like this, of Volunteers, to do such duty as might be required in a station such as Simla. I am convinced that if you should ever be called upon—as I trust, please God, and as I hope and believe, you never may—to discharge active duties in the defence of your Sovereign and your countrymen, that you will answer gallantly to the demand—(*cheers*)—and therefore it is that I offer you my congratulations to-day on the efficiency to which you have attained, and that I ask you to remember that the confidence of the Government rests upon you, and that it is your bounden duty and highest honour fully to justify that confidence. *Loud and continued cheers.*)

[The distribution of prizes was then proceeded with.]

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF UMRITSUR.

10th Nov. 1880. [On Thursday morning, the 28th October, the Viceroy left Simla for his autumn tour. His Excellency was accompanied by the members of his personal staff, and, after a pleasant trip through the hills by Nahan and Dehra Doon to Saharunpore, during which some good shooting was found, arrived by special train at Umritsur on the evening of the 9th November. At 11 o'clock next morning, the Vice-

Address from the Municipality of Umritsur

roy, accompanied by Mr. Burney, Commissioner of Umritsur, and his staff, and escorted by a troop of the 14th Bengal Lancers, drove to the Town Hall, where the Municipal Committee and a large number of the native gentlemen of the district, and native officials, were assembled to meet him. His Excellency was received at the entrance by the Committee, headed by Khan Mahomed Shah, Khan Bahadoor, and conducted to the top of the Hall, where a canopy was erected, within which he took his seat. Khan Mahomed Shah then read an address of welcome on behalf of the Municipality in which they gave some facts regarding the origin and history of Umritsur and its progress under British rule; expressed satisfaction at the prospects of peace with Afghanistan and the renewal of commercial intercourse between Umritsur and Kabul and the countries beyond; and pointed out the advantages of connecting Umritsur with Pathancote by railway—a scheme which they hoped would receive His Excellency's favourable consideration and approval.

Lord Ripon replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I beg to think you most sincerely for the address which you have just presented to me. I have listened with especial satisfaction to the expressions of loyalty to our Queen-Empress which are contained in it, and it will be my duty to make them known to Her Majesty. I rejoice to be able to assure you that Her Majesty ever feels the deepest interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects, of all classes and creeds.

I am very glad to have had this opportunity of visiting this interesting city, connected, as you remind me, with so many historical recollections, and to be able to-day to return you my hearty thanks for the very kind and cordial reception which you have accorded to me on my first visit to your district, and for the many beautiful scenes with which, by night and by day, your streets have been adorned, and which I have witnessed with the utmost gratification.

But, gentlemen, it is especially gratifying to me to learn, as the representative in this country of the Queen-Empress of India, that you date the commencement of the commercial prosperity of Umritsur from the period when this city

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passed under British rule. The description which you give of that rule in the address which you have presented to me shows me how justly you appreciate the principles by which I trust the Government of the Queen-Empress in India will ever be guided; and I can assure you that it will be my constant endeavour, so long as I hold the office of Governor General of India, to apply those principles impartially and fully.

I rejoice with you, gentlemen, at the prospect of restored peace, and at the return to India of so many gallant soldiers who have been serving their Queen and their country beyond the frontiers of this land. I congratulate you heartily upon the part—of which you, gentlemen of the Punjab, may be justly proud—which has been taken by the regiments from these districts in the warlike operations of the last two years. It will be my especial duty and my most earnest desire, under the blessed auspices of returning peace, to labour to the utmost to promote the well-being of the people of India, and to develop the resources of this great country; and you may rest assured that among the measures of that kind which will engage the attention of myself and my colleagues in the Government of India, the scheme for connecting Umritsur with Pathankote by railway will receive full and ample consideration. You will, of course, gentlemen, not expect me upon this occasion to make any promise as to the period at which it may be possible to undertake that work, the importance of which I fully recognise.

Gentlemen,—I am very glad indeed to have had this opportunity of meeting you, and to find that, while on the one hand you recall with a wise interest the past history of your country and your city, you look forward on the other to a prosperous and progressive future under the just sway of our Gracious Sovereign.

[Mr. Johnstone, the Assistant Commissioner of Umritsur, translated the Viceroy's reply into the vernacular, after which the Committee's

Address at the Alexandra Girls' School.

address, which was enclosed in a handsome casket, was formally presented to His Excellency.]

ADDRESS AT THE ALEXANDRA GIRLS' SCHOOL.

[AFTER leaving the Municipal Hall, Lord Ripon drove to the Alexandra Girls' School, where an address was presented to him by the Native Christians of the Punjab, who had assembled at Umritsur (the head station of the Church Missionary Society in the Province) for the purpose of meeting and welcoming His Excellency. The address referred to the conclusion of the Afghan war as an especial cause for thankfulness and rejoicing, conveyed the thanks of the Native Christian Community to his Excellency for his kindness in visiting the School, and concluded with expressions of loyalty and good wishes for the success of His Excellency's administration. Lord Ripon replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I have to thank you most sincerely for the address you have been kind enough to present to me on this occasion ; and I assure you that it has given me great pleasure to accept your invitation to visit this Institution to-day, and to receive this address at your hands.

You speak of the fair prospects which are once more opened to the Indian Empire by the termination of the Afghan war. I, like you, heartily rejoice that it has pleased God, in His good providence, to bring to an end those military operations which have continued for so lengthened a period ; and I earnestly trust that we may now be blessed with a continuance of peace and prosperity, during which it may be possible for me and my colleagues in the Government of India to devote ourselves to promoting to the utmost the welfare of the people of this land (*applause*).

I am peculiarly glad to have met you in this Alexandra School, because the name of the Institution recalls to me the fact that, on the last day spent by me in England before I left my own country to come here amongst you in this distant land, I was honoured by an interview with that

Address at the Alexandra Girls' School.

illustrious Princess whose name this school bears—the Princess of Wales—at which both she and the Prince of Wales expressed their deep interest in India, and at which His Royal Highness assured me of the agreeable recollections he brought back with him from this country, and how heartily he desired to hear, from time to time, of the welfare and happiness of its people (*applause*).

Gentlemen,—I have been connected now, for more years than it is altogether in some respects agreeable to recollect, with the subject of education in my own land, and therefore, I naturally feel a very deep interest in all that concerns the progress of education in India. You are aware that it is the bounden duty of the Government of India to preserve the strictest neutrality in all that relates to religious matters in the country. That is a duty imperative upon us in fulfilment of distinct pledges definitely given, and to which we are bound to adhere. I have never thought, gentlemen that the strict performance of that duty, both as regards the natives of this country and the various Christian denominations in India, involves in the least degree, on the part of individual members of the Government, any indifference to religious education. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) And, for myself, I have always held and maintained at home—and my views upon that subject have undergone no change though I have come many miles across the sea—that no education can be complete and thorough if it does not combine religious and secular education. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

I am therefore very glad to have the pleasure of coming amongst you to-day and of visiting this school—one of the first, though not quite the first, among those which I have seen in India—and I can truly say that I wish this Institution, and those connected with it, all possible prosperity. (*Applause.*) I trust you may accomplish the work which you have set before you, and that, in the words of the motto

Address from the Anjuman-i-Punjab.

which I see in front of me, "your daughters will be as polished corner-stones." (*Applause.*) If it should please God to aid you in advancing the great work of education in India, you will by your efforts be doing a great service to the people of this country, and you will be carrying out an object which I know Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has closely at heart. (*Applause.*)

[Mr. Lewis, the Officiating Judge of the Small Cause Court, a native gentleman who read the address, translated the Viceroy's speech into the vernacular, after which the Viceroy inspected the Institution.]

ADDRESS FROM THE ANJUMAN-I-PUNJAB.

[THE Viceroy reached Lahore at a quarter to 5 on the afternoon of the 10th of November—the Municipality presenting him with an address of welcome at the Railway Station on his arrival. To this address a reply was subsequently sent in writing. At the Railway Station Lord Ripon was received by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Maharajahs of Khasmir and Puttiala, the Rajas of Kapurthala, Mundi, Furreedcote, and Chumba, and other native noblemen of the Punjab, and by a large number of Civil and Military Officers. A procession of elephants was formed, in which the Viceroy, the principal officials and native chiefs, took part, and which proceeded, by the Delhi and Lohari gates of the city, and the Sudder Bazar, to the Viceroy's Camp, which was pitched near the Racecourse. The whole of the forenoon of the 11th of November was occupied by Lord Ripon in receiving the visits of the native chiefs. At half-past 6 in the evening, a large and influential deputation from the Anjuman-i-Punjab and its various branch associations waited upon His Excellency with an address of welcome. Dr. Leitner, the Registrar of the Punjab University College, read the address. It urged upon the Viceroy the redemption of the pledge given by his predecessor to raise the Punjab University College to the status of a University—a pledge whose fulfilment had been delayed by the complications in Afghanistan; it expressed the thanks of the Society to His Excellency for his sanction to the Kazi Bill recently passed by the Legislative Council, and for the precautions

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taken to ensure the careful working of the Vaccination Act; it described the arrangements which had been made by the Society for the supervision, training, support, and eventual employment of ten sons of soldiers killed in the late Afghan war; it referred with satisfaction to the Viceroy's recent remarks at the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition on the cultivation of native art; and it concluded by drawing Lord Ripon's attention to the aim of the Guru Singh Sabha Association (a branch of the Anjuman) to spread knowledge among the Sikh Community by means of the Punjabi language, to extend female education, and to open out the cultivation of the agricultural and industrial resources of the country. At the conclusion of the address, the members of the various associations forming the deputation were introduced to the Viceroy, after which His Excellency replied to the address as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I can assure that I have had very great satisfaction in receiving this large and important Deputation, and in meeting you upon this occasion. The reputation of the Anjuman-i-Punjab had already reached me before I came to Lahore, and I am extremely glad to find, from the evidence contained in this address, and that which is afforded by the fact of gentlemen from so many parts of the country being now gathered here together, that the institution is gradually gaining in influence. I particularly rejoice to meet the members of the Anjuman, because it is, if I mistake not, a society which has sprung up altogether from the exertions of the intelligent population of the Punjab. It has, I believe, no direct connexion with the Government, but is the spontaneous product of the desire of the educated classes of this great community to spread knowledge and science around them, and to give to others the advantages which they have themselves obtained from various branches of study. Now, it is no doubt true that in all countries of the world at the present time, and, in some respects, especially in India, it is necessary that the State should take a large part in the support and advancement of education; but I for one always very greatly rejoice when I see wealthy and educated persons coming forward themselves

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to advance the cause of education, because I am convinced that by such free and voluntary efforts more is really done for the cause of solid education than can be done by the operations of any central government; and I am very glad indeed, therefore, to have a proof that here in the Punjab you feel with me, that this is a matter of very great importance, and that you desire, by your liberal subscriptions, and by your zealous labours, to show the earnestness of your conviction in that respect. As you are very well aware, it would be impossible to provide, out of the taxation of the country, such sums as are really required if the people of India are to be thoroughly educated; and it is only by the spontaneous and liberal assistance of educated native gentlemen, and by their coming forward themselves to take their fair share in the work more and more, that education can be placed upon a sound basis, and can attain to that position to which I hope and trust it may ultimately attain in this country.

You have alluded, gentlemen, in your address, to the question of the proposed University for the Punjab. I am about, a few days later, to receive an address from the Senate of the University College which at present exists, and I think that it would probably be better that I should reserve any observations I have to make on that point until I receive that address. The subject is one to which I have not yet been able to give as much attention as I should most earnestly desire to do; but I trust that when, to a considerable extent, those pressing anxieties which have been of late cast upon the Government of India have passed away, I shall be able to give my careful consideration to the question, the importance of which I fully recognise, and regarding which I trust, with the assistance of my colleagues in the Government of India, to be able to come to a satisfactory decision.

I have been much gratified, gentlemen, by the allusion which you have made to two measures of legislation which

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have been passed by the Legislative Council of India since I came out to this country. I am very glad indeed to find, from the remarks contained in this address, that the Bill relating to the appointment of Kazis is one generally acceptable to the Mahomedan community. I felt it my duty to give that measure an unhesitating support, because I found that it was one calculated to supply a want felt in many parts of the country by persons of the Mahomedan creed; and I need not assure you that it is always my desire to meet the views of all classes of the community, whether Mahomedan or Hindu. I am also much pleased to find that those who represent the Hindu community in this part of the country recognise the spirit in which the Government of India has acted with respect to the Vaccination Act. That was a question, no doubt, involving very delicate considerations. I can say, for myself, that I am strongly and deeply convinced of the value and importance of vaccination, and of the great benefits it is calculated to confer upon the community at large in the prevention of a terrible disease; but at the same time I was well aware that it was perfectly possible that errors might arise in respect to the intentions of the Government in the matter; that it was calculated to touch upon the religious feelings of a large portion of the community, and therefore that it was essentially necessary to apply its provisions with the utmost possible consideration and caution. The principle upon which the Government of India acted was, in the first place, to leave it to the Local Governments to decide whether the Bill should be applied at all, or not, under their jurisdiction. But we went further than that, and we said that we desired that it should be applied in no case in which there was a decided feeling on the part of the population against the adoption of the measure. I am perfectly confident that the Local Governments will fully understand the object which the Government of India had in view, namely, that the feelings of the populations should be

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ascertained and considered to the utmost; that the fullest opportunity should be given to them of expressing their opinions freely; and that no attempt should be made to force the measure upon them, or even persuade them to adopt it, until they were convinced, by seeing the advantages resulting from its working in other places, that it was really for their good.

You are kind enough to allude to some remarks made by me a short time ago, at Simla, on the subject of the cultivation of Native Art. I can assure you that those remarks were the result of strong convictions on my part, and of a very earnest desire to see the Arts of India cultivated in a manner consistent with their past traditions. I am firmly convinced that no art except that which is spontaneous and grows naturally upon the soil of any country, is ever likely to be carried to real success; but I can assure you that, while I feel a great interest in the development of Native Art upon the lines of the ancient and indigenous Art of the country, I feel also an equal interest in those other important objects to which you have alluded, namely, the commercial development of the country and the spread of Western science. What you want in your education, as it seems to me, is that it should have its roots in the past, and that you should avail yourselves of all that is good and valuable in the result of times which are gone by; but that you should at the same time combine with those ancient historical recollections, the advantages of modern Western civilisation. Doubtless, gentlemen, the task is a difficult one. It is not easy to blend together even the knowledge and science of communities separated so very widely in many respects as are the peoples of the East and of the West; but, on the other hand, I see in the assembly of gentlemen now around me the best augury that could possibly be afforded that some such union of Western science with Eastern knowledge is before us in the future, and will be advanced by your efforts.

Review of Troops at Meean Meer.

I have learned, gentlemen, with peculiar pleasure that you have already done your part in marking your sense of the services rendered to the country by our gallant soldiers engaged in warlike operations beyond 'the frontier for the last two years. You may well, here, gentlemen, in the Punjab, have done this, because you have every reason to be proud of the distinction won by the Punjab regiments upon every field upon which they have been engaged.

And now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, except to say that if it should be given to me, through God's will, to realise in any degree the character which your address has been good enough to attribute to me, and if, when my term of office comes to an end, whenever that may be, there should be any in this country who are willing to accord to me the honourable and distinguished title of a friend of India, I shall, I can assure you, regard it as one of the proudest distinctions of my life; and I am further sure that it will be by acting in a spirit of warm and friendly feeling for the populations of this country, and with an earnest and deep desire to promote by every means in my power their happiness and their welfare, that I shall be most perfectly obeying the orders which our Queen-Empress entrusted to me on my departure from England.

REVIEW OF TROOPS AT MEEAN MEER.

13th Nov. 1880. [On Saturday morning, the 13th of November, the Viceroy held a review of all the troops assembled at Lahore, numbering nearly 10,000. The review took place at Meean Meer. His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and their respective Staffs, arrived on the ground about half-past 7 o'clock,—the troops being drawn up on parade in line of quarter columns,—and was received with a royal salute. A large body of spectators was gathered near the saluting flag. After the salute the Viceroy rode down the line accompanied by the

Review of Troops at Meean Meer.

Body-guard and Staffs. The Native Chiefs joined him near the saluting flag. The troops then marched past, and at the close of the parade advanced in review order. His Excellency the Viceroy then rode forward and met the Commander-in-Chief and the Commanding Officers and delivered the following address :—]

Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—It has been a very great pleasure indeed to me to have the honour of meeting, upon this, occasion, the worthy representatives of the British Army, both European and Native, who are at present before me, and especially to have been, as it were, thus introduced to our army in India, under your auspices. It would be impertinent in me, as a civilian to express any opinion upon the bearing and appearance of the troops, and yet I cannot resist the impulse which prompts me to say how greatly I have been impressed to-day by the sight, which has been presented to me by them, of the discipline and power of the troops of our Queen-Empress upon this Indian soil, whether they be those who have been sent from England, or raised in this country. But, Your Excellency, if I am bound to abstain from criticism, which you might regard as out of place, I may be permitted to refer to acts which have entered into the domain of history, and for a few moments briefly to recall the actions of the force which we have seen to-day in the most trying periods of the war which has just been, and I trust happily, brought to a conclusion. We may well be proud of that which history will have to tell to future generations of the deeds of the British Army during that war—whether we look to that earlier and shorter campaign which was marked by the actions of Ali Musjid and the Peiwar Kotal or whether we look to those events which followed upon that dark and melancholy occurrence at Kabul, when the representative of Her Majesty's Government fell the victim of a treacherous attack. When the soldiers of England, to vindicate the honour of their country, marched upon Kabul, nobly did they do their work ; and the great deeds which they did at that time will stand

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recorded in the pages of the military history of India. And then there came a later period of the campaign, when the Government of India called upon the force under the command of my gallant friend Sir' Donald Stewart, to accomplish a march from Kandahar to Kabul, in the midst of which he again encountered the foe, and he encountered them at odds at which British troops are wont to meet their enemies in this country; for I believe in the lines of Ahmed Kheyl he had not more than twelve hundred men to meet some fifteen thousand. And then we hoped that we saw before us the dawn of peace, and a speedy return to thier homes of the native troops of India; but again, another circumstance arose, which called for great exertion at the hands of the British Army and the hopes of the return of the force, and satisfactory peace, were for the time dashed aside; and we had to call upon the army in Afgtanistan to retrace their steps from Kabul to Kaudahar. Of the history of that great march, I need not remind you. I wrote to Sir Frederick Roberts when he started from Kabul, and told him I had no doubt his march would be famous in military history. Was I wrong, gentlemen? The trade of a prophet is generally dangerous; but at least on this occasion my prophecy has been amply fulfilled. That great march was nobly accomplished; its speed and skill have attracted the admiration, not only of Englishmen, but of Continental military critics, and it was wound up by a battle which may be hoped to have a lasting effect.

Gentlemen,—These are great deeds of which Englishmen may be justly proud; and I have more than once had the pleasing duty of assuring the troops of the great sympathy which Her Most Gracious Majesty has felt for them in the dark hours which have from time to time overshadowed us, and of the gratitude and joy with which she had heard of the successes by which this war has been brought to a termination. But, Sir, if we recall with pride these gallant and stirring deeds of war and victory, there have been

Review of Troops at Meer Meer.

other incidents in these operations which we cannot in justice overlook. We cannot forget the services which have been rendered by those officers and regiments who were set to guard the lines of communications; and I hold, as I have already had occasion in this country to state, that our gratitude is equally due to those who performed that duty with such unvarying patience, and such firmness in difficulties and trials—quite as great as those which were undergone by their comrades who had the better fortune to be engaged in the front.

Sir Frederick Haines.—There is one other circumstance to which I should desire to advert upon this occasion, and it is one of which I, at all events, am deeply proud. I have heard on all hands, and especially from Sir Donald Stewart, of the admirable discipline which has been maintained by the British army when occupying a foreign country. They have given, during the term of occupation, the greatest proof that they can give of the true character of Englishmen; and I believe that by that discipline and moderation and justice towards the people in those countries in which they were stationed, they have done as much for the fame, reputation, and honour of England, in a political point of view, as they have in a military point of view by the victories they have gained. It would be too long on this occasion to recount the acts of individual regiments; but I will venture to say this,—that a finer force of Her Majesty's troops has seldom, if ever, been brought together upon the plains of India. That Artillery whose fame is known in all lands, and whose motto shows that they are ready to do their duty in every part of the world, those magnificent Cavalry Regiments which we have seen upon this occasion, and that splendid line of unbroken infantry, I venture to think, Sir, you would not fear to lead against any army in the world.

Sir Frederick Haines.—I have on this occasion a duty of a singularly pleasant nature to perform. It was known to

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Her Majesty that this review was about to take place to-day ; and last night I received a telegram from the Secretary of State, desiring me to inform the troops assembled here that it was Her Majesty's pleasure, in addition to the medal which has been already granted for the Afghan campaign, to attach to that decoration clasps for six different actions—Ali Musjid, Feiwar Kotal, Charasiab, Kabul, Ahmed Kheyl, and Kandahar ; and yet more, Sir, in accordance with your recommendation, the grant of a special decoration to those who took part in the march of Sir Frederick Roberts' force to Kandahar, in the form of a bronze star. I am confident that you and the troops under your command will recognize this concession on the part of the Queen-Empress as another proof of Her Majesty's regard and affection for the army, which forms the foundation of her country's greatness and power, and as an incentive to deeds such as you and your troops have performed so loyally and well, and for which, in the name of Her Majesty, I now thank you from the bottom of my heart.

DEPUTATION FROM THE SENATE OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

13th Nov. 1880. [ON Saturday evening, at half-past nine o'clock, Lord Ripon received a large and influential deputation from the Senate of the Punjab University College who presented him with an address of welcome. The deputation was headed by Sir Robert Egerton, the President of the Institution, and there were also present the Maharajah of Kashmir, the Rajahs of Jhind and Mundi, and the Pattiala Council of Regency, besides a large number of European and Native officials and Native noblemen. The Lieutenant Governor (Sir Robert Egerton) opened the proceedings by introducing Dr. Leitner, who, he said, would read the address of the Senate. A copy of the address in the vernacular, enclosed in a handsome gold case, was then presented by the Maharajah of Kashmir to Lord Ripon ; after which, Dr. Leitner read the address, the main object of which was to enlist the Viceroy's

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aid in raising the college to the status of a university. The numbers of students were stated, previous promises were recapitulated, the liberality of the Punjab Chiefs was dwelt upon, and, finally, the services of the Punjab troops in the Afghan campaign, were urged as an additional ground for the special favour sought. The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Maharajah and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you for the address which you have presented to me upon this occasion, and especially for the manner in which you have spoken of those efforts which I have made in my past life to promote the cause of education in England ; and I can assure you that that interest in education which prompted me to advocate its extension at home has kept with me here in India, and that I am equally convinced that all that concerns the advancement of education is of the highest importance in this country, as I was convinced that it was of vital interest in England. I am sorry to say that, in consequence of the many and anxious duties which have pressed upon the Government of India since I came out to this country, I have not been able to give that full and complete consideration to the questions connected with the establishment of a complete university in the Punjab, which I naturally should have desired, and that I have not had sufficient opportunity for consultation upon the subject with my colleagues in the Government of India, with whom it is my pleasure, as it is also my duty, always to act in the most cordial co-operation. I am therefore not in a position at the present moment to express any positive opinion as to the steps which may be taken for the promotion of an object which I earnestly desire to see advanced so far as may be consistent with the general interests of the country ; and I am the more anxious to abstain from promises upon this occasion because I learn from your address that you have been waiting for some years for the fulfilment of hopes that have not yet been realised ; and I should greatly prefer to have the opportunity of fulfilling my promises, if I may use the expression—even before I make them. At the same

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time, gentlemen, I am very glad to seize this occasion of explaining to you my general views upon some of the questions in which you are so greatly interested, and I rejoice to find from your address that those views are likely to meet with your approval. In the first place, gentlemen, I desire to express my high appreciation of the great liberality which has distinguished the Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab in coming forward, as they have done, to promote the establishment of the University College, as I understand, in the firm expectation that it will ultimately grow and flower into a perfect University. I beg, on behalf of the Government of India, to tender to those distinguished persons our best thanks for that generous liberality; and then I would state the conviction which I feel, that it is undoubtedly desirable to promote the cultivation and the extension of Oriental languages and Oriental literature. I entirely agree with the opinions of those who think that that is an object in itself desirable; and, so far as my limited acquaintance at present with India carries me, I am inclined to agree with the sentiments, which I believe you entertain, that it is through the medium of the vernacular languages of this country that science and literature can most easily be advanced and cultivated. We live in times, gentlemen—at least, we in the West live in times—of great and rapid change; and I am inclined to believe that those changes have not been without their operation in India. I sometimes hear it said that there is not in the present day the same intimate communication and relation between Europeans and Natives that existed in former times. I do not know how far that statement may be true, but I am quite sure of this,—that if there be any truth in it, it is matter for very serious consideration. It is a state of things which we ought to desire to remove; and I can quite perceive that there are circumstances in these times which tend of themselves to lead to that result. Now, gentlemen, I believe that it is vain to contend against the natural tendencies

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of the age in which our lot is cast. We shall not be able to return to those somewhat patriarchal conditions which may have existed in the past; but I believe that we shall find in the future the means of a sounder and yet closer union between European and Oriental races if we endeavour to cultivate a mutual understanding of the traditions of the West and the traditions of the East, of the Oriental and of the Occidental literature: and that we shall discover, in the spread of a general education, a new mode of supplying that bond of union which may have, to a certain extent, been wanting in recent years. I am rejoiced also to find, from the address which you have presented to me, that, although you mainly desire to promote the cultivation of Oriental languages and Oriental studies, you by no means are inclined to overlook the importance of a solid European education; and that you are not desirous to put aside the cultivation of English language, English literature, and English science. I am confident that it is only by advancing both Oriental and English studies that we can hope to bind together more closely the various races which meet upon the common soil of India; and I am very glad indeed to learn, from the evidence which your address presents, that you have by no means overlooked that consideration. Again, gentlemen, I think I am in sympathy with you when I say that I have always been a friend to a certain amount of variety in education. We have it in England, where, in the two great Universities of that country, there is a marked distinction in the branches of study to which pre-eminence is given. Oxford is mainly classical, Cambridge is mainly mathematical; and I confess I do not see why Oriental languages and studies should not have a pre-eminence in Lahore, just as a special English education has a pre-eminence elsewhere. There are two theories of education: there is one theory which I may call the despotic theory—the theory that it is the business of the State to lay down an iron rule

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of education, and to try to force everybody into one groove, and to make submissive and obedient subjects of the State, without variety and without individual character. There is another theory of education, which I call the free theory, which adapts its methods to the necessities of the different portions of the population, to the tastes of individuals, to the varieties of religious opinion, and to the qualities of races; and I believe that you will find in such educational variety, as you find in the natural variety of the forests of this country, the true and free development which you desire to give to the human intellect. I say frankly, gentlemen, that I am an advocate of the latter theory. You have, in the conclusion of your address, put forward a claim to the consideration of the Government of India which I, for one, most readily recognise. You have alluded to the great and eminent service which has been rendered to our Queen-Empress and to the State by the regiments which have been raised within the limits of the Punjab. Gentlemen, you could not have addressed to me this evening an appeal which went more straight to my heart; because I had the pleasure this morning to see one of the most remarkable and one of the most beautiful sights which it has ever been my good fortune to witness. I saw that combination of Native and European troops which has ever been, and ever will be, the strength and security of India; I saw those Punjabis who fought so gallantly for their Queen-Empress and their country—those men who have endured conditions the most trying to the native soldier, and have endured them with courage, with patience, and with firmness. I can therefore truly say that, when you make that appeal to me, you make an appeal to which no man can be more ready to listen than I.

Gentlemen,—I do not know that I can say more to you at the present moment, or give you a more positive assurance with respect to your immediate request, because I believe that I shall best consult alike your interests

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and the interests of the Government of India if I content myself with telling you that, animated with the sentiments which I have expressed, I intend to approach this question in the leisure which I hope returning peace will give me, with the most earnest desire of meeting to the utmost of my power the wish of this distinguished community. (*Applause.*)

DURBAR AT LAHORE.

[THE public Durbar for the reception, by the Viceroy, of the Chiefs, 15th Nov. 1880. Sirdars, and Native Gentlemen of the Punjab assembled at Lahore, took place at 11 o'clock on Monday morning, the 15th November in His Excellency's Camp. The Durbar was preceded at 10 o'clock by an investiture of the Order of the Bath, when the Viceroy formally invested Sir Donald Stewart with the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross, and General Maude with that of Knight Commander. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the Viceroy proceeded in procession to the Durbar Tent, where a large number of spectators, besides the native Chiefs was assembled. The Maharajah of Kashmir and the other Chiefs occupied the seats on the right of the Viceroy—the Lieutenant Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, the Viceroy's personal staff, and the principal officials of Government those on the left. The ceremony of presentation commenced as soon as His Excellency was seated; the chiefs and sirdars were presented in the order of their rank, and, as the number of ruling chiefs was fourteen, and that of the sirdars and native gentlemen probably over four hundred, this part of the ceremony occupied a considerable time. It was followed by the presentation of the Viceroy's *khilats* (presents) to the chiefs, at the conclusion of which, Lord Ripon rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Maharajahs, Rajahs, Chiefs and Gentlemen of the Punjab,—It is to me a source of sincere gratification to have an opportunity of meeting in the capital of this province, so soon after my assumption of the office of Viceroy, the leading chiefs, and so large and influential a representation of the people of the country. With some of you I was

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already acquainted ; others I meet now for the first time ; but to all I offer a hearty welcome.

I have been very glad to observe, during my passage through the province, many signs of progress and prosperity, and I have derived much pleasure from the friendly and cordial reception which has been accorded to me. The well-being of India very largely depends upon the state of agriculture, and upon the condition of those whose interests are connected with the land ; and it is therefore very satisfactory to me to be informed that in this part of the country questions affecting those interests have been placed, so far as the administration can place them, upon a sound footing.

I believe that throughout the Punjab, the land tenures of every district have been carefully examined, defined, and recorded, and that the assessment of the whole revenue has been settled upon a fair basis for a term of years calculated to afford free scope to the development of the resources of the province and to the enterprise of its people. Special attention has been paid by the Punjab Government to the adjustment of the tenure of land along the north-west frontier, so that the duties of watch and ward, which have been so long (and, on the whole, so well) performed by the chiefs and landholders on that exposed border, may be duly acknowledged and recompensed.

The extension of the Punjab Railways must have a marked effect both on agriculture and on trade. We have now two lines traversing the province—one already completed and connecting the Punjab with the sea, and the other to Peshawar, nearly finished, and forming the great high-road from Central Asia to the heart of India. These railways open out remote districts, promote internal communication, and strengthen the defences of the Empire.

I have learnt with great pleasure that education is spreading among all classes, and that the people of the Punjab are giving strong proofs of their capacity for mental training and their appreciation of its advantages. I trust that the

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real aim of higher education will be kept steadily in view and that it will be directed; not to separate classes by difference of culture, or by an undue desire to introduce foreign ideas and habits of thought, but to throw open to all a common ground for intellectual development, and to preserve and improve whatever is good in the indigenous literature of the country.

All that I have seen appears to me to indicate the steady growth of reciprocal relations of friendship and confidence between the Chiefs and the Supreme Government, and to show forth the attachment and devotion of the Chiefs to our Queen-Empress, and the complete trust which the Government can place in them for all the services which they are so well qualified to render. No better proof of this can be found than their readiness to aid in the late war, and the excellent spirit shown by their sirdars and officers, as well as by their troops. The loyal co-operation of the Chiefs, and the conduct of their contingents have, by the gracious permission of her Majesty, been recognised in various ways by decorations and titular distinctions; and the Government of India are also fully prepared to mark, by substantial and public tokens of approval, the services of others, sirdars and native gentlemen, who have accompanied our troops and our officers or have in other ways given signal mark of their ability and their devotion in the performance of the several duties assigned to them.

Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has commanded me to convey to the Chiefs of India her warm interest in their welfare—and not in their personal welfare alone, but in the success of their administration and in the well-being of the people of their States. For it is well known, and should be everywhere understood, that the British Government always entertains not only a desire for the honour and advantage of the Chiefs, but also a deep solicitude for their subjects; and that we measure the greatness of a State

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and the degree of its prosperity not so much by the brilliancy of its Court, or even by the power and perfection of its Army, as by the happiness and contentment of the people of every class. It is my earnest hope that the Chiefs now assembled around me will remember this, and that they will continue to administer their hereditary dominions, the possession of which is secured to them under Her Majesty's Empire, with justice and moderation—being careful to retain the affection of their people, and even to introduce necessary reforms with moderation; for when disorders arise, the British Government will judge that evils have crept in, which require remedy.

The population generally of the Punjab may be justly congratulated upon the manner in which they have utilised the advantages of a generation of peace under our rule without losing their tradition of hardihood, or their aptitude for military service. The general spirit of a people is reflected in its army, and, whatever benefits the British Government may have been enabled, through God's assistance, to bestow on the Punjab, it could not have realised a better return than it has received in the untiring endurance and devoted courage displayed under circumstances especially trying to Native troops by the Punjab regiments who have served during the last two years in Afghanistan.

Maharajahs, Rajahs, Chiefs, and Gentlemen,—It has given me great pleasure to have this opportunity of addressing you in public Durbar. I believe that no such Durbar has been held in Lahore by the Viceroy since 1864, when Lord Lawrence spoke to the Chiefs, assembled around him in their own language. Unhappily, I am not able to follow his example in that respect; neither can I present myself to you, as he did, as an old friend and trusted guide; but, having enjoyed the friendship of that great man for many years, and being animated by sentiments of the heartiest admiration for him, it will be my constant endeavour during my administration of Indian affairs to walk in

Durbar to the Khan of Khelat.

his footsteps and to apply his principles; and I know well that I could not give you, here in the Punjab, a better assurance than by this declaration of my earnest desire to promote your prosperity and to advance your welfare to the utmost.

[The Foreign Secretary then translated His Excellency's speech into the vernacular, after which *attar* and *pan* were distributed, and His Excellency left the tent in procession, as he had entered it; and the Durbar was closed, having lasted nearly four hours. In the evening Lord Ripon was present at a ball given at the Montgomery Hall to the officers who had returned from Afghanistan, and on the following morning (the 16th) His Excellency left Lahore, by special train, at 11 o'clock, for Mooltan, where he arrived on Wednesday morning, the 17th, having stopped *en route* at Changa Manga for a few hours' shooting.]

DURBAR TO THE KHAN OF KHELAT.

[THE Viceroy arrived at Jacobabad on Thursday evening, the 18th 19th Nov. 1880. of November, after having visited Bhawalpore (where he met with a very hospitable reception from the Nawab) and Sukkur. At the Railway Station, Jacobabad, His Excellency was met by the Khan of Khelat, his two sons, Major Sandeman, Agent to the Governor General for Biluchistan, and his political officers. On Friday morning, the 19th November, the Viceroy received the Khan of Khelat and his two sons in private Durbar, when His Excellency formally invested the Khan with the insignia of a Grand Commander of the Star of India. This was followed two hours later by a public Durbar for the reception of the Khan, his Sirdars, and the principal Chiefs of Pishin, Sibi, Thul Chotiala, &c. Many of the Chiefs present had not attended a British Durbar before, and formed (with the Khan's Sirdars, who were all seated in rows on the ground) a curious and picturesque assembly. The introductions to the Viceroy, of the principal Chiefs, were made by Sir Robert Sandeman, and, at the termination of the proceedings, Lord Ripon rose and addressed the Khan as follows :—]

Your Highness,—I am much gratified by this opportunity of receiving, in public Durbar, Your Highness and

Durbar to the Khan of Khelat.

your principal Sirdars, and of expressing to you personally the high sense which the Government of India entertain of the consistent loyalty and friendship displayed by your Highness in the assistance rendered to the Political and Military Officers of the British Government during the recent military operations in Afghanistan. I am aware that Your Highness' co-operation was effective and unreserved, and that whenever the British officers desired to be aided, your authority and influence were always promptly employed in their behalf.

I recognise in Your Highness a valuable and trustworthy ally of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, faithful to his engagements, and cordially desirous of strengthening and confirming the friendly relations which exist between the British Government and your State.

It has afforded me great satisfaction to have been entrusted by my Sovereign with the honourable duty of investing Your Highness this morning with the Insignia of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and I offer to Your Highness my most sincere congratulations upon having received this signal proof of Her Majesty's consideration and esteem.

I desire also to acknowledge the services which Your Highness' principal Sirdars (whom I am glad to see here on this occasion) have rendered during the past two years in preserving, under Your Highness, the tranquillity of the country, in protecting convoys and merchandise, and in their greatly aiding the uninterrupted maintenance of our military communications. I rejoice that the whole of Biluchistan is at peace, and that nothing has occurred to disturb the harmony which should prevail between a Prince and his people.

ADDRESS TO E.-B., ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY
BATTERY.

[At the conclusion of the Durbar to the Khan of Khehat, the 19th Nov. 1880. Viceroy held a Levee, and in the afternoon paid a return visit to the Khan. As His Excellency was coming away, the salute was fired by E.-B., Royal Horse Artillery Battery, which distinguished itself so much at Maiwand. His Excellency stopped his carriage, and when the salute was over, addressed them as follows :—]

Major Tillard,—As I pass this Battery, I cannot resist the impulse which prompts me to address a few words to you and to your officers and men, in order to express my deep sense of the gallant services of the Battery at the battle of Maiwand, when, in the hour of difficulty and danger, they firmly upheld the reputation of the distinguished corps to which they belong, and when, as I may say without exaggeration, they even wreathed fresh laurels round the guns of the Royal Artillery. It is not alone in the hour of success and in the triumph of victory that the qualities of true soldiers are displayed—they are called forth no less when the tide of battle turns against them, in the stubborn resistance and the perilous retreat. Such occasions afford special opportunities for the display, not only of that valour and discipline which are common to all British troops, but also of the noble qualities of pity and self-sacrifice; and you, officers and men, may be proud to recollect in after days how many of the survivors of the 27th July owe their lives to your exertions. Sir, I rejoice to feel that the honour of Her Majesty's arms will ever be safe, in weal and in woe, in the hands of this Battery, and I esteem myself very fortunate to have had this opportunity of seeing them.

ADDRESS FROM THE KARACHI MUNICIPALITY.

22nd Nov. 1880.

[THE Viceroy arrived at Karachi on Monday, the 22nd November, at 5-30 P.M., having visited Sibi, Pir Chowkey, and the Bolan Pass before leaving Jacobabad. At the Karachi Railway Station His Excellency was received by Mr. Erskine, the Commissioner of Sind (whose guest His Lordship was during his stay in Karachi), the principal Civil and Military officials and a deputation of the Municipality, who presented him with an address of welcome. The address congratulated Lord Ripon on being the first Viceroy who had travelled the whole length of the Indus Valley Railway; it pointed out the necessity for bridging the Indus between Rori and Sukkur; solicited the Viceroy's support to the works for the improvement of the harbour; it congratulated His Excellency on the close of the Afghan war and the successful evacuation of Afghanistan; it represented the hardship and inconvenience to the mercantile community of the abolition of the daily postal service between Bombay and Karachi by the overland route, in favour of the present bi-weekly service by steamer, and it concluded by drawing His Excellency's attention to the works under construction for giving Karachi a plentiful supply of pure drinking-water. To this address Lord Ripon replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for the address which you have been good enough to present to me, and I am extremely glad to have this opportunity of meeting you and visiting the city and port of Karachi.

A glance at the map of India is sufficient to show to any one the importance of the situation of Karachi, lying as it does at the mouth of one of the great rivers of India, and opening direct communication between the sea and the whole of the vast districts which form the watershed of the Indus; and, therefore, when I found that the other arrangements of my autumn tour were likely to bring me to the western frontier of India, I was extremely anxious to avail myself of the opportunity (the earliest afforded me since I assumed the office of Viceroy of India) to visit your town; and I can assure you, gentlemen, that the various important questions connected with your local

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

prosperity and your commercial advantage, which you have brought under my notice in the address which you have just presented to me, shall receive my most careful consideration.

I am very well aware that not much, perhaps, can be learnt from so short a visit as that which it will be possible for me to pay to your town on this occasion; but at the same time, it will always be an advantage to me, in considering the various questions connected with Karachi, that I should have had this early opportunity of making myself personally acquainted with the situation of your town and with your local requirements on the spot, and of entering into personal communication with the representatives of this large and important community.

Gentlemen,—You will, I am confident, not expect me upon this occasion to enter into any detail with respect to the various questions you have raised in your address, as you are well aware that some of them involve the expenditure of very large sums of money, and you must know that it is not altogether dependent upon the Government of India to what extent money may be available at any particular period for such large undertakings. But I can assure you that, in regard to the interests of Karachi, as well as in regard to the interests of India generally, it will always be my endeavour, while I have the honour of holding the great office which I now fill, to do everything in my power, consistently with the financial interests of the country, to promote intercommunication, and to develop the resources of the country at large; and nothing, of course, can tend more directly to those great and desirable objects than anything which helps to improve and extend a port of so great importance as that which you possess in this place.

It is, gentlemen, on account of considerations of that kind that I accept with great pleasure the congratulations which you have been good enough to offer me upon the conclusion of the war in Afghanistan. The conclusion of

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

peace is, at any time, one of the greatest of earthly blessings, and it is of special advantage when it affords, as I trust it may afford in this case, enlarged facilities to the Government of a country for turning its attention to all that tends to develop the internal resources of the country and to promote the prosperity of the people, whether agricultural or commercial.

Gentlemen,—I have observed with much satisfaction in several of the addresses which have been presented to me of late by bodies like your own, how much appears to be being done in India at the present time for the improvement of the water-supply and for various other objects connected with the improvement of the sanitary condition of our large cities. I hold this to be a matter of very great importance. I rejoice to see that attention to such questions, which is so general now in England, is extending itself to India; and I feel that British rule in India can scarcely be marked by any more honourable monuments than those which tend, so much as sanitary improvements do tend, to promote the general welfare of the people at large.

Gentlemen,—I will not detain you longer, except to thank you very heartily for the kind expressions used towards myself in this address, and to say that my earnest endeavour during my administration of Indian affairs, in obedience to the commands which I have received from the Queen-Empress, will be to promote, so far as may be in my power, by God's assistance, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India (*applause*).

[The Viceroy, accompanied by the Commissioner and His Excellency's Staff, then drove to the residence of the Commissioner of Sind. The roads and the principal buildings *en route* were decorated with flags, and several handsome triumphal arches were erected.]

ADDRESS FROM THE KARACHI CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

[At one o'clock on the 23rd November, the Viceroy received a deputation from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, who presented him with an address of welcome. The address pointed out the great improvement effected in the harbour by Government expenditure, as shown by the extent to which it had lately been utilised for the importation of troops and stores for service in Afghanistan, and for railway material to the frontier. It recorded the deep sense of the Chamber's gratitude for the commercial advantages also derived, and urged the speedy construction of a bridge across the Indus at Sukkur,—representing that the saving effected would repay the outlay in a few years. It drew attention to the commercial advantages to be derived from the extension of the railway system towards Southern Afghanistan, the development of other systems in the Punjab, and to the desirability of a direct mail service between Karachi and Aden. The inadequacy of the postal service with Bombay, and the restoration of the overland service with that city, as also the abolition of the municipal duty on oils and seeds, were subjects on which His Excellency's favourable consideration was solicited, should they come before him. The address also drew attention to the inequitable incidence of the license tax, its distastefulness to the commercial classes, and urged the extension of the exemption from duty of all classes of grey goods when financial considerations would admit.]

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in meeting you upon this occasion, as the representatives of the mercantile community of Karachi; and I am glad to find that you have rightly interpreted the motive which induced me to make an effort to include a visit to Karachi in the arrangements for my autumn tour during this, the first year of my Viceroyalty. I did so because I was much impressed with the importance of this rising community, and because I was desirous of seeing the progress made, especially with the Harbour Works of this port; and, having visited those works very carefully this morning, and having had them very fully and ably explained to me by Mr. Price, I was glad to learn and to observe that considerable progress has

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

already been made in the improvement of the port, and that measures are still being taken, or are in contemplation, which, it is hoped, will produce yet further improvement. I have examined the plans which have been adopted and those which are in contemplation, with care, and I can assure you that any questions connected with this interesting subject will always receive the most careful consideration from me and my colleagues in the Government of India.

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to find that you have adopted what seems to me to be an excellent course in your address, and that, instead of simply presenting a few words of compliment to the Viceroy, you have taken this opportunity of bringing under my notice the various questions in which your important community is interested. That is a most judicious course for a body like a Chamber of Commerce to pursue, because it is really calculated to bear practical fruit and to bring before the notice of the Governor General and of his colleagues the wishes of a community like yours; and it is by such a course that you can best show the utility of such institutions as the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

You will hardly expect me, gentlemen, I am sure, upon this occasion, to reply in detail upon the various matters you have touched on in your address. They cover a very large field, and they open questions of very great importance, many of which, I need not tell you, have already engaged my attention; but I can assure you that I esteem it a great advantage to have learnt, as I have from your address, the views which the Chamber of Commerce and the Mercantile Community of Karachi entertain upon the various subjects to which you have alluded.

In conclusion, I can only say that I have derived great pleasure from my visit to Karachi, and that I shall carry away with me an agreeable recollection of all that I have seen this morning, and that any matters in which the

Laying the Foundation-stone of the Merewether Pier.

mercantile community of this town and port are interested will always have a claim upon my earnest and careful attention.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE
MEREWETHER PIER.

[ON Wednesday afternoon, the 24th November, the Viceroy laid 24th Nov. 1880. the foundation-stone of the Merewether Pier, at Keamari, in the presence of large numbers of the English and Native residents of Karachi who were conveyed to the Harbour by special train provided by the Harbour Board. Raised seats accommodated the spectators, and the place was tastefully decorated. His Excellency, accompanied by Mr. Eiskine, Sir R. Sandeman, and his personal Staff, drove to the Customs pier at 4 o'clock, and proceeded thence by trolley to Ke amari, where he was received by the members of the Harbour Board and Colonel Wallace, the President, who presented the address of the Board. After describing the services which the late Sir W. Merewether, Sir E. Frere, Sir R. Temple, Sir Andrew Clarke, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Price had rendered to the Harbour, the address stated that the present work was carried out by local funds on the model of similar works at Calcutta and Bombay, and would accommodate the largest steamers; but that several minor works, costing three or four lakhs more, were required for present equipment, for which local funds were inadequate. Statistics were given, showing a large increase in the trade of Karachi since 1844, and it was represented that the usefulness of the Harbour was cramped by the absence of the Sukkur bridge.

Lord Ripon replied as follows :—]

Colonel Wallace, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Gentlemen of the Harbour Board,—I beg to thank you very much for the address which you have just presented to me; and I assure you that I was very glad to find myself in a position to accept your invitation to lay the first stone of the Merewether Pier, both on account of the character and importance of the work itself, and also because I learnt that it was your desire to connect with it the name of that distinguished officer, whose untimely death I am confident that

Laying the Foundation-stone of the Merewether Pier.

every one in Karachi and in Sind deeply mourns. I am glad, gentlemen, to have had this opportunity of thus marking my respect for the memory of Sir William Merewether and my high appreciation of his public services. You, gentlemen, have explained the various difficulties which the erection of this pier has hitherto had to encounter. It is often the fortune of excellent works that they should commence under the auspices of difficulties; but I trust that the time has now arrived when this important work will speedily be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. No one can doubt that if it had been in existence during the last two years the Government of India would have derived much advantage from the facilities which it would have afforded for the landing of troops and stores in this port. I have learnt, gentlemen, from your address, with much satisfaction, that this work will be undertaken out of the resources of the port itself; because it seems to me of great importance that, so far as possible, local works should be undertaken out of local funds, and under local management. No doubt, in a country like India, it is necessary that appeals should be made to the Supreme Government for assistance in regard to large and important works of general utility; but I always rejoice when operations of this kind can be undertaken from the funds of the localities themselves, and under the control of the representatives of the local population—not only because by this means relief is afforded to the burdened finances of India, but also (and yet more) because it is thus that self-reliance is fostered, and opportunity afforded for the practical extension of self-government. I had, yesterday morning, the satisfaction of visiting, under the able guidance of Mr. Price, the port of this place, and of having explained to me the various works which have been already undertaken for the improvement of your harbour, and those which are still in contemplation and which are held to be required for its completion. My visit will thus enable me to bring to the consideration of

Dinner at the Byculla Club.

those questions, whenever they come before the Government of India, a certain amount of acquaintance with the localities concerned, and the great advantage of having conferred upon them with those who are best acquainted with your local requirements. The figures, gentlemen, which you have laid before me in your address afford a very gratifying proof of the progress of your trade; and although, no doubt, the great increase which took place last year was due, to a considerable extent, to exceptional circumstances which, so far as they relate to war, will not, I trust, be repeated—nevertheless, I hope that no material check will be placed upon the progress of your town and harbour; and I can heartily say that if this pier, of which I most readily consent now to lay the first stone, shall tend—as I have little doubt it will—to promote your prosperity, it will be to me a matter of the greatest satisfaction. (*Cheers.*)

[Lord Ripon then descended the steps to the place where the foundation-stone was held in position by pulleys, and with a silver trowel performed the ceremony of laying it. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a royal salute was fired, and, shortly after, the Viceroy with his Staff embarked on board the *Tenasserim*, for Bombay.]

DINNER AT THE BYCULLA CLUB.

[THE *Tenasserim* arrived in Bombay Harbour on Saturday morning, the 27th November. As the vessel dropped anchor, the Government ships manned yards and the Flag Ship *Euryalus* fired a salute of thirty-one guns. The *Tenasserim* was boarded by a deputation consisting of the Chief Secretary to Government, the Superintendent of Marine, and the Military Secretary to the Governor; and shortly afterwards, the Viceroy accompanied by Admiral Gore-Jones, was rowed to the steps of Apollo Bunder, where he was received by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, upon whom had devolved the duty of welcoming His Lordship, in company with the Hon. L. R. Ashburner, the Hon. E. W. Ravenscroft, Sir Michael Westropp, and the Bishop of Bombay. A large number of civil and military officials were also in attendance at the landing-place.] 27th Nov. 1886

Dinner at the Eyculla Club.

As the Viceroy stepped on shore, a second royal salute was fired by the Apollo Bunder Saluting Battery. The landing-place was crowded with spectators, who cheered the Viceroy as he started for Parell. All the available troops in garrison, including the Volunteers, were employed in lining the roads to Government House, where His Excellency was received by Sir James Ferguson. In the evening, the Viceroy was entertained at dinner by the members of the Eyculla Club. The chair was occupied by Sir Michael Westropp, who was supported right and left by the Viceroy, the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, the Hon. J. Gibbs, the Hon. L. R. Ashburner, the Hon. E. W. Ravenscroft, the Bishop of Bombay, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay, and most of the prominent military and civil officials in the city and district. In replying to the toast of his health, proposed by the Chairman, Lord Ripon, who, on rising, was received with loud and continued cheering, spoke as follows :—]

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, and Gentlemen,—I assure you that I am deeply grateful for the manner in which you have received the toast which has been proposed in such friendly terms by the Chief Justice of Bombay. You, sir, have truly said that I have somewhat of an hereditary interest in India. My grandfather was Governor of Madras, and my first recollections of life are connected with those stirring scenes which marked the Governor-Generalships of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Henry Hardinge, when my father was President of the Board of Control ; but I have been frequently reminded, on the short tour which I have lately made through the northern and north-western parts of India, of the many distinguished men who have proceeded from the presidency of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) Even before I came under the shadow of your administration, I was reminded, at Mooltan, that, of those two distinguished officers who are commemorated in that monument in the fort in Mooltan, in stirring and inspiring language by Sir Herbert Edwardes, one—Lieutenant Anderson—was a member of the Bombay Army. (*Cheers.*) And then when I entered Sind, you will easily believe how the recollection of Bombay officers, civil and military, filled my mind. At Jacobabad,

Dinner at the Byculla Club.

the modest tomb of General Jacob recalled to my memory the eminent services of one who was a great master and ruler of men, who knew how to control wild tribes, and to spread cultivation and agriculture in the districts with which he had to deal. (*Cheers.*) And as I came down the Indus, I passed, if not in actual sight with my eyes, at least in full view with my recollection, that residency of Hydrabad where Sir James Outram won not the least of those marked distinctions which characterised the famous life of one who carried high the reputation of the Bombay Army, not only in India, but throughout the entire East. (*Cheers.*) At length I came to Karachi, where I was called upon to lay the first stone of a pier which is to be known by the name of one whose untimely death and sudden removal from amongst us was a cause of regret to every one who knew the services which Sir William Merewether has rendered to his country. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I cannot forget that the first occasion upon which I had the honour to make the acquaintance of Sir Bartle Frere was when he retired from the position of Commissioner of Sind, to be honoured by all people in England who knew his career, up to that time (*loud cheers*);—that career, which has since been rendered more distinguished by his services as Governor of Bombay—(*cheers*)—services which are not unworthy to be recorded upon that roll upon which are inscribed the honoured names of Mountstuart Elphinstone and George Clerk, and which recalls the calm firmness of Lord Elphinstone in the hour of danger (*cheers*); the administrative ability of Sir Philip Wodehouse, and the indomitable energy of Sir Richard Temple. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

Gentlemen,—These memories refer to the past, although some of them recall a past which is still recent; but I believe that those high qualities which have marked the civil and military services of Bombay in days gone by, mark them still in the present, and will mark them yet in the future. (*Cheers.*)

Dinner at the Byculla Club.

I am confident that, in the hour of danger and in the time of need, Her Majesty's Government may never fear to call upon the able and zealous services of the Government of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I would say to you (especially to the younger members of your distinguished services), set before you the example of the men to whom I have alluded; act in their spirit—in no slavish imitation of their individual opinions, but in that noble spirit which has won for them in the past the admiration and the gratitude of their country. I am sure, if you act in that spirit, and apply it to the changed circumstances of altered times, the military and civil services of Bombay will receive, and will deserve from their country, the same acknowledgment in the future that they have obtained in the past. (*Cheers.*) I cannot forget that I owe to the Presidency of Bombay, and especially, if I mistake not, to the Byculla Club, a peculiar debt of gratitude, because you have given me, in one of your ex-presidents, a colleague whose assistance I greatly value (*cheers*); and I can most heartily thank you for the great and marked advantages which I have derived from the wide experience, the judicial temper, and the administrative knowledge of my friend Mr. Gibbs. (*Loud cheers.*)

Gentlemen,—This review of the past services of Bombay to India and to England, and the confidence which I entertain that Bombay will render yet more important services in the future, makes it natural that I should rejoice to find myself, within six months of my first advent to India, once more amongst you. But, gentlemen, I like to be frank, and I am bound to say that, great as is my respect and regard for this presidency, it is not simply for the purpose of visiting Bombay that I have come here now. (*Laughter.*) I frankly admit that I have been led here by gentler influences—(*laughter and cheers*)—and it is in the hope that, please God, I may next week welcome my wife to India that I came here. (*Cheers and laughter.*) I don't

Dinner at the Byculla Club.

presidency of Bombay, and may rest assured that the confidence which I feel in the loyalty of the inhabitants—European and Native—of every part of this presidency, and in the zealous and public-spirited assistance of the civil and military services in Bombay, will never be falsified. (*Cheers.*) Therefore, gentlemen, it is with great satisfaction that I have met you upon this occasion, and that I return to you my hearty thanks for the reception which you have given me ; and assure you that all which concerns your interests, of whatever kind or description, will always receive from me, and, I am confident, from my colleagues in the Government of India, the most careful and impartial consideration.

[His Excellency resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged cheering. The health of the Governor of Bombay was then proposed and responded to, and was followed by the toasts of "The Army, Navy and Volunteers," and "The Bench and the Bar." His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied on behalf of the Army, and in doing so referred to the Maiwand disaster as an event which, though it cost a great many valuable lives, yet attained the end which was desired, namely, that of stopping Ayub Khan's advance. The event had been subjected to many adverse remarks ; but he could assure his hearers that, speaking simply as Commander-in Chief of the Bombay Army, he had not in any way lost confidence in the Bombay Sepoys, and he trusted he might yet have the opportunity, which hitherto had been denied him, of leading them against an enemy. Lord Ripon, in proposing the toast of the Byculla Club, spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am the last man in the world who would desire for a moment to depart from official routine ; but I find there is one omission from this toast list, which the natural modesty of the Byculla Club failed to supply, and that is the toast of the club itself. In recognition of its splendid hospitality on this occasion—(*cheers*)—permit me to go beyond that list, and add at least one toast. I am sure that, while we all desire that the Byculla Club should prosper and flourish, we do so the more because we have

Address from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Excellency, accompanied by the Rev. Father Kerr, walked from Parell to the Convent where he was received by the Right Rev. Bishop Meurin, the Rev. Fathers of the convent, the Deputation, and a large number of the Roman Catholic community, and conducted up-stairs to the principal school-room, which was prettily decorated and hung with suitable mottoes, and where the young ladies and children of the convent were assembled. After a selection on the piano, and a glee, one of the young ladies advanced to the centre of the room, and, addressing His Excellency, read in a clear, unflinching voice, the following address :—

“May it please Your Excellency,—We, the happy children of the Convent, Parell, cannot express in fitting terms the gratitude with which we receive this unexpected proof of the kind interest Your Excellency deigns to take in our welfare. The intense satisfaction we feel in being honoured by a visit from our gracious Ruler is, however, damped by the consciousness of our inability—with so short a notice, too—to make known, by a becoming display, our deep sense of so great an act of condescension. Yet we rejoice in the presence among us, in these circumstances, of one whose benevolence of disposition and rare merit have gained for him so wide a celebrity. We cannot but hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to accept our protestations of loyal homage, as well as hearty appreciation of the precious favour which has made this auspicious occasion an epoch in or childhood’s days upon which we will ever look back with happiness and delight. We would also add the assurance of our continued daily and earnest supplications that the best blessings of heaven may ever remain with one so honoured and esteemed, while we beg leave to present once again the sincere and heartfelt expression of the sentiments of respect and gratitude and loyalty entertained towards Your Excellency by us,

THE BOARDERS OF THE CONVENT CHILDREN OF PARELL.”
Lord Ripon replied as follows:—]

I am very much obliged to you for your address, and I can assure you that there could be to me no pleasanter sight than that of seeing your smiling faces, and no greater pleasure than that of listening to your merry, happy voices. It is to me far more agreeable than any other entertainment you could have offered to me ; and I can only say that I hope this institution may continue to flourish, and that you, my dear children, who are here now, will use to the utmost the great advantages you possess in an institution of this kind

Address from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

not only by cultivating the intellectual gifts which God has given to you, but by remembering that you must use them for His service, and for the benefit of those around you, and that you can only hope to do so by God's grace and by carefully following the precepts of His religion.

[The Viceroy, accompanied by the Bishop and the assembly, then proceeded to the Chapel, where a holy benediction was performed, after which His Excellency received the Deputation. Their address referred with pride and satisfaction to His Excellency's presence amongst them, reviewed in some detail the work of the Society since its foundation in India by Bishop Meurin, explained the various good works with which it is associated, and concluded by warmly thanking His Excellency for sanctioning by his presence the labours and objects of the institution. His Excellency, in reply, spoke as follows:—]

My Lord, and Brethren of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.—It gives me, I assure you, great pleasure to meet you on this occasion. It has been one cause of regret to me, which has resulted from the office with which I have recently been entrusted, that the circumstances of my position as Viceroy of India render it impossible for me any longer to continue an active member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. I do not mean, when I say that, for a moment to imply that there is any position, however high, or any office, however laborious, which is inconsistent with the position of a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. (*Cheers.*) The history of the Society shows us that some of its most active and earnest members in various countries of the world have been very busy men and yet that they have found opportunities to steal, from their very scanty leisure, the means of devoting many an hour to the service of God and the assistance of His poor. But there are circumstances connected with the position of Governor General of India which would render the duties of an active member of the Society, as you will understand, impossible.

Brethren,—I was first led to join the Society of St. Vincent de Paul from a perusal of your rules, which seemed to me

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Address from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

to present a singular combination of sincere piety, of wise charity, and of most loving consideration for the poor. It was that spirit of true piety, combined with a knowledge of the world, and especially of the poor as they really are, which led me to see the great importance of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to the suffering populations among which it may be established in any part of the world. But Brethren, as you know very well, this Society is not to be regarded as a mere philanthropical institution. If we were to look at it in that respect, we should lose what is most valuable of the spirit of those devoted men who founded the Society, and yet more of the spirit of that great Saint whose name we have taken, and under whose protection we range ourselves. It is not only a Society for the purpose of giving a certain number of rupees, or of sovereigns, or of francs, to the poor of any country: it is a Society for the purpose of binding men together, and of bringing to the homes of the poor that which is more valuable than money—a deep, earnest, loving Christian sympathy. (*Loud cheers.*) But, Brethren, we are bound to say that it is not only for the sake of the poor that we do this; it is for our own sakes also. We have many a lesson to learn from those poor who are the dear children of our Lord; we can derive, from the assistance rendered to them in a true spirit of Christian love, many spiritual advantages for ourselves; and it is in that spirit, and with those objects, that this Society was founded.

Brethren,—I have listened with very great interest to the statement which you have been kind enough to make to me this evening, of the nature of the work in which you are engaged here in Bombay; and I am very glad indeed to find how large and extended is the sphere of your usefulness, and how strong you are in numbers; and, my Lord, perhaps you will permit me to say that I cannot but think that it will be remembered among one of the foremost of the many benefits which you have conferred, not on the

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Catholic community of Bombay alone, but on the general public of this great Presidency, that you have founded here, on the soil of India, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, (*Cheers.*) I am happy to say that I have the pleasure of the acquaintance of Mr. Dallas, who, I am glad to hear, was your first President, and that I know well—having often met him at meetings of the Society—how zealously he is still working, in spite of indifferent health (*loud cheers*), in the cause of the faith and of the poor. (*Continued cheers.*)

Brethren,—It seems almost superfluous to suggest even any additional work for you to undertake, when you have put before me so long and honourable a roll of labours in which you are already engaged; but, nevertheless, I cannot let this opportunity slip—the first which I have had since I came to India of addressing my Brethren of this Society—without drawing your attention to one other work which has been recently developing itself in England, and which has been long established in France, and is called the work of Patronage. There is nothing about it, Brethren, I need not tell you, of patronage in the offensive sense of the word: It is used, not in the sense ordinarily implied by the word in English, but in the sense of the word *patronage* in French; and the object of that work is to take care of young boys who are just leaving school and entering upon life—mostly young boys who have just made their First Communion, and who are going forth to meet all the trials and temptations—the fiery trials and terrible temptations—which beset them in these days. The object is that boys of this description should be brought under the notice of the various Conferences, and that some of the members of each of the Conferences should undertake to look after them for a certain time. The Patronage Committee in London endeavours to find situations for them with respectable employers or respectable firms; not content with doing that, it delegates some of its members to visit them from time to time;

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while in France, where funds are more easily procurable for the Society, they have in many parts (especially in Paris) erected very large and beautiful establishments in which these youths are gathered together on Sundays and on holidays, and in which they have their innocent amusements, and are able to partake of the consolations of religion. I do not know how far a work of that kind might be possible under the conditions of the Society in India; you, of course, can judge of that far better than I can; but I have felt in England a very deep interest in work of this kind. It is progressing slowly, as most important things do; it is growing up from small beginnings, in the same manner as your Society (as mentioned in your address) grew up from eight young men in Paris to its present large dimensions in France; it is, I say, progressing slowly but satisfactorily in England, and I shall be very glad if the few words I have said this evening induce you to consider the possibility of making an attempt in the same direction in India. Of course, you must exercise your judgment and discretion in determining whether the circumstances of this country afford an opening for anything of the kind. (*Cheers.*)

Brethren,—I will say no more on this occasion, except to assure you how deeply grateful I am for the kindness with which you have addressed me this evening; how heartily I thank you for assembling in such numbers on this occasion—I am afraid, at some inconvenience to yourselves, at such a distance from the city;—that I shall always feel the deepest interest in this Society; and that it will be to me a source of great pleasure, as also of great advantage, when I am able once more to resume my position in the honourable and noble work of an active member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

[Bishop Meurin then addressed the assembly, thanking His Excellency heartily for his suggestion regarding the work of Patronage, and appointing a special committee from among the assembly to put His Excellency's suggestion at once into action. After some further

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

remarks by His Lordship, on the excellence of the work being done by the Society in Bombay, the proceedings which lasted till after dark, were brought to a close with prayer. In the Convent grounds below, the children had prepared some excellent tableaux, which were illuminated by limelights as the Viceroy and assembly passed through.]

ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

[ON Monday afternoon, the 29th November, the Viceroy held a *levée* 29th Nov. 1880. which was very numerously attended, at the new Secretariat. At the close of the *levée*, His Excellency received a large and influential deputation from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, who waited on his Lordship to present an address. The address, which was a very long one and touched upon most of the questions in which the Chamber is interested; was chiefly devoted to the subject of railway communication; it pointed out in forcible language the grievous error committed, in the opinion of the Chamber, in constructing any portion of the Great Trunk Line between Bombay and Delhi on the narrow gauge; it urged the resumption of useful public works, and the construction of certain lines of railway which the Chamber believed would be of immense value in developing the resources of the Presidency, and strongly objected on grounds which were explained, to any State subsidy or aid being given to the Marmagoa railway; it directed the Viceroy's attention to the Bill in respect of Petroleum and other inflammable oils, and to the Factories Bill regarding which it was urged that certain recommendations which had been made by the Chamber with a view to modifying the powers proposed to be conferred by those Bills, should be considered before they were passed into law. A reduction was also asked for in the present rates for inland telegrams, and a recommendation was made that the Government should encourage the introduction of telephonic communication into the city of Bombay, by private enterprise.

To this address His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am much obliged to you for the address which you have presented to me, and for the kind and flattering terms of your reference to myself; and can assure you

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

that I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of the mercantile community of Bombay. I appreciate very highly the enterprise of that community, and beg to assure you that I set a very high value on the maintenance and extension of all that concerns your interests. I am very glad, gentlemen, that you have, in this address, entered so fully into your views and opinions on the various important questions so closely affecting the interests of your community. It is a great advantage to the Government of India that they should have, from time to time, an opportunity of learning the views of the mercantile community of the great cities of this Empire; and I rejoice, therefore, that you have set forth, in the manner you have done, the views and the opinions which you entertain on many points of great importance and interest at the present moment.

Gentlemen,—You will not, I am sure, now expect me to enter into any detailed answer to the questions which are raised in your address. You are well aware that many of them are questions of great magnitude, and, just because they are so large and so important, they require the most careful consideration at the hands of the Government of India, and not of the Viceroy alone. The individual opinion of the Viceroy is not in itself sufficient to dispose of them. The very large questions of railway policy which are raised in your address require to be considered, and ultimately decided by the Government at home. For myself, I do not think that I shall be going beyond that discretion which every one in my position is bound carefully to maintain, if I say that, in the case of trunk lines, I approve of the principle that a break of gauge should be avoided; for I think it very desirable in the interests of trade that through communication should not be interrupted by the necessity of transshipping goods in transit. But at the same time you will, of course, clearly understand that it is a very

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

different thing to decide a question in the first instance and to be called upon to reverse a policy already determined upon, and to a great extent carried into execution. All I can say is, that the question shall receive my consideration and that of my colleagues, and the member of my Council who has been specially deputed to investigate it. When I remind you that the member of Council so deputed is our friend Mr. Gibbs, I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that the interests of Bombay are not in dangerous hands. I am not an enemy of the narrow-gauge system, nor do I believe are you, under proper conditions; and I should be sorry if any expression of mine led persons to entertain the idea that that was my view; but I do feel strongly that uniformity of gauge on main lines is a matter of great importance. As regards the particular lines to which you have alluded, I can only add that some of them have already—indeed, all of them have more or less—received the consideration of the Government of India; and that it will be a great advantage, in dealing with the questions connected with them, to know your views; and, from the friendly assurances contained in your address, I am sure you will be very glad to afford the Government any assistance in your power with a view to their elucidation.

With respect to the question which relates to the Bill for the purpose of restricting the trade in petroleum, and which you have raised in your address, I wish to say that I have been all my life a free-trader. I have a very lively belief in free-trade; but, at the same time, you are well aware that in England, where free-trade principles are so firmly established, a Bill has been passed (and a very stringent Bill) regulating the trade in petroleum, on account of its explosive and dangerous character; and it seems only natural we should endeavour to work somewhat on the lines of English legislation. But I can only say for myself—and I am quite sure I speak the sentiments of my colleagues—

Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

that we shall be glad to receive and consider such observations as a body so well qualified to deal with this subject as the Bombay Chamber of Commerce may desire to offer.

As regards the Factory Act, that again is a question of great importance, and, I do not deny, of considerable difficulty. But I have lived in England for many years in the immediate neighbourhood of manufacturing towns, and although I know the objections which were raised to factory legislation when first introduced in that country, I have also seen the many advantages which have followed from it. It will be my desire that any legislation which may ultimately be adopted by the Government of India should be calculated to reconcile, to the utmost, the interests of the employers and the employed.

You have spoken, gentlemen, of the question of telephonic communication. With regard to that, I may say that the subject is still, to a certain extent, under the consideration of the Government of India, who will give every possible weight to the suggestions which you have made. I myself, in accordance with the principles to which you have just alluded, am generally in favour of entrusting matters which can be carried out by private enterprise to that enterprise: but when you do set up a monopoly, as the telegraphic communication is in India and at home now, it is necessary for you to carefully guard that monopoly, and not to allow the rights of the State to be at all infringed. The Government here and the Government at home have not found it altogether easy to deal with this matter. It is one of the utmost importance, and I will only say this,—and I say it without any hesitation,—that, whatever may be the ultimate decision of the Government of India, I feel entirely that the public have a right to say that if the Government take the duty upon themselves, they are bound to see that the wants and requirements of the public are amply supplied. But the matter has not yet finally been determined in all its

Dinner to the 66th Regiment

details, and we have at this moment a proposition before us which we have only just received, and have not yet had time fully to consider.

Gentlemen,—I need not detain you longer, except to assure you that, so long as I have the honour to hold the great office which has been entrusted to me, it will always be my duty and my pleasure to encourage and advance, by any means in my power, the interests of commerce and industry in India. I am perfectly convinced that it is by encouraging the industrial and commercial enterprise of this country you can best secure for India that progressive development which I myself heartily wish for it.

DINNER TO THE 66TH REGIMENT.

[AFTER the Viceroy had received the Deputation from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, His Excellency proceeded to the parade-ground close by, where he reviewed the troops in garrison and the volunteers, numbering in all about 1,500 men. Subsequently, the non-commissioned officers and men of the 66th Regiment, which suffered so severely at Maiwand, were entertained at dinner by the members of the Bombay Government. About 400 men sat down; and during dinner, Lord Ripon, accompanied by Sir James Fergusson and General Warre, entered the dining-tent. Lord Ripon having expressed a wish to address a few words to the men, a deep silence ensued, when His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Non-commissioned officers and men of the 66th Regiment,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of associating myself with the welcome which is given to you upon this occasion by the members of the Government of Bombay. That great feat of arms which was performed by your gallant comrades, who died to the last man in defence of the standard of their Queen-Empress, has been already acknowledged, as you are probably aware, in glowing terms by the Commander-in-Chief for India, Sir Frederick Haines, whose words have been cordially endorsed by

Distribution of Prizes at St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

the Government of India. (*Hear, hear.*) That feat will live in the memory of Englishmen—aye, and in the memory of the world—so long as great deeds and noble self-sacrifice have their value among men. But, 66th, you must remember that to have been the comrades of those who died so gallantly throws a great responsibility upon this regiment, because you have to maintain, each and all of you, in your future history, the fame which has been won for you by those who have died for their country. (*Loud cheers.*) I will not detain you longer, except to say how heartily I wish you God-speed, and how firm is my confidence that throughout the world, if you are called upon you will know how to defend those colours which will soon be afresh entrusted to you by your Queen.

[Three cheers were then called for the Viceroy, and heartily responded to, and three cheers were called for the Queen. Colonel Hogge, Commanding the Regiment, thanked the Viceroy for the kind words he had uttered, remarking that if upon any future occasion the 66th should be called upon, they would fight equally as well, but, he hoped, with a better result. Colonel Hogge then called for three cheers for the Commander-in-Chief, which were heartily given, and one of the men called for three cheers for General Burrows, which were also enthusiastically given.]

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT ST. XAVIER'S
COLLEGE, BOMBAY.

30th Nov. 1880. [THE Viceroy having consented to preside at the distribution of prizes to the students of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, drove, with Lady Fergusson, to the college building at half-past four on Tuesday afternoon, the 30th November. His Excellency was received at the college door by the Right Rev. Father Meurin, Vicar Apostolic, the Rector, and other gentlemen of the college management, and conducted to the hall upstairs, which was tastefully decorated with flags and mottoes. The hall was filled to overflowing, every available seat being occupied, principally by the parents of the boys and the friends of the institution. After an overture by the band, a prologue was recited by one of the boys, containing complimentary references to His

Distribution of Prizes at St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Excellency. A tableau from the "Merchant of Venice" followed, after which the annual report was read, and showed the institution to be in a flourishing condition. The distribution of prizes was then proceeded with, and at its conclusion Lord Ripon addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Your Lordship, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had very great pleasure in accepting the invitation which was sent to me a few weeks ago, to be present upon this occasion and to take part in the distribution of these prizes, because I was already aware that this college was, by common consent, numbered among the best educational institutions of the city of Bombay (*applause*); and I expected, therefore, to derive no little gratification from being here upon this occasion and becoming personally acquainted with the managers and students of this institution. And certainly the report which was read to us just now, couched in such modest and unassuming terms, has proved—not by large words, but by the hard facts of educational statistics—the success of the education which is given here. (*Applause.*) I am quite sure that all the friends of this college will have heard with great satisfaction the proof which that report contained of how well able the students of St. Francis Xavier's College are to hold their own in the race of life. But, ladies and gentlemen, I confess that the scene which we have witnessed this evening has had for me a larger share of attraction than I anticipated, and has raised thoughts in my mind more far-reaching than those which I expected to meet here. For surely there is something very remarkable in the fact that we should—in this hall, in the midst of this great Oriental city, and before such a company as this, containing the most distinguished inhabitants of Bombay, of all races and all creeds—have had a *tableau* presented on that little stage with such marked ability from one of the great plays of Shakespeare. I wonder what would have been the feelings of Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers, in Shakespeare's days, had they known that in less than three short centuries his play would become famous

Distribution of Prizes at St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

in India. But what are three centuries in the life of a country like India, one of the most ancient countries in the world? And surely we may see, in the honour thus accorded to the first of English poets, a happy augury of that union which, year by year, is becoming closer and stronger between the civilization of the West and of the East. I myself look upon it as a circumstance of happy augury for the future of India when I see so many of our Indian population assembled on this occasion to listen, I doubt not, with much appreciation, to the words of the greatest English poet.

Ladies and gentlemen,—It is not for me to occupy your time with any eulogy of St. Francis Xavier's College. Of course, I can only judge of it first by what I have heard on all sides and from many lips, and then from all that I have seen to-night with so much pleasure. You know—you who have assembled here in such large numbers, who place confidence in those who manage it, and send your children to it—you know far better than I do the benefits which it is calculated to confer. More I cannot do than to offer to you, my Lord, and to the managers and students of this college, my hearty congratulations upon the flourishing condition in which you find yourselves now. (*Applause.*) But before I sit down I should like to say one or two words to those who are students in this college, that I may exhort them to avail themselves to the utmost of the great advantages here presented to them. My young friends, we live in days in which education has become almost a necessary of life in all ranks and all classes, and those who have not mental development will inevitably fall behind in the race of that keen competition to which all must be subjected in these days. But if I exhort you to use the advantages you now possess to the utmost, I do not desire to put before you any low or sordid motive. It will be greatly to your interest in after life that you should use them well;

Distribution of Prizes at St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

but I can tell you that, should you endeavour to acquire knowledge for any reason other than her own true worth, she will not reveal her secrets to you. Knowledge is a fair and noble dame, but she is proud, and cannot be won by those who do not woo her for herself. (*Cheers.*) Let me, then, earnestly exhort you to seek for knowledge for her own sake, and to go on step by step and stage by stage, through the classes and forms of this institution, advancing day by day, in order that in after-life you may use the advantages offered here to a good and praiseworthy end. The poet tells us that

“A little knowledge is a dangerous thing ;
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring.”

There is much truth in these lines, but they always seem to me to contain a half truth. A little knowledge is no dangerous thing provided you know that it is little. It is a dangerous thing if it makes you proud and conceited, if you use it to flourish in the face of those more ignorant than yourselves, and if you seek to make use of what you know in order that you may obtain a little temporary praise. The true student is ever modest, and of a reverent spirit. Let such a spirit be yours, and let me beg you now—you who have so many advantages—to use them for the development and cultivation of those intellectual faculties which are the inheritance and possession of all races alike. Let me ask you to use them well for your intellectual development: and not for that alone. Let me entreat you to lay firm and deep the foundation of that character by which you are to be hereafter distinguished, and which will form a solid basis to those moral qualifications which alone conduce to true happiness and will win for you the respect and affection of your fellow-men. (*Loud applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

3rd Dec. 1880. [THE Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff and the Governor of Bombay, left Bombay by special train at 1 P. M. on the 2nd December, for a brief visit to Poona. His Excellency was received on his arrival at the Kirkee Railway Station by the Civil and Military authorities at Poona, and drove at once to Gunesh Khind, the occasional summer residence of the Governor of Bombay. The platform at the railway station was crowded with spectators, and large numbers of natives were assembled in the neighbourhood of it. At half-past 10 in the morning of the 3rd, the Viceroy received an address of welcome at Gunesh Khind from a deputation of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, consisting of sirdars, landholders and other representatives of the people of the Deccan. The address referred with satisfaction to the views expressed in recent speeches by the Viceroy on education, and to his declaration of policy, at the Lahore Durbar—especially to his assurance that, in his administration of Indian affairs, he would apply the principles which had guided Lord Lawrence's government. His Excellency's remarks on municipal institutions and municipal self-government were also reviewed and heartily concurred in, as indicating an effectual means of advancing the welfare and prosperity of the people. The address concluded by thanking his Excellency for restricting the too rigorous operation of the Arms Act, which it was hoped would, in course of time, be altogether repealed.]

Lord Ripon replied as follows:—]

I beg to thank you for the address you have presented to me. I can assure you it has been a great satisfaction to me to have been able, under the auspices of the Governor of this presidency, to visit Poona, and make myself acquainted—slight as the acquaintance must necessarily be—with the interests of this city and district. I am glad to find, gentlemen, from your address, that various remarks which I have made since I came to India have commended themselves to your approval. The time at my disposal is too short to allow of my entering into any lengthened reply to the several matters touched upon in your address; but there are one or two points upon which I should like to say a few words. I was very glad indeed to observe that, in speaking

Address from the Poona Sarvajanit Sabha.

of higher education, you are, in the first place, entirely alive to the great importance of the spread of education throughout the country; and I would say that I trust that it may not be higher education alone which will be spread more and more in India, but that we may in future have more done than has been done in the past for the education of the masses of the people. It gave me great pleasure to hear the terms in which you referred to the despatch of 1854 in your address. I have always looked upon that despatch as the charter of Indian education; and, gentlemen, it is upon the lines of that despatch that I should desire to found my educational policy in this country, at the same time having regard to the changed circumstances of the advancing times in which we live.

Gentlemen,—You have also alluded to some remarks which I made at the durbar at Lahore, in addressing the native princes who were present on that occasion. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that the policy of the Queen-Empress and her Government is founded firmly and unchangeably upon the principles laid down in the proclamation of Lord Canning, and which were embodied in the *sanads* that he granted. We fully recognise that it is a great advantage, not only to the Chiefs themselves, but to the British Government, that there should be Native States in India; but at the same time, gentlemen, that era of peace which English rule has established throughout this country, under the government of the Paramount Power, of itself renders it necessary that we should, from time to time, remind those who dwell under its shadow that they are bound to show that the administration of their States is good.

Gentlemen,—I will not enter into the further points which you have raised. I do not think that the Viceroy of India ought to be given to much speaking, and, certainly, I for one would much prefer that when my term of office comes to an end, the people of India should be able to say, "Well,

Address from the Poona Municipality.

he has on the whole been better than his word," than that they should say, "He has used large-sounding and big phrases, but has done nothing to give them a tangible shape." (*Hear, hear.*) It seems to me, what India wants at the present moment is peace and rest, that she may devote herself to the advancement and progress of agriculture and commerce. Of course, in such a country as India, it is necessary that the Government should take a considerable part in the development of its resources; but I hope and trust that the people of India will more and more show that they can help themselves in these matters, and then, with the co-operation and help of Government, you may hope thoroughly to develop the resources of this great Empire.

ADDRESS FROM THE POONA MUNICIPALITY.

3rd Dec. 1880. [AFTER receiving the deputation from the Sarvajanic Sabha, His Excellency, accompanied by Sir James Fergusson, drove in procession through the Native city, the streets of which were decorated with triumphal arches, flags, festoons of flowers and evergreens, and thronged with people. At the Boodhwar Palace, where a large number of natives were assembled, who cheered heartily as the procession approached, a deputation of the Poona Municipality presented Lord Ripon with an address of welcome, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Members of the Municipal Committee of Poona.—It is a great pleasure to me to have been able on this occasion to visit this ancient city, around which cluster so many historical associations well known to the student of Indian history; and to have had this opportunity afforded me, by your address, of tendering to you my warm thanks for the reception which you have accorded to me. I am well aware that that reception is due to the fact that I occupy the great position of the representative of your Queen-Empress

Address from the Corporation of Calcutta.

in India. I doubt not you are well aware how deep is the interest which Her Majesty takes in all that concerns the welfare and advancement of her Indian subjects. Her Majesty, from time to time, does me the honour of addressing to me a few words, and I can truly say that there is scarcely an occasion which, in those letters, there is not contained some message to her people in India,—messages always expressive of the deep personal interest with which she ever regards the inhabitants of this great jewel of the English crown. I am very glad to have been able to come here to-day, because, although my visit is necessarily brief, yet it is probable that I shall not have another opportunity, while I am in India, of visiting the Deccan, and I am greatly obliged to your Governor, Sir James Fergusson, for having afforded me the means of meeting you upon this occasion. Gentlemen, I have passed of late through many parts of India, and I have received at the hands of various races, creeds, and populations, much kindness, and always a cordial welcome. For the welcome you have given to me I beg to tender my heartfelt thanks, and to assure you that I shall ever retain a lively recollection of your kindness, and a deep interest in your prosperity.

[The Viceroy's speech was received with loud cheering, which was followed by three more cheers for His Excellency, called for by Sir James Fergusson. Cheers were then given for the Governor, after which the Viceroy drove to the railway station and left for Bombay, which was reached in the evening.]

ADDRESS FROM THE CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA.

[AT 3 P.M. on the 8th of February, a large and influential deputation consisting of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and the members of the Corporation of Calcutta, waited on the Viceroy at Government House, to present him with an address. The address, which was read by Mr. Souttar, the Chairman, was one of welcome to Lord and Lady

Address from the Corporation of Calcutta.

Ripon, and of congratulation on His Excellency's restoration to health, and did not touch on political questions.

In replying to it, Lord Ripon spoke as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity of meeting you, the Corporation of Calcutta; and I thank you most sincerely for the address which you have just presented to me, and for the kind welcome which you accord to me in that address, for which I thank you all the more because you have been good enough to include in it my wife, Lady Ripon. I am also deeply touched by the sympathy which you express towards me in connexion with the recent illness with which I have been visited. I am glad to say that it has pleased God to raise me from that illness, and to restore me once more to health and strength; and I can assure you that the kind sympathy which has been expressed towards me under that trial—not by you only, gentlemen, but I may say, I think, throughout India and by men of all classes, opinions, and creeds—will tend greatly to stimulate me to discharge to the utmost of my ability, and to the full extent of my energies, the great responsibilities which have been entrusted to me by my Sovereign.

Gentlemen.—I rejoice to observe, though I was not surprised to hear, the heartfelt sentiments of loyalty to Her Majesty, contained in the address which has just been read. I say I am not surprised to have observed those expressions, because, naturally, you are well aware of the deep interest which the Queen-Empress takes in everything which concerns the welfare of Her Indian subjects; and I can assure you that Her Majesty has always inculcated upon Her Ministers the duty of treating Her subjects in India with the same equal justice, the same consideration, and the same regard for their interests, with which they treat the Englishmen who dwell most near to Her throne: and it is in that spirit, gentlemen, I shall endeavour to administer, with the co-operation of my colleagues, the

Address from the British Indian Association.

affairs of this great country, so long as they may be entrusted to my hands.

I am, gentlemen, much gratified by the expression of confidence in myself which you have been pleased to include in your address. I value it very much as coming from such a body as yours, and, although throughout my Viceroyalty I shall feel bound to follow the dictates of duty without regard to any desire to obtain the favour of this, or that, class of the community, yet I can truly say that shall I regard it as a fortunate circumstance if, when my administration of Indian affairs closes, you are able to inform me that I still possess your confidence.

Gentlemen,—I watch with the greatest interest the progress of municipal institutions in this country, and especially in the case of a Corporation like this, which is possessed in part of a representative character.

I do not think that I need detain you longer now, except once more to tell you that I am deeply grateful for the kind and graceful words which you have been good enough to address to me, and to assure you in all sincerity that I shall ever have deeply at heart the interest of your famous City.

ADDRESS FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

[A numerous deputation of the British Indian Association waited 15th Feb. 1861, upon the Viceroy at 3 P.M. on Tuesday afternoon, the 15th February, at Government House, to present him with an address of welcome. Lord Ripon received the deputation in the Throne Room, and was attended by Mr. H. W. Primrose, Private Secretary, Major White, Military Secretary, Lord William Beresford, and other members of his Staff. The address—which was read by Maharajah Narendra Krishna, President of the Association, who prefaced it with a few congratulatory remarks on the Viceroy's recovery—referred to Lord Ripon's assumption of the Viceroyalty at Simla, expressed satisfaction at the assurance that England would bear a portion of the expenses of

Address from the British Indian Association.

the Afghan War, and that due consideration would be given by Lord Ripon to the Vernacular Press and Arms Acts, and to questions relating to taxation, and concluded by drawing His Excellency's attention to the question of land Law reform in Bengal.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to see you upon this occasion, and to receive you as the representatives of a body so well entitled as the British Indian Association is, to receive every consideration at my hands, and composed of gentlemen who, by their position and talents, have a just claim to be listened to in any representations which they may make.

I can assure you that it was a source of great and sincere regret to me not to be able to enter upon the post of Governor General of India in the city of Calcutta, in accordance with, I believe, the unbroken precedents of those who have preceded me in that great office; but I rejoice to find that you frankly recognise that that change of proceeding was the result of circumstances beyond my own control. I should have been very proud to have taken up my office in the Council Chamber of this house, full as it is of the memories of such men as Lord William Bentinck, Lord Metcalfe, Lord Canning, and Lord Lawrence.

Gentlemen,—I thank you very heartily for the kind and friendly expressions contained in your address, which have been heightened by the remarks made in introducing the deputation to me just now; and I can assure you that those expressions will strengthen and encourage me in the discharge of the arduous duties of my present office. I rejoice with you at the prospects of returning peace which lie before us, and which will make it the duty of the Government of India to endeavour fully to realise those economies which are only possible in peaceful times; and I can assure you that it will be my earnest endeavour to carry out every just and reasonable retrenchment which it may be in the power of the Government to effect.

Address from the Mahomedan Literary Society.

Gentlemen, the principles by which I hope to be guided in my administration of Indian affairs have been stated by me upon more than one public occasion, and they are already, I imagine, known to you; indeed, you have mentioned the circumstance in your address, and it is therefore not necessary that I should, upon this occasion, repeat them. It is sufficient that I should say that to those declarations it is my intention steadily to adhere.

I am confident, gentlemen, that you will not look for any expression of opinion on my part at the present moment upon the important subject of the Bengal Land Laws. That subject embraces some of the most difficult of political questions, and all that I can say now is that, when the occasion arises, I will give to its consideration my most earnest attention, and that I shall examine it with a sincere desire to promote to the utmost the just and fair rights and claims of land-owners and their tenants.

Gentlemen,—You have been good enough in your address to express your confidence that “in my hands the stability of the beneficent rule of our Sovereign Mistress, and the well-being of her subjects, are safe.” I thank you for these words. You have rightly interpreted the objects which I have set before me, and I can assure you that if I shall be able, with God’s help, in any degree to accomplish those objects, I shall feel, when I lay down the office of Viceroy of India, that my public life has not been barren.

Gentlemen,—I heartily thank you for your address.

ADDRESS FROM THE MAHOMEDAN LITERARY
SOCIETY.

[ON Friday, the 16th February, the Viceroy received a large and influential deputation from the Mahomedan Literary Society, who

Address from the Mahomedan Literary Society.

presented him with an address of welcome. His Excellency, who was accompanied by his Staff, received the deputation in the Throne Room, at Government House, at 3 P.M. Nawab Abdul Luteef, Khan Bahadur, Honorary Secretary of the Society, read the address, which referred with satisfaction to the Viceroy's recent public utterances on education ; it explained the difficulties which have hitherto beset education among Mahomedans, and gratefully recognised the efforts of Government to encourage and foster it ; it expressed a hearty approval of the Bill for the appointment of Kazis ; and concluded by a hope that the Viceroy would continue to the Society the encouragement and support accorded to it by his predecessors.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I beg to thank you very much for the address which you have just presented ; for the welcome which is contained in it to this city of Calcutta, and, still more, for the kind expressions with which it concludes with respect to my recent illness.

It is most agreeable to my feelings to believe that you are right in saying that all classes in this country were good enough to show much sympathy with me upon that occasion ; and I can assure you that to you, and to all those who have entertained those sentiments, I shall always feel that I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

You are quite right, gentlemen, in saying that I feel a very deep interest in the question of education in this country. For many years before I came out to India, that question had largely engaged my attention ; and, certainly, when I came to this country it was with a feeling that education was a matter not less important in India than it was in England—indeed, in many respects I think I may truly say it is of greater importance here than there, and I rejoice extremely to find that the efforts of your Society (representative, as I take it to be, of the Mahomedan community in this country) are steadily devoted to the encouragement of education, and to the removal of any apathy or any prejudices which may in former times, as you have informed me, have existed among some of the members of your body ; and I cannot doubt, gentlemen,

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that those efforts will be crowned with complete and speedy success, when I recollect how many men, distinguished in science and in literature, have belonged in past ages to the Mahomedan community in Europe and in the East.

I am very glad to find that the Act which has recently been passed by the Legislature of this country for the appointment of Kazis is, in your opinion, calculated to supply a want which has been felt by the Mahomedans of this country. It was upon that ground, and in the hope that we were meeting a reasonable requirement on their part, that that Act was passed; and I rejoice that the judgment of the Government in that respect is confirmed by what you have stated in your address.

Gentlemen,—You could do nothing more calculated to promote the good, whether of the Mahomedan community in India, or of the country at large, than by endeavouring, as you tell me it is your desire on all occasions to do, to interpret the acts and the measures of the Government of India in a fair and loyal spirit. I can assure you that it is my firm determination, during the period for which the administration of Indian affairs may be entrusted to my hands, to act strictly upon the Queen's proclamation issued when Her Majesty took over the direct administration of India, in which she laid down the great principle that it was the duty of Her Majesty's representatives in this country to act with the strictest and most absolute impartiality between the various religions professed by the inhabitants of India. To that principle I am firmly determined strictly to adhere.

Gentlemen,—I can assure you that I shall have very great pleasure in extending to your Society the same encouragement which has been given to it by so many of my predecessors. The work in which you are engaged—your educational work—is one upon which, as I have said, I set a very high value, and therefore it will afford me much

Distribution of Prizes to the Calcutta Volunteers.

satisfaction to assist you in that work in any way in my power; and I can assure you that I have had very great pleasure in meeting you upon this occasion.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES TO THE CALCUTTA
VOLUNTEERS.

23rd Feb. 1881. [ON Wednesday, the 23rd February, the Viceroy inspected the Calcutta Volunteers, and Her Excellency Lady Ripon distributed the prizes to them for shooting. The ceremony took place on the Cricket-ground at half-past 5 in the evening, in the presence of a large number of spectators. On his arrival, the Viceroy, accompanied by Sir Frederick Haines and their respective Staffs, inspected the corps, after which the regiment was drawn up facing the assembly, and His Excellency addressed them as follows:—]

Colonel Graham, Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Members of the Calcutta Volunteers,—I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to meet you upon this occasion,—the first opportunity I have had of seeing this corps since I accepted, with much satisfaction to myself, the post of your Honorary Colonel. I could not hesitate to accept that post when it was proposed to me to do so, because I believe, from all I have heard of the Calcutta Volunteers, that this corps are well worthy to represent the Metropolis of India at the head of the volunteer force of this portion of the Empire; and all that I have heard since then, and that which I have seen this afternoon, confirm me in the belief that the report of your efficiency and of your bearing was well deserved.

I rejoice to understand that during the past year you have made considerable progress both in military efficiency and in the numbers enrolled in your ranks; and I am not at all surprised to find that that should be the case when I recollect the patriotic and loyal spirit by which the inhabitants of Calcutta have always been animated, and when

Distribution of prizes to the Calcutta Volunteers.

I remember that this corps is under the command of so able and energetic an officer as my friend Colonel Graham. I think his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will permit me to say, even in his presence, that the efficiency of any military body depends very greatly upon its Commanding Officer; and you of the Calcutta Volunteers are fortunate indeed in possessing such a Commanding Officer as Colonel Graham, the successor of one not less able than himself, my friend Colonel Walton.

The Volunteer force, whether at home or in India, has never been supposed by those who have been its best friends and its most ardent supporters to be in any degree calculated to supersede or to take the place of the regular army. It is, on the contrary, intended to set free that army from the occupation of many minor posts, in order that in time of difficulty it may be at liberty to execute those great movements of concentration which form the necessary preliminaries to war. In England it has been felt that it was of the highest importance that the volunteer force should be very numerous. We cannot, in the circumstances of India, look to approach to the large numbers which have been enrolled in the ranks of the Volunteers at home; and if that be the case, it seems to me that it only behoves you—Indian Volunteers—to labour the more to make up by your efficiency for the comparative paucity of your numbers. But I have never held that you ought to estimate the importance of the Volunteer force by the number of men who are actually enrolled in its ranks at any given moment; I believe that it is a very great advantage that you should have passed through your ranks a large number of men, and should have given to them a certain amount of military training which they would, I am confident, be ever ready in the hour of necessity once more to render available for their country.

I find, from the statement made to me, that your strength upon the books at the present time is between 600 and

Distribution of prizes to the Calcutta Volunteers.

700 members ; but I also find that you have passed through your ranks no less than something short of 3,000 men. Well now, of course a certain proportion of these persons have left the country, or have passed the age of military service, or in one way or another would not be available if they should be at any time called upon ; but, I cannot doubt that there still remain here in Calcutta many men who at one time or another have been enrolled in your ranks ; and I can doubt still less that if a call should be made upon them at any time by the Government of India, they would be prepared to return to those ranks once more, with all the advantage which they would bring of the energy and training which they had previously acquired ; and I would venture to suggest that, from this point of view, it is exceedingly desirable that you should endeavour to maintain the interest of persons who seek to be admitted members of the corps, in your proceedings and your welfare ; and that you should give them to understand that you have a certain claim upon them which you will not forget to put forward if the necessity should arise.

I rejoice to perceive that you have a goodly array of handsome prizes upon that table, and to understand that your shooting, both for those prizes and in the ordinary course of your practice, has been of a very satisfactory character. And I am particularly glad to observe, from an inspection of the prize-lists, how readily gentlemen in this city, European and Native, have come forward to give prizes for the encouragement of this gallant corps ; and to see the names of many distinguished native gentlemen connected with Calcutta and its neighbourhood figuring upon those lists.

I should be the last man in the world to say a word that would seem to disparage the importance of good shooting to any military body. In these days of arms of precision, it is of signal importance that every military body should be

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well trained in that science ; but I always feel that there is a certain danger that when handsome prizes are distributed by fair hands as the reward of triumphs in the matter of shooting, there is another essential point in the efficiency of every military body which may possibly be somewhat thrown into the shade—I mean the matter of drill. Now, permit me to say that it is drill which distinguishes the organised from the unorganised body—it is drill which gives that cohesion, and unity, and steadiness which mark the true soldier ; and let me earnestly exhort you, while not neglecting your shooting, not to be less zealous than you have been in attaining to perfection in that important point ; and let me exhort you also if you desire to be worthy of the position you hold and the confidence which the Government of this country places in you, to devote yourselves earnestly and zealously to learn your drill ; let me give you, in three words, the short advice—stick above all things to your drill.

And now I will no longer delay you from that moment which is the most interesting of the day upon this occasion. I will no longer stand in the way of her who is about to distribute these prizes to you, and for whom, and on whose behalf, I desire to say that her interest in the Volunteer movement is not a thing of to-day, and that it is a great pleasure to her, so soon after her arrival in India, to have this opportunity of marking her interest in a corps the uniform of which her husband is proud to wear.

[Her Excellency Lady Ripon then distributed the prizes.]

EXEMPTION FROM MUNICIPAL TAXATION BILL.

[IN the Legislative Council, on the 25th February, the Hon. Mr. Colvin 25th Feb. 1881. moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to exempt

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certain persons and property from Municipal taxation be taken into consideration.]

His Excellency the PRESIDENT said that he had looked at the Report of the Committee, and was very glad to see the alterations which they had introduced into the Bill as originally introduced. He confessed that it appeared to him that the Bill as first proposed, gave too extensive powers to the Government of India, and that the amount of uneasiness that was felt on the subject by a considerable number of municipal bodies in the country was justified by the very sweeping character of the clauses of the Bill as at first drawn; and he was very glad that the Select Committee had taken into consideration the representations made by them, and had modified the Bill and had removed all reasonable objection to it. His Excellency thought that it was worthy of consideration by Government in the Executive Council, whether it would not be desirable to issue a circular to Local Governments after the Bill had been passed, drawing their attention to the provision, and suggesting that they should appoint a person to communicate with the municipalities, with a view to settling what Government should pay towards the municipal rates. This was the course followed in England. The right of the Crown on behalf of Crown property to exemption from rates had been maintained; but a sum had been settled in each case which was paid to the municipality in the place of Crown rates; and he could only say that he hoped the Local Governments, in dealing with the question, would deal with it in a considerate spirit, and that, under the particular circumstances of each case, the Government of India would be made to contribute, in regard to their own property, whatever would be fair and reasonable towards municipal rates.

[The motion was put and agreed to, and the Bill subsequently passed into law.]

THE FACTORIES BILL.

[THE reconsideration of the Factories Bill was proceeded with in the 11th March 1881 Legislative Council on the 11th of March, when Mr. Colvin moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill, which had been before the Council for nearly two years, be taken into consideration. Mr. Colvin explained briefly the changes made by the Committee in the Bill and the manner in which it was intended that the law should be worked. Maharaja Jotindro Mohun Tagore expressed himself not altogether favorable to the Bill. He would have retained its permissive character and allowed discretion to the several Local Governments to extend it to their respective provinces. He thought, however, that Mr. Thompson's proposed amendments would modify the effect of the Bill. Mr. Rivers Thompson then proceeded to move several amendments to the Bill, all of which were carried after some discussion. One of these amendments occurred in Section 3, which related to the appointment of Inspectors; and it was proposed, in deference to the representations of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to eliminate the obligatory provisions contained in the section regarding such appointments, and to leave it to the discretion of the Local Governments either to appoint a special Inspector or to invest the Magistrate of the District with power to supervise the working of the law. Sir Ashley Eden explained why he was desirous for the alteration of the section: he thought that Mr. Thompson's proposed amendment of it would answer all the purposes of the Government, and afford quite sufficient security to the manufacturing interests of the community, to the employer and the labourer.]

His Excellency the President remarked that, in his judgment, he thought that it would be perfectly open to the Local Government, even if the section had not been altered, to have appointed a District Magistrate to act as an Inspector. He did not wish to put any interpretation of a legal nature upon the point, because he should thereby be going beyond his proper sphere in the presence of legal gentlemen much more competent to speak than he was; but he thought it was perfectly clear that the first paragraph of the section left it entirely free to the Local Government to appoint any person whom it thought fit; and consequently, as it appeared to him, the Local Government, if it wished, might in every case appoint a

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District Magistrate to discharge the duties of Inspector. However, as he found that there was a doubt upon that subject in the mind of his honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor, he was quite willing to agree to such an amendment as would clear up any possibility of doubt upon the point, especially as his honourable friend had pointed out the difficulty which would arise in this country in obtaining really competent men, except at great cost, to fill the individual and special office of Inspector under the proposed Act.

His Excellency, therefore, had no difficulty in acceding to the amendment suggested by his honourable friend, and which he believed only made more clear what would have been in the power of any Local Government under the Bill as sent up by the Select Committee.

He had only one more remark to make, and that was that, while he was perfectly willing to agree to that amendment, he was certainly not prepared to give up inspection altogether, because to do so would be to give up that without which all experience showed that any measure of this kind would be a perfectly dead letter. As to the persons who exercised the inspection, His Excellency was most anxious to leave that to the discretion of Local Governments, being quite confident that, when the Bill was passed, they would put its provisions into fair and proper execution.

[The amendment was agreed to. Mr. Pitt-Kennedy then proposed in Section 2 an amendment which was directed to confining the application of the Bill to cotton factories. Messrs. Grant and Thompson opposed the amendment.]

His Excellency the President said that he felt himself entirely in accord with the view taken by his honourable friend Mr. Thompson. He did not think that it would be possible to accept the proposed amendment. He had no doubt that it was brought forward in the most perfect good faith by Mr. Kennedy, but he could not help thinking

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that it would be regarded at Bombay as another mode of practically exempting, at all events, Bengal from the operation of the Bill. We had decided not to do that; we had made considerable concessions with the view of meeting the feelings and opposition of the manufacturing industry in Bengal, and he did not think that, under those circumstances, it would be desirable to go back from what had been thus practically determined; for that, in His Excellency's opinion, would be the result if the proposed amendment were adopted.

He had only one word more to say. His honourable friend Mr. Kennedy had alluded to the desire expressed by the manufacturers in England for the adoption of legislation of this kind in India. He was quite aware that Mr. Kennedy did not for a moment attribute the course taken by the Government of India to any undue pressure from that quarter; and His Excellency could only say for himself that, having come out here not very long ago from England, no motive of that kind had anything whatever to do with the support he gave to the Bill; and that he felt it his duty, in the office which he had the honour and the great responsibility of filling, to look at such questions mainly from an Indian point of view, and to regard all subjects in the interests of this great country with whose Government he was connected. He could truly say, therefore, that that was the motive which guided him in the support which he had given to the Bill. The subject was not a new one to him: it was one with which he had been occupied in England for a long time since the commencement of his public life,—certainly not in the interests of the manufacturers, but in those of the working classes. He himself believed that the practical result of legislation on the subject had been beneficial to the manufacturers, as well as to the labourers;—at all events, the fears entertained in the beginning by the manufacturers in England, and which were very similar to those now entertained in India, had completely died away, as he knew

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from long and intimate intercourse with manufacturers in his own part of the country; and he could not help thinking that, if the Bill was worked as he trusted it would be worked, it would be found to place no injurious restrictions on manufacturers in this country, while it would afford a reasonably fair protection to the children of the working classes, and, as regards the fencing of machinery, to all persons employed in mills of any description. That was the sole reason why he gave his support to the Bill; and he should be exceedingly grieved if any notion got abroad that the Government of India, in this respect, were in the least degree influenced by a mere desire to meet any wish, if such wish did exist, on the part of manufacturers in England to place restrictions upon their competitors in this country. That was not the view he took, at all events, and he was quite sure that none of his colleagues were influenced by it in their support of the Bill. He regarded the measure entirely upon its merits, and he believed it would be found to confer great benefits upon both classes—the employers and the employed.

[Mr. Kennedy explained that His Excellency was not responsible for the original introduction of the Bill, and that, though he could not doubt His Lordship's statement that he and his colleagues were acting quite in accordance with their conscientious convictions as to the necessity for the present legislation, he remained under the impression that the original inception of the measure had been much influenced by Parliamentary pressure.

The amendment was put and negatived. A discussion then followed on an amendment proposed by Mr. Kennedy, the object of which was to exclude from the operation of the Bill, children who accompanied their parents to the factory but received no wages for any slight or unimportant work they might do while there. Sir Ashley Eden supported, and Sir Donald Stewart and Messrs. Colvin and Thompson opposed it,—the latter holding that it would vitiate the working of the Act, and result in a great number of children being employed on no wages, while they would be subject to all the overwork and hardship which it was the object of the Act to suppress.]

His Excellency the President observed that he had certainly taken the same view of the case as his honourable

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colleague Mr. Thompson. It appeared to him that the amendment, if carried, would practically render the Bill nugatory altogether, especially as it seemed to be the habit of persons in this country to take their children to the factory with them. Under those circumstances, it would be almost impossible, as it appeared to him, ever to get a conviction under the Act, if the proposed amendment were adopted. Of course, it was impossible to be certain that there would not be found, from time to time, official persons who would act in a very foolish manner; but His Excellency thought that no legislation could provide against such a case of exceeding folly as that quoted by his honourable friend Mr. Kennedy, and which could not seriously be used as an argument against legislating in the sense which the Legislature of the country might on the whole think right. It must be borne in mind that no prosecution under this Act could be instituted except under the authority of the Inspector, and that the Inspector was either appointed by the Local Government or else he was, as it was desired should be the case in Bengal, a District Magistrate. It was also provided, in section 3, that the Inspector "shall be officially subordinate to such authority as the Local Government may, from time to time, indicate in this behalf;" and it was thus distinctly pointed out that the Inspector should take his orders from the Local Government. His Excellency was sure that Mr. Kennedy did not think that any Governor or Lieutenant Governor in India would be likely to act in the manner in which the Magistrate to whom he alluded acted, and certainly he (Mr. Kennedy) could not think that anything of that kind would be permitted under the firm rule of his honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. It seemed to His Excellency, therefore, that to adopt the proposed amendment would be to render the Bill altogether a sham. It was said of the late Mr. O'Connell that he used to boast of being able to drive a coach and four through any Act of Parliament; but His Excellency was of opinion that

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it would not require all the knowledge and legal acumen of Mr. O'Connell to drive a coach and six through this Act if the amendment of his honourable and learned friend were adopted.

[The amendment was put and negatived. Mr. Kennedy next moved that the first clause of Section 16 of the Bill be omitted. The section ran thus:—"Where an act or omission would, if a person were under seven or twelve years of age, be an offence punishable under this Act, and such person is, in the opinion of the Court, apparently under such age, it shall lie on the accused to prove that such person is not under such age." A discussion ensued,—Messrs. Thompson and Colvin speaking against the amendment, Mr. Stokes and Maharaja Jotendro Mohan Tagore in favour of it.]

His Excellency the President said that, so far as he understood it, this was a question in which the physical mode of judging of the age of children was much the same in India as it was in England, and that the difficulties were of the same kind. His honourable friend Mr. Kennedy had quoted the answers given by certain medical men to questions put to them. Members of Council would observe that the question put to those gentlemen was this—whether, in the absence of proof of date of birth, there was any rule or law of nature by which the age of a child could conclusively be certified to be within the age of seven and a half, eight, or nine years? And to this question more than one replied—"If you produce me the child, I will give you an opinion. I cannot tell you the age of the child conclusively, but I can do so approximately." Of course, it would be impossible to say that that child would be seven years old on the 11th of March 1881, but it was quite possible to say that the child, for all practical purposes, might be considered to be either seven, or eight, or twelve. His honourable friend Mr. Kennedy referred to the English system of registration. His Excellency thought, if his memory served him correctly, that when the English Factory Act was first enacted, in 1841,—and this clause would be found in the original Act,—the registration system was not in perfect operation

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at the time, and that was the reason why originally the system of certificate by surgeons was adopted. Of course, as the system of registration had grown in England, the use of the surgeon's certificate had died out; but originally the English manufacturers were subject under their Act to precisely the same liability as it was proposed now to extend to this country; and, as his honourable friend Mr. Stokes had pointed out, there were a great number of cases, both in English and Indian legislation, where the same principle of throwing the burden of proof on the defendant had been adopted. Among others, if he was not mistaken, one was the English Passengers Act, which was an Act of somewhat the same description as the Factories Act; and it would also be found that in many other Acts of a similar description, regulating the relations between employers and employed, —certainly in the Customs Act, regulating the relations between the Government and the importers of goods,—the same principle had been adopted. Under those circumstances, His Excellency thought that the Bill should stand as it was now sent up by the Select Committee.

[Ultimately the amendment was put and negatived; and after some further discussion, the Bill was passed into Law.

OPENING THE INDUSTRIAL AND FINE ARTS
EXHIBITION AT SIMLA.

[On Saturday afternoon, the 24th September, the Viceroy opened the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of Industrial and Fine Arts at Simla. The Exhibition was held at Ravenswood, which was lent by the Raja of Faridkot for the purpose. His Excellency, accompanied by the Marchioness of Ripon, Mr. H. W. Pimrose, Colonel White, and other members of his Staff, arrived at Ravenswood at 4. P.M., and was received by Sir Robert Egerton, the Vice-President, and the Committee, Sir Robert Egerton made the usual annual

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statement of the affairs of the Society, and concluded by acknowledging the services of the Committee and of the Ladies and gentlemen who had assisted in arranging the pictures, and by asking the Viceroy to declare the Exhibition open. His Excellency then spoke as follows:—]

Sir Robert Egerton, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I proceed to comply with the request which has been made to me by the Lieutenant Governor, to declare this Exhibition open, I am anxious, in accordance with the usual custom, to address a few words to you in connection with the Exhibition on behalf of which we are assembled here to-day; and I must say that I am particularly glad that my honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor has entered so fully into an account of the progress of this Exhibition, and of the pictures and works of art which are here displayed; because, ladies and gentlemen, it would be impossible for me to address you at any length to-day, as, unfortunately, I am suffering from that very uninteresting malady, a very bad cold, which, as you are aware, does not tend to promote either power of voice or flow of ideas; and therefore I hope you will excuse me if I do not enter at any great length into the many interesting topics suggested by an occasion like this. I am the less sorry that this should be the case, because I took the opportunity last year to submit to the Simla Society my views generally on the subject of art in India; and I should probably find it extremely difficult now to avoid going over again the ground which I then traversed, unless, in the words of a distinguished statesman of the last generation, I was to proceed to turn my back upon myself.

I congratulate you heartily, ladies and gentlemen, upon the progress which this Exhibition—or, I should say, which these Exhibitions have made—both the Exhibition connected with Fine Art and that connected with Industrial Art—during the past year.

It seems that in all respects the present collection, both of paintings and of works of Industrial art, is more.

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numerous; and I think we shall all agree that, at all events, it is fully equal in talent and interest to that which we saw last year at Kennedy House. It is true that my honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor has pointed to one feature of this Exhibition which seems to cause him some little pain, for he has informed us that there is a smaller proportion of unmarried ladies contributing to the Exhibition on this occasion than was the case last year. It would not become me, ladies and gentlemen, to compare the artistic talents of married and unmarried ladies; but I must say that, as a member of society and holding a public situation, I very much rejoice to hear that the number of unmarried ladies has decreased (*laughter*), and that those charming persons who were not provided with husbands last year have most wisely procured for themselves that necessary appendage during the twelve months that have elapsed since then. (*Applause and laughter.*)

Sir Robert Egerton,—You have reminded us that there are necessarily absent from these walls the works of several of those whose names figured in the catalogue of last year; and, although you have mentioned in terms of deserved praise the name of one whose pictures are not here on this occasion, I must be permitted, even at the risk of repeating what you have said so well, to express the deep regret with which I recall to mind that we have not upon these walls to-day any work from Major Pierson. He was a gallant and scientific soldier; he was a distinguished artist and a most attractive friend; he fell as much in the service of his country when he died from the effects of a trying illness as if he had been slain by the bullet of a determined foe; and I am quite sure you will all share the feelings which I entertain for the great loss of one whom I shall always recollect with sincere respect and regard. (*Hear hear.*)

I look upon it, ladies and gentlemen, as a very fortunate feature of this Exhibition—and I believe that it is a feature

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which distinguishes the Exhibition of this year more than the previous ones—that it has met in various ways with a considerable amount of support from the native chiefs and gentlemen of India ; and I was particularly glad to hear from Sir Robert Egerton that the Society had received a contribution from His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. I trust we may see in that, proof of the interest which His Highness takes in art and in the cultivation of intellect as connected with art, and also of the sentiments by which he will be guided when, very shortly, he will take over the administration of his State ; and that he is determined to devote himself to the higher branches of knowledge and to the cultivation of those abilities which, I am happy to believe, he possesses in a large degree. (*Hear, hear.*)

We are also greatly indebted to the Raja of Faridkot for the use of this house on this occasion. It is one of the great drawbacks under which the Simla Fine Arts Society labours, that it should have been—now for a long time, I believe—necessarily a migratory bird. Birds, indeed, are accustomed to build new nests every year ; but it is rather hard for a Society of this description that it should have to go about in the spring of the year searching for some place where it may settle itself, at the risk of not being able to find such a situation, and with almost the certainty that the building it does find is not altogether suited for the purposes of an Exhibition of this kind. We are deeply indebted as I have said, to the Raja of Faridkot for the use of this commodious mansion ; but nevertheless it must be obvious to all that the whole of it is not altogether suited for the purposes of an Exhibition. You see how greatly crowded the walls are with the works of art sent in, and you will observe that it has been necessary to resort to dark corners to provide places for pictures, where I fear they cannot be favourably seen : and that unfortunate circumstance makes it necessary that the Society should appeal to the

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considerate indulgence of contributors to this exhibition if any of them should not find their works in the positions which they think they ought to occupy. It is, of course, impossible in a building of this kind—or, indeed, in any building—to give a good light or a good situation to all the pictures that may be exhibited; and I am quite certain that, should any of the contributors think that their works are not in so favourable a position as they might be, they will not attribute it to ingratitude on the part of the Committee, or to want of appreciation on the part of the Simla public, but to the unfortunate position in which the Society is placed by being obliged to seek for a new place to hold its exhibition every year—a position from which I trust before long that the Society may be relieved. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not trouble you by any lengthened reference to the various pictures which adorn these walls: the Lieutenant Governor has mentioned those to which prizes have been awarded, and it would not become me, who have no right to put myself forward as an art critic, to pass any judgment upon those works. I can only say that I rejoice to find that my prize has gone to a work so beautiful as that by Major Strahan, to which it has been most deservedly awarded; and it is also to me a source of great pleasure that the next prize upon the list (that presented by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor) should have fallen to the son of one to whom India owes so much—of one who is so distinguished an ornament of the Indian service as Sir Richard Temple (*hear, hear*); and I only trust—indeed, I may say I have every reason to believe—that Mr. Temple, in his future career, will be no less distinguished in the service of his country than he is as an artist. (*Hear, hear.*)

I observe that the Commander-in-Chief's prize has fallen to Dr. Willcocks. This proves to me that, besides his great artistic merit, Dr. Willcocks is a discriminating man, because last year my prize went to Dr. Willcocks (*laughter*),

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and it is obvious from his having taken the Commander-in-Chief's prize this year, that he desires to stand well with both the Civil and Military Authorities of this country. (*Hear, hear, and laughter.*) I am also glad to observe that the principal native prize has gone again to Mr. Pestonjee Bomanjee—not that I desire that any one artist should monopolise the prizes from year to year, but that, having been much struck with Mr. Bomanjee's talents as an artist last year, and having had the good fortune to possess myself of the picture which secured for him the prize on that occasion, I am very glad to observe that he still holds the place which he occupied twelve months ago. (*Hear, hear.*)

I would also draw your attention to some other productions by a native artist,—namely, the four drawings which hang on either side of this room, by a student, I believe, of the Calcutta School of Art, which strike me as affording a great and interesting proof of the progress Art is making among the natives of this country, and of which also, I am glad to say, I have become the happy possessor. (*Hear, hear.*)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I must say a few words with respect to the other branch of this exhibition,—that which is connected with the industrial art of the country, and which has been brought together and arranged with so much zeal, skill, and industry by Captain Cole, to whose exertions we are so deeply indebted. (*Applause.*) I made some observations last year upon the subject of industrial art in this country, and upon the importance of upholding native art and of endeavouring to revive native models. I will not repeat those observations now. I hold entirely to the views I then expressed, and I am glad to see proof in this Exhibition that the lines which I ventured to suggest were the true ones for industrial art in this country have been followed successfully to a great extent in the various branches of that art which have been collected together on this occasion. But I am anxious just to remark

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that a Society, the object of which is to bring together a collection of native industrial art from year to year, has not only an important use in developing good taste in the workmen who produce the works exhibited here and on other similar occasions; but also that it has a very useful work to do in cultivating the taste of the purchasers of works of art of that description. (*Applause.*) It is, of course, absolutely necessary in regard to industrial art, if you wish that art to be good and truly artistic, and based upon sound principles, that you should not only have good inclinations and good training in the workmen or persons who construct the works of art, but that they should be encouraged by good taste on the part of the public. Industrial art is art which is meant to be sold; and persons who live by their arts (as workmen and persons engaged in any branch of industry necessarily do) cannot afford to give good things to the public—I mean things really good in themselves—true developments of the national and native art of the country—unless they can find a body of intelligent and educated persons ready to buy works of art of that description. Therefore I regard it as a very important feature of an Industrial Exhibition such as this, that it may do a great deal to educate the taste of the public, so that that taste being developed by the contemplation of so many beautiful and suitable things, the demand for those things may produce an adequate supply. (*Applause.*) I remember, ladies and gentlemen, that a good many years ago, if I mistake not, there was an Exhibition in London in connection with the Department of Science and Art, which, if I am not wrong, was called by a curious title, you will think,—‘An exhibition of false principles’—that is to say, it was an exhibition of all the most fearful examples (*laughter*) that could be got together, of the ugliest things that could be found, and in the worst taste; and these objects were exhibited to the public, that the public might see how ugly they were, and get utterly sick of them, so that their ideas and

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taste might be reformed, and their attention directed to the purchase of what was interesting and beautiful in art.

That experiment could only have been carried out by a great public department and under the shadow of a Government; but nevertheless, a young Society like this—though perhaps it can scarcely venture to offend the public by showing some of their favourite specimens in a collection of false principles—may do something in this direction by exhibiting, not indeed these fearful examples, but good examples of what is really true work, and specimens of the real national art of the country, as it can be produced in these modern days (*applause*), so that the purchasing public may turn their attention, not to buying bad and vulgar imitations of European articles, but to the purchase of real specimens of a renewed national and native art. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think I need detain you any longer on this occasion. I cannot, however, sit down without once more congratulating the members of this Society, and the inhabitants of Simla also, upon the progress which both these Exhibitions have made during the past year, upon the good work they are doing, and without making an earnest appeal to all here present to afford to this Society that support, countenance, and encouragement which seem to me to be so justly its due. (*Applause.*) I now declare this Exhibition open, and I wish it every success. (*Continued applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

5th Nov. 1881. [ON Tuesday, the 1st of November, their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Ripon left Simla for a tour in Rajpootana, visiting Delhi and Agra *en route*. The party accompanying their Excellencies consisted of the Hon. C. Grant, C.S.I., Officiating Secretary to

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Government in the Foreign Department ; Colonel G. T. Chesney Secretary to Government, Military Department ; H. W. Primrose, Esq., Private Secretary ; Captain the Lord William Beresford, V. C., Officiating Military Secretary ; the Rev. H. S. Kerr ; Surgeon-Major, J. Anderson, C. I. E. ; Captains E. L. Brett, C. W. Muir, A. W. Perry and A. Durand, Aides-de-Camp. Mr. H. M. Durand, C. S. I., Under Secretary, Foreign Department, joined the Viceroy's Camp at Agra. Their Excellencies arrived at Delhi on the morning of the 3rd, and remained for four days, visiting the various objects of interest in the city and neighbourhood. The Viceroy held a levée on the evening of the 3rd, at Ludlow Castle (where their Excellencies resided during their stay) and on Saturday night, the 5th, an address of welcome was presented by the members of the Delhi Municipality at a crowded assembly in the Durbar Hall of the Queen's Institute, which was illuminated and decorated for the occasion. The address was read by Lieutenant-Colonel Young, the president of the Municipal Committee ; the subject of it will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—]

Lieutenant Colonel Young, and Gentlemen of the Municipal Committee.—I beg to thank you very sincerely for the address which you have been good enough to present to me, and which is in itself a very interesting proof, from the illuminations which adorn it, of the state of art in this ancient city of Delhi, and which is contained in a box itself also a mark of the progress of those arts amongst you. I thank you very heartily for the cordial welcome which you have given me to this city ; and I rejoice extremely to observe the expressions of devotion and loyalty to our gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress, contained in your address. I accept those expressions in the firm confidence that they truly represent the sentiments of your hearts ; and I can assure you that Her Majesty very highly appreciates such expressions when they are laid at the foot of her throne by her Indian subjects ; because, gentlemen, as I have no doubt you are well aware, our gracious Sovereign feels the deepest interest in all that concerns the prosperity and happiness of the Indian people. She is always anxious to hear of the well-being of the Princes, of the Chiefs, and of the people of

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India. She knows all these Chiefs and Princes by name; she is intimately acquainted with the character of different parts of your country; with the history of your famous cities; and it is to Her Majesty, I know well, a source of deep satisfaction that you are truly animated by such sentiments as I find in this address.

Gentlemen,—I quite agree with you in feeling the great importance to India of the progress and extension of public works. I am happy to think that much has been done in that direction now for many years; but I feel also that much remains to be accomplished, and that there are few subjects to which the Government of India can direct its attention, of greater importance than the advancement and the extension of public works. But, gentlemen, as you are aware, there are limits to the powers of the Government of India in that respect—strict limits, of a financial nature, connected with our financial interests. We are bound to recollect that we must preserve the credit of India and must take care cautiously to limit her indebtedness; and we have therefore turned our attention to inquire whether we might not be able to call in the aid of others in this great undertaking of public works, and whether the time has not come when, in India, we might hope to apply to this great object the resources of that private enterprise which has worked such marvels in England. The present moment is one in which, as it appears to me, such an appeal to private enterprise may be most appropriately and most hopefully made; and I can assure you that, in the declarations which have emanated lately from the Government of India upon that subject, we have been animated by the most sincere and honest desire to afford to private enterprise every possible opportunity of aiding the Government and the people of this country in the spread of public works of a remunerative and advantageous character. I see no reason gentlemen, why capitalists should not be found ready to come forward to invest their money in undertakings for the development of

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the magnificent resources which are to be found within the bounds of Her Majesty's dominions. I cannot help thinking that if gentlemen possessed of capital, both at home and in this country, only made themselves better acquainted with the resources and opportunities of India, they would find that they might safely invest their money in undertakings which would develop its resources and aid its wealth and prosperity. But, gentlemen, while we have made our appeal to capitalists in England, we are also especially desirous to encourage to the utmost of our power the application of local capital to works of this description; and it will be an especial object with us, in any concessions which we may hereafter make, to see that the fairest and fullest opportunity is given to local capital to come forward and aid in undertakings of this description; and I trust that while the Government, on the one hand, within the limits which financial necessities impose, steadily does its work for the development of these undertakings of public utility, we shall by an honest and frank appeal to public aid, find ourselves assisted, on the other hand, by the energy of private enterprise. And, gentlemen, it is not only because we desire to supplement the resources in the possession of the Government that we make this appeal to private enterprise; it is also because we believe that there are many works of this kind which can be much better and more effectually undertaken by private enterprise than by the Government. The task of the Government of India is an immense and most difficult task: we have to do many things in this country, which, in England, are done by the people themselves. The task of administration here is one to tax the faculties and the energies of the ablest public servants; and for my part I believe that it is a very great advantage to limit that task as much as may be possible, and to leave to others—to private individuals, and to the people themselves—as much of the work of developing and advancing their own prosperity as the circumstances of the country admit.

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Gentlemen,—You have alluded to that happy restoration of peace which has terminated a war which lately taxed the resources and energies of this country. I rejoice to think that in the war British and Native troops fought side by side with equal gallantry, and won for themselves equal distinction. I am as proud as any man of the triumphs which attended the famous engagements by which that war will ever be remembered, and of the steadiness, patience, and endurance with which its trials were borne; but for myself, I rejoice indeed at the return of peace, and I am sure you will agree with me that the first necessary of India is the maintenance of peace; and while I should never hesitate for one moment to sacrifice even that great blessing to maintain the honour of the country or the welfare and the true interests of the people, it will be, so long as I am called to rule in this country, my constant endeavour to promote to the utmost the maintenance of peaceful relations, both within and without the boundaries of the Queen's dominions. And, gentlemen, that fortunate restoration of peace both enables the Government of India, and makes it their first duty, to turn their attention to the consideration of measures calculated to improve the internal condition of the country and develop its resources. You have alluded in your address to one or two steps which have recently been taken by the Government with that object; and you have spoken of our desire to encourage native industries. Yes, gentlemen, we *do* desire to avail ourselves of the assistance of native industry, to the utmost possible extent wherever articles can be produced in this country of which the Government stand in need, at a rate which would financially justify us in procuring them here in preference to elsewhere. It is a part of our policy that we should by that means endeavour to encourage industry and develop it to the utmost of our power; and although I am not one who believes that it is in the power of any Government to do very much in the direction of encouraging industry—though I believe that it is the people themselves who ought to be

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relied upon for that purpose—nevertheless we shall avail ourselves of all the resources which are at the command of the Government of India (and doubtless there are many) for the purpose of aiding in that great work of industrial advance, which I trust has already commenced in this country, and for which I venture to prophesy a great future extension.

Then, gentlemen, you have alluded to a recent Resolution of the Government, intended to promote sound and reasonable decentralization, to develop local self-government in this country. Now that is a subject in which I feel the very deepest interest. I trust that the Resolution which we have recently issued may be the commencement of a steady advance in the direction of the development of self-government in India; and I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments to my honourable colleague, Major Baring, and to Mr. Hope, the Secretary of the Financial Department of the Government of India, for the zeal, earnestness, and ability with which they have laboured to prepare that Resolution, and with which they are devoting themselves to the work of practically carrying it out. Gentlemen, I am very well aware that such a work as that of developing self-government in a country like this must necessarily be a gradual work; that it must be carried out in one way in one part of this great peninsula, and in another way in another—that one portion of the country may be more fit for the wide application of the principles of self-government than another; but the object of that Resolution was to call public and official attention to the great importance of the principle itself, and to mark emphatically the desire of the Government that every effort should be made to afford it all that development and extension which the special circumstances of each locality might render possible. I look upon the extension of self-government as the best means at the disposal of the Government of India at the present time of promoting and extending the political education of the people of this country. I have no doubt that there are in India,

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just as there are in England, Municipal bodies that are not always wise; who are sometimes found to obstruct measures of importance, and possibly even seriously to neglect their duties. I very well recollect, a good many years ago, the late Lord Palmerston (who, as you know, was a great English Minister) telling the House of Commons, when he was advocating sanitary reform, that there was always in every town in England a clean party and a dirty party—a party that was in favour of a good water-supply and good drainage, and a party opposed to measures of that kind. I have not the least doubt that there is a clean party and a dirty party in the towns and cities of India, and I can quite understand that, to men zealous for improvement, it may often be trying to see important schemes, calculated to confer great benefit on a large community, postponed, or marred, or laid aside from ignorance, or apathy, or indifference. But I may venture to say to those who may be not unnaturally impatient at such untoward occurrences, that they should not let their impatience run away with them to the extent of allowing them to obstruct or abandon the principle of self-government. Patience is necessary in the beginning of all things; it is necessary in the conduct of all public affairs, especially where a more or less numerous body of men have been brought together; and I would ask those whose favourite schemes may be thwarted, or opposed, to remember that the establishment, development, and practical working of self-government is in itself a great benefit to the country; that it is not only an end to be pursued, but a great object of political education to be attained, and therefore that we may well put up with disappointment and annoyance rather than sweep away those institutions which are calculated in the end—as they become better understood, and as the people become more accustomed to work them—to confer large benefits upon the community in general. Gentlemen, I therefore desire, and my colleagues desire with me, to see the powers and independence of local bodies increased and

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extended as opportunity may offer. We desire to see the principle of election extended where it may be possible, although we are well aware that we can only proceed gradually and tentatively in that direction. I have ventured to detain you on this topic, because it is one to which I personally attach very great importance, and because, if I should be able to feel at the close of my career in this country that I had done something to develop local government in India, I should esteem it a great honour and distinction.

Gentlemen,—There is one matter with which bodies, local or municipal, have to deal, and in which I personally also feel a very deep interest, and that is the question of primary education. A good deal has been done in this country, I rejoice to think, for higher and middle education, and I trust that all the results that have been attained will be maintained and extended. I am the last man in the world who would grudge the advance that has been made in that direction—an advance of which I most cordially and heartily approve; but I think the time has come when we ought to look to the education of the general mass of the people. We cannot hope, among the vast millions of India, to do much in that direction except by the labour of years—I may say, of generations—but the time has come when public attention and the attention of Government, and of local bodies, like that which you represent here, should in my judgment be turned to the question of developing primary education, so far as financial and other circumstances may permit.

Gentlemen,—You have mentioned at the conclusion of your address the labours in which you have been now for a long time—pardon me for saying, for too long a time—engaged in connection with the water-supply and drainage of this city. Heartily do I wish that those labours may at length be crowned with success. I am convinced that a wholesome supply of water and good drainage in a city like this are among the greatest blessings you can confer on your

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fellow-citizens. I am rejoiced to hear that you are now taking measures which I hope may prove successful, and I trust that it will not be long before Delhi is as well supplied in this respect as are many of the principal cities of India.

Gentlemen,—You are kind enough to regret the shortness of my stay among you. I can assure you that I share sincerely that regret, for I have already seen enough of your city and its neighbourhood to appreciate very highly those treasures of art with which you are so richly provided. You have among the buildings of this city and its suburbs—you have in the Dewan-i-Khas, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid, and the Kutub, from which I have just come, monuments that might be placed, without fear of comparison, by the most famous and proudest monuments of the world. I have seen them with the greatest gratification; I expected much, from what I had heard, but I have found that they surpass in beauty, in taste, in elegance of design, all that I had anticipated. They are a proof of what can be accomplished by the people of India, working upon their own national art. I have seen them with the deepest interest, and I trust that they may be not only monuments of the past, but models for the future; and, gentlemen, I can assure you that, while I have derived great pleasure from the inspection of those delightful works of art, and from witnessing scenes to which are attached historic memories so great and so famous, I have derived still more satisfaction from the friendly and cordial reception which you have been kind enough to accord to me. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE AGRA MUNICIPALITY.

10th Nov. 1881. [THEIR Excellencies left Delhi on the night of the 6th November and arrived early next morning at Agra. Here a week's stay was made in camp, during which the principal buildings and places of interest in Agra and its neighbourhood were visited. On the evening of the 9th the Viceroy held a Levée in camp, and on the following

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evening His Excellency received a deputation from the Municipality, who presented an address of welcome. The address expressed gratification at His Excellency's visit so soon after the announcement by the Government of its intention still further to develop and extend the principles of local self-government, and at a time when agricultural prospects were so favourable; and concluded by thanking the Viceroy for the generous aid which had been given towards the restoration of ancient monuments. His Excellency, in replying, spoke as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am very much obliged to you for the address which you have been good enough to present to me; and for the welcome which you have offered to me on my visit to this beautiful and interesting city; and I can assure you that I have derived very great satisfaction from that visit, and from all the many interesting monuments of ancient times which I have been already able to examine.

In your address you have alluded to a recent Resolution put forth by the Government of India upon the subject of the extension of the principles of decentralization and the development of local self-government in this country. I had occasion, only a few days ago, to make some public remarks upon this subject in the city of Delhi; and in these days, when the newspapers report to us all that passes in the various cities and districts of India, I have no doubt that some of you, at all events, may have seen what I said upon that occasion, so that it is unnecessary for me to go over again, after so short an interval, the ground which I then traversed. But I cannot help expressing my satisfaction at the fact that in this city of Agra the principle of election has been so largely applied in the choice of the members of the Municipal Committee. I am perfectly aware that that principle is one which cannot be applied in all the towns and cities and districts of India, and that it must be extended gradually and cautiously. It may, perhaps, be to some extent an importation from the West, not altogether consonant with the habits of this country; and I am the last man who would think it wise to proceed hastily with the adoption of a principle of that description in districts to which it may not

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be applicable ; but at the same time, fully believing that it is a principle of the greatest value, and which I trust may ultimately be widely and universally extended in this country, I rejoice to meet gentlemen who have been themselves chosen by the election of their fellow-citizens, and who are a proof that—in some cities, at all events—that system can be established with advantage.

You have, gentlemen, expressed your congratulations to me upon the most gratifying circumstance that the present season has been one calculated to bring prosperity to those who are devoted to the cultivation of the soil in this part of the country. For that great blessing we must, all of us be deeply thankful to God. It depends upon no Government to regulate the seasons, and it is indeed a source of the deepest gratification to me that—as I have watched with interest and anxiety the progress of the weather during the past few months—I have been able to hope that, at all events as regards the present crop, the weather has been calculated to bring prosperity to the great mass of the people of this country, who live by agriculture. And, gentlemen, your allusion to that subject reminds me that there is no question which can engage the attention of the Government of India, of greater importance at the present time than that of the best means of providing against, and preventing the recurrence of those terrible famines by which various parts of this country have been visited from time to time, and of taking measures by which, if unfortunately so great an evil should again befall us, we might be able to meet it more readily and effectually than has been the case occasionally in the past. I can assure you, gentlemen, that that subject has already occupied the deep attention of the Government of India. Holding, as I do, and as I have just said, that it is one of the most urgent which can engage our attention, I have, from the first moment when I took up my present office, devoted myself to an endeavour to solve the many problems which it involves ; and in order to enable

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the Government to deal more effectually with the question of famine and with the development of the agricultural resources of the country, we have determined, as you are aware, to re-establish, and have re-established, the Revenue and Agricultural Secretariat of the Government of India, believing that these questions required to be specially dealt with by a department of that Government devoted mainly to the consideration of their various branches. And, gentlemen, when we came to consider how we should deal with questions of this kind, where was it that we turned? To whom was it that we found that we could best go for instruction and guidance? Why, gentlemen, it was to my honourable friend, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces. You are aware that you have had the great advantage in these provinces of having had an Agricultural Department now for several years. The credit of initiating that department belongs not to Sir George Couper but to Sir John Strachey. But Sir George Couper has developed that department; he has devoted himself with characteristic zeal and energy to carrying out the scheme of his predecessor, and to advancing gradually and carefully the various measures which are calculated to render it most efficient; and therefore we had the great advantage, when we came to look at this question from a general point of view—from the point of view of the Supreme Government of India—of being able to avail ourselves of the experience gained for us by my honourable friend, and of turning to him for counsel and advice in this most important matter. And, gentlemen, it was to these provinces I turned when I wanted to find a Secretary for the new department; and I found in Mr. Buck who had served for many years under my honourable friend, a Secretary who combined the utmost zeal, energy, and devotion for the work, and who has entered on its duties with all the vigour and determination which may be expected from one to whom his labour is in truth a labour of love. I mention these things

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because I feel that the Government of India in this respect owe a great debt to Sir George Couper and the authorities of the North-Western Provinces; and that it is only just that the credit due to them should be given to them on an occasion like this—the first public occasion on which I have had an opportunity of expressing my views upon this question. And I can assure you, gentlemen, that this subject of famine prevention is one which will continue to engage the utmost attention of the Government of India. Guided by the report of the Famine Commission, and adopting it in the main, though with some exceptions, we desire, upon the lines of that report (and particularly in the light of the practical experience which has been gained here), to establish throughout the country similar departments to those which have existed now for several years in the North-Western Provinces. I do not say that in every part of India exactly the same system can be followed. I am, as I have already said a friend of decentralization; I am therefore a friend of leaving a large latitude to Local Governments in respect to the details of the mode in which they will apply the principles which the Government of India desire to adopt; but those principles which have been practically tried here are, as it appears to me, sound principles; and it is in the direction which has been successful in these provinces that we desire to proceed. And gentlemen, as I have mentioned this subject, I would desire to say that—although there is much in certain directions which the Government may be able to do in this matter—Government is very far from being able to do all; and that it is a very great mistake to suppose that only Government is capable of doing for the people of any country that which they can better do for themselves: and therefore it is to native gentlemen, to the great proprietors of India, to those who have a large stake in agriculture, that the Government must look to aid them in this work, to take the lead and to set an example to those who are less wealthy, have less means and less intelligence. And it is upon men

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of that description that we rely, and from whom we think we have a right to seek aid in a matter in which their interests, as well as those of their poorer fellow-countrymen, are concerned; and I have not the least doubt that they will come forward and help us, more and more, in what I believe to be one of the most important works that can be undertaken for the benefit of the great masses of the people of the country.

Then, gentlemen, you have, in the conclusion of your address, noticed the efforts which are being made now, by the Government of India, with a view to preserve intact and uninjured those splendid and beautiful monuments and buildings by which especially this part of the country is adorned. I am very glad indeed, gentlemen, to learn from your address that you appreciate the efforts of the Government of India in that direction. If I had any doubt (which I had not) of the importance of those efforts, it would have faded away before the beautiful buildings which I have seen since I came to Agra. You have, gentlemen, in the Taj a building which may be said truly to be among the most beautiful structures of the world; and I fully share the opinion, which I believe was expressed by my great predecessor, Lord Dalhousie, who is said to have remarked that it was well worth while coming to India for the purpose of seeing the Taj alone. Well, the journey to India in Lord Dalhousie's days was a much more serious matter than it is now; but I entirely agree that any man who has the means and opportunity would do well to visit Agra, if only for the purpose of seeing that beautiful building. Gentlemen, it appears to me to be the duty of the Government of this country to use every means to preserve the ancient records of the history and of the arts of India. There have been Governments, as we learn from history, which, ruling over other races, have thought in their blindness that their interest lay in suppressing the language, and, if it were possible,

Visit to the St. Peter's College and Orphanage, Agra.

in blotting out the history and throwing into the shade the arts of the country over which they ruled. That, gentlemen, is not the principle of the English Government of India. I, for my part, can truly say that while, as Governor-General of India, I feel proud of all the great achievements of her history and of the splendid monuments which adorn her country, I desire that that history and those monuments should be appreciated by the people of India, and that that national art and that national feeling, of which those monuments are the beautiful outcome, should be cherished and preserved. I have no jealousy of any such feelings. I believe that the more you are proud of your past history, and the more you study it the better you will be inclined to appreciate what is good in the Government of the present day; and I can assure you that, in doing something to preserve those ancient monuments, I believe that I am doing as much to benefit my own country as I am doing to benefit yours.

Gentlemen,—I have only one word more to say, and that is to express to you once more my thanks for the kind address which you have presented to me; and to tell you, as the representatives of the people of Agra, how much satisfaction I have derived from my visit to the city this afternoon, and from the friendly and cordial reception accorded to me by the people.

VISIT TO THE ST. PETER'S COLLEGE AND
ORPHANAGE, AGRA.

13th Nov. 1881. [ON Sunday evening, the 13th November, the Viceroy visited the St. Peter's College and Orphanage. His Excellency, on his arrival, was received by His Lordship the Catholic Bishop of Agra and the Very Reverend Father Symphorien, the Principal of the College, and was conducted to the Boys' School, where an ode, addressed to the Viceroy and Lady Ripon, was sung by the scholars; after which, an

Visit to the St. Peter's College and Orphanage, Agra.

address of welcome was present, to which His Excellency replied as follows:—]

I am requested to say a few words to you who are here present to-day, and especially to those who are the pupils of this institution. I had no expectation, when I came here, that I should be called upon to make any remarks upon this occasion, although I confess that a long experience of occasions of this description has taught me that it generally happens that some insidious but seductive gentleman, like Father Symphorien, say to one at the end of the ceremonies—"Won't you be good enough to say a few words?" (*Laughter.*) Well, now, I cannot refuse to obey that call, and if anything that I can say will be of advantage to those who are the students of this institution, I am very glad to have the opportunity of addressing a few words to them. And I need no preparation for this purpose, because I have, throughout the whole course of my public life, been deeply interested in that which is the principal object of this institution—the advancement of the education of the young; and I have been convinced by a long experience that there are few questions of more importance in the days in which we live, whether it be at home in England, in India, or in any other part of the world, than the question of education. Now, my young friends, I feel the very greatest interest in being able to visit this institution to-day, because there are connected with it memories which reach far back into the historic past of India; for, as you all know, this establishment connected with the Catholic Church dates from the reign of the great Mogul Emperor, Akbar, and is one of the most ancient European institutions in the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Now let me suggest to you, my young friends, that the very fact that this is an ancient institution, founded here in the midst of the Mahomedan Empire long before the English race ruled in this part of India, ought to make you very proud of belonging to an institution of such antiquity, surrounded as it is by

Visit to the St. Peter's College and Orphanage, Agra.

such celebrated memories. And you who are brought up here in this College at Agra ought to remember that you have an especial call to maintain the reputation of the College, and to see that, having existed now for some hundreds of years, it does not fall back in its reputation or in its rank amongst other educational institutions in India through any neglect, on your part, of the advantages it affords. As I said before, I believe that the question of education is one of the most important public questions of the times in which we live ; and do let me entreat of you, the pupils of this institution, to avail yourselves earnestly and zealously of the advantages which it affords to you. It is very likely that you young boys, when you hear me say that, will say to yourselves, "Oh ! it is all very well for him to talk so ; he is an old fellow, with no further interest in play and amusement ; and it is all very well for him to preach to us and tell us that we ought to attend to our studies." Well I assure you that it is not because my limbs are a little stiff, and I am not as skillful at games as you are, that I give you that advice ; but it is because a long observation of the world, in many parts of it, and in many quarters of the globe, has convinced me that in these times if you wish to live advantageous, honourable, and happy lives in the future—and I trust that God may grant to you all many years yet in the world—if you wish to make those years, which He in his mercy gives you, useful for your fellow-men, calculated to promote the glory of God, and advantageous to yourselves,—you must avail yourselves of the opportunities which you have now in this institution. Your faculties are now young and bright ; you can learn things with comparative ease which later on in life you would learn with great difficulty ; and which perhaps you would not have the opportunity of learning at all, because you must make your way in the world ; and in these times you will not make your way in the world—you will not take that position which your intelligence and characters

Dinner at Jeypore Palace.

would entitle you to occupy—unless you cultivate that intelligence and develop those characters by attention to your studies here, and by availing yourselves to the utmost extent of the advantages which an institution of this kind affords. Therefore do let me entreat you—I do not wish to detain you longer now—but do let me entreat you earnestly, one and all, to put your shoulders to the wheel and cast aside the lassitude which may sometimes come over you in the trying climate of this country, and devote yourselves zealously to derive from this establishment the many and great benefits which it is calculated to confer upon you. And now, as I have obeyed Father Symphorien, I have asked him to obey me, and he has been kind enough to say he will; and the request I have made is that, as I have given you a preachment on the advantages of study, he should make amends to you for that infliction by allowing you a holiday.

[His Excellency then inspected the College and the Girls' School and Orphanage, where the children, all neatly and prettily dressed, were drawn up and sang a hymn of welcome. Two bouquets of artificial flowers were presented to His Excellency, and, as he passed down the line, a pretty child stepped forward and delivered a short and simple address of welcome in French. After leaving the schools, His Excellency and party proceeded to the Roman Catholic Cathedral near by, where a Benediction was pronounced.]

DINNER AT THE JEYPORE PALACE.

[THE Viceroy left Agra on the morning of the 16th, at 8 o'clock, for 17th Nov. 1881. Jeypore; breakfasting at Bhurtpore *en route* as the guest of the Mahárájáh. Her Excellency Lady Ripon followed by the ordinary mail in the evening. The Viceroy arrived at Jeypore at 5 o'clock, and was received at the station by the Mahárájáh, with whom were nine of his principal Sirdars; Colonel Bannerman, the Resident; and a large number of officials. The Viceregal Party were driven in the Mahárájáh's State carriages through the city, and thence to the Residency. The road along the line of route was lined by sowars and sepoy of the Deol]

Dinner at the Jeypore Palace.

Irregular Force, by the Raj soldiers, and by the mounted retainers of the various Thakurs and Chiefs of the States of Rajputana. The scene was most picturesque and impressive; the people thronged to witness the procession of carriages through the broad streets, which were gaily decorated with flags, banners, and triumphal arches. The city streets were lined by the Raj troops and large numbers of Nagas, many of whom performed a wild sword-dance in front of the procession. Sixty-two State elephants in trappings of gold and silver brought up the rear of the procession, which, entering by the Sangaur Gate, traversed the chief streets and debouched by the Ajmere Gate. On the morning of the 19th, the Mahárájáh paid His Excellency a formal visit at the Residency. The Viceroy returned the visit in the afternoon, the Mahárájáh receiving His Excellency in the Durbar Hall of the Palace, where were assembled over 300 Sirdars and Chiefs—those of superior rank being presented to His Excellency by the Resident. A large number of officials and ladies were also present to view the ceremony. In the evening a dinner was given by the Mahárájáh in the Dewan-i-Khas (Hall for Nobles) in the Palace, at which the Viceroy and Lady Ripon were present. The Mahárájáh was also present and received the guests (about 60) on their arrival, but did not take his place at the table. At the conclusion of dinner, the Mahárájáh took a seat next to the Viceroy, when the health of the Queen-Empress was proposed by Colonel Walter, on behalf of His Highness. The toast having been honoured, Colonel Walter, on behalf of the Mahárájáh, proposed the health of their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Ripon. His Highness expressed the pleasure it gave him to receive their Excellencies in his capital; he hoped that they were pleased by what they had seen in Jeypore, that they would carry away pleasant reminiscences of the place, and that on a future occasion their Excellencies would revisit the city. The toast was drunk with all heartiness, and His Excellency replied to it as follows:—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to His Highness for having asked Colonel Walter to propose my health and that of Lady Ripon upon this occasion; and I am still more grateful to the Mahárájáh for the splendid hospitality with which he has been good enough to entertain us. I can assure you that I have derived—and I think I may say without hesitation, that Lady Ripon has also derived—the very greatest satisfaction and enjoyment from our visit to this beautiful city. I have seen, since I came to India,

Dinner at the Jeypore Palace.

many beautiful, many interesting and striking sights; but I can say most truly that nothing which I have witnessed has surpassed that which I have seen since I came to the city of Jeypore. I have been immensely struck by all that has come under my notice since my arrival here yesterday, and in no respect have I been more struck than by the spirit of noble and princely hospitality which has marked the reception given to us by His Highness. You, Colonel Walter, have been good enough to express, on His Highness's behalf, the hope that it may possibly be in our power to visit this city and State again. It is impossible for me to give any promise upon that subject now. All I can say is, that if it should be my good fortune during my stay in this country to be able to come once more to Jeypore, the reception which I have met with now will certainly make me desirous to do so. And now, ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down, I have to discharge the pleasant task of proposing to you a toast which I am sure all those who are assembled in this Hall to-night will drink with the utmost satisfaction; and that is the health of His Highness the Mahārājāh. (*Applause.*) We, his guests, owe him many thanks for the manner in which we have been entertained. But, ladies and gentlemen, I must be permitted to take another view of the toast which I am now proposing, and to express my earnest hope—as one charged with a great responsibility in connection with the government of this country—that His Highness may, through God's blessing, have a long, prosperous, and happy reign; that he may walk in the footsteps of that distinguished Prince whose successor he is; that he may confer upon the people of his State, benefits such as those which the late Mahārājāh conferred upon them; and that in the course of a reign which, as I have said, I trust may be prolonged, he will devote himself zealously and earnestly to promote to the utmost of his power the welfare of the numerous people entrusted to his care. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE MAHÁRÁJÁH'S
COLLEGE, JEYPÖRE.

18th Nov. 1881. [On Friday, the 18th November, Their Excellencies visited Amber the ancient capital of Jeypore, and in the afternoon Lady Ripon inspected the Girls' School, while the Viceroy distributed the Northbrook medals to the boys at the Mahárájáh's College.

In reply to an address presented to him by the Teachers of the College, His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I beg to thank you most heartily for the address which you have just presented to me. I can assure you that I am much pleased to be able to visit this institution upon the present occasion. Since I came to this city of Jeypore, I have witnessed many interesting and striking sights, but I do not know that any thing I have seen (even amongst those remarkable sights which recall so many recollections of a long distant past) has filled me with greater gratification and interest than is afforded to me now by a visit to this institution, founded in the heart of a native State, for the promotion of the combined education of the East and of the West. Since I came yesterday to this city, I have received many proofs of the enlightened wisdom of the late Mahárájáh and his deep interest in the welfare of this city and of its inhabitants, and of those of the whole State of Jeypore; but I do not know that I have received any proof so convincing, of that wisdom and that enlightenment, as that which is afforded by the fact of his having established an institution of this description for the education of the people of his State. You are quite right, gentlemen, when you remark in the address which you have presented to me, that I feel a deep interest in the subject of education. I have done so now for many years of my life, and I have not forgotten that interest since I came to India, for I am convinced that there are few questions at the present time of greater importance to the welfare of this country than those questions which relate

Distribution of Prizes at the Mahārājāh's College, Jeypore.

to the progress and advancement of public education. And, gentlemen, holding those opinions, there can be no more gratifying circumstance to me than to find that the principles which I have so long advocated at home, and upon which it is my intention to act here, have been so well and so fully recognised in this native State. I can assure you that I feel the deepest interest in the welfare of the native States of India. I believe that their prosperity and advancement are of as great importance to the British Government in this country—to the Government of our gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress—as they are to the inhabitants of those States themselves ; and I desire their maintenance and their well-being as heartily almost as you can do. Therefore, gentlemen, it is to me a source of infinite pleasure that by the wisdom of your late ruler—the representative of one of the most ancient races of the world—a step has been taken so well calculated to advance the prosperity and the true progress of the State of Jeypore as that which he took when he founded the Mahārājāh's College in this city. Gentlemen, I have in the course of to-day had the advantage of reading the last report of this institution, and I have read that report with very great satisfaction. I have been extremely pleased to note the progress which this institution has made from year to year. I have been glad to observe the character of the studies which are pursued here, and the success which has been obtained by the students of this institution in the competitions into which they have entered. I have also been well satisfied to perceive that this College is, as I understand it, a centre of other educational institutions in the Jeypore State ; and I must say that there was one feature in that report which gave me even more gratification, I think, than any other, and that was to find the steps which are being taken in the State of Jeypore in the direction of female education—the education of girls. Now, gentlemen, I am well aware of the many difficulties which beset that subject of female education in India ; but I do not think that I

Distribution of Prizes at the Mahārājāh's College, Jeypore.

could have received a more convincing proof—a proof which I hail with the utmost satisfaction—that those difficulties can be, and in the course of time will be, overcome, than that given to me by the fact that here, in this native State, by the wisdom and the enlightened course freely pursued by a native prince, measures have been taken for the establishment of girls' schools, which are already doing, as it seems to me very valuable and important work. I rejoice also to learn the facts which have been brought before me in that report as to the progress of primary education in the mofussil districts of this State. That is a subject in which I take a very special and peculiar interest. I know well that it is impossible in this vast country to proceed very rapidly in that matter, or to hope to do after many years even a small portion of the work which ought ultimately to be accomplished; but here again I am much encouraged in the efforts which I hope to make in that direction, in the districts of India under the immediate administration of the British Government, by the example which has been afforded by the State of Jeypore. These things I look upon, gentlemen, as subjects upon which I may most heartily and unfeignedly congratulate you. I may congratulate you upon the past—upon this as upon the other great benefits which your late Mahārājāh conferred upon his people. I may congratulate you, I think, with every confidence upon the future, from the proof which the interest I know the present Mahārājāh feels in this and kindred institutions affords, that he will walk steadily and firmly in the steps of his distinguished predecessor; and that he will support, maintain, and extend the measures which that prince took for the prosperity of his country.

And now let me say one or two words to those who are students in this institution—and I am very glad that, through its means, its students are able to understand the words which I desire to address to them. I am very glad indeed that there is a regular English branch in this institution;

Distribution of Prizes at the Mahārājāh's College, Jeypore.

and that in another branch also English instruction is given. I am confident that that is a very great advantage, and I appreciate it especially as it enables me to speak to you in a language which you can understand ; for I can truly say, gentlemen, that I would have given a great deal when I came to India if I had been able to speak the language of Hindoostan ; but you at least can understand me in my own language, and I would therefore very briefly ask you, students here, not to neglect the great advantages which an institution of this kind affords. If you desire to make your way successfully in life—nay, my friends, if you desire not to fall back in life and find yourselves beaten in the race and falling ever into a lower and less advantageous position,—you will, if you are wise, avail yourselves to the utmost of the advantages which this College affords you. You may rely upon it that the young generation of India, who are now just rising, or have just risen, to manhood, will find that if they neglect their education and are without that instruction which an institution of this kind happily places within their reach, they will be beaten in every walk of life and passed by their competitors on every side. And gentlemen, students of this institution, I for one shall do my best, so far as concerns those parts of India which I directly administer, to beat you in that competition if you do not avail yourselves of the advantages here offered to you, for it is one of the objects of my Government to promote to the utmost of our power the spread of education in India. Well now, you owe it to your late Mahārājāh, you owe it to the famous race of Rajputs to which you belong, that you should not be beaten in that or any other contest ; you owe it to this city and this institution that you should use to the utmost those advantages so freely brought within your reach. I am sure that you will do so if you only think of—only reflect upon—all the personal motives, and motives yet higher, the love of knowledge and the desire to understand all those great

Address from the Municipality of Ajmere.

facts of science and history which you may learn in an institution of this description. I am confident that you will not waste such rich opportunities as time goes on ; and that hereafter, when I have left India and gone back to my own country, I shall be able to watch the progress of the Mahárájáh's College at Jeypore, and find that it has gone forward steadily advancing in that noble career of progress which it has so well commenced. (*Loud cheers.*)

[Other public institutions were then visited, and the Viceregal party, having united, drove to the Futteh-Teebah, to witness a display of fireworks. The whole city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.]

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF AJMERE.

19th Nov. 1881.

[THE Viceroy, accompanied by Colonel Walter, Agent to the Governor General for Rajputana, and Colonel Bannerman, arrived at Ajmere at 4 P.M. on the 19th November ;—Lady Ripon followed in a special train later in the day. His Excellency was received at the Railway Station by Mr. Saunders, Commissioner, Brigadier General Carnegy, the Mahárájáh of Kishengurb, the Maharao Rajah of Ulwar, the Nawab of Tonk, the Rana of Jhallawar, the representative of the Maharao Rajah of Bundi, the Tazili Istumardars of Ajmere, and all the local civil, political, and military officers. His Excellency drove to the Residency through the public park, the road being lined with soldiers, police, and native levies. Lord and Lady Lawrence joined the Viceregal party at the Residency. Here an address of welcome was presented by the Municipal Committee, in which they congratulated the Viceroy on the termination of the Afgan war, as allowing of attention being given to the internal administration of India ; thanked the Government of India for the loan in aid of local works of improvement, and hoped the advantages of the decentralization policy would shortly be extended to Ajmere. His Excellency, in replying, spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am much obliged to you for the address which you have been good enough to present to me, and

Address from the Municipality of Ajmere.

I am especially gratified to observe the expressions of loyalty and devotion—of deep affection and profound loyalty—in your own words—which are contained in this address when speaking of our beloved and illustrious Sovereign, the Queen-Empress. It will be my agreeable duty to communicate that expression of your sentiments to Her Majesty, and I know that she will be greatly touched, because she cherishes deeply the affection and the loyalty of her Indian subjects.

You speak of the new Park which has been laid out in the neighbourhood of your city, and which is now approaching completion. I was very glad to find that my route to this house lay through a portion of that Park, and to observe how much it will conduce to the beauty of this neighbourhood and I trust to the enjoyment of the inhabitants of Ajmere. I can assure you, with reference to that paragraph of your address which alludes to the loan which has been made by the Government of India in order to confer upon the inhabitants of this district the great benefit of a plentiful supply of pure drinking-water, that it is the earnest desire of the Government to see the blessings of pure water and good drainage, and all sanitary improvements, extended as widely as possible to the cities and towns of India.

Gentlemen,—You have spoken of a recent Resolution of Government upon the subject of local self-government. I have had occasion to make various remarks upon that subject very recently, in reply to addresses from bodies similar to your own in other parts of the country, and as in these days the words which are spoken by a Governor General upon such occasions find their way by some mysterious process into the pages of the newspapers, I will not repeat what I have said before. You have especially spoken in this address of one portion of the recent Resolution of Government in which we express our desire that, so far as may be possible, the funds raised by municipal bodies should be devoted to objects over which those bodies can, with advantage to themselves and to the country, exercise a direct

Address from the Municipality of Ajmere.

control. We attach, gentlemen, great importance to that principle, first, because we believe it to be in itself a sound principle of taxation, and secondly, because we feel sure that by, as far as may be, devoting the funds raised by municipal taxation, to local purposes in which those who pay them have a direct interest, we shall best promote self-government, and we shall best secure that those who are charged with the representation of their fellow-citizens, as you are, will pay on earnest and intelligent attention to the various objects over which their control and administration is extended. I rejoice to find, from the remarks which you have made upon this occasion, that that principle is one which commends itself to your judgment.

And now, gentlemen, I do not know that I need detain you longer, except once more to thank you very heartily for the good wishes which you have expressed for me and for my wife. I can assure you that I feel those good wishes very deeply, and that it is my earnest desire that, when my administration of affairs in this country comes to an end, I may have the good fortune to carry away with me to my own country those good wishes which you are now so kind as to convey to me. But, gentlemen, I cannot conclude what I have to say to you to-day without adverting for one moment to another topic: for how would it be possible for an Englishman, speaking to the Natives of India, not to ask you to join with him in giving this the first and earliest welcome to one who is present in Ajmere to-day. We have with us now, gentlemen, the son of a great father; the son of a man who gave all his energies—and they were wonderful—all his talents—and they were great—all that purity of character by which he was distinguished, to the service of India and of England. We have here to-day the son of Lord Lawrence, and I am sure that you, Europeans and Natives alike, will join with me in tendering to Lord Lawrence our hearty congratulations on his visit to this country. I know that he will find in India many objects of interest,

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmere.

recalling to him the recollections of his youth; and I know that I speak the sentiments of all in India when I say that we honour him for the name he bears, and that that name, and the memory of John Lawrence will never fade from the recollections of the Europeans and Natives of this country. I esteem it a fortunate circumstance that I am the first Governor General of India to whose lot it has fallen to welcome Lord Lawrence to this country, because I set before myself, from the very first hour when I undertook the great task of the administration of India, the noble example of Lord Lawrence as that which I should endeavour to follow; and it will be the proudest object of my ambition to walk, so far as I am able, in his footsteps. (*Applause.*)

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE MAYO
COLLEGE, AJMERE.

[THE Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students at the Mayo College, Ajmere, at half-past 12 on the 21st of November. The ceremony took place in one of the large class-rooms, which was crowded with European residents and visitors, and native gentlemen. His Excellency having taken his seat, Captain Loch, the Principal, read the annual statement, from which it appeared that there were now more students in attendance than on any previous date, more admissions during the past year than in any former one, and more competitors in the final examination. He urged the importance of impressing upon the parents the necessity of enforcing regular attendance. 21st Nov. 1831.]

His Excellency then addressed the assembly as follows :—]
Maharajahs, Princes, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that it affords me great pleasure to be able to be present upon this occasion and to discharge one of the duties—and a most agreeable duty it is—which falls to the lot of your President when he visits this college. I am very glad to be able to be present to-day, for more reasons than one: first, because of the great interest which I feel in

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmera.

the success and welfare of this institution; and secondly, because there are some circumstances of rather an especial nature connected with the assembly of to-day. We have here on the present occasion not a few persons whose names are connected with the first design, with the foundation, and with the commencement of this college. We have present here to-day, in the first place, my friend Colonel Walter, by whom it may truly be said that the first idea of this institution was suggested; for you will find in his Report for the year 1868-69 the germ of that idea which was subsequently seized upon by my distinguished predecessor, Lord Mayo, with the instinct of a statesman, and from which this institution took its rise. And then we have to-day present amongst us, the first Principal of this College, Colonel St. John, and I am quite sure that all here present will join with me in welcoming him back to India, to which he has returned after having discharged with marked energy and ability the very important duties entrusted to him by the Government of India, in Afghanistan. (*Applause.*) And then, ladies and gentlemen, we have the distinction of having amongst us to-day, the first boy pupil whose name was entered on the rolls of this College, in the person of the Maharao Rájáh of Ulwar (*applause*), who has gone forth from your ranks to rule his state, and who already gives the fairest promise that he will do honour and justice to the training of this institution. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, when we thus recall those who are present here to-day how is it possible that we should not bear in mind one who is not here—one who, cut off by the hand of the assassin, was removed from the government of this country in the flower of his age, but not before he had had time to perform great services for India, and to win for himself the respect and attachment of the European and native population of the country. I believe I am right in saying that the late Lord Mayo was regarded with special feelings of respect and attachment by the Princes and Chiefs in

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmere.

Rajputana ; and I am sure that, while we of England shall long lament a public man whom we so prematurely lost, you in India will not easily forget the name of one who had the interest of this country ever at heart. (*Applause.*) Now, ladies and gentlemen, when we turn from considerations connected with the past to the present state of this College, it is satisfactory indeed to find how much cause for congratulation it supplies. The report which has just been read by Captain Loch shows the steady progress which this institution has made during the six years of its existence ; and I rejoice to find that it is at the present moment in a condition which must afford so much gratification to all who are interested in its work. That condition is due very much to the zeal, ability, and tact of Captain Loch (*applause*), of whose government of this College I hear the highest praise from those who have the amplest means of judging of it. And I may also say with what great personal satisfaction I heard from Captain Loch the words which fell from him with respect to the present Head Master, Mr. Johnstone. (*Applause.*) When it became my duty, last summer, to select an officer to fill the post which Mr. Johnstone occupies, knowing well the importance of this institution, I felt the responsibility of the choice, and I looked round to find a man who seemed to me, among possible candidates, the fittest person to select. I rejoice to find that your experience of Mr. Johnstone up to the present time has confirmed my judgment in selecting him. (*Applause.*) I cannot avoid expressing my entire concurrence in the remarks which fell from Captain Loch with respect to the great importance of regularity of attendance, and I trust that the parents of the boys in this College who may have heard these remarks, or to whom the knowledge of them may come, will lay them deeply to heart, for it cannot be disputed that the full advantage of an institution of this kind can only be obtained by the steady and assiduous attendance of the students throughout the course of the period of instruction. It is an error of the gravest kind to throw away the

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmere.

advantages of an institution like this by irregularity of attendance; it is fair neither to the institution nor, what is much more important, to the boys themselves; and I trust that those charged with the duty of looking after the students of this College will for the future be most careful, as far as circumstances will permit, to insist upon regularity of attendance. (*Applause.*) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I said a few minutes ago that I felt a very strong personal interest in the success and prosperity of this College, and I will tell you why I feel that interest. I am deeply impressed with the belief that it is of the greatest importance to India that the Native States of this country should be prosperous and well administered. I am firmly convinced that the maintenance of those Native States is of no less political importance to the Government of England than it is to the people of those States themselves (*applause*), and it will always be the aim of my policy, so long as I fill the office which I now occupy, to maintain the integrity and the dignity of the Native States of India (*applause*), and to promote to the utmost of my power their prosperity and well-being. (*Applause.*) But at the same time I am especially impressed with the deep responsibility which rests upon the Government of India in regard to the welfare of the people of those Native States. The British rule in this peninsula has established throughout the length and breadth of the land an uninterrupted and unbroken peace. It is one of the greatest claims which we can put forward to the attachment of the chiefs and inhabitants of India, that that peace is maintained by the power of the English name; but the very fact that we thus enforce tranquillity throws of itself the great responsibility upon the Government of India of seeing that the inhabitants of the Native States do not suffer from misgovernment, or from oppression (*applause*); and it is undoubtedly a task of no small difficulty and delicacy to reconcile that freedom from all harassing and needless interference which we desire to secure to the Native Princes

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmere.

and Chiefs with that protection from injustice and wrong which we are bound to afford to the people who dwell in their territories. (*Applause.*) Now, it seems to me that there is no better mode of effecting this object and discharging these responsibilities than by encouraging the work that is done in an institution of this kind, and by promoting among the youth who are hereafter to become Princes and Nobles in the States of India, that education and that training which will best fit them to discharge the responsibilities of the important positions which they will ultimately fill; and it seems to me that this College is admirably fitted for the performance of that important work. (*Applause.*) For, as Captain Loch has explained, it is the object of this College to afford at one and the same time the means of sound education and intellectual development, and to give also to the students a manly training. (*Applause.*) Now, we do not wish to turn those who are educated here into mere imitations of Englishmen; that would be a very foolish desire, and calculated not to benefit, but to injure, the future prospects of the students. Nothing can be further from our wish than to weaken their connection with their families, or their attachment to their country, or their respect for its traditions. What we desire is, as far as possible, to combine what is best in the education which we give to our own English boys with an entire respect for the customs and feelings of the people of this country. We set before us as the end and aim of our efforts here, so to train the students that they may be enabled hereafter, efficiently and successfully, to discharge the important duties which, in all human probability, will fall to their lot. In short our object is to give you all that we possess in the learning and the civilization of the West, while at the same time we wish you to retain all that is good in your own traditions and customs (*applause*), and therefore it is our most earnest desire, and my strongest hope, that the students will do their best to profit by the advantages which it affords to them.

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmere.

You, my young friends, can do more for yourselves than we can do for you. Your future must be—do what we may—very much in your own hands. If you learn here to value knowledge and to seek it, to lead manly and honourable lives, to despise all that is low and sensual and unworthy, you will earn for yourselves the respect of the Government of India and the love of your own people. Many of you here will no doubt be called to fill great positions, full of temptations and of responsibilities, and will have depending upon you many thousands—indeed, as in the case of some of the great States of Rajputana, some millions of your fellow-countrymen looking to you for their happiness, their well-being, and in good truth for their lives. (*Applause.*) You, my friends, come of an ancient and noble race, whose origin is hid in the mists of time; and you are born to fill the great position of Princes and of Nobles. There is a French proverb which has come down to us from old days, and which tells us *noblesse oblige*—that is to say, that he who claims to be of noble birth must prove that he is so by noble deeds. Let that proverb be your motto. You know that we Englishmen are all proud to call ourselves gentlemen, and that we prize that simple name more than any high-sounding titles. Now, what is the meaning of the word “gentleman”? It means a man of courteous, gentle and refined manners, such as are possessed in an eminent degree by many of the Native Princes and Chiefs of India; but it means something more—something higher and better than that. It means a man whose courtesy and gentleness and refinement are not a mere matter of outward grace only, but rather a matter of the heart also—a man who is honourable and truthful, and manly and just; who lives not for his own selfish enjoyment, but to do his duty faithfully to God and to those who are dependent upon him—whose aims are high and who scorns an ignoble life. Be then, my young friends, true Rajput gentlemen. On you and on your conduct depends in a very large measure the future of your country. When I look upon the

Dinner at Chittore.

bright faces before me, I have great hope of that future, and, as one who has your welfare and the interest of India deeply at heart, I earnestly pray you not to mar that fair promise by neglecting the opportunities which you here enjoy of fitting yourselves for the high and responsible positions which in all probability most of you will be called upon hereafter to fill. (*Applause.*)

[His Excellency then distributed the prizes to the students, and in conclusion requested the principal to grant the boys a holiday,—a request which was readily complied with. The Viceroy then visited the various houses in the grounds, each State having a separate building devoted to the boys sent up by the Chief and his subjects; and was afterwards present at a luncheon in the Mayo Hall, given by the Chief Commissioner, to which a large number of guests had been invited.]

DINNER AT CHITTORE.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by his personal Staff, 23rd Nov. 1881. Mr. Saunders, the Commissioner of Ajmere, Lord and Lady Lawrence, and others, arrived at Chittore by special train shortly after 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22nd November. The occasion of His Excellency's visit to Chittore was the holding of a Chapter of the Star of India, at which His Highness the Maharana of Oodeypore (or Meywar) was to be formally invested with the insignia of a Knight Grand Commander of that order. The reception in state of His Excellency by the Maharana, and his Sirdars and the principal officials in camp, was conducted with all the pomp and ceremony befitting the occasion, and was very impressive. At noon on the 23rd November, the ceremony of investing the Maharana was performed by His Excellency in a temporary pavilion erected in the camp, before a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen and feudatory Chiefs. Her Excellency Lady Ripon was present, having arrived at Chittore in the morning.

On the evening of the same day, the Maharana entertained the Viceroy and all the guests in camp at dinner. At the conclusion of dinner, Colonel Walter rose and read the following address:—

“*Ladies and Gentlemen,*—On behalf of His Highness the Maharana, I beg to propose the health of His Excellency the Viceroy and

Dinner at Chittore.

Marquis of Ripon, and in doing so I will use His Highness's own words; they are as follows:—'I wish sincerely to express the great pleasure I have experienced in meeting Your Excellency to-day, along with my Sirdars, in this time-honoured city of Chittore, which is considered by one and all of us so famous and so very dear, for the defence and possession of which so many of my ancestors have in years gone by sacrificed their precious lives. In commemoration of this, the Sesodia Chieftains of Meywar have all since borne the title of "Chittoda." (*Cheers.*) Our meeting to-day is the outflow of the mutual feelings of regard which have existed between the British Government and the Meywar State ever since the year 1818—(*cheers*)—and in proof that this kindly feeling still exists, Your Excellency has invested me, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India, with the honourable insignia of the Star of India, of which Most Exalted Order Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me Knight Grand Commander—(*cheers*)—a title which will tend to increase and make enduring our mutual bonds of union. (*Loud cheers.*) I receive this honour with the greatest pleasure, and beg most heartily to thank Her Imperial Majesty and Your Excellency, being fully confident that this distinction will conduce to the welfare and prosperity of my State and people. (*Cheers.*) I have been looking forward with great pleasure to an opportunity of meeting Your Excellency ever since I heard of your invariable kindness and other many excellent qualities, and rejoice that my wish has now been gratified. (*Cheers.*) May Her Majesty the Queen-Empress have a long, happy, and prosperous reign; and may Your Excellency's management of Indian State affairs be as beneficial to the people as creditable to yourself, and thereby leave in the hearts and minds of the people of India a lasting memorial of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.'

Loud and continued cheers greeted the conclusion of the Maharana's speech. His Excellency the Viceroy, in responding, said:—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I assure you that I am deeply grateful for the toast which has just been proposed on behalf of the Maharana of Oodeypore; and I am greatly touched by the language of His Highness himself, in which that toast has been offered. (*Cheers.*) I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that there is no one present on this occasion who will not have rejoiced at the terms in which the speech read on behalf of His Highness was couched, and who will not have felt proud, as an Englishman, that such

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words should have proceeded from one of the Native Princes of India. It has been to me a source of great gratification to be able to be present upon this occasion, and I particularly rejoice that the first time that I have been called upon, by the command of our gracious Sovereign, to confer upon any native Prince in this country, with the full and complete ceremonial which attaches to that duty, the distinction of a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, should have been the occasion upon which that distinction was conferred upon His Highness the Maharana of the State of Meywar. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice that that should be the case, because His Highness is the foremost representative of the ancient and noble race of Rajputs—(*loud cheers*)—one of the most famous races in the history of Hindustan—(*continued cheers*)—and I rejoice yet more because His Highness is distinguished not only by those noble manners and that gracious bearing which we should expect in one of his illustrious birth, but by the wisdom and by the moderation with which he rules the people entrusted to his care—(*cheers*)—and therefore it seems to me that it was peculiarly appropriate that such a prince should be the first upon whom I should be called during my Viceroyalty to confer this distinction in the name of our Sovereign. There appears to me also to be a peculiar suitability in the locality in which this ceremonial has taken place. Ladies and gentlemen, His Highness has reminded us in touching terms of the memories with which Chittore is rife. Those memories recall deeds of gallantry which with difficulty can be paralleled in other history—deeds of gallantry which marked not men only, but the ladies of his illustrious house. (*Loud cheers.*) There are gathered round the summit of that famous rock, the memories of the chivalry of Rajahstan; there are to be found there, as I saw to-day, those touching memorials, those simple stones so humbly adorned, but adorned with the pious hands of the Rajputs of the present time—(*cheers*)—those stones

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which recall to us the recollection of the men who, when they knew that they had lost all but the honour of their country, died to make that honour secure. (*Loud cheers.*) Well, then, ladies and gentlemen, surely we may all of us congratulate ourselves that we have been present upon an occasion so full of interest upon every ground, and it was to me a very pleasant task to be charged with the duty of placing round the neck of this distinguished prince the very same insignia which are worn from time to time by our gracious Sovereign herself—(*loud cheers*)—the very same insignia which are borne as a proud distinction by the members of the Royal Family of England; and I rejoice, indeed, to find how very correctly and justly His Highness has interpreted the true meaning of the decoration of the Star of India. (*Cheers.*) It might perhaps have been thought by some that the descendant of a race so ancient would have regarded the Order of the Star of India as a recent creation, but His Highness has judged more justly. He has seen that, modern though it may be, that order was established to mark the closer tie which now binds our gracious Sovereign to her Indian dominions—(*loud cheers*)—and to bear unfaltering witness to the affectionate regard on the one side, and the loyal attachment on the other, which unites—and which I trust will ever more and more firmly unite—the Crown of England and Princes and Chiefs of India. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need say no more. I have to ask you to drink a toast which I know you will drink with the utmost enthusiasm. I have to ask you to show your gratitude for the princely hospitality with which we have been entertained—(*cheers*)—and to wish to our illustrious host that long life and that unchanging prosperity which he so richly deserves.

[The toast was drunk enthusiastically, followed by three cheers for the Maharana and one cheer more.]

ADDRESS FROM THE BENARES MUNICIPALITY.

[THE Viceroy arrived at Benares on the morning of the 28th Novem- 29th Nov. 1881. ber. Her Excellency Lady Ripon was detained by illness at Ajmere. His Excellency took the opportunity, during his three days' stay, of visiting the principal public institutions and places of interest in and around Benares. On the afternoon of the 29th, the Viceroy visited the Town Hall, where the Municipal Committee were assembled to welcome him, and where an interesting collection of the arts and manufactures of Benares was laid out for his inspection. On His Excellency's arrival, he was conducted to a seat, when Mr. Hercules Ross, the Chairman of the Municipality, addressed His Excellency in a short informal speech, in which he expressed the gratification of the Municipality at His Lordship's visit; referred to his interest in municipal institutions and their advantage to the country and concluded by hoping that His Excellency would be induced on a future occasion to re-visit Benares. Lord Ripon, in reply, spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am very glad indeed to meet you upon this occasion, and I thank you very much for the kind welcome which you have just accorded to me. Mr. Ross, in the remarks which he has made, has so accurately expressed my sentiments with respect to municipal institutions in India, that it is needless that I should detain you by dilating upon that topic. I can only assure you that it is always a satisfaction to me to meet gentlemen who are, like yourselves, the representatives of their fellow-citizens in the various towns and districts of India; and certainly it gives me great pleasure to meet to-day the representatives of this ancient and famous city. I have heard, I need not say, a great deal, all my life, of the city of Benares; and I am very glad indeed that it has at length fallen to my lot to visit it. I can assure you that, so far as I have yet had an opportunity of seeing the various objects of interest in this city, I have been very much gratified by what I have seen; and I am specially gratified by the circumstance that I now meet you here, gentlemen, in your own Municipal Hall—a hall which has been presented to this body by the munificence of the late

Address from the Bengali Community of Benares.

Maharajah of Vizianagram. I recognise very highly the public spirit of that distinguished person, and I only hope that the example which he set may be largely followed in future by other native chiefs and gentlemen of wealth and distinction. There are few monuments which a man can raise to himself better than one which will recall continually the recollection of his munificence to the minds of his fellow-country-men when they meet for the transaction of public business. Mr. Ross has been good enough to express a hope that my visit here may induce me to return again on some future occasion, before I leave this country, to Benares. Of course, I cannot say whether it will be possible for me to do so or not; but there is one circumstance which would make me more than usually anxious to pay another visit to this city—and that is, that unfortunately, in consequence of an attack of illness, Lady Ripon was unable to accompany me on this occasion, as she had hoped to do. She is very anxious to see a city of which she has heard so much, and I can truly say that it will afford me gratification if on a future occasion I can accompany her here, to see the various objects of interest with which Benares abounds, and which I myself have so much enjoyed. (*Applause.*)

**ADDRESS FROM THE BENGALI COMMUNITY
OF BENARES.**

29th Nov. 1881. [On leaving the Town Hall, His Excellency visited the temple of Vishwanath, the Vizianagram Female School, and the Manmandira Observatory—the latter an ancient and celebrated structure, overlooking the Ganges. After His Excellency had gone over the building, an address of welcome was read to him on behalf of the Bengali Community of Benares, to which he replied as follows :—]

Will you be kind enough to express to the gentlemen who have concurred with you in presenting me with this

Dinner at Nandesur House, Benares.

address, my best thanks, and say that I am very much obliged to them for this proof of their good feeling towards myself. I have heard with particular satisfaction the just appreciation, to which you give expression in your address, of the benefits which the people of this country receive from British rule. I am very glad to observe that those who have drawn up this address so thoroughly enter into the spirit by which the Government, acting under the direction of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, will always be animated. I am also very grateful for the sentiments expressed towards myself, and for the manner in which you have spoken of the course which I pursued during the time I have been in this country in charge of the great and responsible office which I now fill. I can assure you that I appreciate very highly such marks as this, of the good feeling of any portion of the native community of this country. I cannot hope that, in a vast country like India, all the acts of the Government will meet with the approval of all the various sections of the people; but I trust that, like those whom you represent, all classes in India will do me the justice to believe that, whether they approve or do not approve of the course which I may feel it to be my duty to pursue, I shall constantly be animated by the warmest desire for the interest of India and of the inhabitants of the country, and that I shall make it the main object of my administration to promote those interests to the utmost.

[His Excellency then drove to the Sagra Church Missionary Society's School, where another address of welcome was presented, to which he briefly replied.]

DINNER AT NANDESUR HOUSE, BENARES.

[ON the evening of the 29th November, the Maharajah of Benares entertained the Viceroy and about 150 guests, who had been invited 29th Nov. 1881.]

Dinner at Nandesur House, Benares.

to meet His Excellency, at dinner in a large hall adjoining Nandesur House, which was specially erected for the occasion. The hall was brilliantly lighted with chandeliers, and the walls effectively decorated with flags and banners and swords arranged in various devices. At the conclusion of dinner, the Maharajah appeared and took a seat beside the Viceroy, when Mr. Sladen, the Commissioner, on behalf of His Highness, proposed the toast of "The Queen." The toast having been duly honoured, Mr. Sladen again rose and said :—

"*May it please Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—The next toast that I have been asked by His Highness the Maharajah of Benares to propose is the health of his distinguished guest the Marquis of Ripon, Viceroy and Governor General of India. (*Cheers.*) The Maharajah of Benares has desired me to express the great honour that he feels conferred on him, and the pleasure which he has derived from His Excellency's visit; and he trusts that he may be excused for expressing his regret that at the last moment Her Excellency Lady Ripon was prevented by indisposition from accompanying him. The Maharajah trusts that his Excellency has been pleased with what he has so far seen of the ancient city of Benares and its surroundings; and he hopes that he may not have had any cause to regret having given up the idea of the shooting trip to His Highness' preserves that he once projected, in order that he might have a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with Benares and its neighbourhood. (*Cheers.*) The Maharajah hopes, too, that at some future date His Excellency may be able again to visit this place, and in that case he trusts that he may still have the opportunity of showing him some sport in these jungles." (*Cheers.*)

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm—three Pipers of the 78th marching round the hall and playing a national air. His Excellency the Viceroy, in rising to return thanks, was received with cheers. He said :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to return my best thanks to His Highness the Maharajah of Benares for having requested Mr. Sladen to propose my health, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have received that toast. I can assure the Maharajah that it has been a very great pleasure to me to partake of that hospitality for which I have long heard that His Highness is famed. I knew, indeed, by an almost personal experience, that the report of that hospitality was fully substantiated by the fact, because of the kindness which His Highness

Dinner at Nandesur House, Benares.

was good enough to show to my son last year when he paid a visit to this part of the country—(*cheers*) and I was therefore particularly glad to have this opportunity of personally thanking His Highness for that kindness, and of making his acquaintance myself. I have, ladies and gentlemen, derived great pleasure from my visit to this ancient and interesting city. All who had ever heard anything about India have heard of the fame of Benares, of that holy city on the Ganges which has been described by travellers and by historians, and which has been depicted by painters—(*cheers*)—and therefore it has been of course very agreeable to me to have had an early opportunity during my stay in this country of visiting this place; and I can truly say that so far as I have been able during the course of yesterday afternoon and to-day to visit Benares and its neighbourhood, I have derived very great pleasure from the sights which I have everywhere seen. Few things can be, I think, more striking than the contrast which is afforded by the various races of India which are gathered together in the early morning upon the ghats on the Ganges, as I saw them today. Few things can be more curious than those ancient temples, instinct with the memories of many ages, and around which so many interests are gathered in the minds of the Hindu community of this country. I am very well aware, ladies and gentlemen, that in a tour such as that which I have been making in various parts of India, it is very possible to over-estimate the amount of information and of knowledge of the true condition of the people of any country which may be gathered from a rapid progress of that kind. I am very well aware that it is not easy to judge of the real state of a population from seeing them, as a Viceroy necessarily sees the inhabitants of those parts of the country through which he passes, in their gala dress; but at the same time I cannot doubt from the experience which I have recently had, that, even in passing rapidly

Dinner at Nandesur House, Benares.

from one part of the country to another, it is in the power of a person in my position to learn much that may be very valuable to him in the course of his administration of a great Empire like this—(*hear, hear, and cheers*) ;—and if there was nothing else which would be an advantage to one in the position which I fill, it cannot, I think, be doubted that it must be most useful to a Governor-General of this country to have such opportunities as are afforded by occasions like this of making the personal acquaintance of distinguished natives of this country like my friend, the Maharajah of Benares. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that we have had to-night a proof of the princely hospitality which is displayed by His Highness when he assembles his friends around him. We have in this building itself a proof of the almost magic results which can be attained in this country, for I am told that this commodious hall in which we have just been dining, and which might well form a portion of the magnificent palace, has been raised, by some of those arts of legerdemain for which India is famous, within the space of four days. (*Cheers.*) Well, then, we have very much to be grateful to the Maharajah for upon this occasion ; and I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that you will all heartily join with me in drinking the toast with which I am about to conclude, and heartily wishing long life and health to the Maharajah of Benares ; and in expressing the earnest hope which I entertain, that he may soon be entirely delivered from the illness under which he has been recently suffering. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

[After a short interval, the Maharajah rose in person and returned his best thanks to His Excellency, saying that he was only too pleased to feel that his unworthy reception had met with the Viceroy's approval.]

OPENING THE PRINCE OF WALES' HOSPITAL AT BENARES.

[On the afternoon of the 30th November, His Excellency the Viceroy 30th Nov. 1881. opened the Prince of Wales' Hospital. The ceremony took place in a tent in the central enclosure of the Hospital, in the presence of a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen, and of the leading native gentlemen of Benares. The Viceroy, on his arrival, was received by the Hospital Committee and conducted within the enclosure, where there was a guard of honour of the Ghazipur Rifle Volunteers with the Band of the 10th N. I. The Viceroy inspected the Volunteers and was afterwards conducted over the wards by the President and Secretary of the Hospital Committee. He then proceeded to the dais within the tent, and here he was received by the Maharajah of Benares, the Koomar Maharajah, Syed Ahmed Khan, Sir Herbert Macpherson, Mr. Sladen, and others. On His Excellency taking his seat, with the Maharajah on his right, Mr. Sladen the President of the Hospital Committee, read a brief statement of the circumstances under which the hospital was erected. This was followed by a statement by Rajah Shambu Narayana Sinha, the Joint Honorary Secretary to the Hospital Committee, giving particulars of the cost of the undertaking and naming the principal contributors. Syed Ahmed Khan having read a translation of this statement, in the vernacular, His Excellency, at the invitation of the Maharajah, rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Maharajah, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I very gladly comply with the request which has just been made to me by His Highness the Maharajah, that I should undertake the duty of declaring this Hospital to be open. I am sure that there is no one here who will not agree with me that there can be few works for the material benefit of man of greater importance and value than the erection of a new Hospital; and certainly if there was any part of India in which the establishment of a good institution of that description would seem to be peculiarly fitting, it appears to me that that place is this city of Benares—not merely on account of the large population which is gathered within the city walls, but also because, year after year, as we all know, the city of Benares (deemed so sacred by the Hindu

Opening the Prince of Wales' Hospital at Benares.

community throughout India,) is visited by thousands of pilgrims from every part of this peninsula. It is not, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, surprising that His Highness the Maharajah of Benares, who is so distinguished alike by his public spirit and by his generous charity, and those other native gentlemen who are associated with him in the commencement of this undertaking, should a few years ago have felt the want of an institution of this kind and determined that that want should exist no longer. The statements which have been already submitted to you inform those who might not have been previously acquainted with the circumstances, of the course which has been adopted and the steps which have been taken for the purpose of establishing this institution; and this Hospital had the singular honour that the first stone of it was laid by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, during his visit to this country. Now, it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, that it was specially appropriate that, if His Royal Highness was to lay the foundation-stone of any public Hospital in India, one of those which he should have selected should have been this Hospital at Benares, because, in consequence of the circumstance to which I have already alluded, this building will be tenanted not only by the inhabitants of this large city and its neighbourhood, but by the representatives of every portion of Her Majesty's Indian dominions. Under such circumstances, I need not say with how much pleasure I find that it falls to my lot, during this my visit to your ancient city, formally to open this Hospital. A building of which the first stone was laid by the Prince of Wales can receive no additional distinction by being opened by any lesser person; but it is perhaps only fitting that I, who am at the present time the representative in this country of our gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress, should put, as it were, the finishing touch to a work which was so well commenced by His Royal Highness, our Sovereign's son. Ladies and gentlemen, the

Visit to the Government College, Benares.

work of establishing an hospital is one in which men of all races and of every creed may equally share, and I rejoice to find that that has been the case in this instance. At the head of those who founded this institution we find His Highness the Maharajah—the worthy and public-spirited representative of the great Hindu community of India; and we find among those who have been his zealous co-operators in this work, one who is a not less worthy representative of the Mahomedan community—my friend Syed Ahmed. This is as it should be, for it proves that the memory of past animosities and of religious differences the most deep-seated, have melted away before the warm sun of that charity which thinks nothing human alien from its care, and which in an institution of this description is able to unite the sympathies of all varieties of feelings and of opinions in one common effort to alleviate those sufferings to which men, as men, are all alike subject. This is but a portion of that work of union and concord among every section of the community of India, which it ought to be one of the foremost objects of English rule in this country to develop and promote; and therefore it is that I hail the establishment of this Hospital, not only on account of the great and undoubted benefits which it is calculated to confer upon this important community, but also because of the generous spirit by which those who have founded it have been animated; and it is consequently, your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, a very great satisfaction to me now to declare that this, the Prince of Wales' Hospital of Benares, is open. (*Applause.*)

VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, BENARES.

[His Excellency, after leaving the Prince of Wales' Hospital, drove 30th Nov. 1881. to the Government College. Here he was received by the Principal,

Visit to the Government College, Benares.

Dr. Thibaut, who took him through the various class-rooms, after which the Viceroy was conducted to a seat, and one of the students stepped forward and recited the following verses :—

A look of joy the ancient city wears,
Fair Kashi, emerald set in waves of green,
And tower and dome and pinnacle are seen
Beneath the outspread light ; brown Gunga bears,
Sin-laden, to the sea his weight of cares
Laid down by weary man ; while from afar,
Fretting the glowing sky, the tall Minar
The glory of the restless world declares :
This bright and happy day, in which we greet,
In thee, great England, long shall cherished be
In the still halls of learning, when we meet ;
And oft remember that we owe to thee,
When thought greets power in this of thought the seat,
That power is ever kind, and thought is free.

To this and other addresses of welcome in the vernacular His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Mr. Principal and Gentlemen,—I find it rather difficult to respond to the greeting which you have given to me upon this occasion. If I had been possessed of the great poetic talent which distinguished my predecessor, Lord Lytton, I might have made an appropriate reply to the poems which have been addressed to me in due poetic form ; but unfortunately I am only able to thank you in plain prose. I can, however, assure you that I am none the less grateful for the reception which you have given to me upon this occasion. It is a great pleasure to me to visit this institution and to find it installed in a building so beautiful and so commodious. I understand that the College of Benares is one of the oldest educational institutions in this country, connected with the British Government ; and it is to me, therefore, peculiarly interesting to be able to visit it on this occasion. It may be known to some of you that I have, for a very much longer period than, perhaps, I should like to recall, felt the deepest interest in all that concerns the progress of education, whether in my own country in England or here in India ; and therefore, to visit an institution of this kind, dating back for a long period of years, and to find it

Visit to the Government College, Benares.

continuing to flourish, and numbering (as I understand it does at the present moment) almost one thousand students, is a matter of very great satisfaction and gratification to me. I will not now detain you long; but would venture to express my hope that I may draw from one of the expressions contained in the English poem which has just been read, an indication of the spirit in which the studies of this place are pursued. I observe that in this poetical address you speak of "the still halls of learning." Now, I am very glad to find that you apply that adjective *still* to these halls of learning, because I trust that it shows that the students of the Benares College feel that they are not here for purposes of display—feel that the end and aim of their studies is not to be that they may know a little about a great many things, and may, when they go forth from this institution, flourish their limited amount of knowledge in the faces of those who know less than themselves; but that they feel that their studies here are to be conducted in that earnest, quiet, zealous spirit which I hope may be indicated by your use of the words "the still halls of learning." Rely upon it that it is better to know one thing well than to know a little of many things; that it is better that your studies should, so far as they may reach, be deep and real, than that they should appear to the outward world to be varied and extensive; and I trust that it is in that quiet spirit of true students that you pursue your labours here. If you do, you will win from Knowledge those great secrets and those glorious gifts which she can give you; but if you seek first and foremost to make her subservient to little ends and mean purposes, I can tell you that that fair Dame cannot be won by homage like that, and that those to whom she reveals her secrets are those who seek her for herself. It is my earnest hope that it is in this disposition that you approach and prosecute your studies, under the able guidance of your Principal. If I am not mistaken, he was once engaged in warfare of another kind; I trust that in the

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peaceful campaign which he is now carrying on against ignorance, he will win laurels far purer than those which in his earlier days crowned the standards of his country. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT ST. XAVIER'S
COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

9th Dec. 1881. [ON Friday afternoon, the 9th December, the Viceroy presided at the annual Distribution of Prizes to the Pupils of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. His Excellency, on his arrival at the College, was received by His Grace, Archbishop Goethals, and the Rector of the College, and conducted to the hall set apart for the ceremony, which was filled by a large assembly. At the conclusion of a dramatic exercise by the boys, seats were placed on the stage for His Excellency, the Archbishop, and others. The Viceroy then distributed the prizes, after which an address was read by one of the students, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Professors and Students of this College,—I can assure you I have received the address which has just been presented to me by the students of this institution with great satisfaction. I must, however, say, ladies and gentlemen, that I find myself upon this occasion in a somewhat difficult and unusual position, for I am not accustomed, I confess, to tread these boards, and we all know the fate of those who upon any stage are called upon, with inferior talents, to succeed consummate actors. However, I must do the best I can in the trying circumstances in which I am placed, and I feel that I may hope to be able to discharge my duty more efficiently than those circumstances would appear to render possible, because, at all events, I have at heart very deeply the cause which this institution is intended to promote. It had been my hope that I might have distributed these prizes last December, but I was prevented on that occasion by a severe illness from fulfilling the engagement I had made. I rejoice, however,

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that it has pleased God to enable me to discharge that duty to-night, and I am very glad to have the opportunity of performing it, first, because of the high respect which I entertain for the Reverend Fathers who are doing in this College such good work for this great town, and for India; and secondly, because I have this day had an opportunity of witnessing a display of the talent possessed by the students of this College, under circumstances which, in many respects, afford a fair test of the extent to which those who have appeared before us to-night possess many, at all events, of those qualities which will enable them successfully to enter upon the contest and the hard business of life, to which they will so soon be called. I trust, however, ladies and gentlemen, that our young friends will not in the future altogether take as their model that famous Scapin who has been so well represented to us to-night with an ability and talent which are highly remarkable (*applause*), but whose peculiar talents it would be better to imitate on the stage, than in real life; while at the same time, I can form no better wish for my young friends, the pupils of this institution, than that all the events of their lives may end as happily, and, above all, that their matrimonial speculations may be as successful as those of Octavio. And again, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to have this opportunity of marking by my presence the interest which I feel in this institution, because I am strongly convinced that a good work is being done here. It appears to me that this College of St. Francis Xavier may be justly considered a real place of education. There are many circumstances in the present time, which tend to make men often think that the mere cultivation of the intellect represents the full and complete idea of education. I am very well aware that, in the days in which we live, it is impossible, under many circumstances and in many institutions, to attempt more than the cultivation of the intellect in some or all of its branches; but the idea of a full and complete education

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means the training of the whole man—not intellectual training alone, but moral training also (*applause*); and that we know, from the testimony of those who are best acquainted with the work which is being done in this College, is the aim successfully carried out in the institution on behalf of which we are assembled to-night. I am very glad to learn, from the information which has been placed at my disposal, that this institution is at the present time in a flourishing condition, and that its numbers have of late years been steadily increasing, and its sphere of usefulness extending; and it is my earnest hope that it will go forward in the good work in which it is engaged, and that, under the zealous guidance of those Reverend Fathers who preside over it, it will extend still further its sphere of utility. I am desirous to avail myself of this opportunity, however, of pointing out to those who are the students of this institution that, if we interpret that great word “education” as I have interpreted it just now, we must all of us bear in mind that education of that kind,—the real complete training of the man,—does not terminate when his school period, or when his University studies, are ended. Education in that sense is a thing which for all of us ends only with the end of our lives. But there is this difference between the education which may be received here, and that which you will have to get for yourselves in after-life,—that here you have provided for you good masters, able professors, and a sound method of teaching; but when you go forth from this College (when your student’s life is ended, but your education still goes on) you will in the world be surrounded by teachers of every kind,—by teachers of evil as well as of good, and of error as well as of truth; that you will then be without the guidance which you here possess, and that it will rest with yourselves to say which of these teachers you will choose. For in that long education of the life of man, every circumstance is in some way a teacher, every companion and every friend; and

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it rests, then, with yourselves, relying upon God's aid and His holy guidance, to determine whether you will choose that path which will ever lead you on to further developments of your intellectual and moral nature, or whether, turning away into the broad road that leadeth to destruction, you will undo the work which has been done for you here. Here there is laid, as I believe, a solid foundation, but it is a foundation only, and it will depend upon yourselves, when you go forth amidst the trials of life, to say whether you will build upon that foundation the beautiful edifice of a pure and noble life, or whether you will leave its stones bare, or overlay them with the foul mud of an ignoble existence. (*Applause.*) You have said, my young friends, in the kind address which you have presented to me, that the prizes which I have just distributed have been contested upon a peaceful battle-field. I have no doubt these prizes have been well fought for, and have been won in a real and honourable competition. If the idea that I was to present you with these prizes to-day has been any encouragement to you in that strife, I sincerely rejoice; but you have pointed out most truly that the primary incitement to earnest exertion and good work should ever be found, not in any earthly patronage, nor in the hope of any personal distinction, but in the desire to please God, to develop those faculties with which He has so largely endowed you, that you may use them for His service, and faithfully to do your duty to Him and to your fellow-men. (*Loud applause.*)

ASSAM EMIGRATION BILL.

[In the Legislative Council, held on the 15th December, Mahārāja 15th Dec. 1881. Jotindra Mohun Tagore made a statement regarding the Bill to amend the Law relating to emigration to the labour districts of Bengal and Assam, in which he asked that the Bill might be referred

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back to the Select Committee for further consideration, with special reference to a memorial from the British Indian Association, which criticised in detail many of the provisions of the Bill, and in view of the fact that native opinion was strongly opposed to its becoming law in its present form. The Hon. Mr. Thompson (the Member in charge of the Bill) expressed himself willing to accept the suggestion, on the understanding that the Bill should be brought up again in Council at its first meeting after the Viceroy's return from Burma for final consideration and passing into law.

His Excellency the President said:—]

It seems to me that the course suggested by my honourable friend who has just spoken is the right one in this case. The question has been carefully considered by the Government of India, and it is a mistake to suppose that they have not given consideration to the interests of both the parties who are concerned in this legislation. But, on the other hand, I do not think it would be desirable that any portion of the public should labour under the impression that the interests of those who are least able to represent their views in this matter have not been fully considered; and, under these circumstances, and in order especially to meet the views of the British Indian Association, I concur with my friend Mahárájá Jotíndra Mohun Tagore, that the Bill should be referred back to the Select Committee with the addition of the Honourable Members proposed (Mahárájá Jotíndra Mohun Tagore and the Honourable Mr. Inglis), but on the distinct understanding that the Committee's final report on the Bill shall be taken into consideration on the first day on which the Council sits after my return from Burma; which will probably be the 5th of January.

5th Jan. 1882. [The Bill came up again before the Legislative Council, for final discussion, on Thursday, the 5th January 1882. Mr. Thompson presented the further report of the Select Committee, and moved that it be taken into consideration. He addressed the Council at some length, and was followed by Mr. Inglis, Mahárájá Jotíndra Mohun Tagore, Mr. Reynolds, Sir Ashley Eden, Mr. Stokes, Sir Donald Stewart, and Mr. Thompson again, in reply to points raised by

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Mahárájá Jotindra Mohun Tagore and the Lieutenant-Governor.
His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—]

I have listened with great interest to the discussion which has taken place, and am very glad that, on the occasion of the last meeting of this Council, we agreed to the postponement of the consideration of the Bill before us to-day. I think that the alterations made in the Bill by the Select Committee are decided improvements—improvements which have been suggested by the public discussions which have taken place and the interest which has been taken in the question by my honourable friend Mahárájá Jotindra Mohun Tagore. I am also very glad that this measure has been now fully discussed by the public, and carefully considered by the members of this Council at a very full meeting such as that which has assembled on the present occasion.

I do not think there is the slightest necessity for me to take any notice of what our American cousins would call the “tall talk” which has gone on about this Bill. We are all very well aware of the value of that sort of thing, and it is not my intention to occupy the time of the Council in making any answer to the very exaggerated statements which have been made in respect of this measure. But one thing has struck me in regard to it, and that is, the great change which has taken place in the view taken of this kind of legislation in regard to emigration to Assam.

Some persons speak now as if this was the first step which had been taken in this direction, and as if the whole object of the Bill was to advance the interests of the planters, at the expense of the coolies ; but the statement which was made by my honourable friend the Lieutenant-Governor, and the extracts which have been read by him from his remarks when he had charge of the Bill in the Bengal Council, will show that when this system of emigration was originally introduced, it was brought forward entirely in the interests of the coolies, and that the object

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was to restrict the system of emigration, which was then open to great abuses, and in which serious evils existed. The original Bill was introduced to regulate that system. That was not only the opinion of Sir Ashley Eden; but I find, on reference to the discussions in 1862, that a gentleman who is well known to all present here—Nawab Abdul Latif—on that occasion took precisely the same view of the objects and purposes of this legislation. That gentleman said, he “thought that the proposed measure was very proper and very much called for. There was great propriety in the interference of the Government in a matter which daily concerned the welfare of thousands of its subjects.” Therefore, it was admitted at the very inception of this business, that the distinct object and purpose of this legislation was the protection of the cooly against the evils to which he was subject under the emigration arrangements of the time. I feel, as strongly as any one can, the difficulty which exists with regard to legislation of this kind. The moment you come to interfere between the employers of labour and those whom they employ, you enter into a most difficult field of legislation; for it is the duty of Government to look into the interests of both parties. In many respects it may undoubtedly be said that those interests are identical; but at the same time it cannot be denied that there are other respects in which they are antagonistic. And it is a very difficult task to draw the right line in legislation of this description, so as to deal with perfect fairness to both parties. I, therefore, shall greatly rejoice when the time arrives—and I think, with several here, that it may not be very distant—when special legislation with regard to this question may be dispensed with, and the whole subject of emigration from India, and immigration into Assam, may be left to the operation of the ordinary laws of the country. We are approaching that time, I think, somewhat rapidly, because I hope we may very soon improve our communications with Assam; and I can say for myself and my honourable colleagues, that it is

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our earnest desire to do everything we can to promote the improvement of those communications, whether by rail or by water, and the great object we have in view is to arrive at a period when this matter may be left entirely to the ordinary laws of the country.

Now it has been said that there is something inconsistent in maintaining side by side a regulated system of emigration, such as is provided for in this Act, and in admitting at the same time the free engagement of labourers in Assam when once they get there. I confess I think that is not a valid objection, because there is no doubt that the difficulties of communication and the cost of bringing labourers to Assam are still great, and form the ground of a reasonable desire on the part of planters to have the security of a contract of some duration to recoup them for the expense to which they are necessarily put in bringing coolies to the tea districts from such considerable distances. If contracts of long duration are to be sanctioned by law, it becomes necessary, in the interest of the cooly, to have a system for his protection. But as communications have already improved, and from various circumstances the time appears to be approaching when a system of free emigration may be adopted in Assam, it seems, extremely desirable and natural that you should make a commencement at the present time. It should be borne in mind that all that has been done is to give labourers who go to Assam, or who are there, the same rights in respect of their labour as would be enjoyed by them under the general law of the country, and to put them on precisely the same footing as any man who enters into a labour contract in the Punjab or anywhere else. I am bound to say I think a very strong case ought to be made out before the Government of India would be justified in continuing to refuse persons in Assam the same right to enter into arrangements for their own labour which are already enjoyed by persons in other parts of India. I have taken a great deal of interest in

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this question, because, as I said before, it is a question of very great difficulty, in which you have to deal with the interests of two distinct parties, one of which is much more able to represent his feelings than the other,—consequently, one of the great objects I have had in view has been to ascertain what is the real state of things in Assam under the present law. You have heard the statement of my honourable and gallant friend the Commander-in-Chief as to the impressions left on his mind by the result of his recent visit to Assam; and I am certain that nothing can be more satisfactory than what my honourable and gallant friend has gathered from such inspection as he has been able to make, as to the condition of coolies on tea plantations. He has said that their condition is not only as good, but certainly better than, the condition of similar labouring persons elsewhere in India. But the opportunities I have had of acquiring information are not confined to the statements I have just referred to, for I have had the great advantage of consulting, in the various stages of this Bill, with the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Elliott, who, as everybody who knows him can testify, is a singularly able and energetic officer. He has been very careful in giving his opinion on the subject. When he was first called upon, he declined—and I think very rightly—to express any decided opinion till he had the opportunity of looking into the matter himself and seeing what was the real condition of affairs; but, having done so, Mr. Elliott tells me now that he is perfectly satisfied that the condition of the coolies in Assam is generally highly satisfactory; that they are not subjected to oppression, and that, as a rule their employers, though there may be individual exceptions, are most anxious to treat the coolies well, and that the arrangements for their housing, medical attendance, and general comfort, and the relations which exist between the planter and his coolies, are of as satisfactory a character as can be expected to exist anywhere.

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Now, when we look at this question, we ought to look at it from a practical point of view, and such testimony as I have just adduced has therefore a very important bearing on that matter. This Bill has been treated to a certain extent as if it were new legislation, and several at all events of the criticisms sent in to Government by those who have made representations in connection with the Bill, have been criticisms, not upon the new provisions of this measure, but upon the provisions of the Bill, which are re-enactments of the existing Bengal law. Now, no doubt, any Government which adopts what I think is the best system—and certainly the most convenient system in a case of this kind—and, when it wants to alter the existing law, repeals that law so as to embody the whole law on the subject in one new measure, is exposed, not here only, but at home, to the inconvenience of persons looking at the Bill, not as a re-enactment of the existing law, but as something entirely new, and proceeding to find all sorts of faults with provisions which have been, in fact, in operation for many years. That has to a certain extent been the case with this Bill. The fact of the matter is, that the far greater portion of the Bill is a re-enactment of the existing law. If any one will turn to the Bill and look carefully at the new provisions it contains, he will find that the major part of them are distinctly in favour of the cooly, and intended to increase his protection and improve his position. I will not trouble the Council by going through the details of those provisions. I have done so carefully, and I can say that the statement I have made, that the majority of those provisions are in favour of the cooly, is undoubtedly correct.

There are certainly provisions in which alterations have been made at the instance of the employers, and not of the employed. The principal changes in that direction to which I will advert have been, first, the, prolongation of the period of the contract from three to five years. My honourable friend Mahárájá Jotíndra Mohun Tagore objects to that,

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and it is a very fair subject for discussion. All I have to say is, that it is a point which, in the original memorial of gentlemen interested in the tea industry, was most pressed on the Government. It does seem to me to be extremely hard to say to them, "You shall not be allowed to enter into a contract of the same length as persons engaged in the British colonies, and as the French and other foreign Governments are allowed." I do not think that is a position which this Government can occupy; but we have provided that during the last year of the five-year contract, the wages paid to the coolies shall be steadily increased. There has been some misconception, I think, with regard to the provision regulating the minimum wages to be paid to the cooly. A good deal of the controversy has been worded, at all events, as if those who entered upon it had thought that what was fixed was the maximum, not minimum, of wages. As I understand the nature of the industrial arrangements of Assam, every able-bodied cooly will undoubtedly earn, as he does now, a much larger amount of wages than he would be entitled to as a minimum. The fact of the matter is that by the system of task-work, I believe the wages of the coolies are far higher than they are in many other parts in India, and the labourers in Assam have also the advantage that their wives and children are able to be employed on the light labour of picking tea-leaves in certain seasons of the year. So that the total amount of wages of the family is very much larger than what we can, I fear, state to be the income of the labouring classes in other parts of India, and it is quite unreasonable to treat figures which are strictly a minimum as if the intention of the Legislature was to fix wages at that amount. The object of that figure is to prevent a sick or weakly cooly from being employed below a certain rate. It is always expected that able-bodied men will earn a great deal more, but we have felt ourselves bound to protect the weaker coolies against their being placed in a position which would leave them with means

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wholly inadequate for the sustenance of themselves and their families.

I now come to the question which has been raised with respect to the measure which has been proposed, in order to make sure, before the cooly is moved from his place of residence, that he is really acquainted with the nature of the contract into which he has entered. I have before me a very fair and temperate representation which has been made by the Indian Association within the last two or three days. They have argued the subject very fairly, and they have put forward objections to certain parts of the Bill which are well entitled to consideration. They press upon us in their memorial, this point of the ignorance of the cooly, and give a curious extract from a book published by a missionary of the Brahmo Somáj, to show how very ignorant a great number of the coolies who engage to go to Assam are. I have no doubt that that is a perfectly fair statement of the knowledge of many of these coolies; but I do claim for the Bill that it takes the utmost possible care that the labourer should thoroughly understand the nature of the engagement he is about to enter into. I know that my honourable friend Mr. Rivers Thompson has considered this point to be one of great importance, and we are aware that the British Indian Association has made some useful suggestions upon it: there are also other useful suggestions in their memorial, but this one is to my mind the most important. They suggest that it should be made perfectly clear that it is the duty of the registering officer to explain the contract to the cooly. It was always intended that that officer should make that explanation to the cooly; but it is much better to make it plain and explicit, and to put into specific words that it is his duty to do so. The registering officer has therefore been directly required to explain the terms of the contract to the coolies, and, as pointed out by Mr. Rivers Thompson, the Bill provides that the officer shall assure himself that such person is competent to enter into such contract,

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and understands the same as regards the locality, period and nature of the service, and the rate of wages and the price at which rice is to be supplied to him; that the terms thereof are in accordance with law; that he has not been induced to agree to enter thereunto by any coercion, undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation or mistake, and that he is willing to fulfil the same. I do not know how you can cover wider ground than this.

If a cooly, as in the case mentioned in the memorial of the Indian Association, has been told that he is being taken to the house of a European in Calcutta to work as a servant there, he has been clearly engaged under a misrepresentation. The registering officer is also to satisfy himself that the cooly, at the last moment, after the fullest explanation has been given to him of all the particulars of his contract, is then and there willing to enter into the contract. That, I think, is an answer to the point which has been suggested by my honourable friend Mahárájá Jotindra Mohan Tagore, because, if a man is not really willing, the contract is void.

There is only one more point of detail in regard to which I will say a word. My honourable friend alluded to the power which the Bill confers, of arresting an absconded labourer without a warrant. I am not the least surprised that he should view this power with suspicion. It is a power which ought not to be conferred without the greatest possible care, and I myself shared the suspicion of my honourable friend, and viewed it with considerable doubt and hesitation; but it is also true, as has been shown by my honourable and learned friend Mr. Stokes, that this is a power which has been granted, not only in this case and in that of British Burma, but is conferred in certain cases in England; it is a power that has hitherto been worked without complaint, so far as I know, in Assam. The Commission which was appointed to enquire into the matter recommended that the limit of ten miles which exists in the

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Bengal law should be entriely done away with, and that the power should be altogether unrestricted. I did not feel myself free to accept that proposal. I consider that this is a power which requires to be carefully watched, and I do not think that it will be right to abolish the limit altogether, or that a man should be liable to arrest without a warrant, close to the door of a Magistrate from whom a warrant might be obtained. But I became convinced, and the members of the Government were convinced, after careful and prolonged consideration, that, as a matter of fact, the ten miles limit is altogether illusory; that it is not, generally speaking, paid attention to, and that there is a much better chance of the check upon arrest without warrant being made practically effective if the limit is reduced from ten to five miles—that being a reasonable distance within which you may require that a person should go to a Magistrate to obtain a warrant. And therefore it was, though not without reluctance, that I consented to the modification of the limit from ten miles to five. I can assure my honourable friend that I should be the last person to agree to anything that was calculated to extend unnecessarily a power so open to objection as that of arrest without warrant; but in a country where communications are so difficult, and the number of persons exercising magisterial powers are necessarily so restricted, as at present in Assam, a provision of this sort appears to be called for.

I do not think that I need detain the Council with any further remarks, except to say that the real question which we have to consider in regard to this Bill is, whether the time has come when it is possible at once to leave emigration to Assam to be carried out entriely under the ordinary laws of the country; or whether it is necessary to continue for a time a system of special regulation. That is the first question we have to consider. It certainly seems to me that the time has not come in which, in the interests of the coolies

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themselves, we can allow them to be engaged in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces and taken to Assam at the expense of the planter, without taking on their behalf proper precautions for their good treatment when they arrive there. And there is another reason why the present system should not be abandoned at this moment, and that is, that we shall be selecting a very unfortunate period for disorganising the existing arrangements for cooly-labour for Assam. The tea industry, as we all know, has been for the last few years in a suffering condition. Things are rather improving at the present time; prices are rising, and the English public are becoming sensible of the good quality of India teas; and this time of transition seems to me to be most inopportune for making any great change in the law regulating the organization of the tea industry. I am sure the Council will be of opinion that it is of the utmost importance to the interest of the great mass of the people that we should encourage as much as possible the application of capital for the opening out of the resources of the country and the promotion of a fresh means of employment for the people. And it cannot be gainsaid, that it is in itself a great advantage that we should drain off a portion of the overcrowded population of some parts of the country to other parts where it is sparse. I am told that, in the case of many coolies who go to Assam, they are able at the termination of their engagement to procure land for themselves, and to settle down to cultivate it, and can also get employment for themselves and their wives and children, on fair terms, on the tea plantations. It is an enormous advantage to relieve the crowded districts of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces—where population increases, as the census shows, from year to year, from decade to decade—and to induce a portion of the inhabitants of those districts to pass away to other parts, where their condition will be materially improved. It is better for those who remain and for those who go.

Distribution of Prizes at La Martinière.

These are the questions of general consideration connected with this matter. If it has been asserted that the Government of India has, in regard to this measure, been actuated by any desire to promote the interest of one class in preference to another, I do not care to answer such an accusation. I am quite prepared to leave the judgment of my own conduct to those who know anything of my character; for if I did not believe that this measure would improve the condition of the tea industry in Assam and conduce greatly to the welfare of the coolies, I should certainly not give my consent to it.

[The Bill was then passed.]

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT LA MARTINIÈRE.

[ON Thursday afternoon, the 15th December, the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the pupils of La Martinière Schools, in the presence of a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen. Owing to indisposition, the Marchioness of Ripon was unable to attend. His Excellency, on his arrival, was received by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the school authorities, and by a Guard of Honor of the Martinière Cadet Corps, whose band played the National Anthem. The Head Master having read the Annual Report, the Viceroy distributed the prizes, after which His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows:—]

Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that I am very glad to have been able to attend here to-day, because the name of La Martinière is one well known to all those who are at all acquainted with India, and has certainly been known to me long before I came out to this country. I am glad to be able to offer to the Governors, to the Head Master, to the other teachers of this institution, and to all friends of La Martinière, my congratulations, upon the satisfactory report which has been read to us to-day, and upon the pleasing and agreeable character of all we have seen and listened to upon this occasion.

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Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply impressed with the necessity that exists for schools of this description, which provide a sound and useful education for large numbers of the children of Europeans and Eurasians, upon conditions which are consonant with the feelings and wishes of their parents. You, sir, in the report which you just now read alluded to the school as coming within the category of "schools established in the plains," and you spoke of the difference which exists with respect to the advantages of hill schools. Well, I am not about to enter now into any argument on the subject, and that for one very obvious reason—that I believe there is ample room for schools of both descriptions. I feel strongly that, particularly for children of European race, schools in the hills present undoubted advantages; but it is, on the other hand, perfectly evident that, in a great city like Calcutta, and in many other large towns of India, there is ample room and an unquestionable necessity for schools such as this, on whose behalf we are assembled to-day; and the need of such schools, and their public utility, has been recently acknowledged in the Resolution of the Government of India to which the Head Master alluded in the report. That Resolution deals with a part only,—if you look to the numerical proportion of the population with which it deals—with but a small part of the great question of public education in India. But it appears to me that, in the careful abstinence which characterises that Resolution, from all interference with religious instruction; in the earnest respect which the Government of India shows for the conscientious feelings of parents, and in our readiness to employ all existing educational machinery, to the utmost of our power, to aid in the great work of education in this country, that Resolution is founded upon principles of general application.

I, for one, ladies and gentlemen, have never been an advocate for strict uniformity in any educational system; and I have never been one of those who desire that a

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system of public education in any country should be directed to train up men after one single type alone. On the contrary, I attach great importance to securing a variety of educational institutions and systems, because I believe it is of very great value that those varying characteristics which distinguish classes and races and individuals should all have their appropriate training, so that the educational system of any country should secure to the people the full and rich development of all shades of the national character.

Now, there are many circumstances in the present day which tend in the direction of producing a greater amount of uniformity among men, and to the getting rid of, and diminishing, originality of mind. This I think to be a tendency against which we ought to contend, and I am, therefore, no advocate, in this or in any other country, for any unnecessary interference on the part of the Government in the matter of education. What the Government does—what any central Government does—is necessarily of an uniform character, and tends to become more and more stereotyped as time goes on. A system originally well established, may possess the very best features of the educational system of the time; but as it continues, it is likely to fall behind and to make little use of new views and further educational developments, unless we find side by side with the system maintained by the Government, independent institutions like this, which enter into rivalry with the institutions more directly connected with the administration of the country; a rivalry which is perfectly friendly—a rivalry for the promotion of one noble object—a rivalry from which Government institutions have nothing to fear, and from which, in my judgment, they have much to gain. (*Applause.*) When I say that I am no eager advocate for the extension of Government interference in education, I say that upon one condition, and with one proviso, and that is, that the work of education, in this country shall be efficiently done. That I hold to be a *sine quâ non*; and it

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is quite clear, I think, that in no country, whether in Europe or here, can that work in these days, in all its width and extension, be adequately carried out independently of the assistance and of the funds of the central administration. And if this be true of European countries—if it be true of England—I am inclined to think that it is much more true of India; and I trust, therefore, that none of you, who have listened to the observations I have just made, will carry away with you any idea that it would be the tendency of my policy, as Viceroy of this country, to restrict the aid of Government in the promotion of public education. On the contrary, I desire to extend that assistance and to carry it deeper down into the lower ranks of the population; but it is for that very reason, and because I feel that the work to be done in regard to public education is a work of such great magnitude, and because I recognise that if it is to be done efficiently, it will involve a larger amount of expenditure than it is possible for the Government of the country at present to embark upon—that I accept heartily the coöperation of institutions of this kind (*applause*); and therefore I am glad to have had this opportunity of expressing the deep and sincere interest which I feel in the work which is being done here, and in other kindred colleges and schools.

And, ladies and gentlemen, if I have seized this opportunity of giving expression to that sentiment, there is also another feeling to which I cannot help alluding upon this occasion. I cannot help availing myself of the opportunity now afforded to me to return my best thanks on behalf of myself, and I may say of my colleagues of the Government of India, to Archdeacon Baly, for the great services which he has rendered to the cause of European and Eurasian education in this country. (*Applause.*) We owe Archdeacon Baly our best thanks. But there are others, too, who owe him thanks yet greater and deeper—the European and Eurasian inhabitants of this country, for whose interests in matters concerning the education of

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their children he has done so much, in whose cause he has spent so much time and study, and worked so unceasingly. They owe him a debt of the deepest gratitude. (*Applause.*)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I do not know that I need detain you longer upon this occasion. I have to say, on behalf of Lady Ripon, that she deeply regrets that she was not able, on account of not being by any means strong, to be present here on an occasion which would have afforded her so much interest and pleasure.

I have only, in conclusion, most heartily to wish prosperity to the Calcutta La Martinière. It has nearly fifty years of good work to show, and I earnestly desire that for many half centuries, and for centuries still to come, it will continue to furnish and to train up successive generations of young men and young women like those who have appeared before us to-day—whose lives, when they go forth from this institution, will bear bright witness to the moral and intellectual fruits which result from the culture which this place affords. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF RANGOON.

[On Friday evening, the 15th of December, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Ripon embarked on board the *Tenasserim* for a visit to British Burma. The party accompanying Their Excellencies was composed of the Hon. E. Baring ; C. Grant, Esq. ; E. C. Buck, Esq. ; H. W. Primrose Esq. ; the Rev. H. S. Kerr ; Surgeon-Major Anderson ; and Captains Brett, Muir, and Durand, Aides-de-Camp. The *Tenasserim* arrived at Rangoon on the afternoon of the 20th December, Their Excellencies being met at the mouth of the river by Mr. C. E. Bernard (the Chief Commissioner) and a small party of gentlemen, in one of the steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company. At a quarter past 4 the Viceroy landed at the Phayre Street Wharf, where he was received by the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by all the Civil and Military Officials of Rangoon, by the Municipal Committee, the Port Trust

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Commissioners, the Chamber of Commerce, and the principal residents. The wharf had been decorated for Their Excellencies' reception by a Committee of the people of Rangoon. Ladies of the Principal Burmese families of Rangoon and its neighbourhood were assembled in a part of the wharf set apart for them, and welcomed the Viceroy and Lady Ripon after their national custom. On His Excellency entering the covered part of the wharf, Major Poole, the President of the Municipality, read an address of welcome, which concluded by expressing the satisfaction of the Municipality at the recent Resolution of Government, favouring the policy of recognising and encouraging the independence of municipal bodies.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am much obliged to you for your address, and for the sentiments which it contains. I thank you sincerely for the congratulations which you have been good enough to offer me upon my arrival in this your city. I can assure you it is a source of great pleasure to me to visit a province of Her Majesty's Indian dominions, so marked by its advancement and progress as the province of Burma; and I expect to derive both gratification and advantage from the opportunity I shall have of seeing some portion of so interesting a part of India. Gentlemen, I rejoice to find that you hail with satisfaction and approval a recent Resolution of the Government of India upon the subject of decentralisation, and the extension of local self-government; and I am very glad to learn from my friend Mr. Bernard that measures have already been taken for extending the principle of election to the chief municipalities of Burma, and that, at all events as regards the population of Rangoon, that proposal has been received with favour. I sometimes hear it said that the natives in many parts of India are indifferent to the system of election, and that the best men in the various cities are not willing to come forward and to offer themselves to the choice of their fellow-citizens. With respect to the modes and forms of election to be adopted in any part of the diversified dominions of our Queen in this country, what the Government of India would desire is that such systems should be selected as

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may be deemed most suited to the indigenous habits of each portion of the empire, and most in accordance with native feeling. And with respect to any hesitation (if any such does exist) in the minds of the best men of the European or Native community to offer themselves to the choice of their neighbours, all I can say is that for my part I regard a man who is selected by his fellow-townsmen to represent their interests in a municipality, as one who receives a high distinction; and that I should always myself be inclined, as Viceroy of India, to mark by other honours my sense of the position of any one who had been for a series of years honoured by the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. Gentlemen, as I am speaking upon this topic, I may be permitted to say that I have read with very great satisfaction the remarks upon this question of Municipal Government, which are contained in a recent Administration Report of your Chief Commissioner. Mr. Bernard has shown that he thoroughly and rightly appreciates the objects and the intention of the Government of India in this matter; and I may in truth say, briefly, that the views which are expressed in that Administration Report appear to me to be a model of those by which the Government of India would desire that Local Governments should be animated. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen,—We have present here with us to-day my honourable colleague Major Baring, the Financial Member of Council, and I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging the large share he has borne in the preparation and development of the Resolution to which I have been referring, and the deep interest which he feels in all that tends to extend local self-government in this country. What we desire is, to see local interests managed by local bodies representing local opinion. In our opinion it is a distinct credit to any district officer if he is found to work through, and with, the Municipality with which he has to do; and it seems to us that it is better that even useful

Address from the Burman Community.

reforms should be postponed for a year or two, and ultimately carried out with the consent of local bodies, and in the form most acceptable to them, than that they should be adopted at once, with a disregard of the feelings of the municipal body. We desire to respect the independence of such bodies, and to encourage them to speak their minds freely; but at the same time, we should not be justified in permitting a backward and obstructive municipality permanently to stand in the way of the welfare of their fellow-citizens, to postpone indefinitely necessary measures of sanitary reform, education, water-supply, improvement of roads, or the like. We do not do so in England. In many cases, the Government at home takes the power to itself of enforcing the necessary measures on municipalities who show themselves unworthy of the trust reposed in them: in short, the principle on which the Resolution is founded may be said to be this,—We wish to use local bodies to the utmost, in the management of local affairs; we desire to secure them from hasty or needless interference; we desire to deal with them with the utmost patience; but, on the other hand, we do not intend that they should be permitted to obstruct the solid good of their fellow-citizens in any case in which they may show themselves permanently unwilling to discharge the duties entrusted to them. I have thought it desirable, as you are about to enter, more widely than before, on the course of municipal self-government, to take this opportunity of explaining the views of the Government of India in this matter. It only remains for me to thank you once more for your kind welcome.

ADDRESS FROM THE BURMAN COMMUNITY.

20th Dec. 1891. [THE Viceregal Party then proceeded up the wharf, at the outside of which the Burmese section of the community presented an address of

Address from the Burman Community.

welcome, of which the following is a translation:—"May it please Your Excellency,—We the undersigned members of the Burmese Community respectfully beg to state:—"That, owing to the just and upright Government exercised over the people of the country in consequence of the good will, sympathy, and other kindly feelings entertained by Your Excellency for them, without distinction as to race, they are free from anxiety and dread, and, like fresh blossoms, they live in exceeding contentment and happiness under the shelter of the British flag. They longed, previously to Your Excellency's arrival, to behold the face of him to whose attention and care they are indebted for this peaceful security. And now that Your Excellency has graciously been pleased to visit these shores, and they are enabled personally to behold and pay their respects to Your Excellency, their delight and amazement at the favour vouchsafed them are unbounded. They know plainly that Your Excellency has at heart the contentment and happiness of various races under Your Excellency's government, and that Your Excellency exercises just government over them accordingly. They earnestly pray, therefore, that the life of Your Excellency may be prolonged, that the glory, might, and honour of Your Excellency may day by day increase, and that the just government of Your Excellency may continue to be exercised over them as heretofore."

His Excellency's reply, which was translated for the audience, was as follows :—]

Gentlemen of the Burman Community,—I am very much pleased by the terms of the address which you have presented to me, and I can assure you that I am very glad that I have been able to visit this interesting province so soon after the time of entering upon my duties as Viceroy of India. I am well aware that Burma is one of the most progressive provinces of India, and I therefore rejoice, indeed, to have this opportunity of seeing its condition with my own eyes. The Government of India regards the races and creeds upon a footing of perfect equality ;—that is one of the fundamental principles of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress in this country. Therefore, we regard you, who belong to a race so different from those with which other parts of India are peopled, with as much interest as we do those who inhabit the more ancient

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portions of Her Majesty's Indian Empire, and it will be equally our object to promote your interests.

DINNER AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, RANGOON.

20th Dec. 1881. [AFTER His Excellency had replied to the Burman address a procession was formed and proceeded towards Government House. Various triumphal arches were erected along the line of route by different sections of the community (Persians, Chetties, Fokien Chinese and Surates), each of whom presented an address of welcome, to which His Excellency replied briefly. In the evening, the Chief Commissioner gave a dinner at Government House, to which a large number of guests were invited to meet Their Excellencies. Mr. Bernard proposed the Viceroy's health, and His Excellency replied in the following speech :—]

Mr. Bernard, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for the manner in which you have received the toast which has just been proposed to you, in such kind terms, by my friend the Chief Commissioner. I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to have been able to visit this distant province of Her Majesty's Indian dominions, and to find myself here in a portion of those dominions marked by such evident and unmistakeable signs of prosperity and progress. It is due to that fortunate existence of peace at the present time (that peace to which you, Sir, have alluded in terms so just) that I have been able to come thus far from the ordinary route of Governors-General; and I, for one, accept entirely the congratulations which you have been good enough to offer me upon the establishment of that peace, and I shall always consider that if I have had any hand in furthering the settlement to which that peace is due, it is one of the acts of my political life of which, throughout what remains of my time upon earth I may be most justly proud. (*Applause.*) You are quite right when you say I am a friend of a peaceful policy; not

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because I should not be prepared upon any occasion when the true interests or the honour of England or India were at stake, to strike a blow—a quick and ready blow—for the defence of those great interests (*applause*), but because I believe, as was stated by the great and distinguished English statesman, Lord Derby, that the true interest of England is peace, and hold that that saying is yet more true of India; and it is to the continuance of peace that we must look for the advancement of that progress, which, great and remarkable here in Burma, yet shows signs of its existence and its advancement in other parts of India in the present day. Here, ladies and gentlemen, these signs are unmistakable. Whether we look to the population, or to trade, or to railway returns, or to shipping; or take any other test of prosperity, and compare the conditions of Burma at the present day with what it was ten years ago, I may truly say, without exaggeration, that the progress of these ten years has been enormous. And that progress has not been merely the result of some great leap which might have been made from accidental circumstances in the course of that decade of years; but it has been a steady progress, advancing continually and going on step by step down to the present day; a progress which is marked as between last year and the present year in due proportion, as it is between the present year and ten years ago. I have been reading with the greatest possible interest the very able Administration Report of my friend the Chief Commissioner, and I find in that Report that the year which is just closing shows a noble record of good work done. Whatever may be the branch of administration to which you may turn, you will see in it manifest signs of progression and advancement. If you look to railway communications, you will see there that you have one railway in Burma which is in the happy and fortunate condition of already, within a few years, paying four and a half per cent upon its capital cost; and I rejoice indeed to have

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been able to induce the Secretary of State very readily to sanction the creation of that new railway from this place to Toungoo, which I hope will also have a very great effect in developing the resources of the country. (*Applause.*) But railway communications could do little if they were not aided and supplemented by road communications, and I was therefore exceedingly glad to find, from the Report of my honourable friend, that his attention was being closely turned to that question of road communication and that it was his intention to devote for the future a considerably larger sum for the development of roads in this province than had hitherto been devoted to that great and important object. I have already, this afternoon—in which I believe I have made some eight or nine speeches, to a great variety of races, though happily they were not so long as that with which I am detaining you now—had occasion to allude to the progress which is being made in the development of Municipal institutions in Burma, and I shall say nothing on that subject now, except to repeat my thanks to Mr Bernard for the admirable manner in which he has dealt with the subject in his Report.

But there is one subject in which I have felt a great interest for a number of years—a greater number, perhaps, than it is agreeable to recall—on which I should like to say a word or two; and that is the subject of public education. I rejoice to see, also, that there is good work being done in this province of Burma. The higher schools are doing their work, and I trust they will continue to do that yet more successfully. I was, however, glad to observe, from the Report to which I have alluded, what valuable results were obtained from the labours of the Christian Brothers in their School of St. Paul. (*Applause.*) I was glad also to see the position which was occupied by the School of St. John, and to find how zealously and earnestly the Baptist Missionaries in this country were labouring for the cause of education among the wild tribes of Karens.

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But, as you may be aware, I attach a very special and peculiar importance to the progress of primary education in India ; and it seems to me to be a very interesting feature of your educational system in Burma, that you have been able to use, to so large an extent, the indigenous educational establishments of this province in connection with that branch of education ; and that there is a great hope of enlarging, extending, and making yet more useful the native indigenous education which is afforded by the Bhuddist Monasteries throughout this land. That seems to me to be dealing with this question on its true and sound basis, endeavouring to use every national and native means to encourage and develop it, and so to make it useful for the purposes of modern science and modern civilisation. I was, however, a little disappointed with two points which came out in regard to education, in that Report. The first was that, although something is being done (more, perhaps, than in any other part of India) in the matter of the education of girls, yet it seemed to me that there was considerable room for doing a great deal more in that direction in this province, because, if I am not mistaken, you have not, here in Burma, to encounter the great difficulty which lies in the way of female education in other parts of India. You have alluded to the freedom of the women in this part of the country, and their unrestricted intercourse in society ; and that in itself is a feature which ought to make female education much more easy here than in other parts of India, and which will, I hope, lead to a great development of female education in the course of coming years. The other point was that I, who am so much interested in the development of Municipal institutions, regret to observe that the Municipalities of British Burma devote what seems to me far too small a portion of their funds to the promotion of education. That fact was alluded to in the Report, and I am quite sure that, so far as may be consistent with the legitimate independence of those bodies,

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they will be encouraged by you, Sir, to appropriate a larger portion of their funds to the purposes of primary education.

There is one other topic upon which I would say a word, and that is, the development and extension of the vast agricultural resources of Burma. You are aware that the Government of India have lately re-established the Revenue and Agricultural Department, which was first set up by my distinguished friend—for I had the honour of his friendship—the late Lord Mayo (*loud applause*), and which, having suffered a temporary eclipse, has been wisely, in my judgment, re-established by the present Indian Government. And one of the first measures in connection with that resuscitation of the Agricultural Department in India was to obtain the sanction of the Home Government to establish an Agricultural Department in Burma, upon the recommendation of your Chief Commissioner. Well now, I hope that from the establishment of that Agricultural Department many benefits may result to this province. Happily, the Burmese Agricultural Department will not have to discharge those duties which must ever be the foremost duties of an Agricultural Department in any other part of India, because you enjoy in Burma a complete, or almost quite complete, immunity from the great evil of famine. But there is a great deal to be done towards the development of the agricultural resources of this rich province, and although I am not one of those who think it is in the power of Government to take upon itself vast and extended duties in respect to agriculture or commerce, which can be better done by the people for themselves, yet there are many things which can be done here, under the auspices of the Department which is about to be established, which will tend to develop agriculture, which will tend to procure a larger supply of labour—one of the great wants of Burma at the present day—which will tend to introduce labour-saving machines

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more largely into this country, and to aid in the establishment of new branches of agriculture yet in an undeveloped state, like that of tea, coffee, and tobacco; and the development of those which already exist here, but perhaps in a comparatively undeveloped state, like that of sugarcane. These are great and important objects in regard to the permanent prosperity of this province, and it is with the view of discussing with the Chief Commissioner the best mode in which we can labour to attain those objects that I have asked Mr. Buck, the able and energetic Secretary in the Agricultural Department, to accompany me on this occasion, that he may advise me and Mr. Bernard in our conference as to the best mode of attaining these great and useful ends.

It only remains for me to thank you very heartily, on behalf of Lady Ripon, for the kind manner in which you have spoken of her on this occasion. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Bernard is quite right; he speaks doubtless from his own experience (*applause*) when he sets that high value upon a good wife; and no one knows the worth of a good wife, and the aid she may be to a man in the hard work of official business, better than I do. (*Applause.*)

And now, before I sit down, I must ask you to drink one more toast. I know well there are many I see before me who are waiting for the conclusion of my speech; but I am quite sure they will heartily join in supporting me in the proposition I am about to make, for I am about to ask you to drink the health of the Chief Commissioner. (*Applause.*) When Mr. Aitchison—who now, by that well-earned recognition of his long, able, and eminent services to the Government of India, which was conferred on him by the Queen is Sir Charles Aitchison—when he was called last year to take his place in the Governor General's Council at Simla, I had to consider to whom I could entrust the duties of his office. I knew that Burma was a progressive province; I knew it was a province which needed at its head an able,

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energetic man, and I looked round to see where I could find the fittest man for the position. I was told on all hands, by those whom I consulted, that I had better choose Mr. Bernard. (*Applause.*) It was a trial to me to give him up, because, though I had only worked with him for about a month, that month was quite time enough to tell me the value of his services at the Home Office; but I felt it my duty to look to the interests of this great province—I felt in my duty to choose a man distinguished by earnestness of purpose and zeal for the public service, by marked abilities, and by untiring energy; and, above all, to choose a man who would have a deep and heartfelt sympathy for the people over whom he was called to rule; and, ladies and gentlemen, I rejoice to find that, after some ten months of experience of the results of my choice, Mr. Bernard's conduct in this administration has fully proved the justice of my judgment. (*Applause.*)

RECEPTION OF BURMESE GENTLEMEN.

22nd Dec. 1881. [On the 21st December, the Viceroy held a Levée at Government House, Rangoon, which was largely attended. In the afternoon, His Excellency paid a visit to the Thayettaw Monasteries, where he was received by about seventy Buddhist monks. At 1 P. M. on Thursday, the 22nd December, His Excellency held a reception of native gentlemen, at which decorations—gold medals and chains—were distributed to a number of Burmese officials, in recognition of long and faithful service to the Government. His Excellency then received several memorials from the inhabitants of Rangoon, on various local matters, and afterwards addressed the assembly as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you, the representatives of various sections of the native community of this city, and in acquiring, through the memorials which you have presented to me, a knowledge of your wishes upon matters of local interest.

Reception of Burmese Gentlemen.

I consider, gentlemen, that in thus fully making known your wishes to me you are taking a very useful course, and setting a good example, which I trust will be more and more followed on similar occasions in other parts of India. It is the foundation of my policy as Governor-General of this country, and the great end and object of my administration, to advance the interests of the people of every part of the Indian dominions of our Queen-Empress, and to keep constantly in view the promotion of their welfare. It seems to me that this ought to be at all times the great aim of the English Government in India, and that it is the plain duty of that Government and the best justification of its existence. Now, gentlemen, it helps very much towards the attainment of this object, that the inhabitants of different parts of the country should make known their wishes to the Government as you have done to-day; and I shall always be ready to give to those wishes my most careful and considerate attention. It may not—indeed, it may be assumed that it will not—be possible to comply with all of them; but I am most anxious that the people of India, of all races and all classes, should understand that any expression of their desires will always receive the fullest consideration from the Government of India, and that if in any instances the requests so made to us cannot be granted, they will never be rejected through indifference or neglect.

I am much pleased to have had this opportunity of recognising, by the decorations which I have just distributed, the services which have been rendered to the Government by the various gentlemen who have received those distinctions. It was also a satisfaction to me a short time ago, upon the recommendation of my friend the Chief Commissioner, to appoint a native gentlemen of this province, Moun Ba Ohn, as a probationer in the covenanted civil service. He is the first Burman who has been admitted to that service, and I trust that by his zeal, energy, and

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devotion to his duties he will prove himself worthy of the confidence which has been placed in him, and will thus encourage me, or future Viceroys, to give, from time to time, to the people of this province, their fair share of appointments of this kind.

The Government of India received, some time ago, representations from the Chief Commissioner, pointing out the necessity of improving the position of Native Officials in this province. Those representations have received the most careful consideration from the Government, and although I am not at this moment in a position to communicate to you the detailed conclusions at which we are likely to arrive, it is a pleasure to me to be able to say that we recognise the importance of bettering the position, not in British Burma only, but throughout India, of those uncovenanted servants of the Government, upon whose zeal and good conduct the good administration of the country so largely depends; and that I hope that it may be in our power shortly to make known the measures we propose to adopt for that purpose, and which will, I have every reason to hope, meet the wishes of the Chief Commissioner.

And now, gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you very sincerely, on my own behalf, and on that of Lady Ripon, for the very hearty welcome which you have given to us. We were greatly delighted by the variety and beauty of the various arches which were erected by Native bodies and by the Chinese residents along the road through which we passed on the day of our arrival, and it has been to me a pleasing duty to report to our gracious Sovereign the proofs of loyalty and cordial good will by which the reception of her representative has been marked. I shall, I assure you, always retain a very lively and agreeable recollection of my visit to British Burma, and of all the circumstances which have attended it; and it will be at all times my earnest desire to do everything in my power to promote your happiness and prosperity.

MEMORIALS FROM THE MERCANTILE
COMMUNITY OF RANGOON.

[At 1 P. M. on the 23rd December, the Viceroy received the Recorder and the Judicial Commissioner of Rangoon, and discussed the question of the establishment of a High Court. At 3 P. M., a Deputation of the leading-merchants of Rangoon waited on His Excellency and presented memorials regarding the re-establishment of monopolies in Upper Burma, and praying that if no more effectual steps could be taken, a strong remonstrance should be addressed to the Burmese Government on the subject. The memorials also drew attention to the necessity for the establishment of a High Court of Judicature at Rangoon, to be presided over by not less than three Judges, two of whom would sit on appeals from any one of the Judges. After the presentation of these memorials, a discussion ensued:—]

His Excellency :—I have already received copies of these memorials, and made myself acquainted with their contents. The first is from the merchants and others in Rangoon, and relates, I think exclusively to the trade with Upper Burma; and the second is from the Chamber of Commerce, and relates also to that subject and to the question of the establishment of a High Court at Rangoon. It will be better to keep the two subjects quite distinct in the conversation we may have, as they have no connection with each other.

With respect to the first—namely, the monopolies which have unfortunately been recently established by the Mandalay Government, and which are inflicting evidently so serious an injury upon our trade with Upper Burma,—I am quite sure I need not tell you that I regret extremely that any circumstances should have arisen to check the progress of the trade which now amounts to so considerable a sum, and was of growing importance to the country. It is the foremost object of my policy as Governor-General of this country, and the policy of my colleagues (especially in the

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Financial Department as represented by Major Baring), to do everything that can fitly and properly be done by a Government to develop the commercial and industrial resources of all parts of India. I look upon it as a very great object for the Government in this country, at the present time, to encourage private enterprise and the investment of private capital in India to the utmost extent that it is possible for us to do so. You know very well that the resources of this country (especially of the province of Burma) are great, and there are many sources of wealth only waiting to be developed by the application of capital; and everything we can do to render it easy for private capital to be applied to the development of the resources of the country, you may rely upon it, it will be our object to do, in every way in our power. Entertaining these views, I need scarcely tell you that I regard with very great regret the obstacles which have been lately interposed in the way of freedom of trade with Upper Burma. It is a matter of a very serious character, which has already occupied the attention of the Government, and will continue to occupy our very close attention. At the same time, the circumstances of that country are such as to render it a task of difficulty and delicacy to decide what steps (if any) it would at the present moment be possible to take with a view to endeavouring to remove the obstacles which now so seriously interfere with and fetter our trade. Upper Burma is in a very disturbed condition, as you are aware—indeed, the latest information in my possession seems to point to a state of things which leaves one to suppose that a serious crisis is likely to arise very shortly in the country. How far that may be the case, time will show; but that seems the most probable result of the present condition of affairs at Mandalay. With respect to anything the Government can do at the present moment to relieve you from the difficulties in which you are placed in regard to your trade, I shall be very glad indeed to learn the views of the gentlemen

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who are present, as to what, in their opinion, could be done by the Government with a view to better the present condition of affairs. Looking at these two memorials, I find that the first memorial merely states very clearly, fully, and forcibly the difficulties under which you are suffering, and leaves the remedy to be discovered by the Government, I am very much obliged to you for the confidence which you place in us, but it would be a great advantage to us to learn what you think would be the best course to adopt. The second memorial states one step, at all events, which might be taken, in a sentence the first part of which is undoubtedly most true, and represents very fairly indeed the difficulties of the situation:—

‘In a case of this kind, it is less difficult to describe the grievance than to suggest a remedy; but we would respectfully submit that, if no more effectual steps can be taken, a strong remonstrance, at least, should be addressed to the Burmese Government.’

I shall say a word about that presently, but, in the first place, I should be very glad if any gentlemen present would express freely and openly their views upon the subject, and what steps they think it would be possible for the Government to take, to put an end to this most unsatisfactory state of affairs. I hope you will kindly give us your advice with the utmost freedom. I have asked you to come up here to this room (which I am using as an office, through Mr. Bernard’s kindness), that we might not have a formal, but a friendly, interview; and I should be very much obliged if you would explain to me whatever views you entertain on the matter.

Mr. Kennedy observed that they wished to leave the matter entirely to His Excellency, to adopt any steps he thought advisable to extricate them from the difficulty.

His Excellency:—As regards the suggestion which is made in the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, I should wish to say this,—that we have already addressed a remonstrance to the Mandalay Government (which, in fact,

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I need scarcely tell you, for it was obviously our duty to do so) upon the first establishment of the earlier monopolies, pointing out to them the grievous injury which was inflicted on our trade, and the view which we took of the unfriendly character of measures of that kind. Since then, as I understand—indeed, quite recently—additional monopolies have been established. Is that not so? Our letter was written in September.

Mr. Kennedy remarked that the Mandalay Government was going on creating fresh monopolies from time to time.

His Excellency:—It seems to me that it is a very fair question for us to consider whether we should not make a further remonstrance in strong and decided terms, pointing out the great objections which there are, in our opinion, to the establishment of these monopolies; and I will consult my colleagues when I get back to Calcutta on that point, as I understand that is the step you would wish to be taken. I feel very much indeed that our great interest—in fact, I might almost say, our only interest—with regard to our relations with Upper Burma is the interest of our trade. As long as the trade stands on a reasonable and sound footing, that is all we want with the Mandalay Government; reasonable and friendly relations, with full freedom for the development of trade. That is all along the view which I have taken of it, and I should desire to direct my course towards that object, which I look upon as the fundamental point which we ought to have in view in our relations with the Government of Upper Burma. I do not know that I can say anything further as regards the steps to be taken. If there is any point you could call my attention to, or any step you could suggest, I should be glad to hear your views. You are men locally acquainted with the matter, and knowing the course of trade, and knowing much more than I can possibly do about the state of things at Mandalay.

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Mr. Binning asked, supposing a remonstrance were ineffectual, if any further steps could be taken.

His Excellency :—Well, that is precisely what I wanted to know,—whether you had any further steps to suggest. You see, I have always held the opinion (not only in regard to this question, but in regard to political questions generally) that nothing is more unwise and undignified for a Government than to threaten if they are not prepared to act on those threats. That I will not do. If I said to the Mandalay Government or any other Government, ‘I shall do so-and-so if you do not do something else,’ I should feel bound to do what I had said, if occasion arose. Threats, therefore, are a serious step, and I do not know if anything of that kind is desirable at the present moment. I should like, however, the Mandalay Government to understand clearly that there is nothing so serious to us as anything affecting our trade ; —that is, as I have already said, our principal interest there ; and a concession on this point is the first (perhaps, at present the only) proof they can give us of their desire to be on friendly terms.

Mr. Grieve said he thought they would be quite satisfied if His Excellency decided on addressing the Mandalay Government again ; and *Mr. Binning* asked what were the views of the Government with regard to a fresh treaty.

His Excellency :—Of course, the making of a fresh treaty must depend on the opportunity. If a fair opportunity opened, and there was any point on which you thought the present treaty could be improved, we should be glad to consider any suggestion you could make ; but the state of the country does not point to anything like that at present. If the Mandalay Government approached us, we should be glad to receive any reasonable offer they might make. It is not for us at the present moment to go to them, but, should they come to us, we should endeavour to negotiate upon a basis which would benefit our trade.

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Mr. Grieve said all they desired was a free trade with Upper Burma. At the same time, the opinion among them was that a treaty with Burma was not likely to be carried out, and, as things were just now, the commerce of Rangoon was in a state of stagnation altogether.

His Excellency :—Yes, I was sorry to see that the trade had fallen off very much. We must watch events. For months my attention has been directed to the matter—in fact, ever since I became acquainted with the circumstances of the case ; and I look upon it entirely in the light of our trade interests, and I shall not lose any favourable opportunity that may arise of putting things on a better footing.

Major Baring, on being referred to by His Excellency, stated that the rice-trade was quite independent of the treaty, and that the falling off there was due to increased production in Upper Burma.

His Excellency :—It seems to have fallen off very largely.

Mr. Grieve said this was not the subject of complaint ; he added that Rangoon merchants would of course prefer that rice should pass through their mills, rather than go unmillied to Upper Burma.

His Excellency :—With respect to the other point which the Chamber of Commerce have alluded to in their memorial, regarding the judicial arrangements of the province and the proposal to establish a High Court or Chief Court, I cannot at the present moment express any decided opinion.

It is one, no doubt, of importance, and, in consequence of communications which reached us from Mr. Atchison before he left you, and from the present Chief Commissioner, it has already received a good deal of attention from the Government of India ; and it would now seem to be ripe for a decision, at all events as to what should immediately be done, for, in a progressive province like this, arrangements suitable for one time may have to be

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altered sooner than we expect; and I can assure you that we shall give the greatest weight to the opinions which you have expressed. I have made it my business here to confer with the Recorder and Judicial Commissioner, and I am also acquainted with the views of Mr. Bernard; and I shall thoroughly discuss the question with him before I leave; and you know that in the Government of India we have the advantage of the advice of Mr. Rivers Thompson, one of your former Chief Commissioners, who has not lost his interest in Burma, and who concerns himself very much with any questions that affect the welfare of this province. Perhaps, however, some of you might kindly point out to us the chief practical objections you have to the present arrangement. You briefly allude to them here, but, as I have heard what is to be said by the executive authorities, I should like to hear what you, as the representatives of the public, think are the objections to the present arrangements.

A pause followed.

His Excellency :—The Chamber of Commerce speak of delays. Do you find much delay arising from the circumstance of these gentlemen being occupied with other duties.

Mr. Dickson stated that there had been delays.

His Excellency :—We may take it, I suppose, that there is a general feeling that the present arrangement is not satisfactory, but is that founded upon practical inconvenience which has been felt by gentlemen attending these Courts?

Mr. Dickson :—I believe it is so.

His Excellency :—You also mention that it would secure greater uniformity in the decisions of the lower Courts. Is it felt that at present there is practically a want of such uniformity?

One of the Deputation replied in the affirmative.

Ball at Rangoon.

His Excellency :—Very well, I promise you we shall consider the question very carefully, and pay all due attention to your wishes as representatives of this important community. I must thank you for the kind words you have said to me individually in your address. I have enjoyed my visit here very much,—indeed, as much as anything I have seen in India. It is pleasant to be in a country which shows such signs of progress, and I shall carry away very pleasant recollections of my visit here. I am also much obliged to you for your visit, as it is a great advantage to learn the views of those who are directly interested in questions of trade and commerce.

[The Deputation then thanked His Excellency for the courteous reception he had given them, and on the Viceroy's rising, withdrew.]

BALL AT RANGOON.

23rd Dec. 1881. [In the evening a ball was given in honour of the Viceroy and Lady Ripon, by the people of Rangoon, at which Their Excellencies were present. In reply to the toast of his health, proposed at supper—]

His Excellency said that he tendered his most hearty thanks to all for the cordial manner in which the response to the toast of his health had been given. He felt keenly the warmth and loyalty of the welcome which had been extended to him in Rangoon, and he must say that each succeeding reception he was called on to attend seemed more kind and more enthusiastic than the former one. He had been called upon to make many speeches lately, and, as he did not see any reason to unsay anything that he had already said (nor had he anything new to say), he must confine himself to thanking the people of Rangoon for the welcome they had given him on this occasion. With regard to what Major Poole¹ had said

¹ The Deputy Commissioner and President of the Municipality.

Visit to St. John's College, Rangoon.

about the Town Hall, he felt that he should be honoured by having his own name connected therewith, especially as the hall would remain a monument of such a widely respected townsman as Mr. Fowle. He thanked those present, in the name of himself and Lady Ripon, for the way in which they had been received; and assured his audience that his visit to Burma would ever remain among the most pleasant among his recollections.

[Three hearty cheers were then given for the Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon, and 'one more' for Mr. Fowle.]

VISIT TO ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, RANGOON.

[ON Sunday afternoon, the 25th of December, the Viceroy visited St. John's College, Rangoon. In reply to an address read by Dr. Marks, the Principal, His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Mr. Bernard, Dr. Marks, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It affords me great pleasure to visit St. John's College, and to be present on this interesting occasion. You, Dr. Marks, have rightly interpreted my visit as an indication of my deep interest in the education of the youth of this country, more especially of the class to which you have alluded. Measures are now being considered by the Government of India, which it is hoped will give a fresh impetus and support to their education. As I look upon the faces of the pupils before me, I am struck with that remarkable admixture of races which I have noticed everywhere in Rangoon—different nationalities all working side by side in perfect harmony and accord. I feel sure that this institution is doing really good work in this city; and I earnestly hope and pray for the continued success and prosperity of St. John's College. To you boys I would say,—value and improve the opportunities here offered to you. All the instruction and education that you receive in this place you will need in later life; and if you do but make good use of your time

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at school, let me assure you that you will reap benefits great and numerous hereafter. I thank you all for the very kind reception which you have given me, and I wish you every happiness and success.

[At 3-15 P.M. on the 26th December, His Excellency and party embarked from the Phayre Street wharf, on board the *Tenasserim*, and proceeded to Moulmein, accompanied by the Chief Commissioner and Mr. G. D. Burgess, and attended by the I. G. S. *Enterprise*, with part of the Suite on board. The troops, the Volunteers, the principal residents, the officials, and the public of Rangoon attended, to do honour to Their Excellencies on their departure, in the same way as on their arrival. The Viceroy expressed his hearty approval of the arrangements, non-official and official, made for his reception and his entertainment at Rangoon; and directed that this expression of his feelings, which the Marchioness of Ripon fully shared, should be made known to the people of all classes, non-official and official, European and Native, to ladies as well as to gentlemen.]

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE VICEROY
AT MOULMEIN.

27th Dec. 1881. [THEIR Excellencies the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Ripon arrived at Moulmein at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 27th December, and disembarked at the Main Wharf at 11-30 A.M. At Half-way Creek, on the Moulmein river, the Viceroy's party removed from the *Tenasserim* to the I. G. S. *Irrawaddy*, which had been sent over to Amberst to await His Excellency's arrival. The Viceroy and Lady Ripon were received at the wharf by Colonel Duff, Commissioner of Tenasserim; Colonel Jenkins, Commandant; Major Furlong, Mr. Macrae, Mr. Birks, and other officials, Consuls of Foreign States and representatives of the various Communities. On landing at the wharf, an address of welcome was presented to the Viceroy by the English-speaking inhabitants of Moulmein, to which His Excellency replied.—]

I am much obliged to you, gentlemen, and I can assure you that it has given me great pleasure to come to Burma; and I quite made up my mind, when I thought of going to Rangoon, that I would make an effort to visit your town.

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I had heard much of its beauty ; and certainly what I have seen in the approach along the river fully confirms the anticipations I had formed. I am grateful to you for your kind and cordial welcome, and I am glad to find you fully appreciate the recent Resolution announced by the Government of India, with respect to the encouragement of private enterprise, and think it is calculated to develop the trade of this place. I trust those who are capable of undertaking works of a commercial and industrial character in this country will start the work of developing its resources ; for when we say we desire to encourage private enterprise, it is, of course, understood that private enterprise will be ready to accept the offer, and to do its part ; and I trust it will be so both with respect to capital from Europe and to local capital—for it is mainly in regard to local capital that we desire to encourage private enterprise.

[An address was next presented by the Burmese and Talaing residents of Moulmein, to which His Excellency replied:—]

I thank you very much for your kind welcome, and am very glad to see you. I have been very much pleased with my visit to British Burma, and with all I have seen ; and I shall always retain pleasant recollections of my visit, and shall devote my utmost efforts to develop and promote the welfare of this province.

[In reply to addresses presented by Deputations of the Persian and Mahomedan communities, His Excellency said:—]

I am very much obliged to you, gentlemen. It is very pleasant to see so many different races living together under the shadow of the British Government, and labouring to promote in unison the welfare of the country.

[To an address presented on behalf of the Chetties, His Excellency replied:—]

I thank you very much. When I came out to this country, I was commanded by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress to display towards her subjects in India and her Eastern

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dominions, of all classes, and races, and creeds, a strict impartiality ; and it has always been my endeavour to act on that principle. I shall communicate to Her Majesty the expressions of loyalty which have just been conveyed to me, and which I am happy to say are the same as those which I have received in all parts of the country. I am glad to accept what you have said as to the interest I feel in the cause of education. I can assure you that that is a subject which I have very much at heart, and that I desire very much to promote, by every means in my power, the education of all classes of the community.

[In reply to an address from the Chinese Community, His Excellency said :—]

I thank you, gentlemen, and I am very much obliged for your kind address. I can assure you I appreciate highly the presence of the Chinese Community in this province, and I am well aware of the advantage the province derives from their presence, and of the industrial habits which they display. I have already had occasion, in connection with my visit to Rangoon, to assure the Queen-Empress of the loyalty of her Chinese subjects ; and I shall be very glad to repeat that assurance in connection with your address.

[At 3 P.M. the Viceroy held a Levée, which was largely attended ; and at 4 P.M. His Excellency held a reception of Burmese gentlemen, at which decorations were given to a number of officers, in consideration of their long and faithful services to Government. After the presentations had been made His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am happy to meet you, and to have an opportunity of expressing to you personally, as I have already done to the inhabitants of Rangoon, the interest which I feel in the people of British Burma. I am much pleased with my visit to this province, and am particularly struck by the natural beauties of Moulmein. I regard the cordial reception which you have given me as a proof of your loyalty to the Queen-Empress and your

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respect for her representative. I and my colleague in the Government of India, Major Baring, have conferred with the Chief Commissioner on many questions connected with the condition of the province, and it has been especially pleasant to me to be able to inform him that the Government hope before long to take measures for improving the position of our native officials. We have also discussed various measures for the improvement of agriculture and the development of the resources of the country. The Government will do all that they can for this purpose; but you, who are the leading men of the Burman community, can do much more yourselves. I do not ask you to abandon those methods of agriculture which long experience may have proved to be well suited to your soil and climate; but I trust that you will see the advantage of availing yourselves of such improvements, suggested by European and American experience, as may appear likely upon trial to be advantageous in this country. It is in this way that you may derive the largest amount of benefit from your connection with England. I need not tell you, who know well how zealously Mr. Bernard devotes himself to everything connected with the advancement of your interests, that he is sure to carry out in the most earnest manner the wishes of the Government of India in regard to these matters.

I rejoice, gentlemen, to find the province is prospering. The well-being of the people of Her Majesty's dominions is the first object of my care, and it is a gratification to me to hope, from your friendly reception, that you recognise that this is the principal end of my administration. Lady Ripon desires me, on her behalf, to express the pleasure which she has derived from the greeting you have given her, and, for her and for myself, I once more sincerely thank you.

MEMORIAL CONCERNING THE TIMBER DUTY,
MOULMEIN.

29th Dec. 1881. [On the morning of the 29th December, a Deputation of the Merchants of Moulmein, both English and Burmese, waited upon His Excellency at Government House, to petition against the present tax on timber, regarding which a memorial had been submitted to Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner. Mr. Henderson acted as spokesman for the Deputation, and stated the case of the memorialists at length. He said the complaint was that they found the amount of the tax at present too heavy; but their principal grievance was that they were at a disadvantage as compared with Rangoon, where all the timber from foreign and British territory was imported free of duty. He thought that they ought to be put on the same footing as Rangoon; and he urged that if the revenue derived from the timber duty could not be given up, some means should be taken by which the trade in Rangoon should be made to bear its share of the burden.

His Excellency, in replying, spoke as follows :—]

I have had the advantage of having before me the memorial which is addressed to Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner, and of fully considering the subject with him and with my honourable friend, Major Baring, the Financial Member of the Council of the Governor General. And of course you will not think it unreasonable that in dealing with a question involving such a considerable sum of revenue, we should have considered prominently whether we could afford to dispense with the amount of money connected with this duty; and, after fully considering the question, we came to the conclusion that it would be possible for us to dispense with that amount without any serious inconvenience to our financial position. Under these circumstances, we were free to consider the general bearings of the question, and I confess that I cannot myself resist the strong arguments which you put forward in this memorial, and which have been enforced by the remarks of the gentleman who has just sat down,—that you are undoubtedly by this tax placed in a disadvantageous

Memorial concerning the Timber Duty, Moulemein.

position, and are unduly weighted in your trade as compared with the port of Rangoon. Now, gentlemen, it is my desire and that of my colleague to see that every port and every town in any part of the Indian dominions should be placed upon a footing of equality. I entirely admit that it is a hardship which you have a right to complain of, that you should be placed at a disadvantage with regard to Rangoon; and the desire of the Government of India in such a case is to deal on the most perfect footing of equality with all ports and towns and districts of the country. Under these circumstances, it is obvious, if that principle is to be adopted at all, then, as you say, either the duty imposed on timber coming down here must be removed, or else an equal duty must be imposed on timber going down to Rangoon.

There is one remark in the memorial, on the question whether it would be impossible to impose a duty on timber coming down to Rangoon, which I think involves an error. You say, the treaty with the Government of Upper Burma has now lapsed. This is not my view of the question. I have no doubt that the existence of monopolies imposed by the King of Ava (which have been, I regret to say, recently increasing in number) is inconsistent with the spirit and intention of the treaty; but, on the other hand, the treaty cannot be said to have lapsed. "It might be open to argument, whether the imposition of these monopolies, so inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty, would justify the Government of India in abandoning the treaty; but until we have thought fit to take a step of that kind, and given due warning to the Government of Ava, the treaty cannot be said to have lapsed; and, for my own part, I am not at present inclined to take the step of denouncing the treaty, whatever may be ultimately necessary, under circumstances which I hope and trust may be amended before long. But, until that step is taken, the treaty cannot be justly said to have lapsed; and consequently, we are still bound on our

Memorial concerning the Timber Duty, Moulmein.

part by the provisions of the treaty, and cannot withdraw from it without due and proper notice to the Government with which the treaty was made.

Besides that, although I should like to leave the Government of India free in regard to the question of maintaining that treaty, I have no desire to impose a tax of this kind upon the people of Rangoon. It would be open to objection in our own interests, and I am therefore happy to feel that, as we can afford to make the sacrifice of the revenue, it is in my power to say that we will remit the duty, reserving only such portion of it as may be necessary at present for the purpose of amply providing for the arrangement to which allusion has been made. What I am prepared, therefore, to do is to reduce the duty at once to one per cent. We desire to keep that one per cent. of duty on, to cover the expenses connected with the arrangement which has just been described; but Mr. Bernard will consider, in consultation with you gentlemen who are interested in trade, whether it is necessary to keep up such an arrangement or not. It would, however, obviously disorganise trade to dispense with such an arrangement at the present moment, and you could not expect us, after making such a considerable sacrifice, to perform that operation gratis: we therefore propose to keep on a duty of one per cent. at present.

The question has arisen, as to when this concession should take effect. The natural thing to have done would have been to have brought it into operation from the commencement of the next financial year—that is, from the 1st of April; but we have felt that to announce the decision now, at the end of December, and to postpone carrying it into effect till April, would greatly disorganise the trade; and under these circumstances, we are prepared to reduce the duty from the 1st of January next. I hope you will see in this a proof that the Government of India desire to encourage trade by every means in their power, and to

Deputation on the establishment of a High Court.

deal with this and all other ports and districts in the country on the fair footing of equality.

[Major Baring briefly explained that under ordinary circumstances, half of the loss of revenue would be borne by the Provincial, and half by the Imperial, Government; but in the present instance, it was proposed to make a grant of an extra lakh to Burma for the next two years, and it was hoped that, at the end of that time, the elasticity of the revenue, which was one of the features of the revenue of the province, would enable the province to bear its share.

The Deputation then thanked His Excellency, and left.]

DEPUTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A
HIGH COURT.

[A Deputation waited on His Excellency the Viceroy at noon on the 29th Dec. 1881. 29th December, regarding the proposed establishment of a High Court. Mr. Law, who acted as spokesman, explained the views of the Deputation on the subject, and concluded by saying that, owing to the short time he had had, he was unable to speak with more precision, or to furnish statistics in support of what he had said; but if necessary he would be happy to forward any information that was required. His Excellency replied as follows :—]

I have had the advantage of seeing, last night, a report of the proceedings of the meeting held in the Town Hall, and learning the object of this Deputation. Perhaps you go a little too far in supposing that a superior court is about to be established here immediately. It is quite true that I—and I think I may say, the rest of the Government of India, are favourable to the establishment of what I should prefer to call a Chief Court, mainly upon the grounds of the representations made to us by the commercial community both here and at Rangoon, and our great desire to meet the wishes of that community as far as possible. But the question will have to be referred Home to the Secretary of State, and, after that, will require legislation: therefore the fact that the Court will be established is not so very near.

Deputation on the establishment of a High Court.

A certain amount of necessary delay will take place, and I cannot answer for the view that will be taken of the matter by the superior authority to whom it must be referred. With respect to the point to which you have specially referred, it will receive careful consideration. No doubt, suggestions have been made in the direction of abolishing the superior court existing here, so far as superior jurisdiction is concerned; but no decision has been come to upon that point, and I can promise you that the representations you have made will receive our best consideration. It will also greatly facilitate our consideration if you will kindly furnish us with those further facts and statistics to which Mr. Law referred, and which you might send in through the Chief Commissioner. I should be very sorry to take any hasty step in the direction of abolishing the court which exists here, and my present impression as an individual is, that it would be wise to allow the existing arrangements to remain until we have had an opportunity of seeing how the establishment of a Chief Court worked.

[In the afternoon, Their Excellencies and Party embarked on board the *Irrawaddy*, and proceeded down the river to Amherst, where a change was made to the *Tenasserim*, which proceeded at 5 P.M. direct to Calcutta. His Excellency expressed himself as highly satisfied with the arrangements made for his reception and entertainment at Moulmein, and desired that an expression of his feelings on this point should be conveyed to the public and to the officials of Moulmein and of the Tenasserim division.]

OPENING THE EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRIAL
ARTS AT CALCUTTA.

[ON Saturday afternoon, the 4th January, the Viceroy opened the 4th Jan. 1882. Exhibition of Industrial Arts, Calcutta, in the new Museum. The Hon. H. T. Prinsep, the Secretary, having conducted His Excellency to a seat, delivered an explanatory address, to which His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Sir Ashley Eden, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It affords me great pleasure to be able to be present on this occasion, and to assist and take part in the opening of this, the first Exhibition which has been established in Calcutta.

I do not wish to detain you with any lengthened remarks of my own in declaring this Exhibition open. The objects of the Exhibition have been so well and clearly explained in the remarks which have just fallen from Mr. Justice Prinsep, that I need not go over the same ground which he has traversed.

I believe that Exhibitions of this description, especially when they are held successively in different towns throughout the country, are calculated to afford a very useful encouragement to the development of arts, and also to advance the artistic character of our manufactures. It also appears to me that great advantages are likely to be derived from the opportunity thus given to make known to the public, more fully than was formerly the case, the beautiful and interesting products of indigenous art, and by affording the wealthy classes of the community in this country the opportunity of purchasing these products, instead of objects (often of a commoner description and of inferior beauty) brought from Europe. Again, it is of no small importance that an Exhibition of this kind offers to manufacturers the means, at one and the same time, of attracting the public taste to their productions, and also of learning what is the style of goods most likely to meet public approval; and further,

Opening the Exhibition of Industrial Arts at Calcutta.

there will arise, I hope, another benefit from these Exhibitions in the stimulus given by them to Indian manufactures—an advantage to which I attach, for my part, great importance.

No one who considers the economic condition of India can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people of the country are dependent almost exclusively upon the cultivation of the soil. This circumstance tends at one and the same time to depress the position of the cultivators, to aggravate the evils of famine, and also to lower wages generally. I always hail, therefore, with great interest, everything which is calculated to open new sources of employment for the people, or to develop those which already exist. This is work which can only be accomplished by the co-operation of a variety of agencies. The Government can do some things towards it, and private individuals can take their share. The owners of capital, whether Indian or European, have a great and valuable part to perform in the promotion of this great work. Such Exhibitions can aid also, in their own way, in the promotion of this important object.

I was very glad to hear, from the remarks which fell from Mr. Prinsep, of two novel features which distinguish this Exhibition. Arrangements have been made, it appears, to give facilities for ordering reproductions of any of the articles exhibited, which purchasers may wish to possess; and I cannot doubt that these arrangements will prove a great convenience both to manufacturers and to the public. The other feature alluded to is one to which I attach great importance, and of which I hear with special pleasure. Mr. Prinsep has told us that you, Sir Ashley Eden, have offered to pay the expenses of the poorer artizans and workmen of Bengal, who may wish to visit the Exhibition. Now, ladies and gentlemen, my experience since I came to India has generally shown me that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal generally knows how to hit the right nail on the head (*cheers*), and he has certainly done so on this occasion

Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act.

(*cheers*); for, according to my ideas, one of the most important uses to which such an Exhibition as this can be put is to afford to the working classes and to the smaller manufacturers the means of improving and widening their taste, and of expanding their ideas. I trust, therefore, that this grant of Sir Ashley Eden's will be largely made use of by those for whose benefit it is intended.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think that I need detain you any longer, as you are all, no doubt, anxious to pass from this place into the Exhibition itself, and to see the very beautiful objects which await you there. It will be sufficient for me to say that I heartily wish success to this Exhibition, and I trust that the example set here in Bengal will be followed widely in other parts of India.

In accordance with the request made to me by the Committee, I now declare this Exhibition to be open.
(*Cheers.*)

REPEAL OF THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT.

[On the occasion of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act by the 19th Jan. 1882. Legislative Council, the Members of which unanimously spoke in support of the Bill introduced with that object, the Viceroy made the following remarks:—]

I do not wish to detain the Council by any observations of my own; nor do I think that I am in any way called upon to review the reasons or motives for which this Act was originally introduced. All I desire to say is, that it will always be a great satisfaction to me that it should have been during the time that I held the office of Viceroy that the Act was removed from the Indian Statute-book.

THE TRANSFER OF PROPERTY BILL.

26th Jan. 1882. [THE Legislative Council assembled on the 26th January, to discuss the Transfer of Property Bill. The primary object of this Bill, as explained by Mr. Stokes when he introduced it five years before, was to complete the Code of Contract Law (Act IX of 1872) so far as it related to immovable property, and thus to carry out the policy of Codification which the Government of India had resumed. Its secondary object was to bring the rules which regulated the transmission of property between living persons into harmony with certain rules affecting its devolution upon death, and thus to furnish the necessary complement of the work which the Legislative Council commenced by passing the Law of Succession (Act X of 1865), continued by passing the Hindu Wills Act (XXI of 1870) for the Lower Provinces and the Presidency Town, and would soon, it was hoped, end by extending the latter Act to Hindus and Buddhists in the rest of India. Another object of the Bill was to amend the law of mortgages and conditional sales, which had, at least in Madras and Bombay, got into a somewhat unsatisfactory condition. Mr. Stokes now presented the final Report of the Select Committee on the Bill, and moved that the further and final Reports of the Committee be taken into consideration. He explained at some length the nature of the amendments described in those Reports, and went fully into the history of the Bill, which in its present form, he argued, was a systematic and useful arrangement of the existing law, and which he hoped would speedily be passed. The Hon. Durgá Charan Láhá, Sayyad Ahmaí, Rájá Siva Prasad, Messrs. Crosthwaite and Evans, and Mahárájá Jotindro Mohán Tagore spoke in favour of the Bill, and the motion was put and agreed to. Mr. Plowden next addressed the Council, arguing that sufficient publicity had not been given to the Bill, that a lengthened postponement was desirable, in order that the Native Community might have a fuller opportunity of expressing their views, and finally moved "that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee be re-published." The Lieutenant-Governor (Sir A. Eden) thought that the Council would be acting with undue haste in passing the Bill at once, and suggested its postponement for a few weeks. Mr. Rivers Thompson considered the suggestion a reasonable one, upon which Mr. Stokes stated that he was prepared to postpone the passing of the Bill for three weeks. His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—]

There seems to be a very broad distinction between the

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suggestion thrown out by my honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor and the motion of my honourable friend Mr. Plowden. That motion is one for delaying the passing of this Bill for a very lengthened period. Most of the observations made by him in support of that motion consisted of criticisms, which may be perfectly just in themselves—though I am not convinced that they are—against the whole mode of the procedure of this Legislative Council in regard to the publication of Bills. He says that our methods of publication fail to secure effectual publicity, and that a very small number of persons in the country know what legislation is going on in this Council.

That, I dare say, broadly speaking is very true, and even with all the publicity of Parliament and the Press at home, I would venture to say that a very small numerical proportion of the people of England know what Bills are passed in Parliament. No doubt, that proportion is very much smaller in this country, and my wish is that the utmost publicity should be given to every measure brought into this Council. But when my honourable friend says that these Bills are only published in certain Vernacular Gazettes, and mentions the number of persons who take in those Gazettes, it appears to me that he omits from his calculation the rest of the Vernacular Press. Now, the Vernacular Press, at all events, should be acquainted with those Bills as published in the gazettes; and if such Bills do not come into the hands of the writers in that Press then I venture to say that those gentlemen do not give sufficient attention to an important part of their public duties. Be that as it may, however, of course the Government, and the Legislature particularly, can only take certain recognised methods of affording to the public the opportunity of knowing what is going on in this Council; and it rests with the public to avail themselves of that opportunity, or not, as they think desirable. All we can do is to give to the Press and the public sufficient means

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of informing themselves in respect to such Bills as are before this Council; and I confess that I do not at present see how it would be possible to materially change a practice which has been in existence for a very long time in regard to the publication of such Bills.

If, however, my honourable friend Mr. Plowden will make suggestions with a view to obtaining greater publicity for Bills brought into this Council, we shall be glad to consider them, provided they are such as the Government can adopt.

As regards this particular Bill, the fact is that leave was given to introduce it on the 31st of May, 1877, and that we have now arrived at the 26th of January, 1882, which is very nearly five years since the Bill was introduced. I find that the Bill has been published four successive times in such newspapers or gazettes as the Local Governments thought fit, and it seems to me that, according to the ordinary and general modes of publication, and to the course followed with regard to other legislative measures during that period, this Bill has had a large amount of publication and has been for an unusually lengthened period before the public. I therefore very much doubt whether any further publication would be likely to elicit any additional opinion regarding the measure. I quite understand the advantage of such a delay as my honourable friend the Lieutenant Governor suggests, because public attention is now directed especially to this matter, and, no doubt, within a period of three weeks, a considerable expression of public opinion, favourable or unfavourable, may be brought forward; and I think it therefore perfectly reasonable to accede to that proposal. On the other hand, I consider that such a proposal as my honourable friend Mr. Plowden makes would fail to secure the object which he desires. If, as he proposes, the measure is postponed for another year, the result will probably be that in the interval people will not have attended to it any more than they have hitherto, and that, when it comes up again, at the last moment they

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will examine it as a perfectly fresh matter and start all the same objections to it over again.

Now, I am very sensible of the necessity for affording every opportunity for the expression of public opinion on a measure of this kind; but of course no one can conceal from himself that it is perfectly possible, by postponing the consideration of such a measure till the very last moment and then asking for an indefinite delay, to bring about the same result as would be accomplished by moving for its rejection, or practically to shelve the Bill altogether. I do not for a moment say that this is the case here. Nevertheless, I quite admit that, if a case has arisen for postponement—and my honourable friend the Lieutenant-Governor says it has—we ought not unduly to press on the progress of the measure.

In conclusion, I would only point out that, so far as the discussion upon the Bill has gone to-day—and it has been discussed by men of great talent and large experience,—that discussion has been favourable to the Bill as it stands. This debate will be of great advantage to the public; it will guide their opinion in respect to the Bill; it will tend to remove certain impressions which appear to exist in the public mind; and therefore, though I cannot agree to the motion of my honourable friend Mr. Plowden for a lengthened postponement, I am quite willing to agree that the Bill should be postponed for three weeks.

[After some further discussion, Mr. Plowden withdrew his motion and the motion for the passing of the Bill was postponed for three weeks.

The Bill came before the Council again on the 16th February, 16th Feb. 1882. when after the consideration of some minor amendments, Mr. Stokes moved that the Bill be passed. Babu Durgá Charan Láhá and Mr. Inglis drew attention to the inexpediency of the principle embodied in the first section of the Bill, which permitted its extension by mere executive order of the Local Governments to territories to which it did not at present extend; such extension, they thought, should only be permitted by an Act of the Legislative Council. Mr. Plowden

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explained that he had come to the Council intending to oppose the passing of the Bill, but that his opposition had since been removed by the first of Mr. Stokes' amendments (above referred to), postponing the period at which the Bill was to come into operation from "April" to "July." His Excellency the President said :—]

Before this Bill passes, I should like to say a few words with respect to what fell from my honourable friends, Bábú Durgá Charan Láhá and Mr. Inglis, regarding the mode in which it is proposed, in accordance with precedent, to extend this Bill to other parts of the country than those to which it has been made immediately applicable. If any notice of amendment on that point had been placed on the paper, it would have most certainly received the careful attention of the Government; but as no such notice has been given, the point cannot now be practically considered. With regard, however, to the general question, I do not wish to lay down any hard-and-first rule, or to pledge the Government as to the course which it may take in regard to future Bills. That course must be regulated by the nature of each particular Bill and the circumstances of the time at which it may be proposed to the Legislative Council. I have also one other point to mention. In the course of the discussion three weeks ago, there appeared to be some doubt in the minds of Members of Council as to what was the opinion of a very distinguished person in this city—the Chief Justice of the High Court—with reference to this Bill¹. Of course, any opinion entertained by Sir

¹ In the course of his speech on the 26th January, Mr. Plowden had remarked—“He (Mr. Plowden) also saw a note the other day, which he supposed was the same which had been just referred to by the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill, and which contained the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court; and what did the Chief Justice say? The Council had heard that Sir Richard Garth was in favour of the Bill, and Mr. Plowden concluded he was, as the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill said so. But he did not gather, from what he saw of that opinion, that the Chief Justice was absolutely in favour of that Bill. Sir Richard Garth said in effect that he could not say he quite approved of the principle of the Bill as it had been framed. It went far too much into details, and would perplex mufassal Judges in the consideration of many difficult questions.”

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Richard Garth is entitled to so great weight by the Government, that I felt it my duty to ascertain what his opinion in regard to this measure was. I accordingly addressed to him the following note :—

“ MY DEAR SIR RICHARD,—There appears to be an impression in the minds of some persons that you disapprove of the Transfer of Property Bill now before the Legislative Council.

“ It would greatly assist me in deciding what course it would be desirable to pursue with that measure, if you would let me know what you think of it in its present shape, and whether, in your opinion, it ought to be passed into law without further delay, or should be postponed for another year.

“ Yours sincerely,
“ (Sd.) RIPON.”

“ *Calcutta, 8th February, 1882.*”

To that letter I received the following answer :—

“ MY DEAR LORD RIFON,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to say, in reply to it, that on the whole I do approve of the Transfer of Property Bill, and trust that it may be allowed to pass into law without further delay.

I feel grateful to Your Excellency for having given me an opportunity of expressing this opinion. I fear that my views on the subject were somewhat misrepresented on the occasion of the late debate upon the Bill ; and I should be extremely sorry if any critical remarks which I may have made in my note of November last were in any degree the means of retarding the progress of a measure which, I believe, will prove a real blessing to the people of this country.

“ The remarks to which I allude applied rather to the principle upon which the Indian Law Commissioners in England have been in the habit of framing laws for India, than to any special defects in this particular Bill.

“ I have no desire to criticise the numerous objections which have been made to the Bill by my good friend and colleague Mr. Cunningham. Suffice it to say, that for the most part I do not agree with him, and I believe that, if a Bill were framed in accordance with his views, it would not be nearly so good a measure as that which is now before Your Excellency's Council.

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" A perfect Bill upon such a subject is probably out of the question, and it is as difficult in codification, as it is in other things, to please everybody ; but, having regard to the length of time during which this Bill has been under consideration, the careful and repeated discussion which it has undergone, and the pains which have been bestowed upon it by the highest authorities in the land, I think that any further postponement of the measure can lead to no profitable results.

" No man, I believe, has ever protested more strongly than I have against hasty and ill-considered legislation in such matters ; and I am afraid that my excellent friend Mr. Stokes has often looked upon me as one of his most determined opponents. But it can hardly be said with any show of reason, that this Bill has not received its due meed of consideration ; and I was indeed rejoiced to find that Sir Michael Westropp, although not approving of the Bill for the Presidency of Bombay, paid a just and generous tribute to the ability and earnest industry which has been displayed in the preparation of it, and which, whether we agree with him or not, we must all feel that our friend the Legal Member of Council most fully deserves.

" I am,

" MY DEAR LORD RIPON,

" very sincerely yours,

" (sd.) RICHARD GARTH.

" 33, THEATRE ROAD ;

" 15th February, 1882."

[The motion was then put and agreed to.]

THE EASEMENTS BILL. CODIFICATION.

[In the Legislative Council on the 16th February Mr. Stokes moved 16th Feb. 1882. that the Bill to define and amend the Law relating to Easements and Licenses, as amended, be passed—this motion following one that the consideration of the further report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration, and certain amendments proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, which were agreed to. Mr. Stokes explained briefly that the object of the Bill was to state clearly and compactly the law relating to Easements, which was now (in the words of the Chief Justice of Bombay) “for the most part to be found only in treatises and reports practically inaccessible to a large proportion of the legal profession in the mufassal and to the subordinate judges.” In reply to the objection that the Bill was not necessary, Mr Stokes supplemented his previous remarks on the point by quoting a minute of Mr. Justice Field’s in favour of the Bill. The Hon. Sayyad Ahmad Khan and Messrs. Evans and Crosthwaite then addressed the Council, after which His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

I should like to say a few words—not upon the merits of this particular Bill, because I have nothing to add to what has fallen from those who have preceded me, and whose authority on the mere legal aspect of the question is much greater than any which I possess. I merely wish to say, in respect to the observations made by the Honourable Mr. Crosthwaite, that I do not feel the objections which he indicated in the commencement of his speech to the passing of a Bill of this kind for a limited area. I think that, in a country so large as India, that is a very judicious course to pursue, because different parts of the country are in different conditions of progress, and might require to be dealt with in a very different manner by legislation ; and therefore I cannot say that is an objection which weighs with me, that a Bill of this kind should be passed in connection only with those Local Governments who desire to have the advantage of it. What I am anxious to speak about is not the subject of this particular Bill, but the general question of which this measure is a part—the question of what is

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known by the name of 'Codification.' My friend Sayyad Ahmad, on a late occasion, addressed the Council on that subject, and expressed his views in favour of the extension of codification in India, and his belief in the advantages it was calculated to confer on the people of the country. This is the last of a certain number of measures which were introduced into this Council a few years ago by the Government of India, and at that time the subject of codification was discussed in some speeches which were then made; and I hope, therefore, that my colleagues will pardon me if I now occupy some little time with remarks upon the general question involved in all these measures.

I am not about to argue on the general merits of codification. The question of codification has now arrived at a stage at which most questions in course of time arrive, in which those who are opposed to any principle, finding that the arguments against them are strong, and rest upon very high authority, no longer profess themselves enemies of that principle. You no longer hear, or very rarely hear, people in public argument, whatever they may think in private, say that they are opposed to codification in general. On the contrary, what they say is, that codification is an excellent thing; that the arguments of Bentham, Austin, Field, and others are quite conclusive, and that they entirely agree in the propriety of codification, but that they are altogether opposed to this particular measure. It is against the measure, not against the principle of codification, that their arguments are directed. All persons who have had experience of legislative bodies are quite aware of that phase of public questions, when it is no longer possible to contest the general principle, and when the battle is confined to a war of posts and of details. This question has been so thoroughly threshed out by the eminent men I have just named—and I would add by Sir H. Maine, who is well worthy to be placed by their side—that I am only anxious now to say a few words as to the applicability of this principle to India. It has been often

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said that this principle is very good in itself and very applicable to Europe, or to America, or to countries in which Western civilization exists and dominates, but that it is not applicable to the circumstances of India, because the natives of this country are a peculiarly conservative people; that they have their own customs, which are well known and recognised; and that the best possible course is to leave these customs alone, and allow them to operate in accordance with the traditions which have come down to them from a distant period of time. I confess that that argument has pressed a great deal at times on my own mind, and if the state of things in India were really such as that argument supposes it to be, then it may fairly be said that it is premature to attempt to introduce measures laying down general principles of written law upon varied and important branches of legislation. But I venture to think that the statement to which I have alluded is founded upon a misapprehension of what is the real condition of affairs in this country at the present time. I will not rest my opinion on my own authority. I have attended for a considerable number of years to Indian affairs, but I have been only a short time in this country, and I should be sorry to rest an opinion of that kind upon my own limited experience. But if the Council will pardon me, I will read a long quotation from a very great authority, Sir H. Maine, which appears to me to put the actual state of things with regard to the influence of English law in India upon the existing condition and circumstances of the customary laws of the country, in a light which has very much impressed me, and which I think is well worth the consideration of the Council when they are dealing with questions of this kind. I hope the Council will pardon the length of the quotation, because the views to which I desire to direct attention are much better expressed in it than it would be in my power to express them, and also because they are set forth by a gentleman whose authority is much greater than any I can

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pretend to. The quotation is from a book very well known—Sir H. Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West*,—and is as follows:—

“You may therefore, perhaps, recall with some surprise the reason which I assigned in my first lecture for making haste to read the lessons which India furnishes to the juridical student. Indian usage, with other things Indian, was, I told you, passing away. The explanation is that you have to allow for an influence which I have merely referred to as yet in connexion with the exceptional English Courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Over the interior of India it has only begun to make itself felt of late years, but its force is not yet nearly spent. This is the influence of English law—not, I mean, of the spirit which animates English lawyers and which is eminently conservative, but the contagion, so to speak, of the English system of law,—the effect which the body of rules constituting it produces by contact with native usage. Primitive customary law has a double peculiarity: it is extremely scanty in some departments; it is extremely prodigal of rules in others; but the departments in which rules are plentiful are exactly those which lose their importance as the movements of society become quicker and more various. The body of persons to whose memory the customs are committed has probably always been a quasi-legislative, as well as a quasi-judicial body, and has always added to the stock of usage by tacitly inventing new rules to apply to cases which are really new. When, however, the customary law has once been reduced to writing and recorded by the process which I have described, it does not supply express rules or principles in nearly sufficient number to settle the disputes occasioned by the increased activity of life and multiplied wants which result from the peace and plenty due to British rule. The consequence is, wholesale and indiscriminate borrowing from the English law—the most copious system of express rules known to the world. The Judge reads English law-books; the young native lawyers read them; for law is the study into which the educated youth of the country are throwing themselves, and for which they may even be said to display something very like genius. You may ask, What authority have these borrowed rules in India? Technically, they have none whatever; yet, though they are taken (and not always correctly taken) from a law of entirely foreign origin, they are adopted as if they naturally commended themselves to the reason of mankind; and all that can be said for the process is, that it is another example of the influence, often felt in European legal history, which express written law invariably exercises on unwritten customary law when they are found side by side. For

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myself, I cannot say that I regard this transmutation of law as otherwise than lamentable. It is not a correction of native usage where it is unwholesome. It allows that usage to stand, and confirms it rather than otherwise; but it fills up its interstices with unamalgamated masses of foreign law."

Well, now, I am bound to say that I was extremely struck with that passage the first time I read it after I came to India, and that it has made a considerable impression on my mind ever since; and that I have had a good deal of evidence, since I read it, to show the accuracy of the statements contained in it. It appears to me that it contains two statements: in the first place, that there is in India customary law, and in the customary law of all countries, in its original condition, an element of progress,—namely, that it was applied by those bodies which Sir H. Maine described as *quasi-legislative* as well as *quasi-judicial*, and that there was then a means, while preserving the customary law, of applying to the changing circumstances of the time a change in the interpretation of the principles of that law, and even of extending and altering them sensibly. But, of course, the moment you crystallize—if I may say so—these customs by the operation of a series of legal decisions which, when they have once been given, become fixed, that element of progress and modification to meet changing circumstances is destroyed. On the other hand, Sir Henry Maine points out that, in that large domain of law in which primitive customs give no light and provide no remedy suitable to the circumstances of advancing civilization, the practice of our Courts necessarily and inevitably introduces and fills up, as he says, the large and wide interstices of that law by an unamalgamated mass of English law. Therefore, we are not in the position, as it seems to me, of being able to maintain unchanged, without the operation of English law upon them, the ancient primitive and traditionary customs of the country. There is a great change inevitably going on by the operation of English law and English Courts—a change which is

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steady, and at the same time almost unconscious; and the question which we have to deal with is, what is the best mode of meeting a state of things of that kind?—whether it is better to leave that change to go on by the introduction of the principles of English law, gathered here and there as the case may arise; or whether it is better from time to time to lay down in carefully-prepared and well-considered statutes those principles which appear most nearly to combine the general principles of native law with the best principles of modern jurisprudence. I am bound to say that I am very much impressed by the strength and force of Sir Henry Maine's argument in the passage which I have quoted, and I believe that it distinctly proves that it is not correct to suppose that there is no charge whatever going on by the ordinary operation of English law in this country in native custom, and that it is far better to legislate from time to time with a careful regard of the character and nature of that custom, as far as it is now operative and alive, and to fill up the interstices which exist in it, not with what might be called the accidental importation of portions of English law to meet particular cases, but by deliberate and well-considered legislation. That is the principal reason which has led me to think that the general course of legislation which has been followed now by the Government of India for a long series of years, in the preparation of measures of this kind, is a course suitable to the existing circumstances of this country, and which may be pursued from time to time with the greatest advantage, and without which you will find what is valuable and living in native customs passing away more rapidly, through possibly more insensibly, than would be the case under the operation of any distinct legislation on which public opinion could be brought to bear, and which could be discussed in this Legislative Council.

Now, there is, of course, I know very well, in the minds of a good many persons, an alternative to such a

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system as that of which I have been venturing to express my approval, and that is, the system of practically leaving judicial officers throughout the country to act according to their own unfettered judgment in these matters. And I think that the preference for the system, which was adopted in many parts of India in former days with great advantage, lies very much at the root of some of the objections felt by some persons to what is called codification. On that point I should like again to refer to the authority of Sir Henry Maine, and in doing so, I shall read from a letter of his which was quoted by my honourable friend Mr. Stokes on a previous occasion in connection with this very Bill in its earlier stage. The name of the writer was not then attached to it, but I have Mr. Stokes' authority for now mentioning it. Sir Henry Maine writes :—

“The true alternative to codification is the course hinted at by a certain school of administrative officials,—that of having no law at all, but of giving the fullest discretionary powers to functionaries of every class. I do not at all deny that a great deal may be said for it. If the history of India could be begun again, and if Parliament were not disposed to do what it did in the old Statutes, and to force law upon us by the Courts it established, I am not at all sure that a wise Indian legislator would not go in for universal discretion. But the very Indian officials who denounce law do not seriously believe that it can be got rid of; and the only effect of their objections is to prevent its being improved in the only rational way. Great undigested lumps of English law are finding their way into the law administered by the Courts to the people. I doubt whether in India there are a dozen copies of some of the books from which this law is taken; and these are, of course, written in language unintelligible to the bulk of the natives and to the great mass of Englishmen.”

I do not, I confess, agree myself with the opinion here expressed by Sir Henry Maine, which is more a political than a legal opinion, when he says that he is not at all sure that a wise Indian legislator would not go in for universal discretion. That is, I confess, not my view of what is desirable in India in its present condition. I entirely admit that there have been men in past times, able rulers, no

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doubt, and who have been able to administer to the people a law extremely acceptable to them, because they possessed those rare qualities of sympathy with the natives, and that intimate knowledge of their feelings, traditions, and habits, which enabled them to discharge duties of so much difficulty in a manner acceptable to those whom they governed. But such men are always rare. You cannot supply the ranks of our judicial service in any number with men possessing these rare qualifications. I have the very highest possible opinion of the ability of the Indian Civil Service, but of course it is out of the question to find many men possessing those peculiar qualifications which have marked the career of some of the most distinguished members of that service in times past; and, even if we could find them, I feel bound to say that it would, in my judgment, still be a distinct advantage to the country that we should pass out of that patriarchal stage so far as concerns the more advanced and civilized parts of the country. Doubtless there are many tribes and races in a very backward—some of them almost in a savage—condition, who must be governed on principles different from those which are applicable to the great mass of the people of India; but, speaking of the country in general, I say that it is a good thing that you should pass away from the condition of affairs in which, instead of having settled law, the decision of judicial cases was left to the arbitrary and unfettered judgment of the particular individuals who tried them. I do not use the term 'arbitrary' in a disparaging sense, but I hold that it is a clear benefit to the people of this country that they should advance from the stage of arbitrary discretion to one of written and settled law. Sir Henry Maine, in the book from which I have just now been quoting, says that the fact that natives of India are becoming more acquainted with their rights as individuals is a source of serious difficulty to the Government of this country. There may, of course, be difficulties in such a state of advance

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from one stage of civilization to another. You cannot pass from one stage of civilization to another in any country, or at any time, without peculiar difficulties; but whatever may be the nature of those difficulties, I say distinctly that it is well for the people themselves that they should acquire an increased knowledge of their rights; that they should be more and more ready to enforce those rights, and should be able to appeal to the law and to distinct Statutes. Under any circumstances, I should think it a great misfortune if we were to fall back upon that patriarchal system which has been so largely abandoned in most parts of India from time to time.

Again, I think that, when we consider that a very large number of our judicial officers in this country are necessarily men who have had none of that special legal training which barristers at home possess, and who consequently perhaps are not so well up in law-books and cases as barrister-judges might be, it seems to me that that in itself constitutes a strong argument for the embodiment in distinct and clear Statutes of the principles and rules with which officers of that kind have to deal.

I have myself been a judicial officer at home, as a magistrate and justice of the peace, with no judicial training; and I know perfectly well that I should be entirely at sea if, having to decide cases when sitting in such a capacity, instead of having a distinct law to refer to, I had to search through a vast mass of cases for guidance. The result would be that I should be entirely in the hands of the magistrate's clerk, from whom I should have to take my law. I cannot but think, therefore, that it must be a great advantage to the judicial officers of this country to have the rules by which they are to be guided embodied in clear and definite language in Statutes framed with the utmost care and deliberation.

I must beg pardon of my colleagues for having detained them so long. But I now come to the last point upon

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which I have anything to say, and that is, to the charge sometimes made against the Acts passed by the Government of India—the charge of what is called technicality. The drafting of Acts of Parliament is, in fact, a science, and the language of all science is necessarily technical. It is impossible to avoid it. What is called the absence of technicality is in reality the absence of precision; it is impossible to draw up laws with care and accuracy without the employment of technical language, and that system of definition which has been introduced of late years both in England and here, with, as it seems to me, such great advantage to the precision and intelligibility of our Statutes. That objection is one which I am very well used to at home, where I have had a pretty long administrative and political experience of the preparation of Acts of Parliament, and with their discussion in both Houses; and I know very well how frequently that objection to what is called technicality is raised, and I know also how often it is listened to in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords, with the result that, when the technicality to which objection is taken is avoided, the Act becomes in many respects altogether unintelligible, and has to be amended in a very few years, just because language has been imported into it during the course of debate by gentlemen who object to technical language, who bring in what they call common sense, and which really turns out afterwards to be a puzzle to the Judges sitting in Westminster Hall. I, therefore, myself do not see the force of that objection to technicality. I have had long experience of questions of this kind, have had intimate personal knowledge of some of the ablest draftsmen in England, and I can truly say that I have never had to do with any one who surpassed my learned friend, the Legal Member of the Governor General's Council, in zeal, in wide knowledge, in the accuracy and precision of language with which his Bills are drawn. I therefore, must say that I think the charge of want of

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clearness, of accuracy, is one which, as far as my experience goes, can be brought less against the Bills drawn by my honourable and learned friend than against many of those which have been drawn by men of great distinction at home. As Sir Richard Garth truly says, in the letter which I read earlier in our proceedings, men will always differ about questions of wording and drafting, but all experience goes to show that, if you have got a really competent draftsman, on whom you can place real reliance, the best thing to do is to trust him with regard to drafting, whatever opinion you may entertain with regard to political questions about which the Executive Government is bound to exercise the fullest discretion, and which are of course matters for discussion in this Legislative Council.

I must again beg pardon for detaining the Council so long, but I was anxious on this occasion, when the last of the measures of codification introduced some time ago was about to pass, to take the opportunity of expressing my general views on the subject. I think I may say that I am always accustomed to say plainly what I think on any subject, but I do not know how far my opinions may be acceptable to the members of this Council; but they are founded upon the honest conviction which I entertain, that these measures will tend to promote the best interests of the people of this country.

[The motion was then put, and the Bill was passed.]

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES TO THE CALCUTTA VOLUNTEERS.

25th Feb. 1882. [ON Saturday afternoon, the 25th February, the Viceroy presided at the annual Distribution of Prizes to the Calcutta Volunteers. After inspecting the Corps, His Excellency delivered the following address :—]

Colonel Graham, Officers and Members of the Calcutta Volunteer Corps,—It is a great pleasure to me to meet you once again upon this annual occasion ; and I rejoice to find, from the reports which have been laid before me, that the progress of this Corps during the past twelve months has been altogether satisfactory. And especially was I pleased to be informed that the shooting of the Corps, during the year which has just concluded, has been superior to that of the previous twelve months. The principal event of that period in connection with this Corps has been the establishment of a mounted company. I can assure you that it afforded me great pleasure, in union with my colleagues in the Government of India, to give my sanction to the formation of that mounted company ; and I trust that, as time goes on, the company will increase in numbers and in efficiency. In many respects a body of mounted volunteers have greater difficulties to encounter than infantry volunteers. It is more difficult to attain an equal amount of efficiency in that branch of the service than it is in the infantry ; but I feel very confident that the members of the mounted company of the Calcutta Volunteers will recollect that the character of the whole Corps is in their hands, and that it behoves them to take care that the general standard of efficiency of the body is not diminished by any neglect on their part ; and sure I am that this consideration will stimulate their efforts and encourage their exertions, and will induce them to devote themselves yet more earnestly to the special duties which they have undertaken in the Corps.

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Besides the addition of this mounted company during the last year, two new cadet companies have also been added to the Corps. Now, Colonel Graham, I attach much importance to the existence of cadet companies in connection with bodies of Volunteers. Some persons, perhaps, may think that difference of size may somewhat impair the appearance of a corps; but in the case of Volunteers we have to remember that in cadet companies we have the nucleus of many a future Volunteer Corps, and that it is a great advantage, not only to the youths themselves, but to the country at large, that in the early period of life they should obtain the training which is afforded by a corps of that description. Hereafter they may enter the ranks of your other companies, or perhaps they may go forth from Calcutta to reside in other parts of India; and if they take the latter course; then this Corps will be able to feel that you have done your part in training volunteers, not only for your own Corps, but it may be for many other Corps throughout the length and breadth of the country.

I was very glad to learn that you were for a few days in camp a short time ago. I have always felt that there were few things which tended more to promote the true efficiency of a body of volunteers, than that they should from time to time go into camp. By going into camp, even for a day or two, Volunteers are brought, not for a few hours, but for a more lengthened period, under the rules of discipline; and we all know that discipline is the essence of every military body. Many things may be learnt in camp in a few days which could not be acquired in many days of ordinary drill, and I am quite sure that under a commanding officer so able and so zealous as Colonel Graham, who has the interests of the Volunteers so fully at heart, there are no advantages which can be derived from camp experience which you will not have the opportunity of securing.

I do not think that I need detain you much longer; but there is yet one remark which I desire to make. I have

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said more than once since I came to India, that the Government of India placed great confidence in the Volunteers. I was accustomed by my English experience to feel a deep interest in the Volunteer movement, and to fully recognise its value; and I am happy to say that nothing which I have learnt during the twenty months in which I have had the honour to hold the great office I now fill, has in any degree diminished the confidence that I was naturally inclined to place in the Volunteers of India. But I desire to impress upon you that the fact that such confidence is reposed in you by the Government casts upon you great and especial obligations. It would indeed be a grievous thing if the hour of trial should ever come, and the Government, acting upon that confidence, should find that it had been misplaced. I have no fear that that will be the case, but I should wish you always to keep before your mind the truth that, just because the Government *does* place that confidence in you, you are bound to do your best to justify it. Volunteering is not a thing of handsome uniforms or pleasant meetings; it has in it a deep and true reality, and it is only in proportion as you realise that you have undertaken duties to your country which you cannot shirk, that you will be able to fulfil those expectations which the Government and which your countrymen have formed concerning you.

Colonel Graham,—I regret extremely to say that Lady Ripon is unable, in consequence of slight illness, to be present on this occasion. Up to the middle of the day she had fully hoped to be able to come, and had done her best to bring about that result; but her inexorable medical adviser positively forbade her to leave Government House, and I should not have been a good husband if, under those circumstances, I had not supported him. I am happy, however, to say that she has prevailed upon Lady Stewart to take her place upon this occasion, and I am quite sure that you who have won prizes will be proud indeed to receive them from Lady Stewart's hands, not only on account of those

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many qualities which so well entitle her to "rain influence, and adjudge the prize," but also because you will remember that she represents one who is so well fitted, by his great and eminent services, to hold with the greatest advantage to India the command of that gallant army which our Sovereign has entrusted to his care.

It now only remains for me to ask Lady Stewart to be good enough to present these prizes.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE BILL.

[THE Report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Procedure Bill was taken into consideration by the Legislative Council on the 2nd March. Two amendments to the Bill, proposed by Mr. Stokes, were adopted; a third amendment, proposed by Mahárájá Jotindra Mohán Tagore, the object of which was to expunge from the Bill the section which gave power to the Government to appeal against an acquittal, gave rise to lengthened discussion. The Hon. Durgá Charan Láhá, Sayyad Ahmad Khan, and Rájá Siva Prasád spoke in favour of the amendment; the Hon. Messrs. Reynolds, Plowden, Crosthwaite, Gibbs, and Stokes spoke against it. His Excellency the President said :—]

I have listened very carefully to the discussion, in which opinions have been expressed on both sides of the proposal submitted to us by the Mahárájá; and I am bound to say that my own opinion is that it would not be desirable to adopt the amendment moved by my honourable friend the Mahárájá, at all events on the present occasion. My honourable friend was good enough to inform me a few days ago that he desired to bring this question before the Council, and I then told him that I would give my attention to the subject, and would not fail carefully to consider it. I need not say that I have not had time to do that up to the present moment. The question is obviously not a new one. The statements brought forward to-day show that it has been considered on various occasions by the Government of India

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and by the Local Governments, and it is certainly not a question on which I should feel myself justified in taking action without further inquiry than we have yet been able to institute. It is evidently a matter upon which the opinion of the Local Governments ought to be called for before any step is adopted which would be contrary to the opinions which they have expressed on previous occasions. I do not think that anybody is likely to suppose that I have an inherent objection to reform; but, at the same time, I am quite of opinion that it is the duty of the Government of India while it is always ready to consider any proposals for the amendment of the law, or for the improvement of the administration of the country, to proceed cautiously and without undue haste. I have endeavoured, since I have been in this country, to adopt that principle, and, even in cases about which I might individually have had no doubt, I have felt it right carefully to inform myself as fully as possible as to the facts and circumstances of the case, as it relates to this country, before I attempted to act upon any preconceived notions which I might have derived from my English experience.

I believe that a steady progress of reform is the only wise course which in these matters, the Government of India can adopt; and I frankly say that I have not had an opportunity of giving to this question that full consideration, and consulting all those persons whose opinion, it appears to me, I am bound to take into consideration before I adopt a change involving the abandonment of a principle which has evidently been adopted most deliberately by the Legislature of this country, acting in accordance with the sanction of the Secretary of State.

Under these circumstances, my counsel to the members of this Council is not to adopt this amendment. I have the fullest intention of fulfilling the promise made to my honourable friend the Maharaja, that I will give the subject my consideration as soon as opportunity offers; but if I am asked

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to say 'aye' or 'no' upon this motion at the present moment, I have no alternative but to oppose it.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

The Honourable Durgá Charan Láhá then moved an amendment to Section 456 of the Bill, which related to the rights of a European British subject to apply for an order directing the person unlawfully detaining him, to bring him before the High Court. The object of the amendment was to apply the provisions of that section, without distinction, to all persons. In justification of it, Bábu Durgá Charan Láhá read some extracts from a letter in the *Englishman* newspaper, showing an abuse of power on the part of Executive Officers, and expressed his apprehension that there were many cases of the same kind which had not reached the public. Messrs. Crosthwaite, Stokes, Gibbs, and Major Baring opposed the amendment, mainly on the ground that ample security to the liberty of every class of Her Majesty's subjects was provided by the Bill. Rájá Siva Prasád and Mahárájá Jotindra Mohán Tagore supported it.

His Excellency the President said:—]

It has often been my fate, in discussions in Parliament and elsewhere, to find that, when I spoke late in a debate, I was placed in a most unfortunate position; because most of what I was going to say—all my best arguments—were taken away from me by those who had preceded me on the same side. I have very great cause of quarrel in this respect with my honourable friend Major Baring, because he has stated so fully and ably the views which I hold on this subject, that there is very little for me to say, beyond what the gentleman at Bristol said when he and Mr. Burke were canvassing for that city—"I say ditto to Mr. Burke." Nevertheless, at the risk of repeating some of the arguments he has used, I will, for a few moments, go over the ground traversed by him and others who feel that it is not advisable to adopt this amendment on the present occasion. In the first place, I think it is quite clear that the particular case to which my honourable friend Durgá Charan Láhá alluded, and in respect to which he read an extract from a letter in the *Englishman* newspaper, is, if I understand the extract that he read, met by the amendments

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made in the existing law by the Bill now before us; because the difficulty which arose in the cases in the Panjáb, to which my honourable friend referred, appeared to have arisen because the Court could not inquire into any proceedings on the part of magistrates which were not in the nature of judicial proceedings. The word 'judicial' does appear in the existing code, but has been removed from the clause as it stands in this Bill. At the present moment, the words are 'in any judicial proceeding.' The word 'judicial' has been taken out, and that will, I hope, meet the particular case quoted by my honourable friend from the *Englishman*.

Besides this, however, section 100 of the Bill provides greater security than at present exists against anything in the nature of arbitrary or illegal imprisonment. Now, I certainly cannot think it necessary that I should say that no one can be more opposed to anything of that kind than I should be; and I desire to give every person in this country, of whatever race he may be, the fullest security against suffering so grievous a wrong as that which would undoubtedly result from anything in the nature of illegal or improper imprisonment. I venture to hope, however, that sufficient provision has been made in this Bill, by the changes to which I have alluded, to give reasonable and adequate security against danger of that kind. I must, however, admit that I sympathise a good deal with what I think is the feeling at the bottom of the amendment moved by my honourable friend Durgá Charan Láhá. I think the real meaning of the amendment is that he feels a certain amount of disinclination to there being such a chapter as the 33rd chapter of this Bill—a chapter providing a special mode of procedure for Europeans and Americans. I should be very glad if it was possible to place the law in regard to every person in this country, not only on the same footing,—for that the Bill will, I hope, practically do,—but to embody it in the very same language, whether it relates to Europeans or Natives. But no one who

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recollects the history of questions of this kind in this country can doubt that to deal with that special chapter which regulates the procedure with regard to Europeans and Americans in the manner that has been suggested would be to deal with very difficult and very delicate questions. Cases have arisen—not under this particular clause, but of a kindred nature—in which the Government of the day has been beaten in this Legislative Council. We all know the agitation that has taken place and the strong excitement which has arisen in past times upon questions of this sort. They are certainly matters not to be entered upon without very full consideration, or as my honourable friend Mr. Stokes remarked, without consultation, not only on the part of the Government here, but also with the Government at home. Under these circumstances, I would strongly recommend that that particular section and that particular portion of the Bill be left alone now. Whether any alterations can be made in them from time to time, will always be a matter of interest to the Government—certainly to me,—and I will not fail to consider this particular subject of *habeas corpus* when opportunity offers; but I think that it is impossible to open a question of that magnitude, complication, and difficulty without a great deal more thought and examination than it would be possible for the Council and the Government to give to it at the present time.

Then there is the point upon which my honourable friend Major Baring touched, namely,—whether, as this amendment is proposed, and as other amendments might easily be proposed, in this Code of Criminal Procedure, we should not wait until all the possible amendments have been got together and considered, instead of adopting the more limited amendments which the Bill proposes at the present time. I must say that I earnestly hope the Council will not take that course, for I confess to a great personal interest in some of the amendments which it is proposed

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to make in the law by this Bill. The three amendments to which special attention has been drawn by my honourable friend Major Baring, and the amendments in the direction of greater security for personal liberty, are all amendments to which I myself attach great importance; and I think that it would be a great misfortune—at all events, if that is too strong a term, I should greatly regret—if those amendments were not introduced now, and if the country were to be deprived for another period of twelve months of the advantage of those amendments. Take one of them,—the question of enhancing a sentence upon appeal. That is a thing which is going on from time to time, and, in fact, instances of such enhancement have only very recently been brought under my notice; and I think it is a very undesirable power to entrust to the Courts, if it were only for the reason that it is evidently a distinct discouragement to a man who thinks he has been aggrieved, to resort to appeal; and I should be very sorry to deprive the people of India of the advantage of that and other amendments for twelve months longer, simply because there are some further amendments which might, in the opinion of some of my honourable friends, be introduced.

I am always glad when discussions like this take place. I think that they do a great deal of good. They bring points under the attention of the Executive Government, which it is very desirable we should consider; but, as I said before on the previous motion, it is not reasonable to expect that the Government should deal hastily with questions of this magnitude. What they ought to do is to proceed steadily and with caution in the improvement of the law and the administration of this country in those respects in which they are capable of amendment. Of course, there is always difficulty, as my honourable friend Major Baring has pointed out, when we are dealing with one of our great codes. Nobody can doubt—indeed, I do not believe that there is anybody in the country who does

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not admit—that it is a great advantage that we have this Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Penal Code, and the other great codes of India, which have been elaborated now for a series of years with so much care by the most eminent men, in the form of a regular code; that is to say, of a book which may be put into a man's pocket, and which contains all the information required upon questions of criminal procedure, the penal laws, and other matters. But if you are to pass small amendments of these codes without re-enacting the whole code, then in a short time your whole code as a body would become obsolete, and would be surrounded by a quantity of confusing satellites which would entirely obscure the vision of those who had to look at the great central planet itself. Now, we know very well that there is a certain amount of inconvenience in throwing a large Bill of this kind on the table of this Council, and saying, "We are going to pass this Bill of four or five hundred clauses for the sake of a comparatively small number of amendments;" but, unless you wish to give up the advantage of having these great codes, that appears at present to be the only mode in which we can proceed, though I think it quite worthy of consideration whether some other mode ought not to be devised, which might obviate that difficulty. I saw a criticism the other day in a public journal, as to the great expense said to be incurred in the printing of all this matter for the purpose of making a few amendments. That is a subject which has attracted my attention, and I think it is desirable that we should see whether any other system could not be safely adopted.

I wish only to make one other remark, and that is, that the necessary mode of procedure being, for the present at all events, to re-enact the whole code, it must not be taken that, because the Government in the year 1882 re-enacts the whole of this code, it therefore expresses the same deliberate opinion upon every single clause contained in it which it would be expressing if it were enacting it for the

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first time. Technically, it is a re-enactment; in reality, it is a reprint with certain amendments. The only points on which the definite opinion of the Government is expressed are the points to which these amendments relate. The Government is perfectly open to re-consider any other portion of this code at any time, and must not be taken to imply any opinion upon any of its general provisions. As I have said, it is practically a reprint and a re-arrangement of the code with certain amendments, and those are the only portions of it upon which the opinion of the Government is now deliberately pronounced. Those amendments, though few in number, appear to me calculated to confer considerable advantage on the people of this country, and to improve our methods of criminal procedure in a liberal and generous spirit; and therefore it is that I trust that, without adopting the amendment of my honourable friend Durgá Charan Láhá, because it raises large and difficult questions which we are not in a position to deal with at the present moment, the Council will pass this Bill, in order that the people of India may have without delay the advantage of those other improvements of the law which will result from the amendments which the Government has submitted.

[The motion was put and negatived, and the Bill was subsequently passed into law.]

ADJOURNMENT OF THE COUNCIL

[At the close of the discussion on the Criminal Procedure Bill, His 2nd Mar. 1852. Excellency the Viceroy made the following remarks. :—]

Before the Council separates, I wish to state that I propose to hold a special meeting of the Legislative Council on Wednesday next, the 8th instant, in order that my hon'ble friend Major Baring may make his Financial Statement. Members of Council are of course aware that in regard to these financial proposals it is of the utmost importance, both for the Government, as regards its revenue, and for the convenience of those engaged in trade, that when final alterations are once announced, they should be carried into effect as speedily as possible. That is the course which has always been followed in the British Parliament, in order to prevent the loss to Government and the inconvenience to trade which otherwise would result. At the same time, it appears to me that to propose that the Bills which will be submitted by my hon'ble friend Major Baring, in connection with his proposals, should be passed on the same day, by suspending the standing orders of this Council, would be to go further than the requirements of the case demanded. What I would suggest is, that the Council should assemble on Wednesday to hear the Financial Statement, and that it should again meet on Friday, instead of Thursday, which will give Members of the Council a whole day to consider the financial proposals of the Government. The consideration of the Bills which my hon'ble friend will present on Wednesday will then be taken up on Friday, and the Bills passed if they meet with the approval of the Council; and afterwards the ordinary business, which would in the usual course of things have come on Thursday, will be proceeded with. There will be no sitting on Thursday.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE BARRACKPORE
PARK SCHOOL.

4th Mar. 1882. [ON Saturday afternoon, the 4th March, His Excellency the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students of the Barrackpore Park School, and addressed the boys as follows:—]

My young Friends,—I am very glad to welcome you once more upon this occasion, and to see you again assembled in the Park at Barrackpore for the distribution of the prizes of the school. I have listened with much interest to the report which has been read by your Head Master, and have been sorry to find the untoward circumstances against which the school has had to contend during the last twelve months. I trust, however, that you have passed through this time of trial successfully, and that neither the influence of the sad sickness which has prevailed so largely in this neighbourhood, nor yet the competition of another school which has recently sprung up, will, in the end, be found to interfere seriously with the prosperity and the progress of the Barrackpore public school. Against illness no school or teachers, and no zeal of students, can contend; but competition, though it may be disagreeable, has undoubted advantages in the stimulus which it administers to the school to which it is applied; and I have great confidence from what I have learned of the past of this school, that it will be able to hold its own, by means of increased exertions on the part alike of the teachers and of the students, against any competition that can be brought to bear. I have listened with very great pleasure to the recitation which has just taken place. Comparisons are proverbially odious, and I do not wish to institute a comparison between the recitation of this year and that of last year; but at least I may be permitted to say—and I think that all who have listened to-day to that recitation will agree with me—that the result shows no falling off whatever in that respect; and I can

Distribution of Prizes at the Barrackpore Park School.

assure you that I thought the parts both of Brutus and Cassius were played with great skill by those who performed them. I have also had much pleasure in delivering to-day, in addition to the prizes properly belonging to the school, the two prizes which, in accordance with the promise which I made last year, I myself have given ; and I was very glad to learn from Mr. Primrose, who looked over the papers submitted in connection with these prizes, that in his opinion (and he is a very competent judge on educational matters) the papers show the ability of those who had contended for the prizes, especially in arithmetic. There were also many proofs of skill in the letters which were sent in, though, of course, it is not likely that, written in the English language, those letters should possess all the qualities which they would have possessed if they had been written in the native language of those who drew them up. I shall be most happy to continue these prizes for another year, and I do not know that any better subjects could be chosen than those for which the prizes have been offered upon this occasion. But I should like to reserve to myself the right, if I should be here to offer prizes next year, to change the subjects for which they are offered, according to what might then seem to be the requirements of the school.

In the report with which these proceedings commenced an allusion was made to the desire which your Head Master feels for the adjunction to this school of a vernacular department. That, as you know, is not a question upon which at the present moment I can pronounce an opinion. It is a matter which must be considered by the Local Government, upon the report of its own educational officers. I can only say that if those who are so competent to judge of the matter as the educational officers of the Bengal Government, should be of opinion that the addition of such a department will be advantageous to the school, I shall be very happy to bear my part in assisting towards the necessary expenses required for setting it up.

Financial Statement, 1882-83.

I do not know that I have anything more to say to you to-day. I always think that upon these occasions, which are intended for the enjoyment of the pupils of a school, the less time which is taken up by speeches, the better, and I have no doubt that you will much prefer to enjoy yourselves in this Park so long as light permits. I will therefore no longer encroach upon the short time of daylight which still remains, except to express to you my hearty good wishes for your happiness and prosperity during the next year.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1882-83.

10th Mar. 1882. [THE Legislative Council assembled on the 8th of March, when Major Baring (Financial Member of Council) made his Financial Statement, and in connection with his proposals, obtained leave to introduce three Bills, namely,—(1) to amend the law relating to Customs duties and for other purposes; (2) to regulate the Duty on Salt and for other purposes; and (3) to amend the law relating to Kánúngos and Patwáris in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The discussion of the Financial Statement took place on Friday, the 10th of March, the motion before the Council being “that the Bill to amend the law relating to Customs duties, and for other purposes, be taken into consideration.” At the close of the debate, His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

The discussion which has taken place in this Council today has been, on the whole, I think I may fairly say, so satisfactory to the Government, as indicating the judgment pronounced by the Members of this Council upon their financial proposals, that I might almost have dispensed myself from the necessity of occupying the time of this Council with any remarks of my own; but, considering the important nature and the large scope of the proposals contained in the Budget of my hon'ble friend Major Baring, it would not, I think, be altogether right that I should permit this discussion to be brought to a conclusion without giving briefly the reasons which have induced me to accord my

Financial Statement, 1832-33.

cordial concurrence to the proposals which have been submitted to the Government by my hon'ble friend; and, therefore, I will ask the permission of my hon'ble colleagues to occupy their attention for a short time while I make a few observations upon the principal points with which this Budget deals.

I will begin by speaking of the proposed repeal of the customs duties. I need not recapitulate the convincing evidence brought before this Council in the statement of Major Baring, to show that the existing state of things in respect to our customs revenue is one which it was impossible to continue longer than was absolutely necessary. That that is the case, I think I may fairly say is admitted on all hands, and no one appears to contest that the steps which were taken with respect to our customs tariff under the government of my predecessor, Lord Lytton, left that tariff in a condition in which it was impossible that it could permanently remain. And, in making that statement, I am not saying anything of which my hon'ble friend Lord Lytton would complain; because, in a recent speech which he has made in England, he distinctly admitted—and he took credit to himself for the fact—that the partial measures of customs repeal adopted by his Government were intended to bring about that result which they have undoubtedly now produced, and to render the continuance of the chief customs duties in this country altogether impossible.

It was, therefore, as it seems to me, absolutely imperative that the Government should take the earliest opportunity of dealing with this question of the customs duties, and I must say for myself that it was a strong motive with me to seize that opportunity as soon as it arrived; because, by dealing with this subject in a permanent and final manner, we may cherish the hope that we shall thus put an end to those differences of opinion upon the questions which have unhappily now for several years existed between the people of England and the people of India, and in which I must

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frankly say that I think neither party to the controversy has been just to the other.

I think that, in India, men have been apt to overlook the feelings which must naturally be entertained upon this subject by those who have all their lives been the earnest and conscientious advocates of the principles of free trade. No doubt it is perfectly true that, when Manchester manufacturers ask for the repeal of the cotton duties, they are asking for something which will confer benefit upon themselves; but I venture to say that it is almost impossible for those who stood beside my friends the late Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright in the great free trade controversies of the past, to understand how men can possibly accuse them of selfishness because they desire to confer upon the people of India those benefits from which they and the people of England have derived so many blessings. And, again, I think that in England men have not understood that strong—I had almost said, that vehement—dread which exists in this country in connection with the imposition of direct taxation. Neither, I think, have they adverted to the fact of the limited extent to which economic principles are either studied or understood here, and, therefore, this controversy might have continued, and might have been made the subject of more and more misunderstanding between two great branches of the subjects of our Queen-Empress, who ought to feel that they form but one people under the shadow of her august throne. But I should mislead my hon'ble colleagues and the public if, in consequence of my allusion to the present condition of this question of the customs tariff and the impossibility of continuing the existing state of things, they were to suppose that I was attempting to shelter myself behind the special circumstances in which we are now placed, and was attempting to represent that, in adopting the policy of repealing the customs duties, I have been only brought to that conclusion by the mere necessities of the particular situation in which we are placed. I desire

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upon all occasions to be frank both with my hon'ble colleagues in this Council and with the public of India, and therefore I am bound to say that it has been with great satisfaction that I have seized the present opportunity of repealing these customs duties; because I earnestly believe that that repeal will be found beneficial to the general interests of India. My hon'ble friend Mahárájá Jotindrá Mohun Tagore dropped some words about neglect of justice to India in consideration of the interests of Manchester manufacturers. I am quite sure that my hon'ble friend did not mean those remarks to apply to me, and, indeed, if my hon'ble friend has done me the honour of paying any attention to the course which I have pursued during a public life which has extended now over more than thirty years, he will know that, from the earliest period of that public life, I have been an earnest and consistent advocate of the fiscal principles of the free trade party; and I have been so because I believe that those principles were principles of general application, calculated to confer the largest benefits upon the great mass of the community of any nation to which they might be applied. And, therefore, no man can be surprised that, holding those opinions strongly and firmly, and having advocated them throughout the whole course of my political career, I should be desirous, when a fitting opportunity occurred, of having a hand in conferring upon the people of India the benefit of the application of principles which I believe to be calculated to conduce to their permanent advantage and prosperity. And I can say that if I did not entertain that opinion,—if I thought that the course which the Government is about to take with respect to these customs duties was a course which would benefit England at the expense of India, I would not have been induced by any consideration to be a party to such a proceeding. I desire; so long as I may hold the position which I have now the honour to fill, to govern India in the interests of India and for the benefit of her people and

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I would not consent to be a party to any measures which I did not honestly believe would conduce to that great end.

The policy of the Government in this respect is a policy which has been pursued, as we all know, at home now for a long series of years, and which can quote in its support the names of the most illustrious financial statesmen of England, from the time of Mr Husekinson, or the days of Sir Robert Peel, down to the long and eminent financial administration of my right hon'ble friend Mr. Gladstone. That policy has been founded upon a belief—I should rather have said, an absolute conviction—that anything in the nature of protective duties is highly injurious to the country in which they exist, and also upon the belief that small customs duties, which hamper trade and produce very little revenue, are highly mischievous and objectionable; and I am bound to say, especially with respect to the last of these objections—the objection, namely, to small unproductive duties, which interfere greatly with trade and fetter its operation—that it applies more strongly to India than to other countries; because I believe there is scarcely anything of more importance to the future prosperity of this great peninsula than that we should do all in our power to promote and to increase commercial progress and industrial advance, and that everything which tends to check or fetter the commerce or industry of this country has an especially baneful influence upon the general interests of the population.

It must be borne in mind that this customs revenue, speaking broadly, was not an increasing revenue. It had not those elements of growth which exist in many of the great sources of revenue in England, and, from its very nature, it was not calculated to possess those growing elements; whereas it may fairly be hoped that, by thus removing the trammels which press upon the springs of trade, we may stimulate enterprise and may derive direct financial benefit from increased railway receipts, which are a growing

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element—and which, I believe, will prove in the future to be a very growing element—in the revenue of the country. But while I say this, and while I express my strong opinion that the course which the Government is taking now is opportune and calculated to be highly beneficial to the country, I am yet bound to say that I should not have been a party to the repeal of the cotton duties, or to the repeal of the other customs duties, if it had been proposed to repeal them in the face of a deficit, or if it had been necessary, in order to repeal them, to impose other taxation upon the country. I am not at all unaware of the great examples which might be quoted in favour of carrying out an important customs reform under the shelter of the imposition of a direct tax. We have all heard of the famous budget of Sir Robert Peel, in which he made a large reform of our complicated, antiquated, and troublesome English customs system, and recouped himself by means of the imposition of an income tax; but I do not think that that would have been a wise course to pursue in India. I am very well aware, as I have just said, of the strong feelings entertained in this country with respect to direct taxation. I am not going to enter now upon that thorny question; but it would have been, in my judgment, highly unwise, for the purpose even of so large a benefit as the repeal of these customs duties, to have shown that want of consideration for a large and strongly-expressed public opinion which would have been involved in such a proposition as one by which fresh taxation would have been imposed upon the people for the purpose of repealing these customs duties. It was on that very account that, in spite of all the anomalies of some portions of our present customs system—in spite of the exceeding absurdity of the results which followed from some of the arrangements made in regard to grey goods by previous alterations, the Government of India abstained from touching this question last year. We were then not completely free from the

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expenditure and the trammels of the Afghan War, and we determined that no consideration, even of public convenience, should induce us to deal with this question, except at a time when we could take it up and could proceed to settle it on a general and permanent footing, and in a condition of the finances which, as has been recognised by my hon'ble friend the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, would justify the large remission of the customs duties proposed this year.

And now I will pass on to a consideration of the arrangements proposed with respect to the salt tax. I can really add very little to what has fallen from my hon'ble friend Major Baring with respect to that matter. I confess that I am a very strong advocate of this portion of the Budget. I think that the large reduction we propose in the salt tax is very desirable, both upon general grounds and upon financial grounds. My hon'ble friend Major Baring has dealt with the financial portion of the question, and I can add nothing to what he has said in that respect; but I desire to express the difficulty which I feel in adopting the view which has been put forward by some of my hon'ble friends in the course of this discussion, that this tax upon salt—which is a tax upon a necessary of life; which is a tax of many hundred per cent. upon the natural price of the article; which is paid, as I believe I am justified in saying, for or on behalf of every person in this country, of all the many millions gathered under the sceptre of our Queen-Empress—is not a tax which is felt by those who pay it; is not a tax which it is desirable to reduce apart from the financial considerations which lead to its reduction, in order to confer a benefit upon the great mass of the population of this country. My hon'ble friend Rájá Siva Prasád has stated his opinion that this salt duty is felt by the people, that it does press upon them, and that they will obtain considerable relief by the reduction now proposed. I confess that I find it very difficult to suppose that that is not the case, and that

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a tax of this kind, paid by men whose annual income is as low, or nearly as low, as the figure mentioned by my hon'ble friend Major Baring, does not press heavily upon those who are least able to contribute to the necessities of the Government.

I know that it has been sometimes argued, in favour of the reduction of this tax, that no man can consume more than a certain amount of salt, and that, therefore, the tax presses most unequally upon the poor as well as the rich. That is an argument which in India may, I admit be pressed too far, because, as we all know from the habits and the charity of the people of this country, the wealthier classes have always a very large number of persons depending upon them, and the salt tax they pay is not a tax upon what they consume themselves only, but also upon the salt consumed by the large number of human beings dependent upon them for their existence. Nevertheless, when every allowance is made for that consideration, I am at a loss to understand how it can be argued that this tax is a peculiarly equitable tax; because, however great the number of dependants a rich man may have, it is quite impossible that the amount of salt duty he pays can bear to his revenue anything like the same proportion which the amount of duty paid by one of those poor raiyats, described by my hon'ble friend, bears to his small and miserable income.

My hon'ble friend Mr. Inglis remarked that we should not repeal the salt duty, but equalise it. 'Take off,' he said, 'the differential duty in Bengal.' That would have been in many respects a good thing to do, if we had done nothing else. If, however, we had taken off the differential duty on sea-borne salt in Bengal, and left the salt duty as it was in other parts of India, there would have been plenty of people to tell us that we had taken off the duty for the benefit of the Cheshire manufacturers. That is exactly the style of argument which would have been used, and it would undoubtedly have been true as regards the effect of.

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the repeal of the duty on sea-borne salt, though not as regards the intention of the Government.

Then there is another point which presses with me very much in respect to this salt tax, and that is, the effect it has on agriculture. We all know that the consumption of salt is very necessary for cattle, and, in the papers to which my hon'ble friend Major Baring referred (and very remarkable papers they are) in connection with this subject—namely, the reports from Rájputána with respect to the result of the recent salt arrangements in that part of the world—particular attention is drawn to the fact that in many cases, while the consumption of salt by the people themselves is not diminished, the amount of salt given to the cattle has diminished greatly. It is, no doubt, contrary to public policy to maintain at a high rate a tax which has a practical tendency to discourage and interfere with the progress and advancement of agriculture. Then, again, it must be borne in mind that, as my hon'ble friend Major Baring said, this tax, when lowered in other parts of India a few years ago, was raised in Bombay and Madras, and the quotation he has made from a very able newspaper on the Bombay side shows that the people of that part of the world have not forgotten that fact, and that they are of opinion that the tax raised against them has pressed upon them heavily, and that they will undoubtedly rejoice in a reduction which will bring down the tax nearly to what it was before it was raised a few years ago.

Now, it seems to me that, with respect to this salt tax we are in this position. If the salt tax does not press upon the people—if it is a tax which they do not feel at all and do not object to pay, then it does form, without doubt the best possible financial resource you can have, and, the lower you can bring it down, the greater is the security to the people of India against other forms of taxation. If on the other hand, the salt tax does press upon the poorer classes of the country, then surely it is only right and just

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that the Government should give those—the poorest classes—a share of the prosperity which the country is enjoying at the present time, even although it may at some future period of financial difficulty and disaster be necessary to re-impose the duty temporarily, in order that we may recoup ourselves for the loss which such a condition of affairs would impose upon us. But, then, my hon'ble friend says that all experience shows that this reduction does not reach the people. I can really add nothing to what my hon'ble friend Major Baring said upon that subject. I cannot say what may be the experience of this country. I can only say that the experience of all other countries is precisely the other way, and I am altogether unconvinced that large reductions of taxation will not ultimately reach the consumer, and will not be found here, as everywhere, to benefit the consumer at large. With respect to that, I may say that it is the intention of the Government to use every effort in their power to make known as widely as possible this reduction of the salt duty. We propose to address Local Governments on the subject, with a view to their taking measures to make the reduction everywhere known to the actual masses of the people themselves; and I would also ask the aid of the Vernacular Press in regard to that matter, and beg them to make the reduction as widely known as possible among their readers in every part of the land.

I pass now from the salt duty to the question of the license tax. My hon'ble friend Major Baring has stated very distinctly and unmistakeably in his Financial Statement the policy of the Government upon that subject, and the position which we take up. He has told to this Council and to the public that we reserve to ourselves entire freedom to deal with the license tax hereafter as we may think right. It is perfectly open to us, as he explained, to repeal it, re-cast it, or leave it for a time in its present position, although undoubtedly we acknowledge and admit that in its present form it is open to just and important

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objections. But, when the choice is put to me as a choice between getting rid of the license tax and of the salt duty, I personally must honestly say that I can have no hesitation as to the choice which I would make. I prefer the salt duty, because, in the first place, as I have said, it presses upon—at all events, it cannot be disputed that it is paid by—all the poorest people in this country; whereas, as shown in the Budget Statement, the license tax is paid by only between 200,000 and 300,000 persons. Therefore, in respect to numbers, I cannot for a moment doubt that the course the Government is taking in this respect will afford relief from taxation to a far larger number of people in the country than would have resulted from the repeal of the license tax. And it must be recollected that there is in this Council very little representation, if any, of those poorest classes—indeed, no representation at all, except such as may be found in those who take an interest in their situation and are prompted to speak on their behalf. Those classes, as my hon'ble friend Rájá Siva Prasád remarked are in this country practically dumb; their voices do not go to swell the chorus of public opinion; they are little heard, even in the echoes of the Press; and, therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Government to guard their interests and to provide for their benefit. But there is another reason why I prefer on this occasion to deal with the salt duty rather than with the license tax, and that is, because I certainly hope and believe that it will be found that, when this salt duty is reduced as largely as we propose to reduce it, the loss of revenue will be in the course of time recouped, and that that recoupment will enable us hereafter to proceed to further reductions of taxation; whereas, if we had dealt with the license tax and simply abolished it, there would have been no opening for recoupment—no prospect of a revenue growing up again from that source.

Then it may be said—'You are going to take off something like £1,400,000 of salt duty. Why do not you take

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off a less amount of salt duty and repeal the licence tax—or, (as my hon'ble friend Mr. Inglis suggested) 'take off the export duty on rice?' I will tell you why. Because we are convinced that, with respect to this question of the salt duty, a bold policy is the only sound policy for the Government to adopt. If you make a small reduction of the salt duty, it is very possible it will not reach the people. It is extremely possible that they will derive little or no benefit from it, and then the revenue will not be recouped. You can only hope to obtain all the benefits we desire from this reduction of the salt duty by making a large and bold reduction in it, which will afford a fair prospect—and, I venture to hope, a great deal more than a fair prospect—that the great mass of the people will benefit by it; that benefiting by it, they will increase their consumption of salt, and that, from that increased consumption, our revenue will gradually recover from the loss first accruing to it from the partial remission of this duty. That would not have been the case if we had made a small reduction. We should never have obtained the object we had in view, and it would have practically resulted in a dead loss of revenue without the advantages which, under present circumstances, we may hope to obtain from it.

Then, again, with respect to the license tax, my hon'ble friend Major Baring, in his Budget Statement, has set out a variety of considerations which introduce elements of uncertainty into our financial position in regard to the future. I hope and believe that they are all those elements of uncertainty which will turn out for our benefit, and which will be ultimately solved in a manner calculated to confer financial advantages upon the country. But it is very necessary that, under such circumstances, we should proceed cautiously, and that we should wait, while those grounds for uncertainty exist, until we can see our way more clearly in regard to them, before making any larger remissions of taxation than those very considerable ones which this

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Budget proposes. I think nothing could be more unwise than that we should propose to repeal a tax which is undoubtedly, and I may at once admit it, an unpopular tax, unless we had been perfectly certain we should not be obliged to have recourse to it again within the space of a few years. The history of direct taxation in this country, as explained by my hon'ble friend Major Baring, gives most striking proofs, as it seems to me, of the unwisdom of dealing rashly with this question—of making constant changes and proceeding without those elements of certainty which, as I say, are at the present moment in some respects wanting to us.

With respect to opium, I have really nothing to add to the very able statement made upon that subject in the Budget speech of my hon'ble friend Major Baring. That statement has, I think I may say, been received with general satisfaction by all who have heard it. My view on the subject of opium is a very simple one. I do not deny that there are objections of various kinds to the opium revenue I do not deny that it is not a satisfactory branch of our revenue, in many ways; but I say distinctly that I will be no party to abandoning that revenue unless I can clearly see my way to replace it by some other form of taxation which would be neither oppressive to the people nor strongly repugnant to public opinion. Well, I can see nothing of the kind. I have considered the question very carefully. I have considered it with the utmost respect for the opinion of those excellent men who take a different view of this subject from that which I take, and who are moving at home in the matter; and I have been totally unable to discover the taxation by which our opium revenue could be replaced, and by which, without oppression, without incurring a great, and, I may say, a just, unpopularity, we should have the slightest chance of recouping ourselves if we were to abandon that revenue in whole or in part. As I said before, it is, in my judgment, the first duty of the Government of

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India to consider the interests of the people of India ; and it is from that point of view that I look at this question ; and, looking at it from that point of view, I can have no doubt that the course which the Government of India have determined to take,—namely, that of maintaining our position with respect to the opium revenue—is a just and right one.

But, then, I have heard it said, ‘ If you cannot make up for the loss of this revenue by fresh taxes, you can make up for it by reduction of expenditure.’ Well, there is no one more anxious for reduction of unnecessary expenditure than I am. There is no person who desires to see every item of expenditure which is not needed in the interests of the country got rid of than I am. That is the view of the Government, and we are most anxious to reduce expenditure wherever it is possible. Some reductions of military expenditure we have already made, as has been explained to you, and we hope that yet further steps in that direction may hereafter be taken. As you know, the whole of this subject was very carefully considered a year or two ago by an Army Commission, composed of very able men, who examined this question with the greatest care and made an admirable report. That Commission was presided over by my hon’ble friend, Sir Ashley Eden; and, as I have mentioned his name, I cannot help availing myself of this occasion to say how strongly I recognise that, by his services on that Commission, he has added to the many great claims he has established by his long and distinguished career in India to the gratitude alike of the Government and of the people of the country; and I cannot but express the regret which I feel, and which I know will be heartily shared by all here, that it will not now be many months before we shall lose him from amongst us. But this I have to say in respect to this matter of expenditure, that it seems to me that every rupee of that expenditure which may be saved from unnecessary or unproductive objects is urgently needed for purposes of the highest importance to the people,—public

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works, education, sanitary questions,—questions that I can scarcely number, but all of which make most urgent demands upon the Government for money, and I can hold out no hope that, by any reduction of aggregate expenditure, we can save, not seven or eight millions, but one or two millions, out of the necessary expenditure of this country for great objects of public importance.

The opium estimate for the coming year has been framed, as you are aware, upon a somewhat different principle from that upon which the estimate of last year was framed, and I am bound to say that, for myself, I prefer the course taken upon this occasion. I believe that estimate to be a very cautious one. It would be extremely unwise, I entirely admit, that our opium estimate should be anything but very cautious. All estimates of revenue should be low; all estimates of expenditure should be high; and I go further in regard to opium, and say that our estimate of the opium revenue should always be (on account of the peculiar circumstances connected with that branch of the revenue) a specially cautious and low one; but I believe that we have fulfilled that condition in the present year, and, as far as I myself can judge, I am of opinion that the amount placed by my hon'ble friend in the Budget is one which, saving unforeseen accidents of the season, or circumstances of trade, is likely to be realised.

I do not know that there are any other points connected with this Budget upon which I need express my opinion now. I have touched upon the principal matters with which it deals, and I have laid before my hon'ble colleagues in this Council some, at least, of the reasons which induce me heartily to concur in the proposals of my hon'ble friend. But I cannot conclude the remarks I have made on this occasion without tendering my warm thanks to Major Baring for the great care and labour which he has bestowed upon this Budget. No-one who has not had the advantage I have had of watching him at work upon this subject for the last

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twelve months can know how hard he has worked ; what wide and varied consideration of the whole field of past and present taxation—what close and careful examination of our whole fiscal system and of the resources of the country—he has gone through in order to produce in this final form the proposals now before us. Whatever any man may think of those proposals, they are, I venture to say, so far as my hon'ble friend is concerned, the outcome of deep thought, of minute care, and of honest conviction ; and I must say that to me they seem well worthy of the high reputation as a financier which he had already procured for himself before he came to India.

I must also express my best thanks to Mr. Hope.* It is needless for me to speak of his ability, or of his really wonderful industry. They are known to all, but they have, I venture to say, never been more conspicuously displayed than in connection with the preparation of the present Budget.

Allusion has been made once or twice in the course of this discussion to certain enquiries made last year by Mr. Barbour,† and I should be very ungrateful if I failed to notice the great assistance the Government has received from him ; the manner in which he has conducted those enquiries has been marked by much ability and skill.

It only remains now for me, in conclusion, to say that it is my earnest hope that this present Budget, while it will unfetter trade and lighten the burden of taxation that presses upon the poorest in the land, will be found, when it has passed through the test of experience, to have dealt with our financial arrangements in a manner consistent alike with sound economical principles and calculated to confer large and increasing benefits upon all classes of the people.

[The Motion was put and agreed to, and the three Bills before the Council were passed into law.]

* Financial Secretary to the Government of India.

† Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General and Revenue Department.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

11th March 1882. [THE Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University, for the purpose of conferring Degrees, was held at the Senate House on Saturday, the 11th March, at 4 P. M. His Excellency the Viceroy, the Chancellor of the University, presided. There was a large attendance of the members of the Senate and of the general public. After the presentation of the Degrees, His Excellency, whose speech was frequently interrupted by applause, addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,—It is no light task for any one to be called upon to address an assembly like this, and to occupy, even for a brief space, the attention of such a body as the University of Calcutta; and if the undertaking be an arduous one for those who have ample leisure to prepare themselves to accomplish it with all the thought and deliberation which it demands, what must it be for one who can only snatch a few scattered half-hours in the midst of the absorbing duties of such an office as that which I now fill in this country. I feel, therefore, gentlemen, in presenting myself before you to-day, that I have more than ordinary need of that indulgence which is always so readily accorded by the learned to those who can lay no claim to that honourable title.

It is a quarter of a century, almost to a day, since the Act of 1857 laid the foundations of this Institution and appointed as its first Chancellor that distinguished statesman, Lord Canning, who had hardly entered upon his duties in connection with this peaceful and beneficent work when he had to encounter, with that calm courage and that deep sense of justice for which he was so eminent, the most terrible storm which ever swept over India since she came under British rule. But that storm, of which so many of the traces are scarcely yet effaced, left the Calcutta University uninjured and ready to start forth upon the great work entrusted to it the moment the return of quiet enabled it to do so; and when our minds recur to the date at which

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the University took its rise, we cannot fail to be struck by the thought that the object which this Institution has in view was one pre-eminently needed at the moment when the dreadful transactions of the Mutiny were closed; for that object is, in the main, to bring together and to unite the European and the Native in the common pursuit and the common love of knowledge. We may then, I think, say, gentlemen, that on this occasion, when we commemorate the termination of the twenty-fifth year of the life of this University, we are met together to celebrate the Silver Wedding of Western and Eastern Learning, and to offer our best and most earnest wishes for the long and fruitful continuance of an union which is capable of conferring so many benefits upon East and West alike.

Such, then, was the origin and purpose of this University; but when we speak of it by that high title, we must always remember that it discharges only a portion of the functions of a complete University. It is in the main an examining body; it is not a place of study, so much as a place where study is tested. When I say this, however, it is not for the purpose of disparagement or complaint, but for the sake of accuracy. We have the example of the University of London to shew us that very good work may be done by an institution of this kind, and, indeed, we need no further proof that it is so than that which is afforded by the experience of the Calcutta University itself. It is not, however, solely by the direct operation of its examinations that this University takes part in the general educational work of the country. Standing at the head of the system of education of this side of India, it exercises a great and controlling influence over the teaching of the Colleges and Schools below it. It tests their work, and consequently it practically directs their studies, and in this way it constitutes a most important portion of our educational organisation, and is largely responsible for the tone and character of the studies carried on in the lower institutions. Such an influence as this

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grows with the growth and popularity of the University, and becomes day by day more and more potent for good or for evil. It might be easily used for the mischievous purpose of reducing all our Colleges and Schools to one single type, and of checking all variety of education and training. This is a danger which I earnestly trust that the authorities of the University will always bear in mind, and against which they will, I hope, take every possible precaution. Measures have lately been adopted having that object, among others, in view; and it is very satisfactory to know that those in whose hands the government of the University is placed are fully alive to the importance of leaving the utmost possible freedom to the subordinate institutions, both for the development of the faculties of their pupils, and for the preservation of the influence of the personal character of their teachers.

There is also another direction in which, not this University alone, but all the educational establishments in the country, of which the management is in any degree directly connected with the Government, fail, and necessarily fail, to afford the means of a full and complete education. The Government of India is required by solemn pledges, strictly binding upon it in honour and good faith, to do nothing calculated to interfere directly or indirectly with the religion or the religious feelings of the native population; and it is therefore impossible for that Government, in any of its places of education, to attempt to give anything in the nature of religious instruction, or to interfere with that great branch of education at all. I fully recognise that it is only in this way that the British Government in this country can fulfil the engagements into which it has entered, and which form part, so to speak, of the constitutional arrangements of India; but I could not refrain from alluding to the limitation thus placed upon the scope of our education, because it is one of my deepest convictions that a system of education which makes no provision for

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religious teaching is essentially imperfect and incomplete. I do not hold that such a system does no good, or that, when its existence is the necessary result of the circumstances of the time and country in which it is to be found, it is not deserving of encouragement and support. All truth is one, and one portion of it cannot be in real conflict with another. I hail, then, every effort to develop the minds of men and to store them with sound knowledge of every kind. I look upon it as an object of the highest interest and importance to the Government of this country to promote to the utmost the intellectual culture of the people of India of all races and creeds, among whom are to be found in all classes so many men of high intellectual qualities, who are eminently capable of profiting to the full by the best mental training which can be supplied to them. But I should not express my whole mind upon this great subject of education if I were to conceal my belief that what in the language of the day is called a purely secular education is not a complete education in the highest and noblest sense of the word.

This question of education is, as you are aware, gentlemen, occupying at the present time a large share of the attention of the Government. We are deeply impressed with its importance; we desire to advance further along the path which our predecessors have followed, and to spread the benefits of elementary instruction more widely than has yet been done among the masses of the people without retarding the development of that higher instruction in which, up to this time, the chief progress has been made. We have appointed a Commission, on which we have endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, representatives of all interests and opinions; and we trust that its inquiries will result in the collection of much valuable information and the proposal of such measures as are required by the present condition of the country. We have not included, in the duties entrusted to the Commission, any

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examination into the state or working of the Indian Universities, because there is ample evidence before us that they are discharging their special functions with an amount of success, and of satisfaction to the public, which justifies us in placing a large confidence in those to whom the management of these institutions is entrusted. It is not at the summit of our educational system that improvement is most urgently required, but at its base. Our Universities are constituted and are drawing ever-increasing crowds of students to their examinations, till we are forcibly reminded of the multitudes which flocked to the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages: and until it is doubtful, as Sir Henry Maine once remarked on an occasion similar to this, "whether there is anything founded by, or connected with, the British Government in India which excites so much practical interest in native households of the better class, from Calcutta to Lahore, as the examinations" of our Indian Universities. A large number of Colleges and Higher and Middle Schools exist, and, though there may be many points in which their management and the instruction given in them may be improved, it is to those points, rather than to any large increase in the number of such institutions, that our attention should be especially directed.

But in regard to Primary Education, there is a vast field before us. I am not at all inclined to underrate what has been already done in that branch of our educational system. Speaking here in the chief city of Bengal, I should be very ungrateful if I did not note, by way of example, the important measures by which Sir George Campbell laid—deep and solid, as I hope and believe—the foundations of Elementary Education in this province. It is one among the many claims of that distinguished person to the gratitude of Bengal and of India. But when we make the largest and fairest allowance for all that has been already accomplished, the work which remains to be done, if judged by

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European standards, is so enormous, when compared with the resources at our disposal at present, as almost to make us despair of the accomplishment of the task. Yet, apart from the general importance of popular education, there are special circumstances connected with the particular stage of general education at which we have arrived in this country, which makes the wide extension of sound elementary instruction among the people at large a matter of peculiar urgency. We have now in India, as the result of the spread of Middle and Higher instruction, an educated class increasing in numbers from year to year, but still a mere handful when compared with the great mass of the people, for whom the means even of the most rudimentary instruction are very limited, and of whom a large proportion are not brought within the civilizing influence of the school at all. This does not seem to me to be a healthy state of things. It is not desirable in any country to have a small highly-educated class brought into contact with a large uneducated mass; what is wanted is, that instruction should be more equally distributed, that the artisans and peasants of the land should have brought within their reach such opportunities for the cultivation of their faculties as may be possible under the circumstances of their condition, and that there should be no sharp line drawn between the educated few and the ignorant and untrained many. The circumstances of India under British rule have led to the establishment in the first instance of places of Higher and of Middle Education; and our progress has been marked by what has been described as a process of filtration downwards. I make no complaint of this, but I feel strongly that the most difficult, and yet the really most important, part of our task lies before us, and it has become urgently necessary that we should address ourselves to its accomplishment.

But when we do so, we are met at the very outset by a difficulty of a formidable kind. To establish a real and

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effective system of general Primary Education requires a very large expenditure. Where are the funds to come from? We all know that the financial resources of the Government of India are strictly limited, and we know also that the demands upon them are very great. Supposing the Government to devote to this object of Primary Education every rupee which it can spare from other purposes, the total amount will inevitably be found to be comparatively small, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that the friends of education should avail themselves, to the utmost of their power, of every other source of income which may be open to them. We must have recourse to all classes of men, and make use of every variety of motive. We must appeal to private individuals, to public bodies, to patriotic feeling, to religious zeal, and to the desire of personal distinction. I do not know that I can better illustrate the kind of aid which may be derived from these sources than by inviting you to consider with me for a moment what is done in this way in England. It is a very general practice—I should not be very far wrong if I were to say that it is an almost universal practice—for the wealthier land-owners to maintain the village school very largely, often entirely, at their own cost, with the exception of what they receive from the Government grants-in-aid, and from the small payments made by the parents of the children. These schools are under Government inspection, the scholars are regularly examined by Government officers, and, as I have said, grants-in-aid are given; but the whole management is in the hands of the local land-owner, or of a committee of local subscribers, who take a keen interest in the efficiency of the school and the progress of the children. Is there not here an example which might well be followed more largely in this country than it has hitherto been? In England the case is still stronger in regard to Higher and Middle education; towards the support of Primary Education the Government

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contributes largely; towards that of Higher and Middle Education it does not, broadly speaking, contribute at all. Sir Henry Maine, in one of those remarkable addresses which he delivered when he held the office of your Vice-Chancellor, reminded his hearers how the great English Universities were founded—not by grants of public money not even, except to a limited extent, by kings and queens from their personal resources, but by the liberality of private individuals, many of whose names are now remembered only because they are enrolled upon the honoured lists of the benefactors of Oxford and Cambridge; and as it has been with the Universities, so has it been with the Colleges, Public Schools, and Grammar Schools of England; they are the foundations of private men; they date back to days when England was not a wealthy country as we count wealth at present—when the proudest of English nobles would have been but a poor man indeed, by the side of many of the great Chiefs and Zemindars of the India of to-day. I know no reason why that which has been done in the past, and is done every day now, not by great nobles, but by private gentlemen in England, should not be done by gentlemen of wealth and station in this country. I am not one of those who think that my countrymen possess a monopoly of all the higher qualities and all the virtues of mankind. I decline to believe that the patriotism, the public spirit, the charity, the interest in their poorer neighbours, which have prompted men to these deeds in England have no counterpart in this country. There may have been times when the gentlemen of India did not come forward to aid in such undertakings, because they thought that the Government did not wish them to be active in public affairs and preferred to keep the control of everything in its own hands; but, whatever may have been the case in the past, at all events such an excuse cannot be urged now. We invite you to come forward, we desire your co-operation, we wish to see you taking a larger and

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larger share in public affairs of all kinds, and we esteem it a great help to the Government, as it is undoubtedly a great advantage to yourselves and to the people at large, that you should employ your wealth and strengthen your influence by public services, such as those which I have here described, freely rendered and gratefully received. If I mistake not, such benefactions are entirely in accordance with the spirit both of Hindoo and of Mahometan traditions. We have noble examples of them down to the present day. All I would ask is, that an increasing share of the available private wealth of the country may be devoted to a work so noble and so urgent as the spread of sound education among all classes of the people. The Roman poet boasted *Exegi monumentum ære perennius, regalique situ pyramidum altius*; and so it will be with you. A single school founded, a single college aided,—nay, I will say also, a single scholarship provided,—will do more in the times which are before us to uphold the honour of an ancient name, or to create the reputation of a new one, than any outward show of dignity or any personal display of wealth.

But if I thus earnestly ask aid from native gentlemen in this great work of education, it is not solely, nor even mainly, in order to obtain the funds which we so urgently need; it is yet more because I believe it to be of the very highest importance to give to our educational system that variety which alone can secure the free development of every side and aspect of the national character. It has often been the dream of despots to establish a system of education which would cast the whole of a great people in one mould and train them up in a blind and unreasoning submission to the will of a central power. This was the aim of the first Napoleon when he founded the University of France and gave it complete control over the whole education of the country. All Frenchmen were to be brought up exactly alike, and taught to believe that their first duty was to love and obey the Emperor, whoever he

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might be, and whatever he might command ; and no one who is acquainted with the subsequent history of French education can fail to be struck with the deep root which this pernicious system, once established, has taken in France, and the strange way in which it has survived all political changes and been adopted by almost all political parties in succession, because it afforded them a powerful engine for the compulsory propagation of their own opinions. Now, such a scheme as this is alien from the genius of the English people and contrary to the policy which it would be wise for the English Government to pursue in India. We are here in the midst of ancient peoples, possessed of civilization, of literature, and of art of their own ; and our business is not to try and force them to reject their past, to forget all that is characteristic in their history and their traditions, and to convert themselves into bad imitations of modern Englishmen ; but to place without stint, at their disposal, all the riches of Western science and Western culture, that they may blend them in one harmonious union with the treasures of their own Oriental learning. If ever there was a country in which educational variety was a necessity, it seems to me that India is that country, It is a land of many races and many creeds. Hindoo, Buddhist, and Mahometan traditions are essentially different, and have each given rise to a different literature and a varied form of civilization. If we leave things to take their free and natural course, Western learning will combine with each of those great forms of Indian thought in a different and characteristic manner ; and, though its ultimate tendency may be to unity, it will reach that unity by varied means and along separate paths ; and in the midst of that unity, when it is at length attained, it will, like the great forests of tropical climes, preserve that rich and infinite variety which is one of the principal sources of the beauty of nature. How, then, can this great end be attained ? It seems to me that it can be attained only by securing for

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our educational work the co-operation of the great indigenous influences which are still living and active in the country. No purely Government system can do this. The inevitable tendency of Government education is to become stereotyped; to take up definite lines and to follow them; to fall into certain grooves and never to get out of them; and therefore, if you want variety, if you want free growth and unfettered development, if you want to see various experiments tried and ignorance attacked on every side, you must frankly call in the aid of the public, you must encourage their efforts and give them ample scope. Your educational system will in this way not be so symmetrical, but it will be more natural; its results will be less uniform, but they will be more full.

But it may be asked, why do you make this appeal so urgently now? What is there in the circumstances of the present time which leads you to hold a great educational effort to be so necessary? I have already given you some reasons for the view which I take of the matter, but there is one which especially weighs with me, and to which I will now advert. I often heard it said in England, before I came out to this country, that there was nothing like real and effective public opinion in India, and that the want of it was one of the special difficulties which the Government of India had to encounter. Few things have struck me more during the time that I have been here than the various proofs which I have seen of the existence of a substantial public opinion, which is evidently growing and strengthening from day to day. I do not mean to say that there yet exists in India that general, widespread, constraining public opinion which is to be found in European countries, and which, when its voice is clearly heard, is the irresistible and unresisted master of Governments and Parliaments. Public opinion here is still to a great extent split up into sections, and represents very often only the views and interests of classes or of coteries; while the great mass of

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the people, the operatives of towns and the cultivators of the rural districts, are still unhappily without direct means of making their voices heard ; but with all these drawbacks and shortcomings, the power and influence of general public opinion, which is of course in the main native opinion, is obviously extending and advancing with a sure and steady step. No prudent Government and no wise statesman would despise or disregard it, while at the same time it has not yet arrived at that condition of solidity and depth which would make it the powerful instrument for warning and enlightening the administration which it is in England and other Western countries. My experience has also taught me the great difficulty which often exists on the part of Europeans on the one side and natives on the other in understanding each other's point of view. What seems a self-evident proposition to the one often appears to be almost incomprehensible to the other ; not, certainly, from want of intelligence, but from entire difference of habits of thought ; and yet as we, the men of both races, have to work together for a common end—the good of India and the well-being of her people,—it is of the utmost importance that every obstacle which prevents us from entering easily and fairly into each other's mode of regarding the many questions with which we have to deal in common, should be removed. How, then, can this be done ? How can public opinion be made more intelligent, more wide, more just, and more united, and therefore more powerful and effective ? By the spread of solid education alone. By education, the writers in the Press, who have in these days so large a share in the formation of public opinion, will learn to judge events more wisely, to weigh rumours more accurately, to reason more soundly, and to appreciate more justly the real value of words ; while by the same means the public, to whom they speak, will become every day less liable to be misled by absurd reports, or carried away by hollow declamation, and more capable

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of forming their own independent judgment on what concerns their own interests, and impressing it upon those who profess to speak in their name. This is a process which must be gone through in every country before public opinion can obtain that powerful influence on public affairs to which in its full development it is justly entitled; and the best mode of hastening the completion of that process is to promote the spread, throughout all classes of the community, of an education calculated to strengthen the mental faculties and to steady the judgment.

And now, gentlemen, I should like, with your permission, to say a few words with reference to the general purpose of all education and to the spirit by which the true student should be animated. The purpose of real education I take to be, not merely to fill the mind of the student with a large number of facts, not to enable him to talk glibly about a variety of sciences, not even to secure his passing all the examinations of his University, but to cultivate, to develop, and to strengthen the various faculties with which he has been endowed. If I am right in this, the first thing needed in education is thoroughness of knowledge; the mental powers can be better trained by knowing a few things thoroughly than by knowing many things superficially; and yet there are many circumstances in these days which tend to tempt men, and especially young men, to superficiality and to turn them aside from depth. The very extent and variety of the subjects of study which are offered to us in modern times, the many new sciences and branches of science which have been opened out to us within the last half century, the natural eagerness of youth to sip, one after another, at the beautiful flowers which grow so richly in the garden of learning, and last, but not perhaps least, the inevitable tendency of a wide and varied curriculum of examination,—all tend in the same direction; and yet, if you measure the result of the education which a man has received, not by the number of topics upon which

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he talks fluently in ordinary society, but by the number of those of which he has a real firm grasp ; not by the books which he has read, but by those which he has digested ; not by the facts which he has laid up in his memory, but by the accuracy of his judgment, the strength of his reasoning powers, and the force of his intellect,—you will soon be convinced that more real mental training is to be derived from the thorough study of a single subject than from a skin-deep acquaintance with a hundred sciences. I would say, then, to every student—Be thorough ; know what you know as fully and completely as you can ; use the fruitful spring-time of youth, when your intellectual powers are fresh and full of growth, to strengthen, to widen, to develop them on every side, rather than to fill your mind with miscellaneous knowledge which you can gather, as far as it may be needful for you, much more easily in after-life, if while you are young you have improved to the utmost the instrument by which all knowledge is obtained. Spring is the time for working the ground and putting in the seed ; autumn is the time for gathering in the harvest and storing it in barns.

And then, again, I would say to you, while you know accurately what you do know, while you are thoroughly acquainted with the true extent of your knowledge, keep also constantly before you, with no less care and accuracy a true sense of your ignorance. Few things are more useful to a student than that he should constantly recall to mind how many subjects there are of which he knows nothing ; the more he realises this, the surer will be his hold of the subjects which he has fully mastered ; the juster will be his appreciation of the real nature of solid learning, and the more sure will be the growth within him of that modesty which is the prime mark of the true student. And lastly, let us ever remember that the end of life, after all, is not to know, but to be. The usefulness of knowledge depends upon the use we make of it. If we use it for

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selfish objects or ignoble purposes, we had better have been without it. Those high and noble faculties of mind and will which are the exclusive inheritance of no age, or race or country, have been given to us, not that we may employ them for our own benefit alone, or cultivate them merely for their own sake, but that, developing them to the utmost, we may apply them all to advance the glory of Him whose gifts they are, and to promote the welfare of our fellow-men, who, wheresoever they may dwell, and whether they be rich or poor, learned or ignorant, are all alike the children of one common Father.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW LECTURE HALL AND OBSERVATORY OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE.

13th Mar. 1882. [On Monday afternoon, the 13th March, the Viceroy laid the foundation-stone of the new Lecture Hall and Observatory of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. There was a large assembly of European and Native Gentlemen. His Excellency, on his arrival, was received by the President (Sir Ashley Eden) and the members of the Association, and conducted to a seat within the *shamiana* erected for the occasion. The Honorary Secretary (Dr. Mahendra Lál Sircár) gave a short history of the Institution, with an account of the subscriptions received, and concluded with an urgent appeal for the further necessary funds in aid of building-expenses. Sir Ashley Eden, in a brief speech, then requested the Viceroy to lay the stone, which being accomplished, His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Sir Ashley Eden and Gentlemen,—It has, I assure you, afforded me much pleasure to have been able to be present upon this occasion, and to lay the first stone of this building, because I can truly say that I sympathise very heartily with the objects for which the institution which is here to be housed has been founded. I look upon it as an object

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of great importance that there should be established in the heart of this great city an institution which has, for one of its chief purposes, to provide the means by which students of science may pursue their delightful studies after they have left college or school: for we all know that in the case of many youths, little more can be done during their scholastic period than to place in their hands the tools with which they may afterwards acquire knowledge for themselves, and to teach them how to use those tools efficiently and well. And much, in truth, has been done if during school-life the efficient use of those tools is thoroughly taught. I had occasion a short time ago, when addressing another educational institution in this city, to remark that it was a great error to suppose that a man's education ended when he left school or college, and therefore naturally I feel a deep interest in the work and the labours of an institution which has for its purpose to provide the young men of this city (who, when they leave their colleges, are still animated by the noble desire of pursuing the studies that they have there commenced) with the means of continued self-education under the guidance of competent teachers. And again, it appears to me to be a great advantage that in this country, the people of which are animated by so strong a taste for science and so marked a love of scientific pursuits, this Association should be the instrument for bringing together a body of lecturers so learned and able as those who give their services to it, and of providing them with the means (whether of building or of apparatus) by which they may impart to their fellow-citizens the knowledge for which they are themselves so eminent.

But, Sir Ashley Eden and gentlemen, there is another circumstance connected with the proceedings of to-day, which affords to me a deep sense of gratification. It was only on last Saturday that I expressed my strong and

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earnest conviction of the great importance to the future of India, that her wealthy classes should come forward and take a large part in providing the means of education for her people; and I come here this afternoon, and I am told, to my great satisfaction, of the noble liberality which has been displayed by those who support this Association. (*Applause.*) We have heard of the munificent donation of Bábu Káli Kishen Tagore, a member of a family eminent among the families of India for their public spirit (*applause*), and we have heard the names of others who have in a lesser degree, yet probably according to their means, come forward to help in this great work. You can easily believe how gratifying it must be to me to receive so marked a proof that those to whom I appealed last Saturday are animated—not in consequence of that appeal, for those gifts date from an antecedent period, but from their own motion and their own love of knowledge—by that spirit to which I ventured to make my appeal. (*Applause.*)

Your admirable Honorary Secretary drew, I fear, rather a gloomy picture of the present condition of India in respect to learning. I hope and believe that he took a view somewhat too gloomy of your real condition; but I am not sorry to see a man of spirit and energy like my learned friend take that low view of your present condition, because it is only by being thoroughly discontented with what you have done that you have the chance of doing that which, we all hope, you will yet accomplish (*applause*); and I would venture to throw in my voice with Dr. Sircar's in the appeal which he made to you for the endowment of professorships. It seems to me that that is a matter of very great importance; it is important because it will give to this association a permanent establishment; it is important because it will tend to maintain and to keep up the high character of its professoriat; and it is important also for another and a general reason,—because, as your Honorary Secretary well pointed out, the fact of gathering around

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this institution a body of able scientific men will be not only that they will be here to teach the five hundred students who are to be gathered within the walls of this new building, but that they will form a body of learned and scientific men leavening the society of Calcutta, giving a tone to its learning, and pursuing in the midst of this city those scientific investigations and enquiries which can alone be thoroughly followed by men who have an assured independence, and which will, I trust, before many years are past, enable the natives of this country to take their proper place among the scientific men of the world. (*Applause.*)

I am very glad, therefore, gentlemen, to have had it in my power to be present here to-day, and to have been asked to have the honour—for an honour I esteem it—of laying the first stone of this building, in which I trust, will be displayed to many generations of students the wonders of physical and of natural science. Here, astronomy will lay bare to them the secrets of other worlds ; here, chemistry will show them the composition of the substances which they handle every day, and will point out to them the astonishing and exact harmony with which the elements of those substances are combined ; and here will be revealed to them all the mysteries of those mighty energies or forces which the discoveries of the last half century have been unfolding to us ; and then there will grow up for them the lofty conception of law—of law, wide-spreading and harmonious, binding together and restraining the exuberance of nature, and leading the mind of the true student onwards and upwards to the very foot of the throne of the great Law Giver himself, in whom we live, and move, and are, and from whom flow down for the delight of his creatures all those marvels and beauties of this outward world, which it is the part of science to explore. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

LECTURE BY COLONEL CHESNEY.

31st May 1882. [His Excellency the Viceroy presided at a lecture delivered by Colonel Chesney, Secretary to Government in the Military Department, at the United Service Institution, Simla, on Wednesday evening, the 31st May. The subject of the lecture was "Taking Stock." There was a large audience, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor, and a number of high Military officials being present.

The Lecturer contrasted the vicissitudes of Continental armies in international quarrels one with another, showing how supremacy passed to the Prussian army 120 years ago; how that was shattered by the march under Napoleon; and how that again fell before the German troops a dozen years back. Noting these changes and their momentous consequences, he advised "taking stock" of our military resources. The secret of success lay, he believed, in the originality and energy of the General directing the operations, and, illustrating his ideas by the incidents of the American war, he gave the highest praise to the masterly strategy of General Grant, and his vigour in crushing or capturing the enemy's forces. He extolled the value of discipline, not necessarily always of the conventional type, but the higher discipline of that fortitude and courage which endured to death by starvation or by wounds. He concluded by declaring that the first secret of success in war was courage, the second courage, and the third courage.

In rising to return thanks to the Lecturer, the Viceroy, who was received with cheers, spoke as follow :—]

I do not know whether there is any gentleman who would wish to make any remarks on the lecture which we have just heard. [After a pause, His Excellency continued.] If no one is bold enough to take that course— although we have been exhorted to display courage, and courage, and yet again courage (*laughter*), I will request those present to perform a duty which I am confident they will discharge with the utmost readiness, and to return their cordial thanks to Colonel Chesney for the very interesting lecture which he has delivered. (*Applause.*) Nothing would be more out of place than that I, who am a mere civilian, should attempt any criticism, or venture even on any general remarks, upon the lecture we have

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heard from such a distinguished military officer as Colonel Chesney; but at the same time, there are one or two observations which suggest themselves to me, which perhaps I may venture without impropriety to submit to you in connection with that lecture. Colonel Chesney has laid it down that the secret of the success of the great generals who have successively followed each other in the world's history, and who, one after another, have won triumphant positions for their own countries, has lain in the possession by those generals of originality, vigour, and energy of character. Now, it seems to me, ladies and gentlemen, that there is every antecedent probability that that dictum must be true; because I believe it to be just as applicable to all other professions in life as Colonel Chesney insists that it is applicable to the profession of the soldier. (*Applause.*) I believe that the secret of success, whether of the public man, of the civil governor, of the great head of an industrial undertaking, or of any who are engaged in any of the great walks of life, lies, as Colonel Chesney has said, in the possession of those great qualities,—originality, vigour, and energy. It is by originality to conceive, by firmness to pursue the plans which he has conceived, and by untiring energy in that pursuit, that the statesman attains his ends (*applause*); and it is by the possession of like qualities that success may be attained in any other of those undertakings to which men may devote themselves. (*Applause.*) But then, Colonel Chesney said—turning from the generals of whom he had been speaking, to that other branch of the army (namely, the officers and private soldiers) without whose skill, and endurance, and courage the greatest generals of the world could effect nothing (*hear, hear*)—Colonel Chesney said that the second great secret of military success is to be found in discipline as he has defined it; and it seems to me, speaking with all due diffidence in the presence of distinguished soldiers, that the definition which he has given of true and high

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discipline is a very sound and correct one. (*Applause.*) He says, what you want is, that you should have an army which is prepared, if need be, to cast aside its communications, to advance boldly to the attack of the enemy, without bounting its own risks, and to be prepared to endure, not only the hazards of battle, but the trials of sickness and the weariness of the long march. (*Applause.*) Ladies and gentlemen, I accept that definition of true discipline, and I have only to go back some two years to find a brilliant example of it in the annals of the Indian army. (*Applause.*) Was there not a famous Division which, upon a great occasion, cast aside its communications to an extent which frightened not a few members of a distinguished assembly across the water (*aplause and laughter*), and which, setting out without any means of communicating with its rear, endured the trials of a long and weary march in the climate of Afghanistan—cut off from all communication with the outer world for some weeks, to come forth at last from all its dangers to a signal and glorious victory. (*Loud and continued applause.*) At least we may say that that column of European and native troops, prepared by the skill, and forethought, and the noble self-denial of my gallant friend the present Commander-in-Chief (*loud and continued applause*), and led forth with his accustomed energy, originality, and vigour, and his no less remarkable good fortune, by my distinguished friend Sir Frederick Roberts—not only re-established the fame of the army of India, but fulfilled all the requirements in regard to discipline of the gallant Lecturer himself. (*Applause.*) I ask you now to accord, as I know you will, your heartfelt thanks to Colonel Chesney for a lecture most interesting in itself, and possessing what I take to be one of the most distinguishing features of a really good lecture—that it was in the highest degree suggestive—that it brought forward points upon which the Lecturer touched only as he passed, but which, I venture to think, may produce much

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fruit in the minds of those who heard and will read it, if only they will reflect upon and develop the hints which Colonel Chesney gave. (*Applause.*)

THE JHANSI ENCUMBERED ESTATES BILL.

[In the Legislative Council, on Thursday, the 18th May, the Hon. 18th May 1882. Mr. Crosthwaite presented the Final Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the relief of Encumbered Estates in the Jhansi division of the North-Western Provinces ; and applied to His Excellency the President to suspend the Rules for the Conduct of Business,—explaining the necessity for passing the Bill at once, and the reasons for the delay that had occurred in dealing with it. His Excellency made the following remarks :—]

I think that quite sufficient grounds have been advanced for suspending the Rules of Business in this case. There is an additional circumstance which has led to some delay in the matter, to which my honourable friend did not advert, namely, that it was necessary in the last stage of the Bill to refer it home for the sanction of the Secretary of State. We have now received that sanction by telegram ; and, as everything connected with the measure is completed, and all the persons interested appear to be agreed to it in its present form ; and as, moreover, it deals with circumstances so exceptional and so difficult, I think we are justified in passing the Bill without delay. I may explain that some of the defects of the Bill, as it was originally introduced, struck my honourable friend, now the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, when he was a Member of Council ; and a note of his on the subject led me to look carefully into the matter, when I certainly agreed with the view of it which His Honour then took, namely, that the Bill, as introduced in the Council early in 1880, was not framed in a manner which was likely to secure its satisfactory working. My honourable friend Mr. Colvin also

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shared the same opinion. Under these circumstances the whole of the Bill was re-cast—an operation which took a considerable time, especially as it involved financial considerations of no small importance. I am very glad, however, that the matter has now been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and I have therefore no hesitation in declaring that the Rules are suspended.

[Mr. Crosthwaite then moved that the Final Report be taken into consideration. He explained the main provisions of the Bill, and dwelt upon the necessity of altering the revenue system. Mr. Plowden, while supporting the Bill, regretted the delay which had occurred in placing it before the Council; and thought that the difficulties of the Jhansi landlords were the result of a defective revenue system which it was in the power of the Local Government to prevent. His Excellency the President said :—]

With respect to the delay that has taken place, I should like to make one or two further remarks. I, of course, have no personal experience of the delay which took place before the time when I came out here, two years ago. At that time the position of the matter was this : The Bill as originally brought in—which, as my honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite has explained, was a very different Bill from the present one—was then before the Council. It was under reference to a Select Committee, who went into it very carefully, and, as I have already explained, towards the end of the time when we were at Simla in 1880, Sir Charles Aitchison spoke to me upon the subject, if I mistake not. At all events, he recorded a note in which he expressed doubts as to the propriety of adopting the Bill in the form in which it then stood. As soon as I was able to resume business at Calcutta, after my illness, I looked carefully into the matter. It seemed to me that the views put forward by Sir Charles Aitchison were very just, and I conferred with Mr. Bazett Colvin upon the subject at the commencement of last year. He then said that he should himself have preferred a Bill upon the lines of the present Bill, rather than upon those on which it was introduced

The Jhansi Encumbered Estates Bill.

under Lord Lytton's Government; and I then requested him to draw up the Bill in the form which he thought that it should assume. That Bill involved a very important principle,—that of advances upon the part of the Government—a principle which it is impossible to adopt all over the country, because of the enormous cost; and it therefore required to be considered with very great care, in order that we might see whether the circumstance of Jhansi would justify the adoption of such a measure, so clearly exceptional in its character. Well, Mr. Colvin prepared his draft, conferred with Sir George Couper on the subject, sent up the draft here, and it was then very carefully considered by the Financial Department. My honourable friend Major Baring very handsomely accepted the principle for this particular case, thinking that there were sufficiently exceptional grounds for doing so. The measure was therefore, in fact, in a condition in which it might have been passed last session at Calcutta, if it had not been necessary, under the orders of the Secretary of State, to refer it home to him before passing it. He lost no time in considering the matter, and in conveying his sanction to it by a telegram; and it is on that telegram that we are now acting. I mention these facts merely to show that the subject is one of a very difficult character, requiring to be treated with very great care; and that, although there has been more delay than would have been desirable, the matter has not been neglected, and that the delay has not been the result of any carelessness on the part of the Government in regard to it, but may truly be said to have arisen from the intrinsic difficulty of dealing with a question of this kind as we propose to deal with it in this Bill. I think the public should understand that that is the position of the case.

With regard to the question of the alteration of the revenue system, referred to by my honourable friends Mr. Crosthwaite and Mr. Flowden, that is a question which I

The Petroleum Bill.

will not attempt to discuss upon the present occasion. I can only say that it is a matter of great importance, and that it is receiving the careful consideration of the Government.

[The Motion was put and agreed to, and the Bill was passed into law.]

THE PETROLEUM BILL.

31st May 1882. [IN the Legislative Council, on the 31st of May, the Hon. Mr. Ilbert obtained leave to introduce, and introduced, a Bill to modify temporarily certain provisions of the Petroleum Act of 1881. He explained briefly the object of the Bill, stated that it was introduced at the special request of the Secretary of State, and that he did not now propose to ask for a suspension of the Rules of Business in order to carry the Bill at once through the Council. His Excellency the President said :—]

I think that the course which my honourable friend proposes to adopt is the correct one. Some representations in respect to this Bill have been made to the Government of India only quite recently—in the course of yesterday; and, although the Bill is introduced at the request of the Secretary of State, I think the circumstances are not such as to justify its being passed with the extreme rapidity which would result from the suspension of the Standing Orders of the Council. The introduction of the Bill will have brought it to such a stage as will admit of its passing, if necessary, at the next sitting of the Council. That, I think, will be sufficient to meet all the requirements of the case, and will give the public and the Government a somewhat longer time to consider the nature of the arrangements to be made under it.

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY BILL.

[THE Punjab University Bill was passed in the Legislative Council 5th October 18 at Simla on the 5th October 1882. After Mr. Gibbs, Sir Charles Aitchison, and Mr. Ilbert had addressed the Council on the subject of the Bill, His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows:—]

After the very full exposition we have heard of the objects of the Bill in its present shape, and of the mode in which those objects will be attained under this measure when, as I trust, it becomes law, it would be quite unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the questions now before the Council; but I cannot let this Bill pass without expressing my great satisfaction that it should have fallen to my lot to occupy the position of Governor General and President of this Council at the time when this measure became law.

Somewhat less than two years ago, on the occasion of my first visit to Lahore, I received more than one address from bodies in that city upon the subject of the proposal to create a University in the Punjab. I then stated that I would give to the subject my careful consideration, and that I was very anxious to comply as far as possible with the strong wish evidently entertained by the leading men in the Punjab that an institution of this description should be established in their midst; and I have fulfilled that pledge. I did not then state—for I had not sufficient information to enable me to state—what would be the result of the consideration given to this subject by the Government of India; but I am exceedingly glad that that result has been one which will, I trust, be greatly to the advantage of the population of the Punjab and satisfactory to those who have, during the lengthened period to which my honourable friend the Lieutenant-Governor alluded, devoted themselves to further this great and important object.

I entirely agree with one remark among many which fell from my honourable friend Mr. Ilbert, when he said that it

The Punjab University Bill.

was not a disadvantage, but, on the contrary, was to be regarded with approval, that this University would differ in some respects from the other Universities in this country. I think that that variety in the character of the various educational institutions of the country is in itself a very great advantage, and, so far from considering it any drawback, I view it with great satisfaction.

I also desire to express my very deep sense of the obligation under which the Princes, the Chiefs, and the Native Gentry of the Punjab have laid the Government and the public by the manner in which they have come forward to support and endow this institution. The efforts which they have made are entirely in the direction in which, as it seems to me, it is most desirable that educational proceedings in this country should move; and I regard it as a most auspicious event that they should have come forward so liberally and based the foundation of this University, not upon Government contributions, nor even upon Government support, but upon the free and magnificent gifts of those who are the natural chiefs and leaders of the people of the Punjab.

I do not think I need now trouble the Council with any further observations. I hope ere long to have an opportunity of addressing the new University when it meets under the auspices of the law about to be passed. It only, therefore, remains for me to offer my hearty congratulations to the Lieutenant-Governor on the fortunate circumstance that it has been during the period of his administration—from which I anticipate so many benefits to the Punjab—that the coping-stone, as he has said, has been put upon an institution, in laying the foundation of which he himself so many years ago took a part.

OPENING THE NEW RIPON HOSPITAL AT SIMLA.

[On Friday afternoon, the 20th October, the Viceory laid the foundation-stone of the new Ripon Hospital at Simla. Her Excellency Lady Ripon, Sir Donald and Lady Stewart, and a large number of people of all classes, European and Native, were present to witness the ceremony. Mr. A. O. Hume, the President of the Hospital Committee, opened the proceedings with an eloquent and amusing speech, after which His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Mr. Hume, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that it is a great satisfaction to me to have been able to accept the invitation which was given to me a short time ago, that I should lay the first stone of this new Hospital at Simla. I have taken, now for some time, a strong interest in the undertaking in which the Committee of this Hospital are now engaged; and, ladies and gentlemen, I must confess that the first source from which that interest was derived was that source from which, I venture to think, very many of the best inspirations of men have flowed: it was Lady Ripon and her interest in this work (*loud cheers*), which first drew my attention to the great want of hospital accommodation in Simla; and acting, as I always do, in obedience to my wife's commands (*cheers and laughter*),—which I am sure all the ladies present will think a very judicious course of proceeding (*laughter*),—I have done what little lay in my power to forward this enterprise. Ladies and gentlemen,—I am quite sure that any of you who may have visited the existing building which is called the Simla Hospital, and which ill deserves the name, will have been as strongly impressed as I have been with the necessity of erecting a more suitable dwelling for that institution. You cannot look at the rooms—wards I cannot call them—which are contained in that incommodious hospital, and not see, after all the efforts that have been made to improve them, how ill-suited they are for the purpose to which they are

Opening the new Ripon Hospital at Simla.

devoted—dark, imperfectly ventilated, grievously overcrowded, and possessing all the qualities which are least desirable in an hospital. (*Hear, hear.*) I am told that, properly speaking, making the due provision which ought to be made in a hospital for the accommodation of the patients, there is only room in the present building for, I think, eighteen beds; but that there are, even now, thirty patients in the hospital—that is to say, there are not far off, at the present moment, twice as many patients crowded into that building as those which can properly and suitably be accommodated; and I understand that there have been times when the number of patients to be received has so greatly exceeded the possibilities of accommodation in the rooms of the building, that they have overflowed, and that beds have been placed from time to time in the surrounding verandah. I need say no more, I think, to prove conclusively that the present building is utterly inadequate to provide for the requirements of this growing community; and, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that I am justified in saying that, in some respects, the efforts which have been made during the last year for the improvement of that hospital and its accommodation have really resulted in showing more conclusively how inadequate that accommodation is. I learn that the number of out-patients who were relieved last year, as compared with those who were relieved in the year 1880, was over 7,000, as against something over 5,000; and I understand that the number of in-patients last year was almost exactly double the number of in-patients received during the preceding twelve months. Therefore, the efforts which have been made to make the hospital better suited for its purpose—the labours which were commenced by Dr. Owen during the time that he was in charge of the hospital, and which have now devolved as a duty upon my friend Dr. Franklin—so able to discharge any duty of that description—those efforts, I say, have, in fact, resulted in producing a state of things in some respects almost more

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unsatisfactory and more imperfect than that which existed previously to the time at which greater attention was directed to this important object. Now, surely, ladies and gentlemen, that simple statement of facts—the truth of which you may ascertain for yourselves any day, if you choose to visit the present building—is in itself sufficient to show beyond dispute the necessity of the appeal which is now being made to you to assist in this great work of providing Simla with suitable hospital accommodation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have heard from my friend Mr. Hume, in the course of his interesting address, mention of a very considerable sum of money which may be required before this work, in his opinion, can be completely and suitably finished. That whole amount will not at first be needed, and I think I may say that, whatever funds may be contributed for this purpose, will be spent upon really useful objects. I would earnestly recommend those who have the management of this undertaking not to strive to make their building ornamental outside, or ambitious in appearance; but to try to make it all that a hospital ought to be—a model hospital in its medical and sanitary arrangements. This brief statement of facts is, I think, all that need be brought before you now; because there can be no necessity in these days that any man should occupy the time of an assembly like this in producing arguments to prove that the creation of a public hospital is a great and noble work. (*Applause.*) We live in days, ladies and gentlemen, when science—and especially medical science—is making, daily, great and wonderful advances; we live in days in which the means of alleviating the physical sufferings of mankind are greater than they have ever been, and in which those means, through God's mercy, are increasing continually; but what is the use of the progress of science, of the advancement of medical skill, unless means are provided which will bring the poor and the suffering of every country within the reach of that science and within the touch

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of that skill? Surely we none of us, who look at the world around us, and who think at all of the deep suffering that exists close to us—though we may shrink from seeing it—can doubt that there is no more urgent, no more noble work, than to do what in us lies to bring close to the doors of those who suffer, those means of relief and of cure which science has provided for them. (*Applause*) Can there be a stronger claim than that which our suffering fellow-creatures, of whatever race, are able to make upon us—upon us who have, in whatever degree, the means of affording relief to them out of the superfluities, be they great or be they little, which we ourselves possess? It is quite true, ladies and gentlemen, that there is something which is far more valuable than any pecuniary contribution for the relief of human suffering; it is quite true that, where it can be given, personal service for the sick and the poor is of infinitely greater value than any pecuniary assistance, and that it brings alleviation and consolation to those who suffer, which money cannot bring. But it is not in the power of all to render that personal service to their suffering brethren; and there are special difficulties in this country, and special reasons, which may make it less easy than it may be in other lands; but all of us who have the means, be those means great or be they little can, according to the measure of those means, give something for this object. I hope that the result of this day's meeting will be to show that there is here, in Simla and its neighbourhood, an earnest sense of what is due to those who suffer—an earnest sense of the vast claim which those who are huddled together in masses greater than perhaps we realise in the imperfect buildings around us, have upon us, who live in healthier buildings and enjoy larger incomes.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—There was one part of Mr. Hume's address to which I listened with very mixed feelings. I thought that my object, when I came here

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to-day—at least one of the purposes which I was expected to fulfil—was that I should make an appeal to the generosity of the Simla public to come forward with their contributions to this Simla hospital. But Mr. Hume shadowed forth, in powerful and eloquent language, another source from which funds might be derived; and he seemed to think that he would be able by his eloquence to touch even the stony heart of my honourable friend the Financial Member. (*Laughter and applause.*) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have long entertained a very high opinion of the discretion of Major Baring. That opinion has been confirmed to-day; for I do not see him anywhere here (*laughter*); and I am told, on what I believe to be good authority, that, with that foresight for which he is remarkable, he went away into camp a few days ago (*laughter*); doubtless because he got wind of the appeal which my friend Mr. Hume intended to make to him. (*Continued laughter.*) Well, now, Mr. Hume remarked that he would entirely accept, and was quite certain that he would fully agree with all that I should say upon the subject of a contribution from the Government of India. Ladies and gentlemen,—I am an old trout (*laughter and cheers*), and I am not going to take the fly which Mr. Hume has thrown over, (*Continued laughter.*) The Government of India will do upon this as upon all subjects, that which is right (*hear, hear*); my honourable friend Major Baring will act with a due regard to economy and with a proper attention to efficiency; and I have not the slightest doubt that when he reads Mr. Hume's speech, his heart will be touched, his feelings will be moved, and he will probably remain in camp till he has recovered from the attack. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Now, ladies and gentlemen, my advice is this,—upon every other question place implicit confidence in the Government of India; but not upon this (*laughter*); and I would say to you, fill up that paper, put down the largest

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possible sums you can—and the larger the sums you put down, the more likely it is that the Government of India will come forward and pay up the rest. (*Hear hear, and laughter.*) But, joking apart, I would venture to say that the first thing to be done is for the public to show a fair interest in this undertaking. It is a matter in which the public are interested; it is a great object of public utility; it is an undertaking in which it is an honour to any man to have a part; it is an undertaking which makes a clear and direct appeal to all who dwell in Simla and its neighbourhood;—nay, I will go further, for, looking to the fact that Simla is the residence of the Government of India for many months in the year, I will say that that appeal extends beyond the limits of Simla—beyond even the jurisdiction of my friend Mr. MacNabb, and goes far and wide throughout the land, to all who have any connection with the Supreme Government of this country. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I listened with great interest to the concluding portions of Mr. Hume's speech, in which he reminded us of the immense value which there is in any work which has a tendency to bring together men of all races and all classes in this country, in one common undertaking. Yes, ladies and gentlemen,—in this land, where there are so many differences of race, of creed, and of caste,—where there is so much which tends to keep men apart and to weaken and repress that sympathy which is the truest bond of civil society, it is a great recommendation in any undertaking, that it is one in which all men may unite, for which they may work together side by side, and may learn, through such co-operation, to cast away the animosities of the past, and to labour more and more with mutual respect and mutual forbearance, for the promotion of common objects of public and social importance (*applause*); and I rejoice to see here, to-day, ample evidence of such a union of classes and races and creeds—to

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see assembled around this stone, and gathered on this hill-side, representatives of the Government of India; representatives, so fitting and so distinguished, of the Princes, Chiefs, and gentlemen of India; representatives of all classes and of all races: and I trust that we may find here, in this assemblage, a happy omen that this institution will not only tend to alleviate human suffering and diminish human misery, but also to bring together in the bonds of a closer union, the subjects of our gracious Queen-Empress in this Indian land. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to make one personal apology to you this afternoon, because I believe that I am the cause of that which alone is wanting to this meeting—Sir Charles Aitchison is not here. You all know—you who know him—how deep is sure to be his sympathy with an object such as this; and I need not tell you that if it had been possible for him, he would have been present to-day. But when I was asked, not very long ago, to lay this foundation stone, I named this day, I frankly confess, because it happened to suit best my own arrangements; and I forgot—though I was not ignorant of the fact, and remembered it after it was too late—to call to mind that Sir Charles Aitchison had made arrangements which he could not postpone, and which obliged him to leave Simla before this meeting took place; but I have his authority for stating that he feels the deepest interest in this undertaking, and it has his entire sympathy and approval. (*Cheers.*)

And now, ladies and gentlemen,—before I proceed to perform the special duty which falls to my lot, and to spoil as much as I can this beautiful trowel (for the gift of which I am very grateful to the Committee), it only remains for me, in conclusion, earnestly to invite your aid—to ask you, before you leave this place, to put your names down on that paper,—to use that ample supply of pens and ink to record the sums that you intend to give (*laughter*); to remember that Major Baring is inexorable, that the Government of

Agricultural Loans Bill.

India is stingy; and that all that you have to look to is your own efforts (*continued laughter and applause*); that the great principle of the Government of India is self-help and local effort; that you must not trust to us, but to yourselves; and that the best thing you can do is at once to discharge your duty by recording your names in the manner I have suggested. (*Cheers.*) My earnest hope is that it may please God to bless these our efforts; that this building may grow up worthy of the place in which it is to be erected, and that it may prove, for many and many generations to come, a continual source of blessing to the inhabitants of Simla. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

[His Excellency then formally went through the ceremony of laying the stone, having previously placed, in a small cavity in the lower stone, a bottle containing a copy of the *Pioneer* of the 20th October. The trowel, which was a silver one, was handsomely chased and bore the following inscription:—

“With this trowel was laid the foundation-stone of the Ripon Hospital, by his Excellency the Marquis of Ripon, K.G., Viceroy of India, 20th October 1882.]

AGRICULTURAL LOANS BILL.

26th Oct. 1882. [In the Legislative Council held on the 26th October, Mr. Cross obtained leave to introduce a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Loans of Money for Agricultural Improvements. His Excellency the Viceroy made the following remarks on the Bill:—]

I have only to say, in regard to this Bill, that it is not a very large measure. I believe, however, that it will remove many of the difficulties which now prevent the practical employment of the existing machinery for Government loans for agricultural improvements, and that, as far as it has that effect, it will, I cannot doubt, be beneficial to the agricultural community.

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The difficulties found to exist in India in this matter are not confined to India alone. We find also at home that loans of this description are not taken advantage of to the extent to which one might naturally suppose they would be, for very much the same reasons as those which have deterred agriculturists from availing themselves of them in this country,—namely, the difficulties created by the very strict rules which have been laid down for the guidance of applicants for loans of this description. These rules have been found to be unpalatable to English landholders, and I am not by any means surprised to find that they have had the same effect in this country. The main object of this Bill is to simplify those rules to the greatest possible extent, to enable them to be applied to the different parts of the country as varying circumstances require; and it is my earnest hope that, although the measure is not one of a very extensive character, it will effect a small and useful reform in the present system of loans for agricultural improvements.

CENTRAL PROVINCES LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL.

[On the 2nd November, the Hon. Mr. Crosthwaite laid before the Legislative Council the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to make better provision for Local Self-government in the Central Provinces. He explained how the Bill originated, and described at some length the plan of it, and how it was proposed to work it. Mr. Plowden spoke strongly in support of the Bill and of the policy of local self-government which it embodied. His Excellency the Viceroy said :—]

I am very glad that my honourable friend ¹ who has just spoken has addressed this Council on this occasion, because he has given the weight of his authority in favour of the policy of the Government of India in regard to

¹ Mr. Plowden.

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local self-government. He has most rightly described his long and varied experience in matters of administration, and I am quite confident that the public will receive the testimony which he has given in support of the principles upon which the Resolution of the 18th of May was founded with the utmost satisfaction, and that it will go far to dispel any lingering doubts or suspicions which may be entertained as to the objects of that Resolution. There is really very little left for me to say, after the discussion that has taken place in regard to this Bill; but there are one or two points on which I should like to make a few observations.

My honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite has pointed out that it is really due to an accident that this Bill is the first legislative measure brought forward in connection with that extension of local self-government which the Government of India are endeavouring to bring about; and must also be borne in mind that this Bill is not to be taken as a model on which all further Bills will be framed for other parts of the country. It is a Bill for the Central Provinces only; it has been drawn up in accordance with what the Select Committee believe to be the special requirements of that part of India, and it does not at all follow that, either in the particular organization which it is proposed to establish in the Central Provinces under this Bill, or in regard to the powers of control to be exercised over the local bodies in the Central Provinces, or in regard to the extent of the powers to be entrusted to those bodies themselves, that the provisions of this Bill, and the system on which it is founded, would be the best which could be adopted for other parts of the country. In drawing up the Resolution of the 18th of May last, the Government of India very particularly pointed out that they had not the slightest intention of laying down hard-and-fast rules of a uniform character for the extension of local self-government throughout the whole of this vast Peninsula. It would have

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been an exceedingly absurd idea if it had ever entered into the heads of the Government to do anything of the kind. The circumstances of different parts of India are most various. We have in this country, races almost on the verge of the savage state ; and we have, on the other hand, large populations marked by a very considerable advance, political and social, and counting among them men of very subtle and developed intellects. It is, of course, obviously impossible to deal with a country in that condition upon any uniform plan in regard to a system of local self-government.

Therefore, what we proposed was that laying down a few broad and general principles, those principles should be applied according to the peculiarities and requirements of the different parts of the country in different ways, so as to meet those requirements and to suit those peculiarities ; and we especially and clearly pointed out that we thought it was very desirable that the mode in which the principles of that Resolution were to be carried out should be varied, not only from province to province, but in the different parts of each province itself ; because we wanted to make trial of various methods of procedure, various modes of composing the local boards, and electing and controlling them, in order that, after experience, we might learn in the course of time what were the best methods of dealing with these matters, and what might be the system generally applicable, at all events to the great divisions of the country. Now, with regard to the Central Provinces, as my honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite has said, we deal with a part of the country to a certain extent backward ; speaking broadly, as compared with other parts of India—such as Bengal, Bombay, and elsewhere—it may be said to be a somewhat backward district. Consequently, you must so frame your measure as to suit the condition of such a district, and to meet the wants and circumstances of a population by no means far advanced in the social scale.

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And, besides that, there are in the Central Provinces certain districts—in point of area, I believe there are very considerable districts—inhabited by a population which may be almost described to be in the savage state. Of course, in districts of that description no system of local self-government can be introduced; nobody ever thought of introducing it; it would be a very long time indeed before any measure of the kind could be introduced in parts of the country like that; and, therefore, the principle on which the Bill has gone is to leave to the Chief Commissioner the power of applying this Bill to such portions of the country as he thinks fit to receive it. Those portions of the country inhabited by specially backward populations will, of course, be omitted from the operation of the Bill; and, as my honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite has pointed out, we have in Mr. Morris a gentleman so thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances of the province which he has ruled for a long period with so much advantage to the public service, that we can fully trust him to apply this Bill in a cautious, wise, and discreet spirit.

There is one feature of this Bill to which I attach considerable importance; and it is that an effort is to be made to found the new local institutions which will spring up under it as much as possible upon the indigenous Native institutions of the country. The mukaddams or head-men of the villages are to form the basis of the local boards and councils, and I think it very desirable that here, as elsewhere, where there still may remain indigenous institutions of local self-government, that they should be made use of to the utmost possible extent; because what we want to establish is, not a system founded on English ideas or English ways, but a system consonant with the wants, habits, and even the prejudices, of the Native population.

Now, allusion has been made by my honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite to the remarks made upon this Bill by those who have seen it in the stage in which it now is. Those

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remarks contain only the criticisms of officials ; but the Bill will now be published, and we shall have the advantage, before it becomes law, of receiving such observations upon it as the public of the Central Provinces may favour us with. I am happy to say that the Bill as now drawn has received the cordial support of Mr. Morris, the Chief Commissioner. Mr. Morris' Secretary, in writing to the Government of India in respect to this measure, stated :—

“ In the first place, then, I am to say that the Chief Commissioner cordially accepts the principles on which this Bill is based, and heartily concurs in the desire of the Government of India to do all that can be done to extend self-government ‘ as an instrument of political and popular education.’ This is a subject in which he has taken considerable interest in the past, although the sphere of operation has been very limited.”

And then the letter concludes with these words :—

“ The Government of India may rest assured that, should such a measure as this Bill become law, it will be patiently and carefully, but also boldly and loyally, applied ; and the Chief Commissioner is persuaded that he will have the cordial co-operation of all local officers in carrying out the aims of Government.”

You could not have stronger expressions of approval on the part of an officer than those contained in that letter from Mr. Morris ; and I myself am—and I am sure my honourable colleagues also are—very much gratified to find that our proposals do receive the cordial approval of a man of such long experience, and so well known as an able administrator, as Mr. Morris ; for what he approves of is not likely to be fraught with those dangers which, as my honourable friend Mr. Crosthwaite says, some people are of opinion that the policy of Government in this respect is likely to produce. It must also be borne in mind that Mr. Morris is especially qualified to speak on this subject, because he has done more, perhaps, than any other head of a Local Government in India to introduce into his province some portions of a general scheme of local self-government long before this question was taken up by the Government

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of India. We have heard a great deal to-day about the backward condition of the Central Provinces. Well, my honourable and gallant friend near me (Sir Donald Stewart) remarked, when that expression was used,—“but I have understood that in the matter of primary education the Central Provinces stand almost at the head of the provinces of India.” There is a great deal of truth in that remark; and so it has been in the matter of local self-government, so far as the principle of election is concerned; and therefore Mr. Morris knows very well from experience what he is talking about when he gives his sanction to the policy of the Government of India in this respect; and I think we may rely upon it with the most perfect satisfaction that the Bill when it becomes law will be applied by Mr. Morris in the spirit in which he says he will apply it, and which is precisely the spirit in which the Government of India wishes this measure of local self-government to be applied, not only in the Central Provinces, but throughout the country generally—that is, patiently and carefully, but also boldly and loyally.

I do not think I need add anything more to what I have said about this measure; but I am very anxious to make it clear that the fact that it is the first Bill of this kind which has been brought before this Council is due to exceptional circumstances; that it is a Bill intended for the Central Provinces, and for the Central Provinces only; and that, while it fully embodies the principles of the Resolution of the 18th of May, we do not in any way require other Local Governments to adopt its special provisions for themselves.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES TO THE SIMLA
VOLUNTEERS.

[ON Saturday afternoon, the 4th November, the Viceroy presided 4th Nov. 1882. at the distribution of Prizes to the Simla Volunteers. The proceedings took place on the Ridge near the Church, a large *shamiana* being pitched for the accommodation of spectators. His Excellency, accompanied by Mr. H. W. Primrose, Lord William Beresford, and other members of his Staff, arrived at 4-30, and, in addressing the Volunteers, spoke as follows:—]

Colonel Peterson, Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Members of the Simla Volunteer Corps,—Although I have risen to say a few words to you before the commencement of the prize distribution, it is not my intention to make anything in the nature of a speech this afternoon, because it does not seem to me that the occasion is one which calls for anything of that sort. But I am anxious, in the first place, to express to you, Colonel Peterson, and to your officers and men, Lady Ripon's great regret that she has been unable to fulfil her intention of being present upon this occasion to give away some of these prizes. Unfortunately, she has been suffering for some ten days or a fortnight from an attack very much in the nature of bronchitis, which, as you know well, is not a thing to be trifled with. She has been taking every possible care of herself, in the hope that she might have been able to come here to-day; but her stern and inexorable medical adviser told her this morning that she must not on any account think of coming out in her present condition: and I am bound to say that I think his advice was very sound. She has not been out at all since the attack first came on; and I believe it would have been very unwise if she had attempted to fulfil her earnest desire to come here to-day. I am quite sure, therefore, that you will all of you excuse her and that you will thoroughly believe that if it had been possible for her to be here she would have come, and thus testified to the deep interest she feels in the prosperity of the Simla

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Volunteer Corps. (*Hear, hear.*) And now, as I am speaking, I cannot help offering a few words of congratulation to Colonel Peterson on the present condition of this corps. From the reports which I have received, I am happy to believe that it is advancing steadily in the course of progress, and the Government of India have recently recognised, in the best way that they could, their sense of the progress thus made, in having consented to an increase in the number of drill-instructors attached to this corps, and in having agreed to allow the corps an Adjutant of its own. Those measures are, I am happy to think, fully justified by the condition and efficiency of this Volunteer Corps; and I hope that you will all see in that a proof of the interest which the Government of India feels in your prosperity and efficiency, and of their readiness to recognise the degree of progress which you have recently made. But I hope, also, that the Government of India having, in this respect done its duty towards you, you will see that, now that you are supplied with competent drill-instructors and with an able Adjutant all to yourselves, it is your duty to make the utmost-use of those advantages, and not to stand still—not to rest contented with what you have, up to the present time, accomplished; but to go on step by step advancing in efficiency, from year to year. I believe, Colonel Peterson, that the true motto for every Volunteer Corps is "*Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum*"—that is think nothing done if aught remains to do,—never stand still in the path of progress,—never rest upon the efficiency to which you have attained; but strive always to go forward and to reach a yet higher standard. And I hope that, as years go on, the numbers of this Corps will continue to increase. I rejoice to see you here to-day assembled in numbers so considerable; but I must say that when I look at the many active and stalwart young men whom I see in my walks about Simla, and compare them with the numbers in the Volunteer Corps, my expectations are not altogether

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satisfied. I think there are many young men here in Simla who ought to be in this Corps, and who would do themselves credit and derive great advantages from joining your ranks: and I earnestly trust that all those in high and important positions, who may be unable themselves to enter the ranks of this Corps, will use, so far as they legitimately may, that influence which they possess with others younger and more active than themselves, to induce them to show their interest in an institution which I am firmly convinced, if it is solidly established and widely extended, is calculated to confer great benefits upon the inhabitants of this district.

Colonel Peterson.—I do not know that I need detain you longer, except to express once more my most hearty desire for the progress and prosperity of the Simla Volunteers. (*Cheers.*) I am very well aware how very inadequate I am to represent the lady who was to have given the first of the prizes to those who have won them. I know how much their value will be diminished by being received from the hands so much less fair than hers, of which I am unhappily possessed. (*Laughter.*) But I stand here as her representative, and it is by her orders and on her behalf that I now present to you those prizes which she would have been so happy to have delivered to you herself. (*Cheers.*)

[The prizes were then distributed by His Excellency, Mrs. Baring, Mrs. Wilson, General Trevor, and others.]

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF LAHORE :

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

8th Nov. 1882. [THE Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff, left Simla on his autumn tour, on Monday, the 6th November. His Excellency arrived at Lahore on the morning of the 8th, and in the evening, after dinner, received a Deputation from the Municipality, who presented him with an address. The address, after welcoming His Excellency on the occasion of his second visit to Lahore, proceeded as follows :—

“When your Excellency first came amongst us, the country was still new to its Ruler, but the people had already learned to look upon him with strong regard and affection, from the sympathy displayed towards them, and from the promise held out of a policy, even then inaugurated, which tended to the improvement of their social, intellectual, and political condition. During the last two years, your Excellency has been unremitting in endeavours to fulfil that promise and to develop that policy. It would be impossible, within the compass of a brief address of welcome, to enumerate the benefits which have already resulted. The people of India have begun to feel how unselfish the aim of British rule may be when administered on the principles by which your Excellency is guided; and they are becoming more loyal and devoted subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress of India, because they feel not only that the Government is just, but that it desires to sympathise with them more fully; to be their friend as well as their ruler; and thus to raise them to a higher position than they have yet reached among civilised nations. In granting the boon of local self-government, we humbly trust and believe that your Excellency will not be disappointed in the result, and that the people of this province will display those qualities of energy, public spirit, civic virtue and self-help, which alone can enable them to reap the full benefit of the liberal measures of Government. It is gratifying to us to feel assured that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Members of His Government will spare no effort to carry out in its integrity the scheme proposed by the Supreme Government.”

The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen of the Municipality of Lahore,—I am grateful to you for the address which you have just delivered to me. I am much gratified—nay, I may truly say, I am much touched—by the tone of that address; and by the prof

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which it affords of the manner in which you appreciate the spirit by which I have been guided in my administration of India. Gentlemen, you are quite right when you say that I feel a warm and heartfelt sympathy for the people of this country; and you are right also when you state in your address that it is my desire to act in the great office which I now fill, not merely as the ruler, but more as the friend of the people of India; and I can truly say that if I find, when my term of office draws to a close, that the sentiments expressed in your address are still those entertained by the public of this country, I shall feel that I am amply rewarded for any labours which may have fallen to my share, because I shall have done something to attain one of the great ends which I set before me when I came out here, namely, to do what in me lay to bind together, in closer union than heretofore, the British Government and the Indian people. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen,—You have touched in your address upon a question which is exciting much attention in this country at the present time, and in which, as you know, I myself feel a warm interest—I mean the subject of local self-government; and I will, therefore, for a short time address to you some observations in connection with that important question. I believe that you are aware that the main and primary object of the Government of India in the steps which it is taking at the present time for the development and extension of self-government in this country, is to advance and promote the political and popular education of the people, and to do what may be done, under the circumstances of these times, to induce the best and most intelligent men of the community to come forward and take a share in the management of their own local affairs, and to guide and aid and train them in the attainment of that important object. Gentlemen, we have not been led to adopt this policy at this time in consequence of any mere inclinations of our own, but I may truly say that we

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have been almost forced to adopt it by the circumstances of the times with which we have had to deal. We had last year, as you are aware, to make arrangements for the renewal of those quinquennial provincial contracts which were originally introduced in the time of Lord Mayo, and which formed one of the distinguishing features of that great policy of decentralization which will always constitute one of the greatest claims of that distinguished statesman upon the gratitude of India. Those five years' contracts were running out, and we had to consider upon what terms they should be renewed; and when we came to turn our attention to that question, we thought it our duty to see whether the time had not come to apply yet more fully, and to carry out yet further, the policy which Lord Mayo had inaugurated; for it must ever be borne in mind that that policy, in its full intention, was not one only of provincial decentralization, but that Lord Mayo looked with the eye of a statesman to promote also the great object of self-government; and it seemed to us that we could not better apply the principles which he laid down than by carrying decentralization beyond the stage at which—not I believe, in accordance with his desire, but owing to circumstances which followed his unhappy decease—it had been arrested, and to advance it from decentralization as between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, to decentralization as between those Provincial Governments and the local bodies within their jurisdiction. But when we came to look at this problem and to seek for a solution of it, we found that it would be essential to infuse new life and fresh vigour into those local bodies on which we desired to confer fuller and more extended powers.

These, then, gentlemen, were the principles which we have acted on; but I think that I may perhaps make more clear the views of the Government of India and remove some misconceptions which appear to exist in the minds of

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some persons if, having told you what was our object and our purpose, I tell you what we did not desire to do.

We did not desire, gentlemen, to introduce into India any cut-and-dried system framed upon an English model, or based upon specially English political theories. We did not desire to lay down any uniform system, to be adopted under all circumstances throughout the length and breadth of this great land, whether in regard to the composition of local bodies, to the extension of the franchise, or to the system of control. On the contrary, no one who reads the Resolution of the Government of India of last May can fail to perceive that what we wished was to see a variety of systems tried in different parts of the country, in order that we might find out by actual experience what was the system, or what were the systems, best suited to each province and to each portion of this great peninsula. (*Hear, hear.*) And we desired also, above all things, that the new arrangements of self-government should as far as possible be those which were most consistent with the habits and the customs of the people in the different parts of India; that they should be drawn up in close consultation with representative men of different classes and districts; that they should be based so far as may be upon the indigenous native institutions which still exist; and that we should avail ourselves to the utmost of those "organic groups"—to use the felicitous expression of my honourable friend the Lieutenant-Governor—which are still to be found amongst us, so that the system to be founded might be one consonant with the traditions of the country and the feelings and requirements of the people.

Then again, gentlemen, we did not require that the system which we proposed to inaugurate should be applied by the various local Governments to every portion of the territory under their respective control. We were not so foolish as to believe that all parts of India were fitted for a system of this description; we know very well that in

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this great land there are men of many races and in many stages of civilization, and that while you may find, in the most advanced parts of India, men of developed intellects and great intelligence, skilled in the management of their own private affairs, and well capable of managing the public affairs of their own localities, there are also parts of the country which are inhabited by races still scarcely removed from the savage state ; and that it would be utterly absurd to introduce any system of self-government among Sonthals, or Bhils, or Khoonds. Again, gentlemen, we did not expect that the policy which we were adopting would have, as its immediate result, better practical administration. I will be very frank upon this subject, for, as we have stated plainly in our Resolution of last May, we are quite aware that it was very possible that, in many instances, better practical administration may not, at first at all events, result. We have another object in view—the education and the training of the people ; and we shall be content to put up, under due restrictions and for a limited time, with many failures in practical administration. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to speak on the subject of local self-government here in the Punjab, because the Government of India has found in my friend Sir Charles Aitchison an able, an earnest, and an honest supporter of their policy in this respect. (*Cheers.*) And it is to me indeed a source of the highest gratification that a man of his experience and his talents should give the weight of his great authority to a measure with which I am so intimately connected. Sir Charles Aitchison at once apprehended to its full extent, and in its true meaning, the policy of the Government in this matter ; and if I were to seek for the best commentary and the best development of the Resolution of the 18th of May last, and for the best practical application and exposition of the principles upon which that Resolution is founded, I should

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need no other document than the Punjab Resolution of my honourable friend. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen,—I cannot doubt that this policy, laid down by the Supreme Government and endorsed to the full by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, will receive from all the officers who serve in this great province a cordial and loyal support. I see it sometimes intimated that there is something in this policy which might be taken to imply some want of confidence on the part of the Government in the administration of our District Officers. Now, there cannot be a grosser misrepresentation of the objects which we have in view. (*Hear, hear.*) No man can have a higher respect than I have—a respect which I inherited from my father—for the ability, for the zeal, and for the public spirit of the Civil Servants of India. No, gentlemen, it is not because we have found a great and glaring want of administrative ability on the part of those who have had the management of the existing system, that we propose this change. It is because we have another—a further, and in some respects a higher—object in view than the simple promotion of good administration; it is because we desire, as a great political object, to avail ourselves of the free and the ready assistance of those native gentlemen of influence and intelligence who are, as we believe, capable of taking, with great advantage, a large part in the management of their local affairs. (*Cheers.*) And, gentlemen, I believe that there cannot be a greater error than that of those who suppose that, by this system, the just and legitimate influence of District Officers will be diminished. I hold, on the contrary, it will be found that that influence will be increased. No doubt such a system as this will make a call upon somewhat different qualities from those which have been brought forward under the present system of more direct administration. I should say that, for the future, we shall require rather the qualities of the statesman than the qualities of the

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administrator ; and, for my own part, I think that the qualities of the statesman are the higher qualities of the two ; and I cannot doubt that, when we make a demand for such qualities upon the members of the Punjab Commission, that demand will be fully answered. The Punjab Commission has been famous for many a long year for the ability of its administrators ; but, gentlemen, there are upon the proud list of that Commission many names, from those of Henry and John Lawrence, down to that of Sir Charles Aitchison, which may justly claim to take their place on the roll of English statesmen (*cheers*) ; and though it may be true that the qualities of statesmanship called forth by a policy of this description differ somewhat from those which have been exhibited in the past, yet I for one cannot admit that, in the guidance, the training, and the leading of a great and intelligent population in times of peace, there are not just as high qualities required as those which are brought to light in days of war and of diplomacy.

Gentlemen,—It seems to me, then, that in this matter the Government have done their part. We have laid down our policy ; your Lieutenant-Governor has heartily accepted it, and I am sure that he will be supported by those who are subordinate to him in this province. It remains, therefore, in the Punjab as in the rest of India, for the people to do their part ; it remains for you, gentlemen, men of influence and education, to come forward in answer to the call of the Government, and to take your proper place in the administration of the country (*cheers*) ; it remains for you to say whether this policy is to be attended with success or failure. I do not doubt that the appeal thus made to you will be adequately answered on your part. (*Cheers*.) I feel no doubt that the promise held out in your address will be fulfilled, because I see, from the words that you have employed, that you justly appreciate the qualities on which we are about to make a demand, and

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that you are prepared to make that sacrifice of your time and of your convenience which you are required now to make in the interests of your neighbours and of the country at large. But, gentlemen, nevertheless, I do not doubt—as I have said already—that we shall have to encounter and have to lament not a few instances of failure. There will be much, I dare say, in many places, to try the patience of local officers and to disappoint the hopes of Government; but this is a matter in which, before all things, patience and gentle handling are required. If, having planted this small tree of self-government, we are always pulling it up to look at its roots in order to see how far they have got down into the ground, I venture to say that this experiment will be no more successful than those which have preceded it. (*Cheers.*) Twenty years ago, an eminent man—one of your Lieutenant-Governors, loved, I believe, alike by European and Native—I mean Sir Donald Macleod (*cheers*)—sketched out the whole of the policy which the Government of India have now adopted; and if, twenty years ago, his proposals had been accepted and carried out in the spirit in which they were made, the Punjab would now have been at the head of India in this respect. (*Cheers*)

I say, therefore, gentlemen, that I have little doubt that, unless we are patient, we shall fail; that if we try to drive those who are to manage those local institutions too hard, and if we expect too much from them at first, we shall only make an ignominious fiasco. I therefore trust that ample time will be given to work out this policy to its true end, and we shall be prepared to accept many shortcomings, in the hope that they will teach, by the best of all instructors—experience—those who are entrusted with the administration, how to walk successfully in the path upon which they are about to enter. But at the same time, gentlemen, this also I must say,—that though I desire to see great patience exercised, and though I deprecate haste, or

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undue and over-eager expectations of immediate results, I, on the other hand, am firmly determined that this experiment shall not fail through the pertinacious neglect, through the sloth, or through the continued incompetence of the local bodies that are about to spring up. (*Cheers.*) Not to do so would be to betray the policy which we are advocating, and to abandon those interests that we have most nearly at heart. We must therefore retain sufficient control over these local bodies—a control varying in different parts of the country, according to the advancement of the people and the circumstances of each district. We must maintain, I say, sufficient control over these local bodies to see that they do not permanently, obstinately, or slothfully neglect their duty towards their fellow-citizens : and that control, gentlemen, I, for my part, am determined to maintain ; and I trust that it will be applied patiently, but still firmly, by local Governments. I believe it to be unnecessary to ask any greater powers of control than those for which ample precedents are to be found in the laws of England. You know that there is no country in which local self-government has taken firmer root, and has made a greater advance, than in England ; and you may perhaps be aware that there is scarcely any country in the world in which men are more jealous of the interference of Government. When, therefore, I say that all the control we want is that which the English Parliament has given to the English Government over English Municipal bodies, I am confident that that is an amount of control of which no man can reasonably complain.

Gentlemen,—I need not detain you longer. You have touched in your address upon other subjects of interest ; you have spoken of the new Punjab University, and of the extension of Primary Education ; but I need not offer to you any observations on these topics now, because, in the course of next week, I shall be called upon to preside at the inaugural meeting of the University, and that will be the

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fitting occasion upon which to make any remarks which may suggest themselves to me upon that or kindred matters.

You have also told me of the successful result of your local efforts in regard to the water-supply and sanitation of this city. I have heard of that success with great satisfaction; because I attach very high importance indeed to all questions connected with sanitation. I do not think that the public is at all aware of the extent to which disease is preventible, and to which human misery may be alleviated, by adequate sanitary arrangements. (*Cheers.*) I am therefore very glad to find, from the language which you have addressed to me, that you are yourselves awake to the importance of this matter, and that you are likely to set a good example to the rest of the province in regard to it.

Gentlemen,—Once more I thank you for your friendly words. I see, with the greatest pleasure, that you understand the spirit in which I desire to work, and your address, delivered to me to-night, will do much to encourage me to continue to labour in order to promote, to the utmost of my power, the advancement, the well-being, and the happiness of the people entrusted to my care. (*Cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF PESHAWUR.

17th Nov. 1882. [THE Viceroy arrived at Peshawur on the morning of the 17th November, having left Lahore on the 9th and spent the interval in visiting the Salt-mines at Meanes, and shooting and fishing at Jelalpur and Tangrote. His Excellency was received at Khairabad, on the right bank of the Indus, by Mr. Cordery, Commissioner of Peshawur, and other officials, and proceeded by special train to Peshawur, arriving there at 10 A.M. At noon, Lord Ripon, accompanied by the Commissioner and His Excellency's Staff, drove in procession to the city, with an escort of the 9th Cavalry. At the Edwardes memorial gateway (recently erected by public subscription to the memory of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes) His Excellency was met by the Deputy Commissioner, who presented him with the key of the gate. After inspecting the gateway and having presented to him a number of Sardars of the district, His Excellency drove to the new Egerton Hospital. Here, after inspecting the building, he received an address (written in high Persian) from the Peshawur Municipality, in which, after compliments, the Committee went on to say that although they resided in a frontier district, and far from the seat of Government, still, just as the different members of the body owe allegiance to the heart and obey its directions, whether they be near or distant, so they, the native residents of Peshawur, although they were at the remotest extremity of the Empire, were equal in loyalty to those who dwell under the shadow of the throne itself. They regretted the shortness of His Excellency's visit to Peshawur, but were grateful for his having consented to open the Egerton Hospital, an institution the benefits of which they hoped would be extended not only to the people of Peshawur, but to those of the countries lying beyond the frontier. His Excellency, in replying, spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen of the Municipality of Peshawur,—I thank you for your address. It affords me much pleasure to have had this opportunity of visiting this interesting city. As you remark in your address, of which I have been provided with a translation, Peshawur is situated upon the extreme frontier of the British Empire in India, but nevertheless it is a place connected with many important memories, and it lies upon a route of commerce which I trust may, as time goes on, be more and more developed. I have been much interested to-day in having passed through the new gate of

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your city, which has been erected to the memory of a distinguished man whom I greatly honoured—the late Sir Herbert Edwardes;—and who well deserves that his memory should be imperishably recorded in this district, which he administered so long, with such great advantage to the British Government and to those who were brought under his rule. I thank you, gentlemen, for the loyal expressions which are contained in your address, and for the attachment which you express to our gracious Sovereign, the Queen-Empress; and which I earnestly trust, and which I believe, represent the feelings by which you are truly animated. I regret that my stay in Peshawur should be so short; but, as you can readily believe, it is not easy for one in my position to find time to discharge all the duties which fall to his lot—certainly not to find time to visit all the remarkable and interesting places in India which he would desire to see; but I could not, as I was approaching the Northern frontier of Hindustan, omit to visit Peshawur, of which during my whole life I have heard so much. And especially was I tempted to come here when I learnt that one of the duties I should be asked to undertake was to declare this new Egerton Hospital to be open for the natives of this district. It is a great pleasure to me to take part in opening this Hospital, first, because it bears the name of one who has done such good service for the Punjab and for India,—my friend, your late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton, —and who has carried away with him, I am confident, from every part of this great province, the affectionate regard of those whom he governed and with whom he has been associated. It is also a great pleasure to me to have taken part in handing over to this city a building from which I have every reason to hope that the people of Peshawur, for many generations, will derive very great benefit. I am very glad to observe from your address how thoroughly you appreciate the value of a good hospital, and how well you understand the advantages which an institution of that

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description is calculated to confer on a district in the midst of which it is placed. I am glad to see that this building is admirably suited for the purpose for which it is intended; it seems to me to be laid out with great care and skill; the wards are commodious and well-ventilated; and I have no doubt that you will derive from the erection of this building in your midst, all the good which you anticipate. Gentlemen, I cordially share the sentiments which you express in your address when you say: "Not only do we hope that the people of Peshawur will derive great benefits from this Hospital, but we trust that these benefits will be received by those people who live in the more distant regions of Central Asia." It will be a great satisfaction to me if this Hospital is found to be of use not only to the subjects of the Queen-Empress, but to those travellers who may visit this country from distant portions of Central Asia, and from the districts immediately bordering upon the frontiers of India, whether they come here as traders for commercial purposes, or whether, as so many of them do, they pass through India in the character of pilgrims. It is my desire to live upon the best and most friendly terms with the various nations and tribes which surround the frontiers of Hindustan. The Government of India has not the slightest desire to interfere in any manner with the independence and the just rights of those neighbouring tribes, whether they be small and wild collections of people dwelling in narrow valleys on our borders, or whether they be the subjects of the greater kingdom of our ally, the Amir of Afghanistan. It is my earnest desire, so long as I fill the office I now hold, to use my best efforts to promote the most friendly relations with those who dwell upon the confines of the dominions of the Queen-Empress; and it is my firm intention to respect their rights and to regard their just claims to independence, at the same time that I am determined with equal firmness to protect the rights of Her Majesty's subjects in India, and not to permit them to suffer in life, in

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limb, or in property, from the inroads of those who ought to live in friendship with us, and with whom I, for my own part, desire to be on the most friendly terms. I trust, gentlemen, that, as you say in your address, those who come from other countries—whether Afghans or the inhabitants of Central Asia, or from whatever part of the Asiatic Continent they may come—to visit this city of Peshawur, and who, if they should be struck down with sickness, are comforted and cured and provided for, in this Hospital—I trust that, when they return to their native lands, they will go forth from India as messengers of peace and friendship, and that they will report to those among whom they reside, the manner in which they were treated and the good reception that they received at the hands of the inhabitants of Peshawur. Gentlemen, I can assure you that our gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress feels the deepest interest in all her Indian subjects, of every race and class and creed, and it will be my pleasing duty—a duty which I shall perform by the next mail—to inform Her Majesty of the loyal sentiments which are embodied in this address, and to assure her that the inhabitants in the city of Peshawur may be numbered among her faithful subjects. For myself, gentlemen, once more I tender to you my hearty thanks for your friendly reception.

INAUGURAL CONVOCATION OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

18th Nov. 1882. {THE Viceroy returned to Lahore on the morning of the 18th November, and at noon on the same day presided at the inaugural Convocation of the Punjab University, of which His Excellency is Patron. The University hall was filled with students and spectators of all classes, the seats to the right of Lord Ripon being occupied by the Nawab of Bhawalpore, the Raja of Kapurthala, and the Raja of Faridkote. In formally reporting to the Viceroy, the business to be transacted, Sir Charles Aitchison said—

“In reporting to Your Excellency the business before this, the inaugural Convocation of the Punjab University, I deem it a happy and auspicious circumstance that the Convocation should be presided over by Your Lordship. I deem it so not merely because the Punjab University Act has become law during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty, but much more because I know that the popular movement which culminated in the Act passed six years ago, has met with your cordial sympathy and support ; and because I also know that the principles upon which the University has been founded are in complete harmony with the enlightened policy of self-help and self-government which Your Excellency has recently so clearly and forcibly expounded. In a paper dated so far back as August 1865, the proposed University is described as ‘the people's own department of public instruction.’ The popular element has been a distinguished feature of the project from the very beginning, and explains to a great extent the prominence given to Oriental studies in the constitution of the University. One of the special objects of the University, as set forth in the Statutes, is ‘to associate the learned and influential classes in the province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.’ The other special objects, as Your Excellency is aware, besides making provision for the highest study of English, are two,—‘1 : To promote the diffusion of European science as far as possible through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally. 2 : To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature.’ All these special objects are prominently set out in the preamble of the Act, and I have recently had the satisfaction of being assured, by those who were most intimately connected with the movement from the first, and to whose suggestions indeed the foundation of the University is due, that the Act in its present form is all that the founders and the public desired.”

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In addressing the Convocation, after the degrees had been conferred and the presentations made, His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Mr. Chancellor, Nawab of Bhawalpore, Raja of Kapurthala, Raja of Faridkote, and Gentlemen,—It affords me, I assure you, very great satisfaction to have been able to be present as Patron of this University upon this auspicious occasion, and to have this public opportunity of offering my sincere congratulations to those who now for some eighteen years, I believe, have been labouring to secure the establishment of a University in the Punjab. You, Sir Charles Aitchison, were among the foremost of those who started this movement, and you and others who worked with you then were speedily aided by the generous assistance and the liberal contributions of the leading Princes and Chiefs and Gentlemen of this great province; and when I carry back my recollection to that time, so many years ago, of which I have only read, and look through the papers which have been brought before me, to see what has been the course which the promoters of this scheme have pursued from that distant date till now, I find beside those eminent names to which I have adverted, the name of another gentleman which will be always associated with the foundation of the Punjab University; for no man has worked harder, no man, I believe, has devoted himself with greater zeal to promote this great public object for the benefit of the Punjab and indeed of all India, than the Registrar of this University, Dr. Leitner. (*Cheers.*) To you, Sir, to you Princes and Chiefs, and to the Members of the Senate of this University, I therefore offer my hearty congratulations. It is now, almost to a day, two years ago since, on my first visit to Lahore, I received an address from the Senate of the Punjab University College, expressing their earnest desire for the establishment of a complete University in Northern India. Gentlemen, after I had made my reply to that address, it was whispered to me that those who

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listened to it were somewhat disappointed with what I had said. They perhaps had expected that I should have made large promises before I was quite sure whether I could keep them. But that, gentlemen, is not my habit. I prefer to be better rather than worse to my word (*cheers*), and when I spoke to you in 1880, I had not had a sufficient opportunity of studying this question in all its bearings, of listening to the objections which might be made to the scheme which was then put before me, and of consulting, as I was bound to do, my colleagues in the Government of India. I therefore, though I deeply sympathised with your general object, thought it far better to speak words which may have seemed somewhat cold to you, than to raise hopes which I might not have been able to fulfil. But, gentlemen, I can assure you that it is a great gratification to me that, at length, this project has been carried to a successful issue. (*Cheers*.) It has been my duty in regard to it to consult many persons, to consult the Government of the Punjab, to consult the Secretary of State, and to obtain from the Legislative Council of India the necessary legal powers. All those operations necessarily took time, but at length, at the conclusion of two years, the work has been done, the law has been passed, and the University has been established upon a basis which I am happy to believe gives satisfaction to those who, for so long a period, have laboured for the attainment of this end. (*Cheers*.) Gentlemen, when I spoke to you two years ago, I think that if you had read between the lines of what I said, you would have seen how warmly I sympathised with the objects which you had in view (*cheers*), because I told you then, as I tell you now, that there were two features in the project put forward by the Senate of the Punjab University College which particularly commended themselves to my judgment and approval. One was that you proposed to base this University—the University which you desired to see established—upon a somewhat different

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foundation from that upon which the other and older Universities of India are based; and the other was that this scheme had received the cordial support and the generous contributions of so many of the most leading natives of the Punjab. I, gentlemen, am one of those who believe that there is a great advantage in having educational institutions in a country founded upon different systems and presenting various methods of teaching. It is so in England, as many of you know, in the two great and famous Universities of that country—Oxford and Cambridge. There is a marked difference in the basis of their studies, Oxford placing the classics in the front rank of those studies, and Cambridge, on the other hand, giving the most prominent position to mathematics; and the same thing has occurred in the newest born of the English Universities—the recently established Victoria-University of Manchester, with which I have the honour to be connected; for what classics are to Oxford, what mathematics are to Cambridge, science is to the Victoria University; and, therefore, when you make the foundation of your studies here, and their main, though by no means their exclusive object, the study of Oriental literature, you are only following the course which we in England have pursued for centuries, and from which we have derived the greatest advantage. (*Cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, it would be indeed out of place if I, who am unhappily ignorant of oriental literature and oriental learning, were, in the presence of so many distinguished and learned men, to say a word upon the subject of that literature, upon its scope and upon the many advantages which may flow from its study; but I have been very much struck within the last few weeks by reading a remarkable paper, written by one who has a right to speak about oriental literature—I allude to an article in a late number of the *Contemporary Review*, by Professor Max Müller. If I were to speak of Indian literature, Indian philosophy, and Indian science in the language in which

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Professor Max Müller speaks of them in that essay doubtless I should be accused of exaggeration and partiality: but no man can bring any such charges against that learned person, who knows better than most people what he is talking about on this matter; and I commend to all those who have any doubt about the solidity of oriental learning and the lessons it has to teach, not to India and to Orientals alone, but to Europeans also—to study the short essay to which I have adverted. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I thought it worth while just to put down a few words which Professor Max Müller employed in that article in reference to the study of Sanscrit. What does he say? He says:—"The study of Sanscrit will open before you" (he was especially addressing young students about to come out to India in the Civil Service) "larger layers of literature, as yet almost unknown and unexplored, and allow you an insight into strata of thought deeper than any you have known before, and rich in lessons that appeal to the deepest sympathies of the human heart." Gentlemen, I need no other proof of the soundness of the policy pursued in the foundation of this University than is contained in these words of the great Oxford Professor, and if Professor Max Müller is right, and if India has so much to teach us Europeans, as he tells us that she has, then the foundation of this University, which makes oriental studies its chief and foremost aim, is likely to conduce not only to the benefit of the natives of India—aye, and, as we have seen in the case of some of the men who have just come before us, to the natives of other parts of Asia also—but at the same time to the advantage of Europeans in this country and in the West. (*Cheers.*) The fact then, gentlemen, that this University presents a marked variety in the form and scope of its instruction, from those which distinguish the other Universities of India, leads me, without for one moment wishing to disparage those older institutions, to regard it as a fortunate circumstance that this

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younger sister has sprung up in the Punjab. And then again, I hail with the greatest satisfaction the circumstance that this University has been established by the contributions of the Native Princes and gentlemen of this province (*cheers*), and that the management of this institution will rest so largely in their hands. (*Cheers.*) I have had occasion before to speak to other audiences of the strong desire which I entertain to induce native gentlemen of wealth and position to come forward and take their part in the promotion of public education in this country. I spoke at some length upon that subject at the beginning of this year, in an address which I made to the Calcutta University. But, gentlemen, my anxiety on this subject, and my wish to see native gentlemen take their proper part in promoting public education in India does not arise solely from financial considerations, or from the hope that we may thus be able to derive from private benevolence larger funds for the promotion of this great public object. I entirely admit that financial considerations do enter into the consideration of the question, and into my feeling in regard to it, because I know well that no widespread and general system of public education in all its branches—higher, middle, and primary—can be established in a vast country like this, except at a large cost; and I know, too, how narrow and inelastic are the resources at the command of the Government of India. This is, it seems to me, a case in which we may fairly make an appeal to those who have wealth themselves to greater or less extent, to help their poorer neighbours to develop those faculties with which God has endowed them, and which He, in His mercy, has made the special inheritance of no class and no race. But, gentlemen, I attach importance to this matter yet more strongly because I believe that Indian education will greatly benefit from being largely conducted by natives of India themselves (*cheers*); because I believe that it is a great public object

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to induce men like the distinguished Princes, Chiefs, and Noblemen whom I see around me in this assembly, to give not only their rupees, but their time and their personal attention to the great object of improving, of extending, and of developing national education in the country. (*Cheers.*) And, gentlemen, it is a great satisfaction to me to find that, in holding those opinions, I am once more in this case, as in regard to another important matter of great public interest at the present time, only walking in the steps of that distinguished man, your former Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald Macleod (*loud cheers*), for, in looking the other day over some old papers connected with the efforts which have been made from his day down to the present time for the establishment of this Punjab University, I found that Sir Donald Macleod, in an address which he had delivered upon the subject, laid down this as one of the great objects which he had in view in favouring the movement which was then commencing. He said that what led him to take the earnest part which he did in that movement was "more especially the conviction that in no other way can we so appropriately or effectively secure an object which I have long had much at heart, namely, the associating with us of the leaders of the people, in our endeavours to promote the progress of education and in our deliberations connected therewith." (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I can add nothing to these words; they exactly express my feeling upon this subject, and they express it with an authority to which I can lay no claim; and it is because I see in the system upon which this University is now founded an earnest and determined effort thus to associate with us in our educational projects, the leaders of opinion in this great province, that I so heartily rejoice to have been able to give my sanction, as Governor-General, to the Bill under which this University has been established. (*Cheers.*) And, gentlemen, I am glad to see some signs, at all events, that the example set

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here in the Punjab is likely to be followed in a lesser or a greater degree in other parts of India. I have observed, with the very greatest pleasure, what has taken place recently with respect to the College at Agra. The Government felt themselves unable to maintain that College as a purely Government institution, because the cost of it was altogether disproportionate to the benefits which it was conferring upon the people; but there has been some misconception in the public mind in respect to the intentions of the Government in regard to this matter. We no doubt said that if arrangements which we should prefer could not be made, that then we should have to propose a system of distribution of the endowments of that institution, upon which we asked the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces; but we distinctly laid down from the beginning that the arrangement which we desired to see adopted and carried out was that the gentlemen of Agra and its neighbourhood should themselves come forward and take over the College, with its endowments, and, with grants-in-aid from the Government, assisted by their own private subscriptions, should work it themselves. (*Cheers.*) That was the primary object and the first proposal of the Government, and I rejoice to think that that proposal has been accepted by the public spirit of the North-Western Provinces. (*Cheers.*) There is yet, gentlemen, another reason which I cannot altogether pass by to-day, why I rejoice so much to think that this Institution, and other institutions of education, whether they be Universities or Colleges, or even Primary Schools, should be managed and administered as far as may be by the leading men of the district in which those institutions are established, and that is that by this means many a useful practical lesson of self-help and self-reliance will be afforded, and a valuable training in the management of their own affairs will be given to those who have to do with the conduct of

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institutions of this description, and that thus, that great political object which the Government of India of to-day have so much at heart, of aiding and advancing the political training of the people in the conduct of their own local affairs, will be greatly furthered and assisted. Gentlemen, there is a school of philosophers and political writers which tells us that the great and, indeed, the sole duty and object of Government is to maintain, in the largest sense of the phrase, the public peace. Now, gentlemen, I do not deny for a moment that that is the primary object and the first business of every government; and I venture to say that through that *pax Anglica* which reigns now throughout India, from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, the British Government has shown that it is able—and well able—to discharge that function; but I am far from thinking that that is the only, or the highest, aim and end of Government. It seems to me that when that foundation has been laid—as laid it has been now in India—and when peace is established throughout the length and breadth of the land, it is the duty of the Government to-day, while upon the one hand it firmly and unhesitatingly maintains that peace, to endeavour, on the other hand to build up upon the solid foundation thus laid by the labours of its predecessors, a noble fabric of political and social institutions (*cheers*); and that the time has fully come when it should be one of the foremost objects of the British Government in India to provide, so far as a Government, within proper limits, can, for the intellectual training and for the social and political development of the people entrusted by God to its care. And, gentlemen, this is a work in which all we Englishmen in this country may take a part, from the Viceroy to the junior member of the Civil Service who has just landed on our shores. In that article of Professor Max Müller's to which I have already alluded, he says, addressing the students who were about to leave the Universities of England to take their place in the

Inspection of the 20th Punjab Native Infantry.

administration of India—"there are bright deeds to be done in India if only you will do them." Yes, that is my feeling. I believe that there are bright and noble deeds to be done in India by the English race, and that the time has come when it should be our object to promote those ends, not merely by the efforts of the Government or by the zeal of the Administration, but by associating with us in this great task the people of India themselves; and, gentlemen, I trust that this Institution, of which we have to-day laid the foundation,—firm, I earnestly hope, and enduring,—will conduce to that great end; and that upon those foundations there may rise for future generations a beautiful structure of fair proportions, which may help to bind together Western and Eastern learning—the English race and the Oriental races; and if that aim should be realised, and if before I die it should be given to me to see some commencement of so noble a work, I shall indeed esteem myself fortunate in having been able to-day to take a prominent part in the inauguration of the Punjab University. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

INSPECTION OF THE 20TH PUNJAB NATIVE
INFANTRY.

[On Friday morning, the 24th November, the Viceroy inspected 24th Nov. 1882, the 20th Punjab Native Infantry, recently returned from service in Egypt, in His Excellency's Camp at Rupar, and addressed the regiment as follows:—]

Colonel Rogers.—It is very gratifying to me to have this opportunity of greeting you and your regiment on your return from foreign service, and of assuring you in person how thoroughly this regiment has fulfilled the expectations of the Government of India. You, 20th, have shown yourselves worthy to fight beside the choicest troops in the British Army, and you have maintained unsullied the honour

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of the Army of India. Your bearing on the 18th of September was all that Government could desire, and your march from your camp before Tel-el-Kebir to Zagazig has called forth the admiration of all who witnessed it; and throughout the late campaign you and the other Indian regiments associated with you have shown yourselves to be possessed of the three great qualities of a soldier—courage, endurance, and discipline. It has been your good fortune, on this occasion, to serve under the eye of a son of our Gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress, and I am confident that the Duke of Connaught will tell Her Majesty how well her Indian soldiers did their duty. I am sure that those who have gone to England to represent this regiment will receive from Her Majesty the proof of her confidence and regard. I heartily welcome you home, and, in the name of the Queen-Empress, I thank you for your services.

[Colonel Rogers briefly acknowledged His Excellency's kind words, and the regiment was marched off.]

OPENING THE SIRHIND CANAL.

24th Nov 1882. [On Friday, the 24th November, the Viceroy opened the Sirhind Canal, in the presence of the Chiefs and visitors assembled at Rupar. These were received and accommodated, previous to the ceremony, in a large tent pitched near the Canal. His Excellency, who was preceded by the Lieutenant-Governor, arrived at 12 o'clock and took his seat on a raised *dais*, with the Chiefs on his right and the Lieutenant-Governor on his left. In requesting Lord Ripon to open the Canal, Colonel Home delivered an address, giving an account of its progress and the difficulties attending its construction since 1840, when the project was first suggested, up to the present time. The Canal he described as one of the largest in the world, and the second large work of its kind undertaken in the Punjab since the province came under British rule. Colonel Home warmly acknowledged the assistance ungrudgingly given by all the Chiefs through whose

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territories the Canal passed, referring particularly to the support received from the late Mahārājā of Patialā and the present Council of Regency, the Chiefs of Jhind, Nabha, Faridkote, and Maler Kotla. The construction of the canal had afforded an opportunity of employing a large body of prisoners, whose discipline was admirable and whose aid was invaluable. The management of the internal distribution of the water would, Colonel Home explained, be left to the village communities, Government interfering only to advise or to prevent wilful waste. The duties of the administrative staff would thus be lightened, and the people educated to a more intelligent appreciation of the benefits derived from canal irrigation. The total length of the Canal was 502 statute miles. When the works were completed, 2,500 miles of channel would have to be maintained. The Canal was designed to irrigate 522,000 acres from British and 261,000 acres from Native States branches. The total cost was estimated at 407 lakhs, 278 lakhs being defrayed by the British Government and 129 lakhs by the Native States.

The Viceroy, in reply, spoke as follows :—]

Sir Charles Aitchison, Mahārājās, Rājās, Chiefs and Gentlemen.—The address which has been just read by Lieutenant-Colonel Home gives a succinct but clear account of the history of this canal from the period when it was first suggested, more than forty years ago, to utilise the water of the Sutlej for irrigation purposes, down to the present day. It records the difficulties which have been met and at length overcome, the interest which has been felt in the scheme by the Chiefs of various native states, and the cordial support and liberal contributions which those Princes have accorded to the work. It also reminds us that this canal, the opening of which we celebrate to-day, is one of the largest works of the kind in the world, and shows that it is designed to provide the advantages of irrigation for an area of not less than 783,000 acres. We have, therefore, ample grounds for rejoicing at the success of this great work, for it presents all the features which we should desire to see combined in an undertaking of this description. Its magnitude is not unworthy of the Government of this great country. The benefits which it is calculated to confer will reach the present cultivator in the extended

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districts within which its influence will be felt; while its construction is the result of the combined efforts of the Supreme Government and of Native Princes.

Of the magnitude of the head works of the canal, I need not speak; all here will have seen them for themselves, and will have been able to form at least some judgment of the skill and ability required for their construction, although we must bear in mind that it is not the works which we see now above the ground, and above the water, which have occasioned the greatest difficulties in this undertaking, but that, below the surface and hidden from the view, are to be found the fruits of the greatest portion of the skill and labour which have been devoted to this work; and when we remember that there will ultimately be 2,500 miles of channel to be supplied, and that water will be conveyed to more than three-quarters of a million of acres, we shall not wonder either at the cost of the whole work or at the difficulties which have been encountered in its execution. To my mind, also, this canal is invested with a special interest because its benefits will be confined to no class of the community, but will be shared alike by prince and by people, by landowner and by tenant, by rich and by poor. The waters of the Sutlej will no longer confine their blessings to those who dwell on the banks of that river so famous in Indian history; but, guided by the skill of man, will spread their fertilising powers over a vast extent of thirsty land, lying barren or scantily productive under the burning sun of India. To me it is a source of great satisfaction that the Rulers of the important states referred to in the address—Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Faridkote, Maler Kotla, and Nalagarh—should appear as partners with the British Government in this great work of public utility. I esteem very highly such co-operation; I rejoice to see the Princes of India animated by a wise and far-seeing public spirit, such as they have displayed in regard to this matter; and I tender to those who have so generously aided in this

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enterprise, my cordial thanks. They could make no better use of the wealth which God has given them than by employing it to promote undertakings of this sort, and they could adopt no surer means of winning both the loyal attachment of their own people and the grateful acknowledgments of the Government of the Queen-Empress. Colonel Home has specially alluded to the assistance given by the Council of Regency of Patiala under the presidency of my friend Sir Deva Sing, and by the Prime and Foreign Ministers of that State. All of these distinguished persons are entitled to our thanks and upon the two last named it is my intention to confer suitable titles.

There is also another circumstance connected with this canal which tends to increase the satisfaction with which I take part in to-day's ceremony. Colonel Home, at the conclusion of his address, alluded to the system of distribution which it is intended to put in operation as soon as the water has been admitted into the distributary channels; and he has explained that the principle upon which that system will be founded will be that of leaving the management of the internal distribution of the water to the village communities, and of interfering only to prevent wilful waste. I feel the greatest confidence that this principle is a sound one, and I shall watch its application and development with much interest. I believe that, by its means, not only will the labours of the administrative staff be lightened, as Colonel Home points out, but also that many practical evils and some abuses will be avoided, and that the system is likely to prove very advantageous to the cultivating communities themselves.

You will not doubt, gentlemen, after listening to what I have been saying, that I am a warm friend to irrigation and a firm believer in its beneficial results; but, at the same time, I must express my belief that, as in other cases so in regard to water, it is possible to have too much of a good thing; and I would therefore express a hope that those

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within whose reach the water of this canal will be brought will use it not only readily, but wisely. If I am not mistaken, it is often found that though, for the first few years after the opening of a new canal, the increase in fertility of the irrigated soil is great and striking, a time comes when the crops often begin to fall off and the land begins to show signs of exhaustion. Why is this? Because an excessive use has been made of the water and too exclusive a reliance has been placed upon it. I would therefore strongly urge those to whom this canal is about to open fresh sources of prosperity, to make a cautious and a moderate use of the water which it will supply, and not to trust to it alone as a fertilising agent. Water is not a substitute for manure as a restorer of the powers of the soil. The two should go hand in hand, and, in proportion as they do so, it will be found that the land which this canal will irrigate will truly become a garden; but if water is used by itself for any lengthened period, it has a tendency in more ways than one to exhaust the productive powers which it itself calls forth; and it can therefore never supersede or take the place of those other restoratives which are required to complete its work and to secure the permanence of its benefits.

And now, gentlemen, it only remains for me to say that it will afford me great pleasure to comply with Colonel Home's request and to complete the formal opening of the Sirhind Canal. I trust that it will please God to bless the work which has been here performed, and to grant to generations upon generations of Indian cultivators the many advantages which this undertaking is designed to confer.

[After the applause which followed His Excellency's speech had subsided, Mr. Grant read a translation of the speech in the vernacular to the assembled Chiefs. His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chiefs, and the rest of the assembly, then proceeded to a pavilion erected on the bridge over the canal, below which were the sluices; and here assisted by the Lieutenant-

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Governor and the Mahárájas of Jhind and Nabha, he raised one of the sluices and formally declared the Canal open, once more expressing a hope that it would prove a blessing to the people and to the country through which it passed. A salute concluded the ceremony, and the great crowd of visitors and Chiefs, with their followers, returned to their respective camps.]

ADDRESSES FROM THE LUCKNOW AND FAIZABAD MUNICIPALITIES.

[On Monday evening, the 27th November, the Viceroy held a Levée 27th Nov. 1882. in His Excellency's Camp at Lucknow, at which a large number of gentlemen were presented. At the conclusion of the Levée, deputations from the Lucknow and Faizabad Municipalities waited on and presented His Excellency with addresses of welcome. The addresses referred chiefly to the subject of local self-government, and His Excellency replied to them as follows :—]

Gentlemen of the Municipalities of Lucknow and Faizabad,—I thank you heartily for the addresses which you have just presented to me. I can assure you that I am very glad to have had this opportunity of visiting the important province of Oudh, and of seeing the memorable spots which are included within the limits of the Lucknow Municipality, so full of most interesting and important historical recollections. I regret, gentlemen, that I shall not on this occasion be able also to visit Faizabad, but I am well aware that that town is one of much importance in this province of Oudh.

You, gentlemen of the Municipality of Lucknow, have chiefly touched (as was natural) in your address upon the important question of local self-government, which is now occupying so much attention on the part of the public; and you also, gentlemen of Faizabad, have alluded to the same subject. I have so recently had occasion to express in public my sentiments upon this question, that it is unnecessary that I should detain you long in reply to the remarks which you have made upon it; but I rejoice to

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find from your addresses—and especially from that of the Municipality of Lucknow, which has entered more fully into the subject—that you rightly understand and appreciate the objects and intentions of the Government in regard to their policy in this respect.

Gentlemen,—It must, I think, be clear to every one, from the Resolution of the Government of India of the 18th of May last, that it is our desire, and a cardinal feature of our policy, to adopt in each province of India, and very often in the various districts within each province itself, that system of local self-government which may be thought most consonant with the feelings and the habits of the people, and best suited to their peculiarities and idiosyncrasies. I attach, gentlemen, great importance myself to this point, and I have all along been most desirous that the leading inhabitants of each district should be consulted with a view to ascertain what are the arrangements most likely to suit their local requirements. It is, gentlemen, on the lines of an elastic system that the Resolution of the 18th of May was framed. As you, gentlemen of the Municipality of this city, have rightly said, we have had no desire at any time to introduce into India purely English theories or English ideas in this matter; and it is sufficient for me to quote a single sentence from the Resolution of the 18th of May, in order to make that fact perfectly clear; for we have said in that Resolution that “there may be methods unthought of in Europe which may be found suitable in India.” That is ample proof that what we desire are not English—nay, not even European—methods in this matter, so long as the object which we have at heart is attained. What we want is, that the methods by which that object is pursued should be those most in accordance with the feelings and the customs of the country,

Gentlemen,—The Resolution, to which I have alluded, lays down a few broad general principles to which the Government firmly adhere; but the mode of their application we

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wish to be varied in form and local in colouring, so that in this great peninsula, containing so many races, unlike in so many respects, those methods of carrying out our policy should be adopted which are most calculated to meet the various requirements of populations in many respects so different one from the other. I rejoice, gentlemen, to hear you say that you do not wish in this matter to lean upon the Government as upon a crutch, although you hope that at the first introduction of the new system the Government will give you assistance. I can assure you that the Government will be most happy—it will be indeed their duty—to afford you, in the carrying out of the principles of our Resolution, all the counsel and all the assistance that it may be in our power to give; but it is essential that that assistance should be given in the manner best calculated to preserve your freedom of action within the limits of your attributions, and not to weaken your self-reliance. The object we have had in view has been to induce the best, the most intelligent, and the most influential men in the country to come forward and take a larger part than hitherto in the management of their own local affairs, and gradually to train them to do so more and more. For this purpose it is essential that we should leave municipalities upon their new footing to walk alone to a great extent; that we should be prepared to see them not infrequently fall into errors; that we should set them free to learn the lessons of experience which in practical matters of this kind is the best of all teachers; and that we should do nothing which would tend to relieve the new local bodies from those responsibilities which must attach to any system of self-government in any real and honest sense of those words.

Gentlemen,—It seems to me that the policy of the Government in this respect, as laid down in the Resolution to which I have alluded, is clear and plain. Since the issue of that Resolution, nothing has occurred to induce me to

Presentation of Colors to the 2nd B. L. I.

doubt, in the smallest degree, its wisdom or its propriety. Here, in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, you have a Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner—my friend Sir Alfred Lyall—who will, I am sure, carry out the policy of the Government in this respect wisely and liberally, with, at the same time, all due caution and the most careful consideration for local feelings and local requirements; and under his able administration it is my earnest hope, and my full expectation, that the foundation may be firmly laid of a system which, as it gradually extends and develops, will confer increasing blessings upon the people of this province.

Gentlemen,—I heartily thank you for your cordial welcome.

PRESENTATION OF COLORS TO THE 2ND (QUEEN'S OWN) BENGAL LIGHT INFANTRY.

28th Nov. 1882. [On the morning of the 28th November, His Excellency reviewed the troops in garrison at Lucknow, and afterwards presented new colors to the 2nd (Queen's Own) Bengal Light Infantry. Some 4,400 men were assembled on the Brigade parade ground, under the command of General Cureton, C.B., and there was a very large attendance of spectators. After the Viceroy had inspected the troops and witnessed the march past, the Division was formed up in three sides of a square, when His Excellency, accompanied by General Cureton, moved to the front of the regiment. The ceremony of trooping the colors was then gone through; the drums were piled, and the Viceroy received the colors and presented them to the two senior jemadars of the regiment. The usual consecration was omitted, as the regiment belonged to the native army. His Excellency then addressed the regiment as follows :]

Major Waterfield,—I have read with great interest the long and honourable record of the services of this regiment, which has now been enrolled in the army of India for a period not far short of a century. From the days of Lord Lake, from the battles of Delhi, Laswarree, and Deig,

Presentation of Colors to the 2nd (Queen's Own) B. L. I.

down to the late campaign in Afghanistan, the 31st Native Infantry (now the 2nd Queen's Own) have borne a distinguished part in a long series of warlike operations. During the Mutiny they were true to their salt, and their marked fidelity at that trying period was specially recognised at the time by the Government of India. In the late Afghan Campaign this regiment had to endure a trial far harder for gallant soldiers than the dangers of the field of battle. They had to bear up, day after day, against the wearying round of convoying stores and guarding the line of communications in a deleterious climate, which struck down men faster and in greater numbers than any encounter with a living foe. Throughout those weary months they did their duty, as they have always done it, faithfully and well. It is clear, therefore, that the Queen's Own Regiment has constantly displayed the great qualities of valour, fidelity, and patience. Faithful among the faithless, courageous, and enduring, to you I now may entrust these colors with the firmest reliance that you will keep them unstained. In the name of our gracious Sovereign the Queen-Empress I give them to you. Take them 2nd and guard them from all dishonour. Let them be dearer to you than your lives. Remember that you have in your hands the reputation of a noble regiment, and that it behoves you to uphold its honour and to maintain its fame; so that in coming years, when time, and it may be the bullets of your enemies, have once more wasted these silken tokens of your Sovereign's trust, some future Viceroy, when he comes to renew them, may feel, as I feel to-day that he may deliver the proud standard of England to this gallant regiment in the fullest confidence that he is entrusting it to men who are well worthy of the honoured charge.

[Major Waterfield replied to the Viceroy as follows:—

"Your Excellency,—In the name of Colonel Baker, whose unavoidable absence from this parade I greatly regret, as I know he does

Address to Regiments returned from Egypt.

himself, and in the name of the officers and men of the 2nd (Queen's Own) Bengal Light Infantry, I beg to offer you our most grateful thanks for the honour you have done us in presenting us with these colors. Your Excellency has noticed in the most flattering terms the past services and loyalty of this regiment. I trust that in future, should opportunity offer, we shall be able to maintain our good name, and to add fresh honours to the roll inscribed on these standards, and prove ourselves worthy of the honourable title lately conferred on us by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress."

Turning to General Cureton and the regiments recently returned from Egypt, His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

General Cureton,—I am now anxious to address a few words of greeting to those regiments who have just returned from the war in Egypt, and to offer to them my hearty congratulations upon the share which they have taken in those operations. The 2nd Battalion of the Derbyshire Regiment is not new to India. It served in the Mutiny, and I am glad to see it again in this country. If this regiment was not present at the crowning victory of Tel-el-Kebir, this was due to that fortune of war which not unfrequently relegates some of the best corps of an army to posts where the service to be performed is less brilliant, though it may be not less important, than that which falls to the lot of others; and I am confident that the Derbyshire Regiment would have proved itself in no degree unequal to the rest of the army of Sir Garnet Wolseley if it had been called to endure the trials of the earlier portion of the campaign, and to take part in the final assault of the enemy's position.

The Second Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders carry back their Indian reputation to the beginning of the century, and record upon their colours the name of that victory of Assaye which laid the foundation of the fame of England's greatest soldier. This battalion was represented in the late campaign by only two companies, but those companies did their work as Highlanders are wont to do it, and they added yet another laurel to the wreath with which the brow of Scotland is adorned.

Address to Regiments returned from Egypt.

The 2nd Bengal Cavalry may well be proud to have formed part of that brigade which has given a world-wide reputation to the Native Cavalry of India, and their distinguished conduct is acknowledged on all hands, and their representatives have received the recognition of their services from our gracious Sovereign herself.

The 7th Bengal Native Infantry have on this occasion shown themselves well worthy of their ancient reputation. Like the 2nd, of which I have just been speaking, the 7th stood the shock of the Mutiny faithfully and firmly, and the memory of their services on that occasion will never pass from the grateful recollection of the Government of India. We could, as it seems to me, have given no greater proof of confidence in this corps than by selecting it for employment in Egypt; and that confidence has been well repaid by the manner in which the 7th have borne themselves throughout the late campaign. They, too, through their representatives, will see the Queen-Empress, and will learn from her own lips how highly she values her Indian troops. By a happy accident, it so happens that the last mail brought me a letter from Her Majesty, in which she says—"The Queen is indeed proud and thankful at the splendid conduct all of her brave troops in Egypt." Officers of the Egyptian regiments, this is the message of your Queen-Empress. It will show you how carefully she has watched your actions--how she appreciates your conduct. To her praise I can add nothing. I can only cordially congratulate you on having won the approval of so gracious a Sovereign, and to tender to you a hearty welcome on your return from the war.

[His Excellency then drove off the ground, and the troops marched back to quarters.]

CANNING COLLEGE, LUCKNOW.

3th Nov. 1882. [ON Wednesday afternoon, the 28th November, the Viceroy, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, visited the Canning College at Lucknow, and received an address of welcome. The address (which was read by Raja Amir Hussein, the leading Talukdar of Oudh) expressed gratitude for Lord Ripon's efforts in the cause of education; it explained that the object of the College—which was founded in 1864, by the Talukdars of Oudh, to perpetuate the memory of Earl Canning, their great benefactor—was to provide a course of instruction which would combine the depth and wide range of Oriental thought with the advanced ideas of Western science and literature, and to teach the rising generation to utilise the stores of intellectual wealth treasured up in their ancient records, by the aid of modern science. The records of the Calcutta University, the Punjab University College, and other examining bodies showed that the College had achieved success in giving effect to this aim. The address paid a high compliment to the zeal and ability of the Principal of the College (Mr. White) and his colleagues, referred to Sir Alfred Lyall's interest in their work, and quoted in terms of approval the sentiments expressed in the Viceroy's speech at the Calcutta University in March last.

His Excellency replied to the address as follows:—]

Sir Alfred Lyall and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the address which has just been read, and which I have received with much satisfaction. I can assure you that it gives me great pleasure to be able on this occasion of my first visit to Lucknow to have an opportunity of coming to see an institution of which I had already heard; and I rejoice to find, from the address, that the progress which that institution is making is of so satisfactory a nature; and that, during the eighteen years in which it has grown from a small school to the present extended and valuable establishment, its course has been attended by an ever increasing success. It also gives me much satisfaction to receive the assurance which this address contains, of the spirit by which the students of this institution are animated, and of the objects and aims which they set before themselves in the studies in which they are engaged. And I am very

Canning College, Lucknow.

glad also to observe the tone of affection and confidence with which the students appear to recognise the ability and zeal with which Mr. White, the Principal, and his colleagues, devote themselves to their important duties. When such feelings as these exist between teachers and students, it augurs well for the prosperity of an educational institution.

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to have this opportunity; of which I readily avail myself, to acknowledge the enlightened liberality with which the Talukdars of Oudh, as a body, have contributed, and are contributing, to the maintenance of this institution, so valuable to the province and so essential to the development and direction of the higher education of the people. I must, however, say, gentlemen, that I somewhat regret to learn that this College and the advantages which it so freely affords, are not made use of to a larger extent than appears to be at present the case, by the natives of this province, for whose benefit the institution has been established and endowed. I understand, indeed (and I am very glad to hear it), that a certain number of the sons and the relatives of the Talukdars have prosecuted their studies here, and in those studies they have won for themselves distinctions worthy of all praise. I trust that the example will hereafter be more widely followed, and that thus this valuable College may more and more perfectly and completely fulfil the main and primary object with which it has been so largely endowed, namely, the promotion and expansion of education in Oudh; and I take the liberty of recommending this matter to the careful and earnest consideration of the Committee of this institution.

Gentlemen,—The framers of this address have been pleased to speak of the deep interest which I feel, and which I have felt now for many, many years, in the cause of public education. To that cause I have devoted much thought and much time, and I am only acting on those

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principles which have guided my public life when, here in India, it is my earnest desire and constant endeavour to promote public education in all its branches—higher, middle, and primary. It is therefore to me a source of pleasure to be able to visit an establishment of this description in this famous city, and to receive from you, and from the students who are here devoting themselves to learning and cultivation, the hearty and cordial welcome which you have accorded to me to-day.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE MARTINIÈRE
SCHOOL, LUCKNOW.

29th Nov. 1882. [On Wednesday afternoon, the 29th November, Lord Ripon distributed the prizes to the pupils of the Martinière School at Lucknow. Sir Alfred and Lady Lyall, Sir Steuart Bayley, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen were present. The principal hall of the boys' school, in which the distribution took place, was prettily decorated with flags and banners, and garlands of green leaves and flowers. The Viceroy, who was accompanied by Mr. H. W. Primrose and other members of his Staff, arrived at the school at half-past 4 o'clock, and was received by the Governors and the Principal, and by a guard of honour of the School Volunteers, who numbered 130 boys, all well drilled and armed. On His Excellency being conducted to his seat at the head of the school-room, the Principal proceeded to deliver, an introductory address to the report on the School, in which he gave a sketch of the life of Claude Martin, the founder of the Martinières of Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyons. Referring to the present position and prospects of the School, Mr. Sykes claimed for it that it holds its own with the best of the schools for Europeans and Eurasians in India, whether they be on the hills or in the plains. He alluded to the recent Resolution of Government, regarding the employment of Natives in the Public Works Department, and the practical closing thereby of the Roorkee College to Europeans and Eurasians, and hoped that it was not yet too late for the Government to reconsider the Resolution, and to throw open the College again alike to all classes. A hope was also expressed that the term "Natives of India," and similar terms, in the Resolution might hereafter be so defined as to

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include in their import all Europeans and Eurasians domiciled in India. At the conclusion of this address, the prizes were distributed to the girls by His Excellency, after which the Head Master read a brief detail of the year's work. His Excellency then gave away the prizes to the boys, and afterwards addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Sykes, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I have listened with great interest to the reports which have been read during the course of these proceedings. The interesting sketch of the career of Claude Martin, the founder of the Martinières of Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyons which has been given us by the Principal shows the lively charity by which that remarkable man was animated, and how earnest was his desire that the wealth which he had acquired during his long and adventurous life should be made as useful as possible to his fellow-men. It is highly probable that the Principal was right when he said that General Martin little dreamt that the schools which he was founding by his will would attain the high position which they now occupy ; but he cast his bread upon the waters, and, under the fostering care of the British Government, the full benefits of his magnificent endowments have at length been realised. His name is worthy of all honour, and his example, of wide and constant imitation. It has been, ladies and gentlemen, a great pleasure to me to learn that this institution, in all its departments, is at the present time in so flourishing and satisfactory a condition. The Girls' School and the Boys' School seem alike successful, and the pupils of those institutions appear to make equal progress in their literary and their physical studies. It has been my fortune this year to visit both the foundations in India which were established by General Martin. In the spring I was present on an occasion similar to this, at the Martinière at Calcutta, and there also I was glad to hear of the success of that useful institution. Since then, a great blow has fallen upon the College, and I cannot help availing myself of this opportunity to express here, in this sister institution,

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my sincere regret for the untimely death of Mr. Biden, Principal of the Calcutta Martinière. He devoted himself to his duties there with the utmost zeal and earnestness, and even the single visit that I paid to the College was sufficient to show me that he had acquired the confidence and respect of his pupils. I sincerely lament his loss, and I am sure it will be deeply felt by all the friends of that institution.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I listened with great pleasure to the record which has just been read, of the success which has attended the students of this College in the various examinations in which they have taken part recently; and I particularly noted the case of Walter Knight, whose name was specially mentioned. I observed also, in some papers connected with this College, which I was looking over before I came here, another remarkable instance of the excellence of the instruction which is here given, for I there found that a youth of the name of Joseph Adye had, at the earliest possible period, passed with great credit the examinations of the Calcutta University, and that then, going to England, he had been equally fortunate in the examinations of the London University, and had obviously laid the foundations of an honourable and hopeful career.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Such examples as these show what it is possible for the students of this College to do, if they only avail themselves, as they ought, of the educational advantages which it provides. I think it was said that Walter Knight was not a boy of specially remarkable abilities; and it is, I am confident, within the reach of all those who devote themselves industriously and earnestly to the prosecution of their studies in an institution like this, to attain the same triumphs which he has gained. I trust that the youths of this College will ever keep in their memory the names of these and other boys who have gone before them and won distinction for themselves in after-life; and that they will strive to walk in their

- *La Martinière School, Lucknow.*

footsteps along the path which they have trod with honour and advantage.

And now I would say just one word to those (be they girls or boys) who have been the fortunate receivers of prizes upon this occasion. I heartily congratulate you, my young friends, upon the distinctions which you have won, and I rejoice at the proof which they afford of the zeal and ability with which you are studying here. But I am anxious to remind you that, if a prize confers a distinction, it also imposes an obligation. It will do you no good hereafter to have secured a prize to-day unless you display in your future studies those qualities which have gained this distinction for you now. If you remain satisfied with what you have done, and rest upon your oars, then this prize will not profit you, will rather turn to your dishonour, because your teachers and your fellow-students will then be apt to say—"Oh! he got a prize in 1882, but ever since he has deceived our hopes and disappointed our expectations." Those who upon an occasion like this stand forth from the ranks of their fellows are bound in honour ever after to use their utmost endeavours to maintain the position which they have once won.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I heartily wish success to this institution, and I trust that for long years to come it will continue to prove itself worthy of the wide aims and high purposes of its large-hearted founder. (*Cheers.*)

[His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor thanked the Viceroy for the honour which he had done to the institution in presiding on that occasion, and concluded by asking the boys to show their appreciation of His Excellency's kindness by saluting him with as hearty cheers as they could possibly give—a proposal which was enthusiastically responded to.]

ADDRESS FROM THE TALUKDARS OF OUDH.

29th Nov. 1882. [A Durbar for the reception of the Talukdars of Oudh was held by the Viceroy in His Excellency's Camp at Lucknow on Wednesday, the 29th November, at noon. The number of Talukdar-present was about 200, and the spacious Durbar tent was filled with a large assembly of civil and military officials and ladies. After the ceremony of presenting the Talukdars individually to the Viceroy had been gone through, Rájá Amir Hussein Khan, the leading Talukdar of Oudh, read an address of welcome to the Viceroy, which after referring with approval to the various progressive measures, inaugurated by Lord Ripon, proceeded:—"Twenty-three years have now elapsed since Lord Canning received us on the very spot where Your Excellency holds this Durbar, and we approach Your Lordship with the same sentiments of hearty welcome and admiration with which we waited on that illustrious Statesman. We repeat to your Excellency the assurance of our earnest desire to promote the prosperity of our country and our people. This has, we venture to say, been to us, as a body, our constant aim, and, in our humble efforts in this direction, we possess the great advantage of having in Sir Alfred Lyall a guide and adviser in whose wisdom and impartiality we have perfect trust. It would be ungrateful of us, if we were not to acknowledge before Your Excellency the debt we owe to the members of the Oudh Commission whose solicitous regard for the true interest of all classes of the people has earned for them our heartfelt thanks."

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Accept, gentlemen, my best thanks for the address which you have just presented to me. I am extremely glad to have been able on this occasion to visit this province; famous alike for its historic recollections and for the fertility of its soil, and to have this opportunity of meeting you, gentlemen, in Durbar assembled.

I observe with satisfaction the loyal sentiments expressed in your address, and your ready acknowledgment of the benefits which have been secured to you by British rule. The deep interest felt by the Queen-Empress in the welfare of her Indian subjects of all classes and descriptions fully entitles her to that attachment and devotion which you have professed in just and well-chosen words.

Address from the Talukdars of Oudh.

I thank you sincerely, gentlemen, for the terms in which you have spoken of the measures which have been lately adopted by the Government of India. It is the earnest and constant desire of myself and my colleagues to govern India for the advantage of the Indian people; to promote their welfare and their happiness is our first aim. The task is a great and responsible one, requiring for its adequate performance abilities far higher than any to which I can lay claim; all that I can hope is, that I may be enabled to devote myself to the discharge of the functions of my great office in the spirit of that noble man whose name is inseparably connected with the history of this city, and who had written on his tombstone the touching motto, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." An Indian ruler can set before himself no brighter example, and though I cannot hope to equal the great deeds which have conferred upon the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence an imperishable fame, I too, like him, will strive earnestly to do my duty alike to my gracious Sovereign and to the people whom she has entrusted to my care. In this difficult undertaking it is my good fortune to be surrounded and assisted by colleagues whose abilities, experience, and zeal help to supply my own defects, and upon whose ready help and wise counsel I can always rely with perfect confidence.

I will not detain you, gentlemen, by any allusion to the various measures of the present Government of India, of which you have spoken with approval, except to remark with respect to one of them, that it is very gratifying to me to find that a body of landowners like the Talukdars of Oudh have received with satisfaction the recent Resolution of Government on the subject of suspensions and remissions of revenue. India is, before all things, an agricultural country; agriculture is her greatest interest, and the occupation of the vast majority of her people; whatever, therefore, tends to promote the welfare of the agricultural

Address from the Talukdars of Oudh.

population must ever be an object of foremost interest to the Government; whatever is calculated to depress that population, or to lessen their well-being, must always be to us a cause of deep solicitude. I rejoice, therefore, to learn that in your opinion the recent Resolution of the Revenue Department is to be counted among the beneficial measures of my administration; it is my hope that it will prevent for the future some of those evils from which the owners and occupiers of land have from time to time suffered in the past; and I trust to you, gentlemen, loyally to pass on the benefits which you will, I hope, yourselves reap from this Resolution, to the tenants of all descriptions who hold land under you.

I accept with satisfaction the repetition of your assurance that it is your earnest desire to promote the prosperity of your country and of your people. I earnestly trust that this object will be kept steadily in view by the Talukdars of Oudh,—not so much because each Talukdar holds his land upon the condition entered in his sunnud, that he shall, so far as is in his power, promote the agricultural prosperity of his estate,—but because all Talukdars and Zemindars must be well aware that this condition only expresses the general duty and responsibility of all land-owners under the British Government. The primary and essential condition of agricultural prosperity is the well-being of the cultivators of the soil; the promotion of that well-being the Government has very earnestly at heart, and it attaches to it an importance of the highest kind. It is, moreover, a matter in which the interests of land-holders, and of the State under whom they hold their land, are identical. The State is bound to provide for the well-being of all classes of its subjects; while the landlord's estate can only be prosperous when it is cultivated by a thriving and contented tenantry, and when the relations between landlord and tenant have been adjusted upon a just footing of reciprocal consideration and mutual

Address from the Talukdars of Oudh

advantage, If you are convinced of the truth of these principles, and are prepared to act in accordance with them, I shall confidently look to your co-operating cheerfully and loyally with the Government for their maintenance, extension, and advancement.

Gentlemen,—Your address affords me much pleasure by the assurance which it gives me that you appreciate so justly the spirit in which your Chief Commissioner, Sir Alfred Lyall, will conduct the administration of this province. You may confidently rely both upon his ability and upon his desire impartially to promote the prosperity and happiness of all classes in Oudh. His ripe wisdom and his long experience of affairs will enable him to give you the most judicious counsel in every difficulty. Look up to him as a friend, seek his advice, and follow it with the certainty that, in giving it, he has your true interests at heart.

It is also very agreeable to me to perceive that you are fully sensible of the zeal and earnestness with which the members of the Oudh Commission devote themselves to the interests of the province. They possess in a high degree, the confidence and respect of the Government, and I rejoice to learn that they enjoy so largely the gratitude and regard of those who come directly within the sphere of their administration.

I shall, I assure you, gentlemen, carry away with me very pleasant recollections of my visit to Oudh, and it will be my constant endeavour to advance by every means in my power the welfare of every class of the inhabitants of this fair and fertile province.

ADDRESS FROM THE RIFAH-I-ĀAM ASSOCIATION OF LUCKNOW

10th Nov. 1882. [ON Thursday, the 30th November, the Viceroy received a deputation, consisting of 25 Native Gentlemen, representing the Rifah-i-Āam Association of Lucknow, who presented him with an address of welcome. The address, like others of a similar character, referred in terms of gratitude and approval to the various measures initiated and carried out by His Excellency's Government. Lord Ripon replied to it as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am glad to see you, and thank you much for the address which you have just presented to me. I have had so many occasions recently to express my views upon the public questions now occupying the attention of the Government and of the public, that it will not be necessary that I should detain you long in reference to the various points to which you have alluded in your address.

I am glad to find that the measures which you have enumerated are such as in your judgment are calculated to promote the advantage and prosperity of the country. It has been one of the great purposes of those measures, to advance the intellectual, social, and political development of the people. We have had that object in view in regard to local administration, in the measures which we have adopted and which we are now carrying out for the development of local self-government. We have had that object in view also in another of its branches, in the measures which we are preparing to adopt in regard to public education. It appeared to the Government that the time had come when the educational system of India, the foundations of which were laid nearly thirty years ago by the despatch of 1854, should be carefully inquired into and examined by a representative Commission. When that Commission has made its report, that report and the valuable evidence which the Commission have been collecting will receive the most careful consideration from the Government, our desire being to advance public education in

Address from the Rifah-i-'Aam Association of Lucknow.

all its branches—higher, middle, and primary education. And, gentlemen, it was the same object of intellectual and social development that we set before us when we re-established in its plenitude the freedom of the press in India, because we believed that it was a great public advantage that all measures of the Government of every description, should be freely and fully discussed by the public in the press. The Government derives very great advantage from that discussion; any errors that may creep into its proposals are pointed out; suggestions, often very valuable, are made, and the Government has an opportunity of learning in what respects the public misinterprets or misapprehends the intentions by which it is animated, so that by timely explanation the real meaning of those intentions may be made plain.

These, briefly, gentlemen, are the principles upon which we have acted in regard to the various measures to which you have adverted in your address.

There is one measure which does not come altogether under the description which I have already given of the chief of those which you have mentioned—and that consists in the measures which we are now proposing and devising for the purpose of promoting the prosperity of those who are engaged in the cultivation of the soil. No questions can be more important than those which relate to agriculture, especially in a great agricultural district like this of Oudh; and I can assure you that everything which concerns the prosperity of the agricultural classes in all its branches—landowners and tenants alike—will continue to occupy the earnest attention of the Government.

Gentlemen,—I again think you for your address, and I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting you.

DEKKHAN AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT (1879)
AMENDMENT BILL.

1st Dec. 1882. [IN the Legislative Council, held on Friday, the 22nd December 1882, the Select Committee's Report on the Dekkhan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879) Amendment Bill was, on Mr. Hope's motion, taken into consideration. Mr. Gibbs moved that, after section 10 of the Bill, a section should be inserted giving increased powers to Conciliators to compel attendance. A discussion ensued, Messrs. Hunter, Crosthwaite, and Ilbert speaking against the amendment, and Sir Steuart Bayley and Mr. Hope in support of it. His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

It is quite evident, from the mere fact that the members of the Executive Government differ in opinion upon this question, that it must be one of considerable difficulty, and at the same time, also, that it is not one of very vital importance, because if it was not difficult, they would be likely soon to come to an agreement upon it ; and if it had been a matter of very vital importance, they would have been bound to express an united opinion upon it.

My own view is that on the whole it would be better to adopt the amendment of my honourable friend Mr. Gibbs and I am led to that opinion by the fact that the amendment is supported by the two members of this Council representing Bombay, and is consistent with the wishes expressed by the Government of Bombay. The Bill is of a local character, and would not have been brought forward in this Council if it had not been for special reasons, to which I need not advert ; ordinarily, it would have been brought in in the Bombay Council, and there discussed with an amount of knowledge of local circumstances, which it is impossible to obtain here ; but as that course has not been taken, we ought to look specially to the opinions expressed by the two able gentlemen who represent Bombay here, and to bear in mind that those views are in

Dekkhan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879) Amendment Bill.

concurrence with the recommendations of the Bombay Government, who as Mr. Gibbs has shown, have very carefully considered the various proposals connected with the present Bill. I am also the more confirmed in my opinion—though I do not take a very strong view on the matter, one way or the other—that, on the whole, it would be better to accept the amendment of my honourable friend, because it appears to me that no objection whatever has been felt to this provision by the gentleman whose name has been frequently referred to in this discussion, and whose opinion on this question is of great importance—I mean Dr. Pollen. My honourable friend Mr. Ilbert has quoted Dr. Pollen's report in support of his view, but the most recent paper that I find among these documents, emanating from that learned person, is a letter or report of his, addressed to the Bombay Government and dated the 14th of last November. In that report Dr. Pollen says—

“When I was at Mahabaleshvar, on the 1st instant, I had an opportunity of reading the Bill, and I then stated my opinion that it was a great improvement on the original draft, and that its provisions seemed adequately to meet all the requirements of the case; but at the same time I expressed a wish to have a further opportunity of examining the details of the Bill more deliberately, so as to guard, as far as possible, against the chances of any latent errors which on a cursory perusal might have escaped observation. I have now the honour to submit, in accordance with the instructions of Government, the following remarks on the sections of the Bill which seem to require special notice.”

Then Dr. Pollen, having prosecuted that further inquiry, proceeded to make comments at considerable length upon the various sections of the Bill, but makes no comment, and takes no objection, to the section now under discussion. Under these circumstances, I am inclined to draw the inference that Dr. Pollen does not think that this section would work unsatisfactory, and looking to the weight of local opinion, so far as we have it before us in these

Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879) Amendment Bill.

papers, I shall give my vote in favour of Mr. Gibbs' amendment.

[The amendment was then put to the Council, and lost. Mr. Thomas next moved the insertion of a section exempting certain instruments from the provisions relating to registration, which, after discussion, was also negatived. A protracted debate ensued on the motion of Mr. Hope that the Bill as amended be passed, in which most of the Council took part—the speeches being directed chiefly to attacks on the Revenue System of Bombay, and to replies to them. His Excellency closed the debate with the following remarks:—]

I have not the least intention of detaining the Council by entering into any discussion of this measure itself—in deed, the chief part of the debate now brought to a close has turned on a question which, though connected with the subject of the Bill, is distinct from it,—namely, the question of the Bombay revenue system generally. Not unnaturally, my honourable friends Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Hope have intimated some doubt as to the regularity of that discussion. I myself entertained for a few moments some hesitation on the point, but did not think it advisable to put a stop, by the exercise of the powers of the Chair, to a continuance of that discussion, because it partly arose out of a circumstance which is of itself an anomaly,—namely, that a Bill of this purely local character—affecting Bombay, and, indeed, applying only to a limited portion of that Presidency—should have been brought in and passed, and subsequently dealt with by the Governor General's Council. The discussion here, in this Legislative Council in Calcutta, of the local affairs of Bombay would have been altogether out of order if it had not arisen upon a measure in which those affairs are directly dealt with; but as that is the case, a latitude of debate may fairly be allowed, which would have otherwise been inadmissible.

But even if this had not been so, I should have been quite unable to interfere after the circulation of the paper written by an able and very intelligent Bombay officer, my friend Mr. Lee-Warner, which relates to the question of

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the Bombay revenue system, and to nothing else. Of course, after that paper had been circulated to members of this Council by the honourable member in charge of the Bill, with special reference to this discussion, it would have been quite impossible for me to raise any objection to observations being made by members of this Council, which naturally arose out of a paper already in their possession, and under those circumstances I thought it advisable—being always anxious to determine any doubtful point in favour of freedom of debate—that I should not attempt to place any restriction upon the discussion which has just taken place. But I must at the same time say that I think it exceedingly inconvenient that we should attempt to discuss in this Council the strictly local affairs of the minor Presidencies, and that such a proceeding is, generally speaking, much to be deprecated, and might easily lead to serious difficulties. As regards the general question of the Bombay revenue system, I wish to reserve entirely my own opinion. My honourable friend Sir Steuart Bayley has explained the course hitherto taken with regard to that question, and has shown how revenue questions relating not only to Bombay, but to Madras also, fall in a special manner under the cognisance of the Secretary of State: so that any premature declaration of the policy of this Government would be clearly out of place. My own views on the question of suspensions and remissions of revenue are embodied in the recent Resolution of the Government of India on that subject; and, as regards the question of enhancement, I cordially concur with the views expressed by the Secretary of State, that, even when an enhancement may be reasonable in itself, it is not desirable that if it is heavy in amount it should be made at once, but that it should be introduced gradually, so as not suddenly to raise very largely the payment which the raiyats have previously been accustomed to make.

I do not think that I need detain the Council with any

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further observations. I merely wished in the present instance to make something of protest against a course proceeding with I think should be avoided as much possible, and also to explain my reasons for not entering now upon the general question that has been raised, and reserving my opinion respecting it.

[The motion was put and agreed to, and the Bill was passed.]
