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5. Life or death in India
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10. 12a. Is the Govt. of India responsible to anyone?
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13. 15. Letter of Samuel Smith, Esq. M.P.
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J
P

W. W. Hunter

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Apologetics and Criticisms.

A Runaway Apologist.

CHIEFLY CORRESPONDENCE IN "THE TIMES,"
FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1902.

[REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION.]

...g to fill the position occupied
by the late Sir W. W. Hunter—that
actor concerning India. He makes a
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his brother officials and ex-officials, "con-
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A. BONNER, I A. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co.) and "Prosperous"
myself (T. Fisher Unwin), with an important debate.
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d their consequences.

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INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY COMMENTS.

THE statesmen (and others) who control affairs at the India Office seem to cherish a strange idea of their duty towards India and its people and towards the British people whose agents and representatives they are. They are too prone to consider India to be a private preserve of their own with which no one outside the salaried staff of The Office has, or ought to be allowed to have, aught to do. Occasionally, they are reminded that their exclusiveness has no support in statute law or British custom, nor is it a law of Nature. Within the past few months it has been strenuously and successfully borne into their consciousness* that their own opinion of the way in which they perform their duty and of the happenings following are not universally shared by their countrymen. This affronts them. Such conduct causes them to sigh for the German law of *lese-majesté*. For themselves, they contemplate what they have done; they look round upon everything they have made and, behold, it is very good. Some of them, too, are quite unteachable. Take the gentleman who is essaying to fill the position occupied with knowledge and dignity by the late Sir W. W. Hunter—that of British Press Instructor concerning India. He makes a statement. Proof, Pelion piled on Ossa, from the official records of his own Presidency, shows statements made by him to be inaccurate. Does that prevent him from repeating the inaccuracy? On the contrary, he seems to find in the contradiction of his brother officials and ex-officials, “confirmation strong as Holy Writ” of his inaccuracies. And, he acts accordingly.

* By the publication of “Poverty and Un-British Rule in India,” by Dadabhai Naoroji (Swan Sonnenschein and Co.) and “‘Prosperous’ British India,” by myself (T. Fisher Unwin), with an important debate in Parliament in which a great speech was delivered by Mr. W. S. Çaine, M.P., which constituted a powerful and grave indictment of present modes of rule and their consequences.

Matters lately have not gone well with the India Office. The critics, in and out of Parliament, have told a story which very materially differs from the official statements. More: unwonted interest has been aroused throughout the United Kingdom and in India. Consequently, something little, if at all, short of a miracle has happened. A debate in the House of Commons on Indian affairs has actually taken place before the current Session was a month old.

On the morning of the debate (Feb. 3rd) a long article in large type appeared in *The Times*. Its object was to weaken the force of the Parliamentary attack before it was made, and to extinguish the critics generally. It was entitled "The Critics of British Rule in India," and had official inspiration and official penmanship writ large in every sentence. If the address, "India Office, Whitehall," had been put at the foot of the communication, its place of origin would not have been more surely indicated. Certain writers on Indian affairs were mentioned by name, and comments, not always too courteous, made upon their criticisms. A defence of past administration was also attempted; it consisted, largely, of a not particularly skilful summary of Lord Curzon's recent Resolution on Land Assessment. Land Assessment and The Drain were the topics specially selected for comment, and as the vehicles in which to carry much dogmatic optimism and an abundance of false political economy. On these matters most roseate statements were made, and, for the thousandth time, that early incident in the world's history was repeated which is told in the words:—

"And God saw everything that He had made;
and, behold, it was very good."

To this communication I made a brief reply, which was published in *The Times* of the 6th of February. I called for a definition of issues in respect to which profitable discussion could ensue. My request was promptly met. For the first time in its history the India Office was ready, and apparently anxious, to meet its critics. On the day my letter appeared, a reply was written and sent to the Editor of *The Times*, and appeared on the 10th ultimo. I was challenged to answer the following questions:—

"1. What are the data for the estimated income in 1850?"

"2. Are the figures of land assessment given in my article demonstrably under-stated?

"3. Is my analysis of 'the drain' inaccurate?

"4. Can 'the drain' be got rid of by any legitimate means; and, if so, how?

"5. Has each serious famine been preceded by prolonged drought, and what proportion has the land revenue usually borne to the total estimated loss from drought in the regions affected? (Mr. Digby puts down the cost of the Madras famine of 1877-78 at £83,000,000.)

"6. Did the British provinces suffer more or less than the Native States in the recent famine?"

My desire having thus been granted, I, at once, prepared a rejoinder. This, because of the importance and complexity of the subject, I divided into two parts, and sent the first, within three or four days, to the Editor for insertion. After a few days' delay it came back to me, with a statement that the pressure upon the columns of *The Times* was such that only three-quarters of a column, or twelve hundred words in all, could be granted to me for the whole of my answer. I was more sorry than surprised to receive such a communication. My own journalistic experience showed me the reasonableness of the decision, and I wrote the letter which will be found on pp. 13 to 17 of this pamphlet; it appeared in *The Times* of February 25. In it I explained the circumstances which caused my reply to be one in outline only, and stated that, within a fortnight, my full reply, with all the communications which had appeared on both sides would be ready for issue in pamphlet form. I wanted all the features of the fight to be presented at one and the same time to those who might be interested in the controversy. Contemporaneously with the despatch of my letter to Printing House Square, I collected all the relevant matter and sent it to the printer, being wishful to furnish a full answer to a Department, judging by the questions asked, in great need of enlightenment. It seemed to me that, although this would involve me in considerable personal expenditure, my acceptance of the challenge left me no resource. I had, it seemed to me, to shoulder the burden.

The first proofs of the accompanying reprint had been corrected and the pages made up before I learned that the

challenger had repented himself of his courage and was no longer anxious for the information he had, with some asperity, demanded from me. I can only suppose that the quality of the portion of my reply which appeared on the 25th of February was not to his liking, and that a further supply would be even less liked. Be that as it may, on the 27th ultimo I was informed that the Proprietors of *The Times* could not "allow any reproduction of any correspondence or other matter" from their columns; this, it was added, "would be a distinct breach not only of our copyright, but of that of the authors of the letters." To this intimation I replied in the following terms:—

I am in receipt of your letter of to-day's date. In reply thereto I have to express my regret that I overlooked the fact that *The Times* possesses copyright in all matter which appears in its columns.

I have now to request that the Proprietors of *The Times* will be so good as to give me permission to reprint:

The article entitled "The Critics of British Rule in India," which appeared in *The Times* of the 3rd instant;

My reply to the same, 6th instant;

A further communication from the writer of the original article, 10th inst.; and

My rejoinder, which appeared the day before yesterday.

I should, of course, state that the republication was by permission of the proprietors of *The Times*.

May I add that the proposed reprint is not being undertaken for pecuniary profit? Although the price of threepence or sixpence might appear on the cover, I do not suppose I should sell twenty copies. My object, at heavy pecuniary cost to myself, is simply—by a gratuitous circulation—to bring to the attention of as many people as possible both sides of a grave controversy the issue in which affects many millions of British subjects.

Is it permissible, may I ask, for me to reprint my own two letters which appeared in *The Times* of the 6th and 25th instants?

My request was received with the courtesy which a twenty-five years' experience as an occasional correspondent to the columns of *The Times* led me to expect. I have nothing to complain of in the action of the conductors of

that journal. No objection was raised by them to the republication by me of my own letters. As regards, however, the original article and the challenge made to me, the Proprietors of *The Times* could not grant the favour I asked of them. "We have absolutely no power," I was told, "to permit such publication without the consent of the writer, AND, IN THIS CASE, IT IS THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE WHO OBJECTS TO ITS REPRODUCTION." This makes the position quite clear. The India Office—as, desiring to deal with things as they are, I choose to interpret the expressions, "From a Correspondent" of the original article and "Your Correspondent" of the challenging letter)—for some reason or other best known to itself, having entered into the arena, having crossed swords with a particular critic, having dared him to do his utmost, on the venue being necessarily changed from the over-crowded columns of a daily newspaper during a Parliamentary Session to the pages of a pamphlet, throws down its weapons and runs away! It is not for me to comment upon such a strange lack of courage on the part of so redoubtable a contestant. At the same time I must say that the character of the arguments originally employed by my antagonist and the extent (or, to be quite exact, the lack) of knowledge they indicated, take from me any surprise I might otherwise have felt. There is no need to

" . . . chase, e'en now, the fliers,"

but, at least the reply which was prepared when one expected to meet one's opponents in the shock of conflict shall be published for the information and edification of those who may be desirous to know in what manner and on what insufficient knowledge the interests of India are safeguarded in the India Office.

As I have already remarked, in the expectation that when a challenge was given the challenger meant what he said and would await the conflict which his "prave 'ords" involved, my pamphlet was got into shape. In the form in which it was in my hands before I received an intimation of the backing down of a great Department the pamphlet will go to press and be circulated—with a difference. Where the two withdrawn communications appeared in regular order

the reader will find blank pages, with here and there a footnote correction of, or comment on, remarks in the [unprinted] text. These notes, being my own and not having hitherto appeared in print, may come under the reader's eye, and may serve to give him an idea of some of the statements which have been so hastily, and so ignominiously, withdrawn.

From the above record of fact the public will draw their own conclusions.

I had intended to devote my introductory remarks to such observations as might seem necessary to acquaint those interested in the good government of India with the circumstances in which this correspondence found publication. To my great regret, personal explanation has elbowed political exposition out of the way. I must leave what appears in subsequent pages to tell its own story without further help from me. All I will ask is that the reader should carefully note the respective questions put to me and the character and extent of my several replies. If it be thought that I have given adequate answers to the champion selected from its staff by the India Office to put me to the test, may I suggest that such constitutional action shall be taken by every convinced person as he or she may feel incumbent? If my case be established a plain and imperative duty devolves upon every one of those who are the ultimate rulers of India, who speak the final word, or are criminally silent, concerning the principles and practices of British rule—I mean the citizens, the men and the women, of the United Kingdom.

WM. DIGBY.

27, DORSET SQUARE, LONDON, N.W.

6th March, 1902.

(From THE TIMES, February 3, 1902.)

THE CRITICS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Official Defence of Indian Administration and a Challenge to a particular critic were in type and appeared here. Republication has been refused by the writer, and the matter has been removed. Instead of "blacking-out," after the Russian Censor's manner, I have "blanked out" what I am not permitted to publish.—
WM. D.

THE Official Defence of Indian Administration and a Challenge to a particular critic were in type and appeared here. Republication has been refused by the writer, and the matter has been removed. Instead of "blacking-out," after the Russian Censor's manner, I have "blanked out" what I am not permitted to publish.—
WM. D.

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WM. D.

* This statement is so grossly misleading as—(in any case, but coming from a writer in the India Office, with all past documents at his elbow, implicitly and explicitly)—to amount to a positive untruth. I willingly concede, it is an untruth founded on ignorance, but an untruth all the same. The ignorance which makes such a statement on the part of an official possible is only removed by the shadow of a shade from culpable misrepresentation. See the official figures on pp. 19-23 of this pamphlet.—WM. D.

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* On the contrary, the United States are devising every means which suggest themselves to a particularly acute people to put an end to a state of things which, even by a wealthy nation, can be endured for a time only. See Mr. Austin's remarks on pp. 32-34 herein —WM. D.

† The Marquis of Salisbury, when Secretary of State for India in 1875, made the following "absolutely absurd" statement —"Much of the revenue [of India] is exported without direct equivalent." The official writer of 1902 omits the point that the payments for salaries, pensions, etc., have little or no economic value if, as is the case, the services they represent could be efficiently performed by Indians themselves.—WM. D.

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WM. D

* Which irrigation works have been (comparatively) small and few, the need and extent of the Empire taken into account, owing to the action of the Special Committee of the House of Commons in 1878. The present Secretary of State for India (Lord George Hamilton) was Chairman of that Committee. The terrible mischief its recommendations have caused was speedily seen: it rendered nugatory the findings of the first great Famine Commission in 1880, and has largely helped ever since to impoverish the country by the adoption of wrong measures of development.—WM. D.

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WM. D.

[From THE TIMES, February 6, 1902.]

THE CRITICS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

SIR,—There is much in the long article "From a Correspondent," with the above heading, which appeared in *The Times* of Monday, that, in the interests of the people of India, calls for reply. As, however, such reply must necessarily be of a controversial character, and, in this matter, the controversialists are not agreed on the premisses, mere controversy becomes worthless, and I for one do not desire to take part in a contest doomed, from the outset, to a barren result. But, if the Secretary of State will lay down certain principles concerning British rule in India which, in his opinion, prove the growing prosperity of that country, and you permit arguments *pro et con* on those principles, for my own part I will not go beyond what he lays down, and still will prove my case, which, in brief, is that the fundamental ideas on which our case, which, in brief, is, that the fundamental ideas on which our things I describe and deplore.

Meanwhile, there is one matter of fact on which I ask permission for a short statement. "A Correspondent" says of my book: "It is worth remarking here that this critic's most sensational statement, the alleged decline in average income from twopence per head per day in 1850 to three-farthings in 1900, is utterly unsupported by official figures." So far as 1850 is concerned, I myself say the estimate is non-official. But the figures showing three-halfpence per head per day in 1882 are official, and the figures for 1900 showing three-farthings only, which I estimate for the whole people of India, are corroborated by Lord Curzon himself, whose estimate works out at seven-eighths of a penny, an estimate accepted and repeated by Lord George Hamilton in August last, for the agricultural population of India, one hundred and eighty millions. The difference of half a farthing between these distinguished men and myself would disappear if they dropped their fanciful averages of crop yield based on sample cultivations and accepted their own figures as to actual yield.

Your Correspondent advises readers of my work "to verify every statement and to examine every reference with the utmost care." I endorse that advice, and especially I ask the gentlemen in the India Office who are now "reading" my book to act on this principle and

to favour the public with the result. So far as I can ascertain, after going carefully through my book half a dozen times since its publication, there is only one serious error in it, and that is in favour of the Government of India; it gives them twelve millions sterling more than they ought to have, and is due to an error made in the correction of the proofs and overlooked.*

You report Sir Edgar Vincent's interesting speech in the House of Commons last night at length. In it Sir Edgar declares that for my estimate of the produce of the soil I have no single official figure to support that estimate. I heard his speech, and understood him also to say that there was no way of ascertaining the proportion of the crop which the Government took as revenue. They dealt, he said, with net yield, and not with gross yield. Meeting him after the debate in the lobby, I directed his attention to page 590 of my book, where the following words are quoted from an official document—"Share of the gross produce which the assessment, when made, was intended to cover, so far as can be stated." This proportion, in some cases, is as high as one-fourth. There is other unimpeachable evidence of a like character in my book, the authority for which is given. I reminded him, too, that, when he ridiculed my estimate of average income, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had, for eighty per cent. of the people, put forward a statement of average income which was almost identical with my own.

He replied, "I don't accept the Viceroy's figures on such a subject any more than I do yours. It is not possible to get at full values of income in such a way."

"But," I urged, "you, as an experienced administrator and as a statesman, will admit that some approximate idea must be formed as to the income of a people, so that taxation, for example, may be fairly arranged."

"Yes," he replied, "you can get this from the trade returns and the like, but not for agriculture, as you attempted. When in Egypt I endeavoured to do this."

Here the familiar midnight cry of the House, "Who goes home?" broke off the conversation. I relate it to show that Sir Edgar Vincent's attack upon me in an arena where

* Since this was written another error has been discovered. It, too, is in favour of the "official" case, and makes my own argument less forcible than otherwise it would have been. I am, myself, the keenest critic imaginable of what I have published, for I am not anxious for a victory over opponents for mere victory's sake, but only in so far as what I advance is accurate in statement and inference.—Wm. D.

I could not reply to him is not an attack which leaves me with defence.

With reference to Sir Edgar Vincent's paraphrase of my remark concerning the money-lender's help, when income has ended, to those indebted to him, I have to ask the honourable member to turn to page 533 of " ' Prosperous ' British India," and to compare what I wrote with what he says I wrote. Having done that, he will, as a gentleman, write to you to contradict the accuracy of his most " purple patch " concerning my humble self, and will strike the whole passage out of the proof which Hansard, probably, has already sent to him. The perversion is too bad even for party political controversy.

Finally, Sir, let me suggest that, if it be possible for the India Office to do it, my book should be answered specifically. I say it with all self-restraint, but it is a fact, my book has commended itself to many scores of reviewers on most important journals, to numerous public men, to readers in many spheres of life, so that the conclusions I arrive at are sinking into the national mind as the main features of our rule of India. Every day brings me proof of this statement. If I am wrong in my conclusions, and if the evidence on which I have based these conclusions is not correctly set forth, I do a wrong to my country which is almost, if not quite, unforgiveable. While such statements as mine remain uncontroverted officially, it will be felt they are not answered, because they cannot be answered, and all abuse of me, profuse though it be, is futile. It is, I submit, the duty of the Secretary of State to disprove my conclusions and to show that my evidence is untrustworthy. Both are furnished in reply to a request which he publicly made. If, on the other hand, close investigation should prove me to be right in the main, and to show that the " prosperity " upon which the Secretary of State continually expatiates does not spell prosperity to the mass of the people of India, but, as I contend, is compatible with increasing distress, then, Sir, no one will deny that a problem exists which calls for immediate solution, the importance of which no one can gainsay. In what I have written I have endeavoured to serve my country by presenting to it the truth as I find it, and so to prevent it from proceeding along a course which, while causing deep misery to vast numbers of British subjects, in so doing inflicts infinite discredit upon ourselves.

I am, yours faithfully,

WM. DIGBY.

February, 4, 1902.

[From THE TIMES, February 10, 1902.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

THE Official Defence of Indian Administration and a Challenge to a particular critic were in type and appeared here. Republication has been refused by the writer, and the matter has been removed. Instead of "blacking-out," after the Russian Censor's manner, I have "blanked out" what I am not permitted to publish.—
WM. D.

February 6, 1902.

I am, etc.,
YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

[From THE TIMES, February 25, 1902.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES"

Sir,—Last Monday six questions were asked of me in your columns by the defender of the present modes of British administration in India. It would require a whole page of the *Times* for adequate answers with proofs. I have already five columns, in two parts, prepared, but am satisfied that, in the present congested state of your columns, you could not, even for India's sake, give me the space required. What I have prepared I shall issue separately with the original article and the correspondence in your columns which called it forth. Meanwhile, I send categorical replies to the questions, postponing proofs to the separate publication I have in hand.

1. "Are the figures of land assessment, given in my article, demonstrably under-stated?"

Yes, they are greatly under-stated, and, in presence of the official figures from Madras, Bombay, Punjab, and the Central Provinces, which I have ready, and which I will give, they are untrustworthy to the last degree. The public will judge as to the serious responsibility incurred by "Your Correspondent" in daring to put such figures forward.

2. "Is my analysis of the 'drain' inaccurate?"

No, it is quite accurate. Why should "Your Correspondent" want me to attest its accuracy? As well might he ask me to certify his spelling. The accurate analysis of the drain has nothing to do with its economic consequences. The plague, helplessly recognised in India as having come to stay, may be described in correct medical and scientific terms. That does not make the buboes any the less painful, nor does it stay the progress of the malady. Likewise with the "drain," correct definition does not stop the exhaustion which the drain occasions.

3. "Can the 'drain' be got rid of by legitimate means, and, if so, how?"

To this, again, my reply is in the affirmative, and, in the draft of my answer, I set forth the "legitimate means" in detail. The Marquis of Salisbury, thirty years ago, and the Bishop of Bombay, last year, indicated one of the means which, if adopted, will get rid of the "drain."

4. "Has each serious famine been preceded by long drought, and what proportion has the land revenue usually borne to the total estimated loss from drought?"

Because of its importance, I elaborate my reply to the first of the two questions herein asked, and leave the second for my detailed rejoinder. To the first my answer emphatically is "No; each serious famine has not been preceded by prolonged drought." Save in certain very restricted areas—restricted in comparison with the great extent of famine-stricken country in each famine—plenty of rain has fallen every year: what has happened is that it has fallen at the wrong period, either too early or too late, or too much at one time. I remember in 1877, in Madras, we were struck with the paradox that, in the meteorological annals, that year would appear as one of the rainiest on record. This arose from the fact that, on the Eastern sea-board and for some distance inland, between twenty and thirty inches fell in two days in May, and, save for the help afforded to the cattle, most of it was allowed to run into the Bay of Bengal, utterly wasted, and no real good accrued to the country. I myself saw tens of millions of gallons run to waste under the Marmalong Bridge, which, had the tanks been in good order, might have been saved for the terrible after months of little rainfall. There are few parts of India in which plenty of rain does not fall every year. So-called drought famines are due to the fact that the multitudinous facilities for storage of water which India almost everywhere provides, are, practically, wholly neglected. In the year of the Orissa famine actually sixty inches of rain fell.

Here are some famine years, and the rainfall in inches:—

Place.	Famine Year.	Rainfall in inches.
Madras	1823	26.62
	1824	33.72
Bombay	1824	33.87
	1825	72.24
Madras	1833	37.11
	1834	39.00
Bombay	1833	71.39
Orissa	1865-66	60.00
Central Provinces	1868	25.49
	1869	33.38
Bombay	1876	50.01
Madras	1876	21.6
	1877	66.3
	1878	28.7
	1876	22.02
Mysore	1876	22.02

In respect to the last two great famines, 1896-97 and 1900-1901,

I take the following particulars from Mr. Blandford's most recent Meteorological Reports:—

Province.	THE FAMINE OF 1896-7.	
	Average actual Rain-fall of season, June to Oct., 1896. Inches.	Average actual Rain-fall of season, June to Oct., 1897. Inches.
North - Western Provinces and Oudh	25.50	39.60
Punjab	14.86	14.31
Central Provinces	52.87	43.83
Central India	23.75	34.96
Rajputana	13.95	17.96
Berar	24.69	29.94
Bombay	41.58	43.73

Province.	THE FAMINE OF 1900-01.		
	1898.	1899.	1900.
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	41.75	36.50	32.06
Punjab	12.85	7.58	19.49
Central Provinces	45.61	24.85	52.41
Central India	36.70	26.38	36.67
Rajputana	12.16	8.12	20.83
Berar	26.31	10.75	31.61
Bombay	41.59	16.51	40.03

I say that with so much rainfall as is indicated by these figures, it is to the lasting discredit of the Indian authorities and still more to the lasting discredit of the India Office, that there is any such thing in India as famine arising from drought. As a matter of fact, to-day even, when water conservation is in its infancy and water storage lakes of enormous capacity are unknown, there really is no such famine as a drought famine in our Eastern dominions. Is not the present Secretary of State continually saying that, even in the worst years of drought, there is food enough in the Empire, but that the people have not the money wherewith to purchase? But that leads me into the economics which must be dealt with when I answer my inquisitor on "the drain."

The latest figures procurable by me are those of July, 1901, by which time the monsoon should be in full operation. The deficiency, as compared with the average, is but small. Gujerat had 12 inches, Kattiawar and Cutch 6, Central India 10, Rajputana East 7, Rajputana West 3.33 (only half an inch below the normal), the Bombay Deccan had 8, Khandeish $7\frac{1}{2}$, the Konkan 41 inches.

With such a fall as this in one month it is not the Act of God that famine ensues; it is the Neglect of Man, unhappily, the English Man. Ere long, when Famine in India has been conquered, as conquered it will be, those who succeed us will look upon our inaction and our apologies with pitying dismay.

No, there is plenty of rain in India, taking one year with another; what is needed is its REGULATION, and foresight and statesmanship enough to recognise what is wanted, and to supply it. Lord Curzon is beginning to appreciate the need; he is alone in his appreciation. Properly regulated, in times of excess, as well as in times of deficiency, there is so much of rain and melted snow in India that there need never be a large failure of crops. Why rain has not been "regulated" during the past quarter of a century the present Secretary of State for India can well tell, but I doubt if he would tell all the facts, would confess to all he knows, save under severe cross-examination before a Royal Commission of Inquiry. Not drought, but our culpable neglect to make proper use of the water which, in the order of Providence, is vouchsafed to us in goodly measure, is accountable for so much crop-failure in India. To stop this neglect our energies should be bent rather than to instituting meaningless parallels between the Desert Peninsula of Arabia and the river-blessed Peninsula of Hindostan, an occupation dear to the heart of the present Secretary of State. As to what can be done in this respect by an Indian State, let the authorities ask Colonel Jacob, of Jaipur, who, in a country without rivers has provided one hundred and fifty irrigation works, with the consequence that the recent famine was less severe in Jaipur than in the similarly situated British territory of Marwar.

5. "Did the British Provinces suffer more or less than the Natives States in the recent famine?"

Is not this a pitiful enquiry for an apologist for British rule to make? Has it come to this that the official can only say: "At least we are as good as the Indian Prince and his Councillors"? Then, the time *has* come to write on the wall of the Secretary of State's room in the India Office: "THOU art weighed in the balances and found wanting." All the same, I will answer the question.

Judging from the report of the last Famine Commission, in 1900 and 1901, the State was no better than the Province, the Province on a par with the State. It was not always so, and it is not so everywhere now. In 1877 there was a strong line of demarcation between the Province and the State, all in favour of the State. The

exodus from the Bombay central districts to the Hyderabad territory was like unto that tramping of the people of Israel from the land of the Pharaohs to the Desert of Sin, while the death-rate in those portions of the Nizam's territory bordering on Kurnool and other of the Ceded Districts of Madras, was only 1 in 27, while in Kurnool it was 2 in 5. Now, things are different. I will tell "Your Correspondent" why. Thanks to the ever-increasing power of the British over-lord throughout the yellow territory as in the red, and the diminishing power of the Indian Prince in his own territory, all purely Indian customs are being wiped out, and an approximation to the ideal of the British district has become the ambition of the Resident, and British-officer-, controlled Indian State. In proportion as the British system of land revenue was practised by a State affected by famine, so—the splendid British Famine Relief Code not having been adopted in equal measure, and in time—was the life-loss and the mischievous effects upon the country at large. I may not dwell upon this most important point, which is, after all, only the realisation of Viscount Cross's dictum, when he was Secretary of State for India, that British principles were more and more to prevail in all affairs Indian. But, elsewhere, I shall write fully on this most serious aspect of the question, and I thank "Your Correspondent" for so aptly calling my attention to it.

6. "What are the data for the estimated income in 1850?"

When "Your Correspondent" brings me the data on which Lord Curzon and Sir David Barbour estimated the income per head per annum in 1882 at Rs.27, I will hand him my data for the estimate of 1850. But, he need not ask me for it. He will find it in the Blue-books concerning British India if he should care to look for it.

I may add that my full answer to "Your Correspondent" will be in his hands, and in the hands of others, within a fortnight.

Yours faithfully,

WM. DIGBY.

February 17, 1902.

The replies to the six questions asked, as originally prepared for *The Times*, were as follows:—

I.

Sir,—“Your Correspondent” having complied with my request and having defined the issues, as he understands them, between the critics of British rule in India and the India Office, might have spared himself his preliminary comments upon me, especially as he and those he represents are on their defence in regard to their dealing with the greatest problem which any civilised Government has ever had to solve. However, he shall find that I have no desire to escape replying to his arguments.

The six questions put to me naturally fall into three groups: (1) the estimate of income in 1850 compared with the facts of to-day, which shall be last dealt with by me; (2) questions 2, 5, and 6, relating to land assessment and famines, which will be fully dealt with in this communication; and (3) questions 3 and 4, which relate to the “drain”: these two and number one I reserve for my second communication, as I cannot, possibly, in one communication, satisfy your readers, adequately answer “Your Correspondent,” or do that justice to India which this controversy imposes upon me.

“Your Correspondent” asks in Question 2: “Are the figures of land assessment given in my article demonstrably under-stated?”

My answer is as direct as words can make it: They *are* demonstrably under-stated, and I will proceed to demonstrate their grievous unsoundness and utter untrustworthiness. In his first communication “Your Correspondent” said:—

a. “In Madras and Burma one-half of the net produce—*i.e.*, of the total produce after deducting cost of cultivation—has been taken, but in practice the actual assessment falls much below the normal.” “. . . . the adoption of a standard of one-fifth of the gross produce would increase assessment all round—actually doubling the ryots’ liabilities in Madras and the Central Provinces.”

The experience of cultivators and the official records do not bear out this statement. On the contrary they directly and unequivocally disprove it. To take the latter first. Ten per cent. of the gross yield, it is alleged, is what is levied in Madras. To the Madras Board of Revenue this information will occasion surprise. Here is the Board’s own “statement showing the Proportions of the Gross and Net Produce taken to represent the Government Re-

venue in the case of Wet and Dry Lands in the Districts newly settled :—

Districts.	Dry or Wet Cultivation.	Gross Produce.			Percentage of Gross Produce
		Rs.	a.	p.	
Ganjam	Dry ...	9	4	7	14
	Wet ...	14	9	3	23
Godavari	Dry ...	10	14	9	20
	Wet ...	18	14	9	22
Kistna :					
Guntur portion ...	Dry ...	11	0	2	15
	Wet ...	31	11	0	21
Masulpatam port'n	Dry ...	6	6	9	18
	Wet ...	21	2	10	21
Nellore :					
Principal Division	Dry ...	5	12	0	18
	Wet ...	27	7	7	23
Sub-Division	Dry ...	7	12	0	18
	Wet ...	23	8	8	23
Kurnool*	Dry ...	5	1	3	13
	Wet ...	30	4	2	19
Cuddapah :					
Three Taluks ...	Dry ...	8	0	11	15
	Wet ...	40	14	7	16
" "	Dry ...	6	15	0	14
	Wet ...	36	9	3	17
Chingleput	Dry ...	7	8	6	15
	Wet ...	17	5	9	20
South Arcot	Dry ...	11	15	10	15
	Wet ...	17	9	9	31
Salem :					
South	Dry ...	9	14	6	13
	Wet ...	24	10	6	21
North	Dry ...	7	10	8	12
	Wet ...	23	0	6	17
Trichinopoly	Dry ...	7	0	6	13
	Wet ...	15	2	8	28
Tinnevely	Dry ...	—	—	—	—
	Wet ...	26	5	1	25
Average	Dry ...	8	2	4	15
	Wet ...	26	5	9	20

* There are four sets of figures for this district : I take the latest settlement details as representing what exists to-day.—Wm. D.

The above statement shows that nowhere is the assessment in the Madras districts named—I have quoted all the particulars that the Revenue Board submitted to the Famine Commission—so low as 10 per cent. of the gross, but that on dry land it averages 15 per cent, and rises as high as 20; on wet land it averages 20 per cent. and rises as high as 28 and 31.

The experience of the cultivator tallies with the above citations I collected evidence from Madras so recently as July last on this very point. This is what one witness, a man known throughout the length and breadth of India and highly esteemed because of his high character and statesmanlike work as Dewan of a Central Indian State, I refer to ex-Dewan Raghunath Row, says:—

“The Government are said to get one half of the net produce which is never less than twenty-five per cent. of the gross. This is only in theory. Actually they receive on an average more than fifty per cent. of the gross. On paper it is shown to be between twenty-five and thirty per cent. of the gross, by over-estimating the gross produce.

“If the gross be 100, the Government professes to deduct—

- “ 29 for cultivation. expenses,
- “ 15 for bad seasons,
- “ 28 for Government assessment,
- “ 28 for the ryot.

“If these would tally with the actuals the ryot would have sufficient left to him to tide over one or two bad years; but the actuals are different.

“Suppose the gross produce in reality amounts to 75 instead of 100, the result would be—

- “ 22 cultivation expenses, } or 44 per cent.
- “ 11 for bad seasons, }
- “ 28 Government assessment, or 38 per cent.
- “ 14 for the ryot, or 18 per cent.

or two-thirds of the net to Government and one-third of the net to the ryot.

“As the real amount of the gross produce decreases, so the share of Government would go on increasing, and that of the ryot decreasing.”

“I am prepared,” adds this witness, after giving particulars concerning the heavy assessment on a village he owns, “to hand over” my “village to the Government if I be allowed to draw from the Government Treasury annually the sum of fixed assessment.

perpetually." He declares the fixed assessment is 37 per cent. of the total yield.

b. "In the latter [the Central Provinces] the recent Famine Commission found that the incidence of the land revenue is less than 4 per cent. of the average value of the produce, in most of the Punjab 7 per cent., and in the Deccan rather over 7 per cent." So states "Your Correspondent."

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES. What the Famine Commissioners did was to state that the proportion of the land revenue to the total yield was "less than 4 per cent.," and to add, what "Your Correspondent" omits: "In addition to land revenue, local rates and cesses to the extent of 11½ per cent. on the land revenue are also levied." Why was this omitted? Further, Sir Antony Macdonnell and his colleagues, quite gratuitously, and as if they knew the figures were exaggerated, at once reduced their own estimate by 25 per cent. and made the land revenue, "if cesses be added, slightly over 5 per cent." This estimate is based on a yield of 595 lbs. per acre.* But, in the only statistics of yield for these Provinces given by the authorities, that for wheat (and, it is said, these figures are "on the whole reasonably accurate"), instead of 595 lbs. per acre being reaped, there are on the ten years, 1891-2 to 1900-01, on the average only 380 lbs., and in no year did the yield reach more than 560 lbs. per acre and that only once. In passing, let me say that it is in such over-estimates as this, which, as I shall show, is characteristic of other Provinces as well, that the Indian authorities make their greatest mistakes and, not meaning it, do so much harm.

THE PANJAB: "In most of the Panjab 7 per cent." Once more to the official testimony. "Share of the gross produce which the Assessment when made, was intended to cover, so far as can be stated."

District.	Proportion.	District.	Proportion.
Delhi	One-sixth	Rohtak	One-sixth
Gurgaon	"	Sirsa	Not stated
Karnal	Not stated	Umballa	"
Hissar	"	Ludhiana	"

* This strange statement of the MacDonnell Famine Commission is dealt with in some detail on pp. 10-13 of my "The Running of India: What the Official Evidence Proves," to be obtained gratis on application to the author.—W.M. D.

District.	Proportion.	District.	Proportion.
Simla	—	Mooltan	One-eighth
Jullundur	One-fourth	Jhang	One-tenth
Hoshiapur	”	Montgomery	One-sixth (?)
Kangra	Not stated	Muzaffargarh	One-seventh
Amritsar	One-sixth	Dera Ismail Khan	Varies gener-
Sialkot	”	ally from one-sixth to one-tenth	
Gurdaspur	”	Dera Ghazi Khan	One-eighth
Lahore	”	Bannu	One-twelfth
Ferozepore	Not stated	Peshawar :	
Gujranwala	One-sixth	Irrigated land ...	One-sixth
Rawalpindi	Not stated	Un-irrig. land...	One-twelfth
	(perhaps one-sixth)	Kohat :	
Jhelum	Not stated	Irrigated land...	One-fourth
Gujerat	One-sixth	Un-irrig. land...	One-eighth
Shahpur	Not stated	Hazara	Less than one-sixth

Every district in the Panjab is embraced in the foregoing. In not one of them is the average so low as seven per cent., while in a goodly proportion it is twenty-five per cent. There is not much sign here that “the actual assessment,” varying from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 per cent. “falls much below the nominal” 7 per cent. The process is all the other way. There is, too, in connection with the Panjab, the same vice of over-estimating the yield. For wheat, the averages range from 1,280 lbs. (irrigated) per acre in Jullundur, to 560 lbs. (unirrigated) in Sialkot. The averages for the whole Province are stated to be:—

Irrigated	917 lbs. per acre.
Unirrigated	576 ” ”
Both	728 ” ”

What are the actuals? The average was under 650 lbs., with a maximum of 779 lbs. and a minimum of 546 lbs.

THE DECCAN: “Rather over 7 per cent.” So far as my information goes there is no Bombay official data, as in the Presidency and Province already dealt with, by which to test the percentage which the land revenue bears to the gross yield. But, in 1888, this was the report of trusted officials concerning the yield of the Deccan districts:—

“Authorities are unanimous that many cultivators fail to get a year’s supply from their land. . . . The quality and natural advantages of the soil appear to be only one-fourth of those possessed by the Gujerat cultivator, though the acreage is double.”

" Proportion of cultivators with short supply:—	Supply.
" In Khandesh, 15 to 66 per cent., say 40 per cent. (77,000 families, population 1,237,231), after paying debts, have for sustenance only	6 to 8 months
" In Nasik, 50 to 80 per cent., say 65 per cent. (91,000 families, population 701,826), after paying debts, have for sustenance only	6 "
" In Ahmadnagar, 25 per cent. (38,000 families, population 751,228), not reckoning debt, have for sustenance only	4 to 6 "
" In Poona, 33 to 50 per cent., say 45 per cent. (85,000 families, population 900,621), not reckoning debt, have for sustenance only	4 to 6 "
" In Sholapore, 40 per cent. (52,400 families, population 582,487), not reckoning debt, have for sustenance only	12 "
" In Satara, 37½ per cent. (say, 75,000 families, population 1,062,530), not reckoning debt, have for sustenance only	6 " "

The over-estimate of yield in Bombay is on much the same scale as elsewhere, but I will not weary your readers with details. They are, privately, at the service of "Your Correspondent" if he should care to ask for them.

On this question of over-estimation I have a very serious statement to make. I ask Lord Curzon's special attention to it, and I beg him, as he replied to some of my remarks last year when the Indian Budget was being discussed in his Council, he will deal with this statement in his forthcoming speech* on the Financial Statement for the coming year. The Viceroy has estimated an increase in the agriculturists' income of Rs 2 per head per annum over that estimated in 1882. He has also stated the average yield of food grains per acre is now 840 lbs, against 30 lbs. twenty years ago. Lord George Hamilton tells Parliament he does not know the basis on which this calculation was made. Notwithstanding his confessed ignorance in this most important respect he was ready to use the illustration and the

* Through the inability of *The Times* to promptly publish this reply when it was sent in answer to a challenge it permitted in its own columns, this statement cannot now reach Lord Curzon in time for him to make such observations as might occur to him.—WM. D.

argument following from it last August as though he knew all about them. It is easy to see where Lord Curzon obtained his figures. He got them from the Director-General of Statistics, "Agricultural Statistics for British India," Table No. 15, pp. 380-413. This is the sort of recommendation these estimates receive from their respective sponsors:—

UPPER BURMA.—"The statistics relating to the districts which have not been settled . . . are stated to be of little value."

BENGAL.—"The estimates furnished are so incomplete that a provincial average cannot be estimated."

AJMERE-MERWARA.—"The number of experiments was small. The yield of 858 lbs. and 958 lbs. of clean cotton to the acre are impossible. . . . The yields of irrigated barley and maize are also exceedingly high."

MADRAS.—". . . it would be misleading to strike an average of the results." The Board of Revenue "has abstained from framing any district average outturns based on such wholly inadequate data, and would deprecate any deduction being drawn from the figures it now furnishes."

This, Sir, is the kind of foundation for the imaginary 4 per cent. and 7 per cent. of gross yield with which the authorities in India and in England delude themselves, mislead the public, and do injury to the Emperor's subjects. It is to be hoped Lord Curzon will find a firmer foundation for the Indian Memorial to the late Empress on the shaking soil of Calcutta, than he has found for his statement that the Indian agriculturists' income has increased during the past twenty years.

c. "The policy of long-term settlements is being gradually extended." Where? may I ask. Not in the Central Provinces. In that poor and sorely-afflicted region more than a generation ago promises were held out of a permanent settlement, such striking and generous language being used in connection therewith as "Your Correspondent" employs in his delusive remarks upon the benevolent practices of the Indian Government to the Indian cultivator. When, ten years ago, the re-settlement took place, so far from permanence being granted, the lowest period in all India, an hitherto unheard-of low period, was adopted, even falling so low as twelve years, while the assessment was increased in many instances several hundred-fold. Sir Richard Temple, in 1862-3, when he was Chief Commissioner of the Provinces, said the settlement then in progress was "to extend to thirty years for all districts alike." Sir Richard further said: "It has also been recommended that the

boon of a permanent settlement, that is the limitation of the Government demand in perpetuity, should be conceded to those land-holders who might have brought their estates to a high state of cultivation." Will "Your Correspondent" tell us to how many land-holders in these Provinces a permanent settlement has been granted?

"Your Correspondent's" letter contains some beautiful sentiments, mainly paraphrased from the recent Resolution of the Government of India. An archangel could not talk better than the average apologist for Anglo-Indian administration. The mischief is that the performance does not square with the promise. If India were really ruled in accordance with the late Empress's Proclamation and the despatches of statesmen it would be a Paradise.

I venture to think that, in the above statements, I not only "categorically and straightforwardly" answer the second question put to me, but likewise beyond all peradventure prove that the figures of land assessment given by "Your Correspondent" have been demonstrably under-stated, and this to an extent which demands from him an apology to you and to your readers for putting such gross mis-statements before you and them.

On the principle mentioned in the second paragraph of this letter, I pass to question 5.

"Has each serious famine been preceded by prolonged drought, and what proportion has the land revenue borne to the total estimated loss from drought in the regions affected?"

[The reply to the first part of the question will be found on pp. 14-16 *ante*.]

To the second part of the question my reply is that the proportion of the land revenue to the total loss suffered by the people in famine times is so small as to be almost a negligible quantity. In Madras in 1877-78, it amounted to only £11,336,470 out of an estimated total loss of £83,000,000. But, what has that to do with the great question at issue? It is not so much the incidence of the land revenue as the rigid system by which it is collected, which is so gravely the occasion of much needless Indian suffering. If revenue from the land were collected only when there were crops from which to collect it and in true proportion to the yield I, for one, should not complain concerning what is now levied. But, it is the rigidity of the collection, and its collection in cash, whatever be the amount of the crop, or even whether there be no crop, which is the most baneful feature of the present imposition of land revenue. In proper circumstances the land in India might, and

ought to, pay twice and thrice the amount it now pays, and, at the same time the cultivator be in a far better condition than he now is. Such a state of things as left a good margin with the cultivator and the power of properly manuring his fields would permit of a much greater portion of produce coming to the Government than is now collected, and a consequently greater revenue. But, under our non-elastic and triple-brass rules, recently carried out in Bombay in a most cruel and heartless fashion—the people “died like flies,” “Guzarat was as a stricken field,” says Sir Antony Macdonnell, and the other most recent Famine Inquirers—the present burden is too great to be borne. In that Presidency of Bombay and in the very Deccan districts whose land tax is said to amount to only 7 per cent. of the produce, for many years over ninety per cent. of the tax has year by year been provided by the money-lender who is now a universal land-owner. Our “system,” as Mr. Thorburn has fully proved, has changed the money-lender from being the servant of the village to becoming its tyrant and its oppressor. Not expenditure on marriage and other festivals, but the inexorable demands of the sarkar are responsible for the terrible and life-destroying indebtedness of the unhappy Indian peasant.

With your permission, Sir, I leave the great questions of the “drain,” the “tribute,” the excess of exports, and the income of 1850, to a further communication: in all these, save and except the last-named matter, lie the root of the ill which has overspread India from north to south, from east to west, and an adequate statement is due to those whom you have permitted to press me for a reply.

Yours faithfully,

WM. DIGBY.

February 12, 1902.

II.

Sir,—I continue and conclude my reply to the questions asked of me by "Your Correspondent" in his voluminous communication of February 3rd, and in his letter of February 6. In the third question it is asked:—

"Is my analysis of the drain accurate?"

What was that analysis?

a. An "excess of exports from India" "to defray the home charges of the Government, about £16,000,000 per annum, and to pay certain sums in connection with industrial investments, freights, etc"

b. The "home charges" include "interest on railway, irrigation, and ordinary debt, and payment for civil and military services, stores, and other minor purposes."

This, in brief, is the analysis. It is quite accurate. Why should "Your Correspondent" want me to attest its accuracy? As well might he ask me to certify his spelling. The accurate analysis of the drain has nothing to do with its economic consequences. The plague, helplessly recognised in India as having come to stay, may be described in correct medical and scientific terms. That does not make the buboes any the less painful, nor does it stay the progress of the malady. Likewise with the drain: correct definition does not stop the exhaustion which the drain occasions.

"Your Correspondent" complacently assumes that, because the drain represents interest on railways and irrigation works—(by the way, it is inexact book-keeping to go on debiting interest year after year for irrigation works which have repaid their full outlay over and over again),—on pensions, and stores, it is all right. The argument for assumes that the railways were indispensable for the rightful development of the country, an assumption which I dispute *in toto*. India did not and does not need twenty-five thousand miles of railway. England, however, did need a great new market for steel rails, her locomotives, her rolling stock. Unconsciously, it may be, on the part of many, but none the less surely, the last-named circumstance had much to do with the shaping of the Indian railway policy. A few trunk lines of railways, and a network of navigable and irrigation canals combined, linking together all parts of India, costing less money than the railways have cost, would have ensured for the Empire every year full crops, barring the ravages

of insect pests and rats—these few, where the land was kept in heart. Further, in making water-ways the whole of the capital outlay would have been spent in India instead of (as with railways) in England. The gain in a hundred directions would have been enormous. Then as to salaries and pensions: these may not only have been higher than India can afford to pay, but the services represented may not, economically, have been worth what was paid for them. Military expenditure, too, may have been incurred more for Imperial interests than for Indian needs. Stores supplied from England might have been obtained in India, and, in making it possible for them to be produced there great benefit might have been ensured to those who paid for the stores. Thus, though every point in the statement be accurately put, the drain, none the less, may be potent means of ruining the country and destroying the people. That, actually, it is doing this, is what I will endeavour to show in a succeeding paragraph or two.

Whatever may be the case with the United States, in whose trade returns a large balance of exports, for the moment, is found to be not incompatible with great national prosperity, in India a like balance spells ruin, and can spell nothing but ruin. After I have shown why the excess of exports is bad for India, I will indicate what the temporary like excess means in connection with the United States. John Stuart Mill indicated the economic evil which in India has now grown to so baleful a height when, after dealing with exports and imports which balance one another, he proceeded to say that the equality between exports and imports is disturbed by “the existence of international payments not originating in commerce, and for which no equivalent in money or commodities is expected or received—such as tribute, or remittances of rent to absentee landlords, or of interest to foreign creditors.” It may, therefore, be that, on the face of things, a payment from one country to another may be honourable and upright, as is that from India to England. British people have lent their money to the Government of India for purposes connected with the administration of that country; they have invested in railways—in some on the direct guarantee of the Indian authorities, in others on the indirect guarantee furnished in the fact that the railways are State-managed. It is right, regarded as a merely abstract matter, that the investors should receive the agreed dividend. A bargain was made, and must be carried out. Whether that bargain should have been made is a matter on which I, for one, have a definite opinion.

The question in regard to India is not: Are the payments com-

prised in the official drain made according to present usage and fair dealing as now understood? Of course, they are all that. The point is, Can India afford to pay them, and ought she to have been forced into the engagements which compel payment? Railways, to the extent they exist in India, are beyond the needs of the country. They have not added to wealth. In displacing cattle transport they did harm to agricultural needs. Nowhere have they increased production, and in stimulating export they have not found a market for surplus produce; no real surplus exists in India. If every man, woman, and child had, each day, as much to eat as they required, not one ton of food grain could leave the country. Instead of adding to the wealth of India the railways have been an incubus and are still. If the six hundred millions of rupees, which, without interest, represent the sum the taxpayer has had to provide to make good guaranteed dividends, had been expended on irrigation, or left with the people, the gain to India would have been greater than any gain which can be rightly credited to the railways.

Again: Railways in India were not constructed in response to the wish of the Indian people. Nor is the enormous military expenditure controlled by strictly Indian requirements. In all probability India will bear the burden of the new Japanese alliance. I quite expect to see a million sterling at least added to the annual expenditure to guard against Russian activity. No doubt all that is done comes from the best of intentions. But the Indian people shoulder the burden first, last, all the time. England has never been denied a sixpence of interest nor has any one's pension been withheld on the score that India could not afford to pay. Whether the people could or could not pay, whether the home charges meant starvation to many millions of them or whether it did not, home the remittances went with no more break in their continuity than there is in the precession of the Equinoxes. Our procedure in India works with all the relentlessness of a natural law. Human needs are ignored. The sending of the remittances has caused starvation, as I will now show.

Throughout the past six years the irrecoverable loss to India arising from famine—deficient crops, absorption of reserves, loss of cattle, high food prices all over India, lack of employment, hindrance to trade, cannot be less than £300,000,000; probably, it has been much more. Millions of households have lost everything they possessed, many other millions of families have lost a large proportion of the few poor assets they possessed before the present series of specially bad years began. During those six years, the

India Office has received over £90,000,000 sterling on account of home remittances; to this has to be added, perhaps, fifty per cent., non-official profits, mercantile gains, freights, etc., but, take one-third only, say, £30,000,000: altogether, while famine has been sore in the land, £120,000,000 have been taken for which, in Lord Salisbury's expression, there was "no direct equivalent." This, for a very poor, agricultural, non-industrial, country like India is a vastly heavier burden than was the war indemnity imposed by Germany on France in 1871. The economic effect of our mode of administering India typifies and necessitates a continual exploitation of the resources of the country by a mighty conqueror, and is worse than the campaign of Mahmoud of Ghazni because it is a campaign which never ceases. Other conquerors of India ravaged and rode away, or settled in the country and identified themselves with the peoples they had overcome. We, on the contrary, as individuals, are mere birds of passage, as conquerors we are as irremovable as the Himalayas. And, it is undeniable that in what we have done in connection with India, British interests have come first, India's interests second—if at all.

Had we acted on the provisions of the famous Act of 1833, famous for its nullity; had we adopted the wise policy which the Marquis of Salisbury (then Lord Cranborne) first enunciated in terms of high statesmanship and then put into practice in the rendition of Mysore nearly forty years ago; and, had we, throughout India, adopted the policy which the present Bishop of Bombay has admirably expressed in the phrase, "Self-government under British Paramountcy," the economic evils of our rule would have been greatly minimised. In such case so much would the country have developed under the rule of native-Indian statesmen, that, as a customer of Britain, the Empire would have been of considerably more value to this industrial nation than it now is, or ever can be in existing conditions. There would have been fewer pensions but more prosperity.

What is now the weight of the burden of the Home Remittances, not more than one tithe of which are really necessary? In answering this question I will not take my own figures of present income. I am content with the estimate of Lord Curzon, accepted and endorsed by Lord George Hamilton. These high authorities say that the average agricultural income per head per annum is Rs.20 (£1 6s. 8d.). Eighty-five per cent. of the 230,000,000 of British Indians—that is, 175,000,000—are connected, more or less remotely, with the land, either as cultivators or indirectly.

That is to say, this enormous number of human beings, on an average, possess an income of less than one penny per day (Rs.20 equals 320 pennies). What does the annual payment of £16,000,000 to the India Office mean to each of these British subjects? It means an impost upon every one of this exceeding great host of twenty-two pence per annum. That is to say, even if the average amount came to each—we know it does not, some have more, many have less;—the Home Remittances, which the India Office views with so much complacency, means between three and four weeks' average supply of food, raiment, and all else which, under British rule, should go to make life comfortable and happy. In other words, the "drain" everywhere mulcts an Indian agriculturist of between one-sixteenth and one-seventeenth of his poor income. Can any form of words, however accurate or blessed, give satisfaction to these hungry and partially-clothed ones? Yet, accuracy in definition is all the India Office appears to be concerned with.

It is true there are the railways, the civilians on service and in retirement, the experienced British troops, the stores "made in England," as assets. But the railways have not been paid for their capital cost, millstone-like, hangs round the neck of India at a needlessly increased charge—(a sinking fund would have paid off the most costly lines at a time when ten to twelve rupees would have sufficed for a sovereign), and Englishmen still occupy the offices and control the policy which capable Indians could well undertake. A wise attitude towards Indians in regard to the occupancy of office in their own country, and eligibility for service in every part of the British Empire, would go far to remove the ills of India. If this were done we should then only be in line with Rome two thousand years ago when the greatest of the ancient world-empires made the conquered foe free of the empire of which his country had been constrained to form a part. Instead of being as wise in this respect as those of old time, the United Kingdom holds India and Indians in subjection, and Greater Britain legislates against British Indians being allowed to visit or trade in its cities or even to navigate ships which touch its shores.

Much is made of the part played by railways in the conveyance of food in time of famine. I go as far as the India Office can wish in this respect: the railways are there, and the best must be made of them. But, I say that the ideal of Lord Salisbury and Bishop McArthur, an India consisting of many Feudatory States under British Paramountcy, with what was good in ancient Indian civilisation preserved, would have prevented that distress which has

made railways seem so beneficial. Famine-stricken regions would, practically, have been unknown, and chronic famine, such as now exists, an impossibility.

Now for the excess exports of the United States. The India Office argument is this: "India does export more than she imports: she has done so, barring a year or two, from the first. But, that cannot mean India is disadvantaged, for the United States' trade shows an excess of exports. No one will say that the land of Mr. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller is on the downward slope. Therefore, India is prosperous." The American excess, however, is a matter of recent years only. It began in 1874, and, with two years' exception, has since been continuous. Are the States satisfied with this state of things? On the contrary, they are doing all they can to destroy the inequality. Mr. O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, Washington, shows how the excess is made up in these words:—

"During the period immediately following our Civil War great internal development of our railways and manufacturing occurred. Much foreign capital was brought into the United States for use in this development, and during that time and in subsequent years railroad and other securities were largely marketed abroad. The commercial results of this development of railways and manufacturing establishments, including the opening of new fields of production, was an enormous increase in the exportations and a disposition to relatively decrease the importations because the development of manufactures was making it practicable to produce at home from our own materials much which was formerly brought in from abroad. Thus the great business development of the years 1870 to 1890 had a tendency to stimulate production and exportation, but discouraged importation, and, as a consequence, exports exceeded imports in a constantly increasing ratio. The fact, however, that large sums had been borrowed abroad for the internal developments above alluded to required payments of large sums for the annual interest charges, and thus absorbed a part of the proceeds of the surplus exports. The earnings of foreign capital invested in great enterprises in this country, other than that obtained by the sale of bonds or by direct loans, also require considerable sums for the payment of the dividends and profits of the enterprises in which it was invested. The further fact that internal commerce and investments in internal developments were extremely profitable, reduced and temporarily suspended ship-building in the United States, and, as a consequence, the increasing traffic came to be carried more and more in foreign ships, and the payment of the freights thereon, especially the freights upon imports, again absorbed a large additional amount of the proceeds of the excess of exports.

“ Another factor to be considered is that of the money expended by Americans travelling abroad who usually take their funds in the form of letters of credit, and draw from time to time for such sums as they require, and this of course proves an offset to that extent against the balance which would otherwise be returned to the United States in the form of cash.

“ Until recently these four great factors—(1) the payment of interest on American securities held abroad; (2) the payment of earnings of foreign capital invested in business enterprises in the United States; (3) the payment of freights carried in foreign vessels, especially freights on goods imported into the United States; and (4) the expenditures of Americans travelling abroad, have been considered the chief cause of the fact that the exportations of merchandise so much exceeded the combined importations of merchandise, species, and bullion. Within the last two or three years, however, three further factors have apparently been added—(1) the cancellation of American indebtedness abroad, including a return to the United States of the railroad and other securities thus held; (2) the sale of foreign securities in the United States, such as the German, British, and Russian securities which were placed upon the markets here during the last year, and in most cases very rapidly and quickly taken to the amount of probably \$100,000,000 in the year, and (3) the credits which now stand abroad in favour of our exporters, and which are permitted to so stand because better interest rates could thus be realised than by insisting upon their immediate payment.

“ The sums of money represented by these various factors which presumably about equal the excess of exports over imports have been variously estimated, and up to the present time no means of obtaining more than estimates have been devised. These estimates usually put the amount paid to foreign vessels as freights on imports at about \$50,000,000, interest on, and earnings of foreign capital, \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000; money expended abroad by Americans, \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000; American funds invested in foreign securities in 1900, about \$100,000,000; and credits permitted to stand abroad in 1899 and 1900, each \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000; to which must be added the amount of our foreign indebtedness actually cancelled by the return of securities for which no definite estimate has, so far as I am aware, been made.

“ The United States is rapidly increasing her production, especially of minerals and of manufactures for exportation, while the rapid development of our manufacturing industries steadily reduces the relative importations of manufactured goods, though the raw materials required for our manufactures, especially those of a tropical and sub-tropical nature which we cannot produce at home, are constantly increasing, as are also the tropical food-stuffs of which we do not produce a sufficient quantity to meet our own requirements.”

Mr. Austin adds that the fact that America is rapidly becoming a creditor instead of a debtor nation will reduce to a minimum, and eventually wipe out, the annual balance for payment of interest on American securities held abroad, and finally for the liquidation of those securities. He adds :—

“ To this extent the absorption of our favourable balance of trade will be rapidly reduced, while the present disposition to encourage the re-establishment of our shipping industry in a sufficient volume to carry our growing commerce seems to justify the expectation that this drain upon our surplus may be at least somewhat reduced in the near future. Our foreign credits, as above alluded to, have increased largely during the last few years, and foreign obligations have been taken by investors in the United States in large sums ; but it seems at least probable that two of the factors which absorbed a considerable share of the favourable balance, namely, the payment of interest and indebtedness abroad, and payment of freights to foreign vessels, will within a comparatively short time be materially reduced, and thus require a settlement with specie and bullion of a larger proportion of the trade balance than has been the case in former years.”

There is nothing whatever comparable with this in British India. A precisely opposite condition of things exists. Indebtedness is increasing, Indian shipping has nearly vanished from Eastern seas, and impoverishment of all save the foreigner and the Indians associated with the foreigner and his works is proceeding apace.

What the India Office claims as the beneficial effect of British rule in India I largely concede. The India of internal strife has become a peaceful India ; the civil administration has many good points in its favour, but it would have ensured better justice than is now furnished had the village tribunals been maintained and had occidental courts not been so freely established. Peace and justice could be maintained, and must be maintained, at inconsiderable cost compared with present expenditure, else India will sink under the burden she now staggeringly bears. It is declared, by the official apologist in the article in *The Times* of February 3, that “ the outlay incurred has a direct economic equivalent.” I have written to little purpose if I have not demonstrated above that ADEQUATE “ economic equivalent ” is wanting, and that the adoption of other and more unselfish means than have marked our action in India would have given the Indian people and ourselves a vastly larger “ economic equivalent ” with little or no suffering in India, and with increased prosperity to the manufacturers of Britain. That is the ideal of the (unhappily small) school in which I am a humble teacher,—a Re-

generated and Prosperous India in alliance with Britain. The interests of the two countries are intimately intertwined. The most elemental principles of selfishness would counsel a wise and conciliatory treatment of the distressful country we rule.

One of the most specific of the questions which officialdom asks of the outsider is this :—

“ Can ‘ the drain ’ be got rid of by any legitimate means, and, if so, how ? ” Previously, “ Your Correspondent ” had said :—“ It is characteristic of the critics that they suggest no means for getting rid of ‘ the drain. ’ ” That is not true.

In general outline above, I have indicated how the drain might have been avoided. I will now show how it may be got rid of. Before, however, doing so, I must ask your readers’ observation of this *ad misericordiam* appeal for “ light and leading ” from critics for whom the administrators profess naught but scorn. It is a refreshing exhibition which, I hope, will be matched by equal readiness to profit by the teaching we are ready to give to those who thus publicly confess their own helplessness.

How would the critics get rid of the drain ? I may speak for myself only, and, wishing it to be understood that at the back of each of the following propositions I have details which, acted upon, would, in my opinion, ensure the realisation of that which the propositions indicate, I answer the enquiry thus :—

1. By the abolition of the existing system of rule by Presidency and by Province, and by the constitution, in their stead, of Indian-ruled Provinces, none so large as to be unwieldy, and the change to be completely arranged and carried out within ten years—existing civilians to have the opportunity of working under the new conditions or of retiring on a modified pension, whilst any additions to the Imperial Civil Service to be subject to acquiescence in the details of the new condition of affairs when worked out. (This is Lord Salisbury’s ideal and the Bishop of Bombay’s ideal thoroughly realised and made effective.)

2. By the adoption of a system of national finance which, under its new conditions, even impoverished India could initiate; with some assistance from England, the railways could be acquired by the State as completely as are the Irrigation Works. More, this system would permit of a development of industrial conditions which, as they came into operation, would go far towards building India’s future on a stable basis.

3. By making use of modern science to provide fertilizers for the

now over-cropped and manure-starved fields of India, as a consequence of which the late Sir James Caird's anticipations of increased yield should be fully realised and, may be, doubled or trebled. Following from this, a much higher land tax could be levied than is now paid, the cultivator meanwhile becoming well-to-do, where now his poverty cries to Heaven for remedy, and that prosperity which thirty millions of agriculturists enjoy be made common to the whole one hundred and seventy-five millions.

4. By spending, from Indian revenues (not £1 to be borrowed from England), as much upon irrigation during the next twenty years as has been expended upon railways since 1880, and thus give effect to the wise recommendations of that first of the Great Famine Commissions—Irrigation to have the **FIRST PLACE**—which, I repeat, no one has done so much to render of little practical effect as the present Secretary of State for India.

5. The organisation of a system of agricultural credit, from which no group of villages should be excluded, in which the huge and monstrous growth of money-lending and money-lenders which "our system" (*vide* S. S. Thorburn, *when* his Report on Indebtedness in the Panjab is permitted to see the light) has created should be absorbed and worked to beneficial ends.

[The carrying out of items 2 to 5 would get rid of the following evils from which India is suffering:—

- a. Over-assessment by the State on assessments seldom or never realised;
- b. The practical enslavement of the peasantry through debt to the ubiquitous money-lender;
- c. The dangerous and increasing disappearance of accumulation of surplus food among cultivators and of money savings among other classes;
- d. The heavy drain caused by large and increasing remittances to England; and
- e. The excessive cost of a needlessly large army, used for Imperial purposes—such use to be paid for by the whole British Empire.]

6. The fixing of the central policy of Indian rule in India instead of in England. Lord Beaconsfield's famous remark that the key of India was kept in London should become obsolete or at least be profoundly modified. The policy it only too correctly described has had its day, with consequences which, from every district in India, cry aloud for its abolition.

7. A complete sweeping away of all distinctions between Eng-

lishmen and Indians whereby, absolutely in all respects for India and so far as might be for all other parts of the British Empire, EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY be established, so that for any and every office under the Crown for which Englishmen, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, are eligible, Indians shall become equally eligible—capacity being exhibited by, and character being satisfactory in, each and all alike. What is good for the cricket field and a Ranjit Singhji is, other things being equal and in appropriate measure, good for the Senate House, for the Department, and for the Army.

In the above propositions, each of which represents a definite scheme carefully thought out, but not yet in a form for publication, I answer the question: "Do they" (*i.e.*, the critics of British rule in India) "desire that India should be freed from British rule?" The first book I wrote, after my eyes were opened to the consequences of our system of administration, had for its title: "India for the Indians—and for England." From the position which that title indicates I have never swerved since, in 1885, I put forward my views in that book. I make my strong protest against any one, and especially against an official, presuming to insinuate that a critic of British administration is necessarily hostile to the continuance of British rule—reformed and profited by the experience of the past. In view of the condition of things in India a little humility on every Briton's part would not be unbecoming, while humility and penitence and a prayer for pardon because of the ill they have done and permitted, are absolutely essential in every official.

I have, Sir, answered all the questions put to me by "Your Correspondent," save one. Had I cared to be punctilious, the situation would have been reversed. I should have asked the questions; it would have been for "Your Correspondent," with all the stores of information available to him, to answer them. It is not I who am on my trial. It is the India Office which stands at the bar of public opinion charged with having misused its great and unique opportunities in India, and of having permitted the greatest country in the British Empire to become the home of chronic famine-strickenness. The issues, however, are too important to permit of my standing on form or ceremony. And, it is in no spirit of contention that I decline to answer the remaining question put by "Your Correspondent." He asks me to give the data on which my estimate of twopence per head per day for 1850 was based. I am quite prepared to do this if he, on his part, will give me the

data on which Lord Cromer and Sir David Barbour, in 1882, based the official estimate of an all-round income of Rs.27 per annum. He can make the exchange publicly or privately, as he chooses. I take this stand, Sir, because that data is of value for comparative purposes; it is necessary if one is to judge as to the trustworthiness of the Curzon-Hamilton estimate for agriculturists of Rs.20 per head per annum in 1901 (or, rather the Curzon estimate adopted, without inquiry, by the Secretary of State). I am greatly in earnest in my desire that this information should, in the interests of our fellow-subjects in India, be available to all who care to study Indian conditions. Will *The Times* use its powerful influence to secure this public information for public use?

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

WM. DIGBY.

February 16, 1902.

As bearing upon the question discussed on pp. 19 to 25, the following particulars are of special interest:—

The report on the Government crop experiments were carried out in 1899-1901, by Mr. P. R. Mehta, Acting Deputy Director of Agriculture. During 1899-1900 experiments were conducted in four districts—Satara, Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar. Elsewhere no tests of any kind were carried out, as the crops either failed or were expected to yield much below the normal outturn and the sub-divisional officers were fully engaged in dealing with the famine. In several districts in 1901 also no reports were made, and in some cases the officers were prevented from carrying out their full programme owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the crops. Thus whereas in 1898-99 practically a hundred tests were made, the number in the years 1899-1900 and 1900-1901 taken together only amounted to 95. The object of the experiments is, of course, to determine the productive capacity of the land with a view to equitable assessment. Twenty-two experiments were reported from Gujerat and of these 12 are from Surat and the remainder from Ahmedabad, Kaira, and Broach. The incidence of the assessment in this province was found in certain districts to be as high as 46 per cent. of the value of the produce, the general average amounting to 14.37 per cent. The average value of the produce per acre comes to Rs.24-9-4, and the average assessment is thus Rs 2-14-5. From the Deccan, where 15 tests were undertaken, the incidence of assessment was found to vary between 31 per cent. and 2 per cent., the general average being 5.41.
—*Bombay Gazette*, 15 February, 1902.

(39)

[From THE TIMES, March 3, 1902.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES

Sir,—

THE Official Defence of Indian Administration and a Challenge to a particular critic were to have appeared here. Republication has been refused by the writer, and the matter has been omitted. Instead of "blacking-out," after the Russian Censor's manner, I have "blanked out" what I am not permitted to publish—
WM. D.

I am, etc.,

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

THE CRITICS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—With the few lines which follow my controversy with "Your Correspondent" (in your columns at least) is closed. His letter in to-day's *Times* demands a few remarks from me.

1. The income of 1850. When I wrote my book, and, until a fortnight ago, the estimate of the average daily income for 1850 was my own, the data being obtained from various sources, chiefly official. Within the past fortnight, I have found in the Indian Blue-books figures which show that my estimate ought to have been higher. I repeat: When I receive the 1882 *data* I will direct "Your Correspondent's" attention to his own Blue-books where he will learn for himself the fact I have stated. The Cromer-Barbour *data* are public property, and "Your Correspondent" is acting contrary to the national interests in withholding them.

2. In estimating the agricultural income of India, I have *not* taken Mr. Dutt's figures. I used those in my Open Letter to Lord Curzon eighteen months ago. For my latest estimate I used official figures in every case, as "Your Correspondent" would know if he had read my book with the slightest attention. The Panjab and Madras figures showing 25 and 30 per cent. of gross produce may be twenty-five years old, but some of the settlements based on them are in existence to-day. New settlements have not reduced the proportions of the old settlements. In most cases they have increased them.

3. The justification of my statement that the "drain" from India is represented by a sum of £5,000,000,000 is found in the seventh issue of "Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India." To "Your Correspondent" the amount may be a subject for joking, it may be "grotesque": to many millions of British subjects it has meant starvation, and to many millions more much preventible suffering.

4. On "the drain," as well as my suggested remedies, "Your Correspondent" and others will find full particulars in a publication to be issued next week. It is not my fault, but the exigencies of space in your columns, which prevented my full statements appearing in *The Times*. You, Sir, had my full statement, and could not give it space

Finally, may I ask "Your Correspondent," before he again

enters into controversy, to be content with argument, and to eschew the calling of names? When he has said all that he can say, depreciatory of myself, it still remains true as it was true when Sir Charles Elliott first made the statement: "Half the agricultural population of India do not know what it is from year's end to year's end to have their hunger fully satisfied."

Yours faithfully,

WM. DIGBY.

March 3rd, 1902.

[From THE LONDON CORRESPONDENCE of THE AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA, of Calcutta, and THE HINDU, of Madras.]

LONDON, January 24, 1902

THE WONDERFUL STATISTICS SUPPLIED TO LORD CURZON.

I.—THE YIELD PER ACRE OF FOOD GRAINS.

Much water has flown down the Hooghly channel into the Bay of Bengal since I troubled the readers of this Letter with any disquisition on Indian economics. The occasion has arrived for me, once more, I think, to refer to this subject. On this occasion I wish to show how unsound are the statistics which are furnished by his assistants to the Viceroy for his public speeches and dispatches, and to what wrong conclusions the use of those statistics leads. Because of the facts I purpose laying before my readers, I consider I am justified in asking the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy himself to the contradiction involved in some statements he has made and also to beg his attention to the near approach of his average income figures to those which, in another quarter, I have submitted to criticism, and which, though they have been examined in many quarters and by many able men, have not, in a single instance, to this time of my writing, been overthrown.

Almost the last words of His Excellency on the 27th of March last, in closing the debate on Sir Edward Law's first Budget, are contained in this important paragraph:—

“There is one point, however, in these calculations where we are upon very firm ground. In 1880 there were only 194 millions of acres under cultivation in India. There are now 217 millions, or an increase in virtually the same ratio as the increase in population. This alone would tend to show that there can have been no diminution of agricultural income per head of the people. The case for increase results from the increased standards of yield between 1880 and 1898. Perhaps the earlier estimates were too low. That I cannot say. The fact remains that the 1880 figures showed a yield per acre of food crops in British India of 730 lbs.; those of 1898 show a yield of 840 lbs. In some cases this will be due to improved cultivation, perhaps more frequently to extended irrigation. They are satisfactory so far as they go, for they show

that the agricultural problem has not yet got the better of our rapidly increasing population."

In 1880, when the estimate was made which rendered this comparison possible, Upper Burma was not a Province of the Empire, and the statistics of Lower Burma were a-wanting. The relevancy of this observation will shortly be seen.

Upon the statement I have quoted I have to remark :—

First. According to the table on page 50, paragraph 156, of the Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part 1, 1880, which is the source of the Viceregal observation, the average yield per acre of the 161,150,000 acres which formed the food-crop area was not 730 lbs. but 695 lbs., a difference of 35 lbs. per acre. His Excellency has the reference. A simple sum in multiplication and division will serve to show if my figures are correctly deduced.

Second. The tables on page 357, paragraph 587, of the Report of the Famine Commission of 1897-8, which is the authority for the Viceroy's statement concerning 1898, call for comment. His Excellency should not need to be reminded, seeing that those who prepare his figures for public use ought to have brought the fact to his attention, and I assume did so, that these estimates are only estimates *pour rire*. They were furnished to the Famine Commissioners by the respective Local Governments in 1897-8, and the Commissioners turned them into objects of contemptuous scorn. Here are some of the red-hot shots which riddled the estimates in such a way that they ought never to have been afloat when the Viceroy of India was seeking for trustworthy craft, by the excellent salling of which he sought to assure the public in a most important respect. The Commissioners, on page 358, say :—

" The Bengal returns are particularly unreliable.

" On the whole we are disposed to think that in the figures supplied to us by Local Governments the normal surplus in most cases is placed too high, as the exports from India and Burma by sea for a series of years, and the tendency of prices to rise, indicate the existence of a much smaller margin."

" The surplus of 3,306,300 tons returned for the Province of Bengal appears to us to be greatly in excess of the reality, and the Local Government takes the same view. The average annual export from Bengal during the five years preceding the famine was only 305,000 tons, or one-tenth only of the quantity estimated from other data to be the surplus."

" The Bombay return also appears to be far too high."

" The Burma annual surplus has been pitched too high."

It was on figures, stated in the plainest terms, to be "particu-

larly unreliable," "far too high," "surplus been pitched too high," that the Viceroy, first, stating that he was on "very firm ground," and the Secretary of State, most faithfully, in the House of Commons, afterwards, declared the average yield of produce to have risen, since 1880, by 145 lbs. per acre! "Very firm ground!" Say, rather, a quaking bog, an untrustworthy foundation.

Let me go a little further into this point. The figures of the '97-8 Commissioners, examined in detail, reveal some strange notions concerning the duty of governing authorities in putting forward estimates for information and guidance. Bengal is above the 840 lbs. average, but "the Bengal returns are particularly unreliable." Madras is near to the average, but the Madras Board of Revenue scoffs at the work of its own subordinates. The Burma figures are "pitched too high." As for the Coorg returns, a quotation later will show how they are obtained.

On working out the figures province by province I find these results:—

Province	lbs per acre.
Punjab	627
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	764
Bengal	1081
Central Provinces	480
Berar	705
Bombay (including Sind)	587
Madras	831
Burma, Lower	1536
„ Upper	1536
Assam	785
Coorg	1000
Ajmere-Merwara	525
All India	845

These statements are exaggerated in so far that they represent the normal crop, assuming that drought, or inundation, or rats, or wild animals, or insects, do not either prevent crops growing or destroy them after they have grown. And, taking out the two Burmas, there is nothing, even in the admittedly inflated and inaccurate statements, to justify the out-turn so confidently affirmed in Council Chamber and House of Commons. It will be a great service to the Empire if his Excellency will get the right figures for the forthcoming debate on Sir Edward Law's second Financial Statement.

For, what he says in Calcutta in March is echoed in L August.

Those who have spent their period of Indian residence wholly in the agricultural districts declare to me that the description of things in my book "‘Prosperous’ British India" seems to them much more like the India they know than the glowing oratorical pæans of prosperity so frequently expressed from high quarters. Further, the figures I give in my book of the actual out-turn of wheat and the like are recognised by the practical agriculturist as more nearly the mark than the stated official average yield. I have figures before me of actual yield on a typical holding of, say, 12 unirrigated acres in Central India. These show —

Juar	...	..	570	lbs. per acre.
Til	...	...	320	" "
Kodon	..	...	420	" "
Gram	...	...	550	" "
Wheat	..	...	600	" "

For dal and maize details are wanting. Soma, Kutki, Kangul, can often be sown on odd corners, and give large results for early autumn food. These, however, do not appreciably affect the out-turn; they are but casual, and are subject to adventitious circumstances.

2.—THE DAILY AVERAGE INCOME IN INDIA.

If a Royal Commission were sitting to enquire into Indian affairs, and I were called upon to justify my statements as to the average income in India, two of my authorities would be Lord Curzon and Lord George Hamilton. In the speech of the Viceroy, from which I have already quoted (delivered on March 27, 1901), I find his Excellency remarking:—

“The calculations of 1880 showed an average agricultural income of Rs.18 per head. If I take the figures of the recent census for the same area as was covered by the earlier computation, which amount to 223 millions, I find that the agricultural income has actually increased, notwithstanding the growth in the population and the increasingly stationary tendency of that part of the national income which is derived from agriculture; and that the average per head is Rs.20, or Rs.2 higher than in 1880.”

To which the Secretary of State simply said:—“Ditto to Mr. Burke,” so I need not stop to quote the noble lord’s words. Both agree in saying that, for the agriculturists, who form 85 per cent. of the population of the Empire, there is an annual revenue of

Rs.20 per head. Further, we are told that that is 2s. 8d. (Rs.2) higher, than was the amount available in 1880. Let us look at this latter point first.

Rs.18 in 1880 at Rs.12 per £ sterling, equalled ...	£1	10	0
Rs.20 in 1900 at Rs.15 per £ sterling, equals ...	£1	6	8
Falling off		3	4

This is a reduction of one-seventh in the annual income, that is to say over seven-and-a-half weeks' income, and is aggravated by the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee is greatly reduced. Reckon that in, and the loss is much greater than the statement shows.

Then, as to my estimate of average income, taking in all sources, of £1 2s. 8d. for the whole of India, an estimate which has been ridiculed, let me show that so far as the eighty-five agriculturists out of every hundred persons in the population are concerned, when the amount is reduced to annas (or pence) there is not so much difference between the great men and their humble critic. First the annual income :—

<p style="text-align: center;">DIGBY.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Average for all India</i> Rs 17. (£1 2s. 8d)</p>	}	<p style="text-align: center;">VICEROY AND SECRETARY OF STATE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Average for Cultivators.</i> Rs. 20 (£1 6s. 8d)</p>
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The difference is Rs. 3 (4s.), or one-sixth and two-thirds.

Next, the daily income. Reduce the respective sums to pence (or annas), and you have :—

<p style="text-align: center;">DIGBY.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">272d per annum or three farthings per day.</p>	}	<p style="text-align: center;">VICEROY AND SECRETARY OF STATE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">320d. per annum or seven-eighths of one penny per day.</p>
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The difference, therefore, between the critic and the great rulers is only one-eighth of one penny. That difference, I make bold to say, would disappear if the Viceroy and the Secretary of State were to cease to depend upon the estimated yield, which is made up of guesses from sample plots, and were to rely upon the actual area cultivated and the quantity of grain which is reaped. Of the figures concerning the too few latter details published in one of the two biggest Blue-books annually issued in India there is a significant statement. "In all cases" it is said that these "final estimates" are more or less approximate, though on the whole "reasonably accurate." Now, if the authorities, in making their calculations, would follow these "reasonably accurate" final es-

timates, estimates made when the crop is beyond risk of destruction save on the threshing floor, there would be only minute fractions of a fraction of difference between the eminent men I have mentioned and my humble self,—if, indeed, there would be any difference at all, except that it might be worse than I have stated. There would be more sense in following this course than in adopting the plot experiments which, themselves conceived in error, cannot but give birth to monstrosities such as the student of Indian economics is only too familiar with, and from which he shrinks with sorrow and indignation. I take (from page xxvii of No. Sixteen of the Agricultural Statistics of British India) the paragraph which first catches my eye. It happens to be that of Madras, and this is what is said :—

“MADRAS.—The number of experiments was small, 291 in all, and the results were stated without district averages. The yields of the various crops, as indicated by these experiments, exhibit such extraordinary discrepancies in the same district or in equally fertile tracts, that it would be misleading to strike an average of the results. The Board of Revenue remarks in regard to the experiments: ‘Any calculations based upon results so divergent as these cannot fail to be misleading; and until further experiments, conducted in a uniform manner by a trained trustworthy establishment, which can devote its whole attention to the work, have demonstrated more clearly the true outturn of each variety of soil, the Board would prefer to adhere to the figures already recorded by the Settlement Department, below the mark as they are believed to be in many cases’; and again: ‘The Board has refrained from framing any district average outturn based on such wholly inadequate data, and would deprecate any deduction being drawn from the figures it now furnishes.’”

Wise caution from the most conservative bit of bureaucracy in all India. The advice, however, good though it be, seems to have been disregarded, and averages are still adopted with a courage and a desperateness worthy of a better cause.

Here, too, in the next succeeding paragraph is a pretty statement for a great Department to make :—

“COORG.—The experiments were limited to rice. The estimated yield of 1364 lbs. an acre for unirrigated land is higher than for any other province” [the writer of this had not seen the huge Burma figures], “but some of the fields experimented on were watered by channels from small mountain streams, and were thus virtually irrigated.”

The unconscious satire in this expression is scathing, the more scathing because the commentator did not intend to be sarcastic.

Land "watered by channels from small mountain streams" is experimented upon, and its yield reported as the yield of unirrigated lands! My Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in the course of your distinguished career, you must have met, in uncriticised official circles, with many incidents of a startling kind, but, I ask, did your Excellency ever come into contact with so naive and so misleading a record as this?

I stay my hand for to-day. If the indignant, scornful, facetious, sceptical, derisive, pitying, critics of my studies of Indian economics—(and I have reviews from India which may rank under each of these descriptions),—would turn their attention to the Augean stable of Indian statistical information, and see to the proper cleansing of them, they would afford a few people (myself amongst them) less amusement than they do at present, but they would do the State some service. I am content to-day with showing that "terrible" as may be the deductions which my book contains, and "terrible" is the word rightly applied to them, I have, as fellow-sinners with me, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and the Secretary of State for India. When next I am put in the pillory to be pelted with all sorts of scornful phrases, *e.g.*, "a green-eyed Little Englander," it will be only fair to put up pillories for three persons, and place on either side of me one of the eminent men I have mentioned, for they with their seven-eighths of a penny of agricultural income per day, based on estimates, are not far from me with my three-farthings reckoned, so far as may be, on actual investigation. It is merely those delusive crop experiments which prevent our being exactly on one and the same level, and to be honoured or dishonoured alike as the circumstances may dictate.

“ A STATISTICAL REVIEW OF THE
INCOME AND WEALTH OF
BRITISH INDIA.”

*Some BRIEF OBSERVATIONS by MR. WM. DIGBY, C.I.E.,
on a Paper by FRED. J. ATKINSON, Deputy-Accountant-
General, Bengal, read at a Meeting of the Royal Statistical
Society, London, on February 18, 1902, MR. J. T.
BROUGHTON, in the unavoidable absence of the RIGHT
HON. LORD AVEBURY, President, in the Chair.*

By the courtesy of this honourable Society I am permitted to make some observations on the Paper submitted by Mr. Atkinson. The fact that certain comments of my own eighteen months ago led the Viceroy of India to deal with the subject of the condition of India in a speech delivered by him in March last year to the Viceregal Council at Calcutta, and that I have since written a book upon this subject, may give me some justification for the remarks I presume to make. Of the framework and general arrangement of the Paper I do not think too much can be said by way of praise. Mr. Atkinson's long and useful service in the Accounts Department of India has made him a master of the art of admirably presenting a series of important financial statements. In parts, his Paper is of great value, though whether, in the section dealing with the gold of India in past ages, he tells all there is to be told, is more than doubtful. While praising, unfeignedly and with full appreciation, the form in which Mr. Atkinson has prepared his Paper, I much regret that I cannot say like things of its contents. I the more regret this, as Mr. Atkinson is not present to defend his own mode of treatment, for which no doubt he has not a little to say. But, much as I desire not to say anything which would give pain to Mr. Atkinson, in this arena and before this Society, the actual facts, so far as erring mortals can ascertain them, is what alone must concern us. My remarks are not intended to do aught save to help to ascertain, so far as my own studies have fitted me to do so, what really is the condition of our fellow-subjects in India. And,

as the matter needs exactitude of treatment I have put the few observations I have to make in writing.

In his earlier paragraphs, Mr. Atkinson, referring to my controversy with Lord Curzon, and alluding specifically to the area under cultivation, says that in my calculation I omitted the second crop which is sometimes grown in India. It is quite true that I did so, because I was accommodating myself to Lord Curzon's phraseology. The area under cultivation alone was the subject of comparison. The inclusion of second crops was not mentioned by the Viceroy, and is now, for the first time, introduced into the argument. If it is to be accepted as germane to the argument, the area second cropped in 1880 must also be given. I do not object to the alteration.

Mr. Atkinson's stated object is to deal with the "actual facts of the case," in regard to the great and most important subject under discussion. For the purposes of his inquiry, he says, he takes two years, 1875 and 1895, at fairly long intervals apart, because they are non-famine years. This is an utterly fallacious principle, as it involves the ignoring of all the terrible losses occasioned by famine, and the fact that famine, through high prices and a rapidly growing poverty, is now chronic in India. Further, it takes no account of the circumstance that the most recent series of famines must have cost the people of India £300,000,000.

Incidentally, it may be noted that the poorer classes of India are described as numbering 97.6 per cent. of the population, leaving for the well-to-do folk only 2.4 per cent.

Everything in the Paper now before the Society turns on the agricultural figures which are submitted. Agriculture is the one industry of India; all other sources of income are comparatively unimportant, and depend upon agriculture for their sustenance, save and except the English enterprises on hill-side and in factory. Their market is outside India, and is, therefore, sure. The yield per acre of the cultivated land in India is the determining factor of the problem.

If it should happen that Mr. Atkinson, in this respect, has adopted a mode of calculation which is unsound and untrustworthy his whole argument goes by the board. Though not ignoring other matters I will devote most attention to this point.

The small table on slip 4 is the kernel of Mr. Atkinson's contentions. Let us examine it.

First: It does not correctly state the figures it professes to quote. Page 364, Sixteenth Issue of the Agricultural Statistics of

British India, is the authority on which Mr. Atkinson depends. For the Central Provinces, he gives 1,200 lbs. of rice as produced on irrigated land, 711 lbs. on non-irrigated; page 364 shows 670 lbs. for both irrigated and non-irrigated. He quotes for Bombay, where, as also is the case with the Central Provinces, very little rice is cultivated, the impossible average of 1,230 lbs. from non-irrigated, when even Burma irrigated—Burma, the Land of Goschen, for rice growing—shows only 1,054 lbs. On slip 5, he omits the figures for Bombay and the Punjab as “inaccurate and exaggerated.” It is a pity he put them forward at all.

It is not quite clear how Mr. Atkinson arrived at the averages for nine crops of 849 lbs. on irrigated land, and 553 lbs. on non-irrigated land, which he mentions on slip 5, paragraph 2; he seems to have added up these averages and divided them by 9, without taking into account the respective number of acres there were at, say, 500 lbs. to the acre, and how many (if any) at, say, 900 lbs. per acre—a most unscientific and untrustworthy principle, for the quantities at the respective rates are of the very essence of the argument. At this point let me remark how diverse are the statements about one and the same thing which emanate from the India Office. In the latest number of the Statistical Abstract, pp. 174-175, the returns from so many millions of acres irrigated and non-irrigated lumped together, of rice and wheat, are given at 756 lbs. and 667 lbs. to the acre respectively.

Whence, however, came the figures which even to Mr. Atkinson seemed so absurd that he discarded the best of them? They are founded upon experiments in cultivation made by Government officials on selected plots of land, in circumstances which the average ryot cannot possibly secure, and then the whole area of what are supposed to be similar classes of soil are estimated by this hot-house cultivation, if I may so call it, and rates are levied accordingly, while production is declared to be the sample multiplied so many hundreds of thousands of times.

The absolute worthlessness of such estimates for purposes of calculation are nowhere so strongly demonstrated as in the very Blue-Book to which Mr. Atkinson had recourse. The section upon which he depended, which immediately precedes that giving “Average yield of crops,” to which alone he refers, deals with estimates as near to actual weighings and measurings as it is possible to take them. What is called a “final estimate” is made when the crops have so far progressed that failure is unlikely, if not impossible. These statistics are declared to be “on the whole reasonably ac-

curate." An analysis of them makes Mr. Atkinson's figures ridiculous, as well as worthless. I will give only one example out of a score, but, I may state, it is the worst, the cumulative force of all—without exception all, for the estimated average is never reached over a series of years—the particulars given destroy any value there might have been in his calculations. The page of authority on which Mr. Atkinson relies gives the average of wheat production in Berar at 754 lbs. per acre. For the nine years 1891-92 to 1899-1900 the average was under 156 lbs. The highest quantity garnered was in 1893-94, and was 222 lbs. instead of 754 lbs. So says p. 355. If Mr. Atkinson had stopped at the Twelfth series of Tables, of the existence of which he gives no sign, instead of going to the Thirteenth, he would never have written this Paper. Whatever prejudice may, or may not, attach to the particular number of thirteen, it has been an unlucky number to Mr. Atkinson on this occasion.

I merely indicate the unsoundness of the calculations laid before the Society. It would need a Paper as long as Mr. Atkinson's to show page by page what the real state of the case is, as compared with his fancy statistics. "Fancy statistics!" That is a hard expression to use concerning so painstaking a Paper, or, indeed, concerning any Paper presented to this Society, and considered by its Council worthy of presentation to the Fellows. Were not human lives at stake, and the very principles of the incidence of taxation in India in the crucible, I would not use such a term.

"Fancy statistics!" Yes, and none other, for Mr. Atkinson takes the untrustworthy estimates, assumes that full crops are reaped from all the fields every year, and then (on slip 5) declares there is available, after export is allowed for, 1,739 lbs. per head per annum in 1895, against 1,701 lbs. in 1875. Apart from other errors, Mr. Atkinson has altogether overlooked the quantity which needs to be allowed for seed, cattle food, and wastage, estimated in 1898 by the Famine Commissioners at—

Seed	4,213,173 tons.
Cattle Food	3,199,310 "
Wastage	3,054,690 "
Total	10,467,173 "

Or, one-seventh of the whole estimated production as given by the Commissioners, and one-sixth, as given by Mr. Atkinson.

On the same slip, No. 5, last paragraph but one, "Value of Production" is dealt with, and the misleading phrase, "The agricul-

turists of India obtain such and such sums of money for their crops, is used. Prices are very much higher now than they were in 1875, to the consequent misery of many millions of people, and Mr. Atkinson assumes, as a matter of fact, the agriculturist sells at the higher price and pockets the difference. 'That there may be more difficulty and more expenditure in growing the crop now does not appear to have occurred to him.' As a matter of fact, labourers' wages, village services, temple dues, in many cases—to say nothing of the money-lender who recoups himself for advances at harvest rates—are all paid in kind and largely irrespective of price. Mr. Atkinson gives a figure of value for 1895 which, turned into English currency, represents £359,561,475. That sum, when allowance is made for all the circumstances which have to be taken into account, every one of which he has omitted, is probably twice as high as it should be. If halved, one moiety would be £179,780,737, which is only £4,000,000 more than my own estimate made Province by Province a few months ago with such particulars as to actual yield before me as were available. The importance of exactitude, or, at least, an avoidance of exaggeration, in such matters will be recognised if their connection with taxation be considered. Rs.2 *per capita* out of Rs.36 is a very different thing to the payee from Rs.2 out of Rs 18. That is why I so strongly insist on the unsound and altogether untrustworthy character of such a statement as this, which is put forward by an official, if not officially promulgated. Coming from a Deputy Accountant-General, the statements in this Paper ordinarily would be, as they ought to be, regarded as beyond peradventure.

The sum of it all, so far as agriculturists are concerned, is that Mr. Atkinson leaves the Secretary of State and the Viceroy limping far behind him. They are happy in being able to state that the agricultural income is Rs.20 per head per annum. Mr. Atkinson put it Rs 35.9. "Fancy statistics" is too courteous a term for statements which lead to such a conclusion.

Will gentlemen who possess copies of the Paper turn to slip 11? They will there find that in estimating the income of industrials, seventy-nine millions of people in all, Mr. Atkinson says: "It has been assumed that every adult male of 15 and above has been continuously employed, and receiving the estimated wage throughout the year." But, he goes on to say, I haven't counted what the women earn, and, throwing them in and deducting 5 per cent, I have no doubt I have got a fair average! Work for the labourer always in India, less seventeen days in the year! Sir James Caird,

after the experience he had gained as a Revenue Commissioner in India, estimated that twenty millions of adult males were wanting work for a great part of the year throughout India. "The waste of energy," he says, "converted into money value at, say, Rs. 40 per adult per annum, represents a loss of Rs. 800,000,000—more than the whole gross revenue of the Indian Empire." This calculation reduces Mr. Atkinson's estimate by £55,000,000, and, I think, taking other matters into account, rightly reduces it.

Here, again, where Lord Curzon and Lord George Hamilton are happy to take the average income for the whole of India at Rs. 30 per head, Mr. Atkinson puts the Agriculturists and the Industrials together at Rs. 35.2 per head, omitting all the wealthy folk for separate calculation.

Look, if you please, at slip 13, paragraph 2, and note the cool way in which Mr. Atkinson multiplies incomes to suit his notions. The income tax returns show for successful and briefless barristers, for solicitors, vakils, muktears, an income of Rs. 75 per month on the average. This is raised at the rate of 400 per cent. to Rs. 300 per month, because Mr. Atkinson assumes that many have not paid the tax. If he knows enough of defaulters to make a statement such as this, he could, no doubt, in South African parlance, "smell out" the delinquents, and greatly add to the revenues of the Government he serves. With such ability at his command he is wasted in the Accounts Department. Perhaps had the noble President of this Society been here to-night instead of the House of Lords, he would forgive me when, for reasons too obvious to be mentioned, I hesitate to draw attention to the fact that Mr. Atkinson has so little trust in the most honourable profession of banking that he increases the income-tax-shown income of Indian bankers by six hundred per cent., and at this enhanced rate puts their incomes in his reckoning! On slip 14, he is content simply to double the incomes of shopkeepers as deduced from the Returns.

Probably, the most striking, as well as the most condemnatory, passage in this Paper is to be found on slip 22, immediately after the Table dealing with "Hoards and Ornaments," repeating a statement previously made on an earlier slip. "The balance at A," says Mr. Atkinson, "represents the amount in hoards or in the shape of ornaments for the whole of India, and not in British India only, but"—mark this, Fellows of the Statistical Society, the very *raison d'être* of whose corporate existence is scrupulous adherence to accuracy, so far as it can be obtained—"the population of British India is taken in working out the 'per head' figure for the purposes

of comparison." That is to say, the sum used for dividing the total is 222,000,000 instead of 280,000,000. Of course, it is of no importance that the "hoard" of the British subject is thus exaggerated by more than one-quarter.

The same haphazard mode of dealing with the essentials of the great question at stake is observable in every section of the Paper, but it, probably, reaches a climax in Table IX, in the Appendix, slip 31, "Progress in the Wealth of India." Here income is reckoned over and over again; a veritable stage army passes and re-passes before the audience, and is counted as a fresh force every time it appears in sight. The value of production which, on slip 6, is put at Rs 5,393,000,000, in the Table on slip 31 becomes Rs.5,588,000,000. Land Revenue, which is taken from this total, appears as a separate item. So likewise do the agriculturists' consumption of salt, exported food grains, a portion of excise receipts and stamps, all of which are paid for or obtained from the total food production. The registered debt of India, against which there is no asset, is regarded as stored wealth, as is also the railway and irrigation debt, most of which is held in England, whither the dividends are sent, and which never fail to be paid, whatever be the condition of the debtor.

Table XI, on slip 31, contains perhaps more misleading errors than even Table IX. The assets of the Empire are put at £14,854,500,000. Land, the vast proportion of which does not give a decent living to the cultivator, on which millions pass a penurious existence always, and on which hundreds of thousands yearly die of starvation, is valued at 33½ years' purchase, and is recorded as representing, in 1895, a sum of £1,194,000,000! Waste lands are assumed to be worth one-sixth of this sum, namely, £197,000,000. Again: Railways, Telegraphs, Public Works (much of this money is sunk in roads, buildings, etc), are stated at the original capital price, without any deduction for depreciation or for sinking fund. Although this is the balance-sheet of British India, the gold from Mysore, a Feudatory State, is reckoned as an asset worth £38,240,000 to the Power which merely gets what its railway receive as freight in conveying the gold to the sea-board. The opium monopoly is reckoned as worth £112,000,000. If Mr. Atkinson supposes the opium trade with China will continue for thirty years longer, probably, he is alone in his belief.

Finally, I presume to suggest that a Paper based on such untrustworthy information as I have set forth, though I have touched on a few only of the many points inviting criticism, is unworthy of

inclusion in the volumes of a Society, to which students of history and of economics turn with a reasonable expectation that they may, with confidence, use the facts they find there, and not need to go behind the record to investigate for themselves the foundations on which those facts are based. Or, if this Paper be published, a criticism as full as the Paper itself, dealing with every proposition advanced, should be simultaneously printed. Let it not be forgotten that the daily existence of two hundred and thirty one millions of British subjects depends upon our not exaggerating the income and resources of British India. Any exaggeration means undue imposition of taxation, a lessening of effort to make India, as are most of the other parts of the British Empire, a prosperous country. If there be an error, let it be an error of under-, not of over-, estimate. The actual state of things, however, is best. For the rest, Mr. Atkinson's Paper is a model of concise arrangement and well-considered tables. It is beautiful to look at, but, as I have shown, it has no foundation on which to stand. A building as admirable to the eye, if existing anywhere within the radius of the tremors caused by the Twopenny-Tube trains, would, at the first tremor, have collapsed as though it had been a house of cards. This Paper was a house of cards before the eye of the critic looked upon it. Now, I should say, it cumbereth the ground, and ought to be decently buried out of men's sight.

that agitation would produce agitation, and that we should shortly see the country divided into two or more strongly hostile camps, were correct in their surmise. It remains yet to be seen whether, in a country of which the Government is carried on in the conditions imposed upon us in India, it is possible to permit contending parties the same freedom of political action and uncontrolled liberty of organization which in England has, after long centuries and in very different conditions, been but comparatively of late years acquired. But, however this may be, I, at least, saw nothing worthy of grave objection in the method adopted during the first two Congresses, much, on the contrary, that was interesting and new to me. The measures aimed at seemed to me, indeed, not such as would commend themselves much to the people of that part of India with which I am best acquainted; but any objections I personally may have felt, toward them were objections of degree rather than of kind. I thought that the people of these Provinces cared little about the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, and absolutely nothing about Volunteering. But if, on the other hand, it seemed to me that the claim for any considerable system of representation would not be understood or supported by any considerable section here, or suitable to their present state of political development, I was entirely at one with the Congress party in desiring extension on some broader basis than at present obtains, of the Legislative Councils—a measure, for the rest, which had been before the minds of high authorities in this country before the Congress party had been heard of, and is independent of their initiative.

9. With the issue of the Report of the Madras Meeting, I must admit, with the greatest regret, that the sympathy with which I had hitherto looked upon the party received a severe check. In the speech to which I have above referred you say: "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 recognise 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. * * * 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. Veraiaghava Chariar's Congress Catechism and a Conversation between Moulvi Furiduddeen 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.”

10. I wish I could agree with you that in the teachings and preachings and elementary tracts, or in those, at least, with which I have become acquainted, the people are taught to recognize the many benefits they owe to British rule, or the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country ; or that the pamphlets to which you refer are kindly and loyal alike in spirit and in word. I have read carefully and repeatedly through both of them ; and while I find frequent passages, such as those which I will presently quote, holding up the British Government and the English officials in India, to the indignation of the people as unjust, inconsiderate, ill-informed, and reckless of the consequences of their actions, I have failed to find in them a single passage in which the advantages conferred upon India by that rule have been so much as referred to. Here and there some of the officers of the Government in India are given credit, if not for good service rendered, at least for good intentions. But anything that may be said upon this score is far more than obscured by the thickness and depth of the darker shades of the picture. Of the India of to-day, as we know it ; of India under education ; of India compelled, in the interests of the weaker masses, to submit to impartial justice ; of India brought together by road and rail ; of India entering into the first-class commercial markets of the world ; of India of religious toleration ; of India, assured for terms of years unknown in less fortunate Europe, of profound and unbroken peace ; of India of the free Press ; of India, finally, taught for the first time that the end and aim of rule is the welfare of the people and not the personal aggrandisement of the Sovereign,—I fail to find a syllable of recognition. These are the pamphlets which, as we are told in the Preface to the last Congress Report, are circulated in thousands about

the country, and for the substance of these pamphlets the critics of the Congress necessarily hold the leaders of that party responsible. I will quote some of the passages which illustrate the strictures which I have been compelled to make, and which I regard as at one and the same time grievously misrepresenting the British administration in India, and teaching the people to ascribe to it sufferings and wrongs which are nowhere defined or even indicated, but which are over and over again insisted on, without precautions taken, such as candour and prudence dictate, lest ignorant and illiterate men—in other words, lest the great majority of those to whom they purport to be addressed—should be tempted to impute to that administration all that, however hard and disagreeable, is necessary and inevitable in the circumstances which burden their lives. I will quote first from the Tamil Catechism : “ The disabilities under which we (the people of India) labour are never fully realized by them (the English Parliament). If our many grievances could only be made clear to their view in their true colours, you may rest assured that they would be gradually redressed. The English nation, as a body, has no conception of all the hardships and disadvantages under which we labour under the existing administration here. Nor do the English officials in India ever report to the Members of Parliament what we know to be the true state of this country. * * * They necessarily believe that all they do is right, and that it is done in the best possible manner; and, lastly, they not naturally do not desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this would certainly follow if the English public came really to understand how matters at this present time really stand.” Again : “ It is only by persisting in the agitation that we can make our grievance heard in England. If the English nation begin to evince interest in the affairs of this country, the opposition of the Anglo-Indian officials, who wish to keep matters as they are, will soon cease to be effective. * * * * The Government offer some native gentlemen seats in the Council, merely, it would seem, to lead the people of England into the belief that in the Government of this country Native opinion receives due weight.” Again : “ Then, too, Government mostly chooses, not people who will fight for our rights, but more or less foolish big men, who will do just what they are told by Government. So it follows that very few of the natives who have hitherto sat in Council have tried to do good for us. * * * * So you see, even if our people tried, which only a few ever have done, to fight our battles, they could do nothing, for

“ these Councils are a mere sham.” Again : “ Progress and reform are equally impossible. * * * * The Members who owe their seats in Council to the good-will of the Government will naturally, as a rule, vote in their favour. And they dare not fight for the people’s cause on pain of never being “ reappointed.”

II. To me who witnessed in 1885 the debates over the Bengal Rent Act, in the Viceroy’s Legislative Council, and assisted in 1886 in the passing of the Oudh Rent Act, by which the rights of the cultivators in Oudh were affirmed and maintained by the Government ; who witnessed the strenuous opposition of the Bengal Zamindars, and the Oudh Talukdars, ably led and strictly conducted by their representatives in the Legislative Council ; and who had occasion, I may add, at the same time to admire the capacity and thorough sifting of the subject which characterized their proceedings in Select Committee, the assertion in these paras., that the Legislative Council is a sham ; that progress and reform are equally impossible ; that the Government will not choose members who fight for what they believe to be their rights ; that the native members of the Council never oppose the Government ; that the measures of the Government are opposed to the rights of the people,—is amazing. It was on behalf of the rights of the very class, the ryots, to whom these pamphlets are addressed, that the Government, in strong opposition to the native members of its Legislative Council, was in both instances contending. It would have seemed incredible to me that within a few months of the opposition and public excitement which these measures aroused, any one could have penned the passage to which I call attention. They may pass muster in England, because, as is said, truly enough, in the same pamphlet : “ The English nation do not “ at all understand the real state of affairs here. * * * “ Everything, in short, is so different that to understand matters “ here an Englishman, who has never lived in India, must “ *make* a regular study of the subject.” To us, however, whose business in life it is to make a regular study of the subject, it must be matter of the deepest regret that those who are equally well informed with ourselves should, in the course of their endeavours to remodel the scheme of administration in India, put forward illustrations such as these. My own experience of the native members of the Legislative Council is that, while they are apathetic so long as questions are under discussion in which they feel no immediate concern, so soon as they think their interests are at stake, they stand to their guns like men. What their attitude would be if, in some

great political question, they found themselves in opposition to the Government, neither you nor I can say. But if it is only just to them to assume that if they attached importance to such a question they would act in conformity with our past experience of them.

12. I pass now to the second pamphlet. Distinction is there drawn between the happy state of the villagers of Shamshpur and those of Rajah Harbansrai. "He (Rajah Harbansrai) 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* (his Deputy, or Head Manager, or Agent), or the *Gomashtah* (Factor), who lives in the Rajah's house here, and as for the Gomashtah he never knows anything about us or the village, for one comes for six months and then goes, and the other 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 Gomashtah here who did not think he knew more about everything than any of us, or all of us put together. They are all alike, these Gomashtahs. *Jau! Chupraho* (Go away! Hold your tongue); don't do this; don't do that; pay this; pay that!"

"*Moulvi 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, *Moulvi Sahab*, you know that there is never a day but that 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* (liquor) 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 Shamshpur. It is twice as populous as this village, and yet there is no *abkari* shop there, and the Lumberdar (senior proprietor) says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in this whole district, Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst."

"*Moulvi Fariduddin*.—I am afraid that is too true. But why is this? Rajah Harbansrai is not a bad man. I live in the *Suader* 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 Mofussil.”

“*Rambaksh*.—That’s just it. I don’t say he *is* a
“bad man, but we never see him. We send him peti-
“tions, 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 al-
“most skin and bone. Ah! If we were only cattle, as the
“*Sahab* said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of
“our skins; it is about all we have left.” The Rajah
Harbansrai is obviously the Government of India, and the
Provincial Governors are, I suppose, his Naibs; while under
and because of their rule ignorant people are invited by this
pamphlet to believe that they are growing poorer and poorer,
that land is going out of cultivation, that they have scarcely
oxen enough to plough what they still till, that the houses
are half of them nearly in ruins, that the liquor shops are
always full, that of all the miserable places in the world
India is nearly one of the worst, and that the skins of its
inhabitants is about all that they have left. The pamphlet
proceeds:

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*.—Ah! *Rambaksh*, the *Chota Sahab*
“may think you cattle, but you are wiser than he was.
“For this evil *dustur*, which is ruining you and your
“neighbours and village, is the ‘DESPOTIC’ (*Khud Mukhtiar*)
“*dustur*. 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 is best? * * * * *

“*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. 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* (throne) over there in Vallayat. I must say that this is all rather like Rajah Harbansrai's *dustur*. Certainly, I never heard that she consulte^d any of us Indians on any point, and so as to *gaonkhurch* (village expenses)—well, I have heard in Hakikatabad what krors and krors of money are every year spent by the *Sahab log* (Europeans) and without consulting any one! No! This is not at all like the Shamshpur *dustur*.”

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*.—And then look at all the *Naibs* and *Gomashias* she sends. Are they not like Rajah 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 anything with us? Do they take care to see that we approve, and agree to everything, nay to anything they see fit to do? Is it not with them as with your Kambakhtpur Naibs? ‘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’ of Kambakhtpur?”

“*Rambaksh*.—Ah! *Moulvi 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 perhaps is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why everything 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 * * *

“*Moulvi Fariduddin*.—Yes, certainly, our Government is a ‘DESPOTIC’ one, and a ‘DESPOTIC’ Government is always, when long continued, bad for every country, and we in 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 Viceroys, 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 those whom I know to be good men. What I condemn

"and protest against is the system : it is against the system (*dustus*) of the Government, not against the gentlemen "who carry on the Government (and who are as much tied "down by that system as ourselves) that I complain."

13. The Government of India is here described as a Despotie Government, which, except by a misuse of the term as usually employed, it is not. It is contended that, after a certain period of their existence, all Despotie Governments are pernicious. It is assumed that this period has arrived in India ; and the present Government of India is thereupon charged with the existence of misrule and of public suffering which can only be remedied by the gradual and progressive introduction of representative Government. On the above four assumptions rests the final conclusion. With regard to all four the onus of proof rests with the Congress party ; and until some serious effort has been made to dispose of it, I think you must expect to find a considerable section of the community, both here and elsewhere, will hesitate to accept the conclusion.

14. I find, for the rest in the above paras., plenty of teaching as to the hardships and disabilities of which the people are to complain. I fail, however, to find any definite, or even indefinite, statement of the nature of those hardships or disabilities, beyond the assertion (of which they can appreciate the value) that nothing is left to them but their skins. I entirely fail to recognise in the picture of the material ruin of Kambakhtpur (the Luckless Village) anything in any way approaching to the British India of to-day, such as I know it. I fail equally to find a single paragraph that is kindly, whether in spirit or in word, in this terrible and unrelieved picture of a starving, oppressed, and brutalised India groaning under an unsympathetic and oppressive rule, and robbed by men who, in the words of the pamphlet, if not "quite so bad as "Mr. Zubburdust, nevertheless exist in great numbers abusing "their official powers, and guilty of most unjustifiable acts of "high-handedness." Abuse of official powers and acts of high-handedness have not been unknown to India in past times and under former dynasties, and many many years must pass, probably, before they will wholly cease to exist. But I venture to remind you that, such as they are, they are the exception and not the rule among our English officials ; and that to base upon exceptional cases an accusation against the order at present existing, with a view to its subversion by general acclamation, is not consistent with a quiet teaching and preaching of simple elementary political truths ; as, on the other hand, to force upon the people these hideous caricatures of British rule in India, is in violent contradiction to the statement that "the people

"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." How can they be so taught, consistently with the theme to be proved, *viz.*, the calamity of Despotic Government? You will have seen in the newspapers that these pamphlets have incurred the severest censures from a variety of native pens. It is easy to say, as the *National Congress* newspapers habitually contend, that these pens are hired or are self-seeking. I, for my part, feeling, so strongly as I do, the extreme unwisdom and unfairness of writing and circulating among ignorant and excitable people, foreign to us in blood, and differing in religion, such accusations as these, against the present Government in India, am unable to agree that native gentlemen who profess to share the same view are necessarily actuated by feelings other than my own. I can quite understand a man, saying to himself: "This is minching Mallecho; this means mischief." I think it was in an evil hour for the interests of the Congress party that those pamphlets were penned or published. Space forbids me to deal with them at greater length, but I should like to indicate them to you in a spirit of the most friendly remonstrance, as bearing, in my eyes, a character which is absolutely inconsistent with what, judging from the remarks in your speech of April, they seem to carry to you. In that "good will to all" which you desire to adopt as your watchword, they even appear to me to be conspicuously wanting.

15. Another of the methods of the Congress which seems to me open to serious objection is that of identifying itself with the majority of the people of India, and of habitually assuming that it has the right to speak in the name of that majority. In your introduction to the Madras Report you have been careful to point out that the Congress is as yet far from representing the people, or "by any means so broad-based upon the people's will as has been supposed and asserted." Indeed, the only possible ground on which any claim for general representation could be put forward consistently with what you have said in your preface, is that, "if the matter was carefully explained to them, 90 per cent. of the adult male members of the entire community would ratify and express concurrence in the conclusions of the Congress." That is as it may be. There is much virtue in your "if." But I am unable to reconcile this statement with the appeal put forward by Dadabhai Naoraji, who is, I believe, the accredited "representative in Great Britain of the National Indian Congress," purporting to come from "200,000,000 British subjects in

"India, to the British people." You admit in your preface that "we cannot, making all allowances, see grounds for sup-
"posing that more than 10 per cent. of these (a population of
"nearly 200,000,000) at the utmost, even indirectly and pas-
"sively supported the Congress." I do not know what is
meant by indirect and passive support. But I would ask you
to consider whether, in the face of an admission such as this,
your representative in London should have been allowed to
publish, *urbi et orbi*, an appeal in the character of the represen-
tative of the whole population of India. As a minor illustra-
tion of this same objection I may perhaps be allowed, in passing,
to refer to the passage in your preface in which you speak of the
"pretended defection of the Musulman community from this
"national movement." It does not seem to me, even in view
of the facts that were known to the public at that time, that
the use of the word "pretended" is justifiable.

16. Of the unmeasured and often scurrilous language of
some of the Congress newspapers I will say nothing, for I
see that you yourself in your speech at Allahabad deprecate it.
I can only regret that they may be tempted to appeal for
countenance to passages such as those which I have extracted
from the pamphlets authorised by the Congress. Style is, of
course, matter of opinion; and if you had not in your speech
of April expressed disapproval of railing accusations, and asked
the supporters of the Congress to "deal in all charity with
"their opponents," I should not have ventured to call your
attention to the paragraph in your own preface, in which you
write—"we can only conclude of any who persist in denouncing
"our political Congress, because it is not also a Social Con-
"ference, that Divine Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom,
"has seen fit to withhold from them either integrity, or intel-
"lect, or *both*." (The italics are not mine.) To say of a man
who differs from you that he must either, in plain English, be
a knave or a fool, or both, is not, I may perhaps venture, in
your own words, to remind you, to "deal with him in all
"charity," or to afford yourself ground for hoping that you
will "sooner or later enjoy the permissible, nay blessed,
"revenge of returning good for evil." That those whom you
have so vigorously criticised have some not insufficient
ground for the error into which you pursue them, is evident
to me from a perusal of the three fundamental objects of the
movement as stated in pages 2 and 3 of your speech, *viz.*,
"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.” The gradual regeneration along the social line is there stated to be one of the objects of what is called the national movement. A few lines afterwards I read that, “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 *pucca* 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.” What, I think, people have objected to is not so much that the Congress does not deal with social questions as that, with social questions so urgently requiring to be dealt with, a body, having for its main object political changes, should have thrust itself across the path of reform. What, if I understand them rightly, your critics say is, not that they expect the Congress team to draw the ponderous car of social reform, but that they find you putting your political *char-a-banc* before their social reform horse, with the result that neither will you progress nor can they make a single stride. They fear that the people of India will find it infinitely more agreeable to clamour for place and power, to cry aloud to all that pass by, that they are, in spite of much testimony to the contrary, aggrieved and neglected, to scramble for the loaves and to dive for the fishes, than to impose upon themselves the rigorous discipline of social reform, and to abandon time-honoured but harmful practices. They ask of them only that they should listen to those who appeal to the physician to commence by healing himself.

17. You have compared in your remarks at Allahabad the Congress party with the infant Hercules. Let us be consistent in our comparisons, and remember, in this connection, that the prodigies of the infant were confined to the limits of his domestic circle, and directed to the extirpation of the poisonous and life-crushing reptiles which infested it, and which threatened to strangle him; the cleansing of the Augean stables (and, I may add, the pursuit of the golden fruit) being reserved for maturer years.

18. So much for the methods of which you spoke in April last. I hope that I have dealt fairly with them, and explained, in all moderation and good will, the reasons for which they have caused me, to my deep regret, to disapprove

of the action of your party. If I may be allowed to refer to my own opinions, I may venture to say that I also am in the Liberal Official Camp. But this does not oblige me to agree with all the methods of attack or to approve of all the implements of warfare employed by volunteer auxiliaries.

19. With regard to measures, as I have already said, I believe that the desire to extend the Indian element in the Councils was antecedent to, and entirely independent of, any action of the Congress party. Judging from your Resolutions and from what I read in your last report, it seems to me probable that you would propose to go further than I, were I at present a member of the Government of India, should be disposed to follow you. But I find it difficult precisely to ascertain what is the scheme which the Congress party would wish to see adopted. In the Tamil Catechism, for instance, I read: "Our countrymen should do their best to establish in India a representative Council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain to consider the questions that relate to our well-being. We should get the permission of the British Parliament to elect the members of that Council. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should make the resolutions of that Council binding upon the Governors-General and Governors." A representative Council, the resolutions of which are binding on the Governor-General and Governors, is in effect a ruling body. Elsewhere, however, when addressing, not the villager but a more informed audience, I find the proposals less ambitious. "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 Government into their hands." I quote from your Allahabad speech, and must be permitted to add that, if absurd nonsense has been talked, it has at least Catechism and text to appeal to. A really representative Council, in the present state of India, would include, you will have foreseen, very few of the class who crowd the Congress benches. In so far as men of that kind might succeed by energy or by manipulation of the necessary methods, in entering the Council as representative of the majority, they would occupy a false position. All that they could claim usually to represent (and the Government in settling this question must look as, *pace* the pamphlets, it always does look, to what will contribute most to the good government of India) is the small section of men educated under our system—the pleaders, the lawyers, the newspaper editors, the classes who, in their own shewing, furnished more than two-fifths of the Madras meeting, and who form the

fragment of the Indian people which owes its existence to British workmanship. They can, at the most, claim to represent their own views ; and if representation be adjusted to numbers, numerically they will be nowhere. Their business at present seems to me to be to seek to communicate to their countrymen the enlightenment which they themselves have received, more than to attempt to represent in the Councils of the State either themselves or those to whom enlightenment has not hitherto been vouchsafed. I think in a word they would, if I might dare to advise them, be more usefully employed in educating the people than in educating the authorities. I would cordially extend to them that measure of recognition which (when deprived of the magnifying medium in which, as I think, they have unwisely enveloped themselves) their education, their loyalty, and whatever is valuable in their views may require ; but certainly I would not upset the whole economy of Indian administration with its hitherto peaceful progress, and its many mansions, in order to accommodate them under its roof. It seems to me unreasonable to ask that a large system of representation should be introduced at the demand of an extremely small and peculiar section of the people ; or that the existence of a class which has been created by the Government should be cited as sufficient reason for modifying, to a very serious degree, methods of administration familiar, and on the whole agreeable, to those vast masses of the people who live in the traditions of the Government of their forefathers, whose ideas of polity find their roots far back in centuries long gone by, and who are as much out of harmony with the political atmosphere breathed by us of English birth, or desired, by their own countrymen of English education, as an elephant would be out of his element in Scotch mists, or a banyan tree in Parliament Street. The Government of the English in India is the Government of a people far more advanced than those among whom it exists, and it approaches public matters from points of view which in great measure Indians are at present, and for long years must be, incapable of adopting. It is for the Congress to show how such a Government can, without sacrificing nearly all that makes its presence useful, consent to subordinate its policy to the popular verdict. These people are *in statu pupillari* ; can they profitably be invited to govern their guardian ?

20. Judging from the Resolutions of the last and previous Congresses, the grievances and wrongs of the people are far other than those which the language of the pamphlets, and

indeed of your speech of April last, would have led me to suppose. The aims of the Congress are frequently spoken of in Congress literature as "THE CAUSE." Putting aside the extension of Legislative Councils, which is by no means peculiarly the child of the Congress, I find in the record of the Madras meeting the Resolutions which embody the latest exposition of the "THE CAUSE." It is to these Resolutions naturally that one turns to find some setting forth of the grievances and wrongs which are the jewels in the Congress Crown. If a representative Council is to be established to abolish the Arms Act, replacing, by Legislation, in the hands of the people weapons of which the unrestricted use under former dynasties has grievously mutilated the roll of Indian annals, and in our own time traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo-Indian History, I cannot but think that it would be far less usefully employed, so far as the people are concerned, than those unreformed Legislatures which have passed the Revenue and Rent Acts, for example, for all the provinces of Upper India, which have worked out the Indian Penal and Procedure Codes, which have passed a variety of measures for the convenience of the mercantile community, which have created Municipalities, crushed Infanticide, and which, in a thousand measures, have turned the attention of the people to arts of peace, with a view to lead them to abandon their old predatory habits. The separation of the Executive and Judicial is a question of administration, which is by no means easy of initiation, or sure to succeed; foreign as it is to the notions and contrary to the customs of all Eastern countries, who aim at centralizing, not at dispersing authority. It is, moreover, largely a question of ways and means. The claim to be enrolled as volunteers, put forward as a "national" claim, is just a little strained, is it not? If the Resolutions on these four points are the head and substance of "THE CAUSE" in its latest phases, I must honestly be permitted to say that I see nothing in "THE CAUSE" whatever, for which a Rajput or a Brahman of Upper India would sacrifice a hair of his whiskers.

21. To sum up this matter of measures; you will gather from what I have said that the claim of the Congress party to have introduced a new order of ideas into India seems to me not to rest upon facts. They have seized upon an idea already familiar to the Government, as witness Lord Dufferin's Jubilee speech; and they have pushed it, as it seems to me, to extremes which cannot be defended, more especially in view of the circumstance that the party purports to speak on behalf of millions whom it had no opportunity of consulting, and who have given it no warrant whatsoever.

The catalogue of claims which constitute its "CAUSE" appear to me to be very far from embodying any considerable popular feeling. They represent the wishes of a class, and that a minute and exceptional class. Shorn of fictitious and exaggerated pretensions, I think the movement offers little to unfavourable criticism. It seems to me, however, probable that the attacks which it has invited by overspreading its natural borders, will discredit much which otherwise might have been useful; and that the aggressive tone which its organs adopt may rather hinder than assist, the Government, when the hour for action may seem to it to have come.

22. I have expressed myself in this letter as I think you would wish me to do, with the perfect freedom which your letter invited, and also, I trust, with the perfect fairness which the tone of your letter requires of me. I look to your indulgence not to class me with those who have fallen victims to the "inscrutable wisdom of Providence." My opinions, such as they are, have been formed after patient examination and experience of the subjects with which I have dealt in this letter, and it is with a sense of deep disappointment only that I have come to the conclusion that the answer to the question put by you, as to whether there is anything objectionable in the methods or the measures of the movement, is that, in my judgment, there is much. I have endeavoured to show what seems to me to be objectionable, whether in the one or the other regard. I think it objectionable in the highest degree that, in order to introduce changes in the administration of the Government in India, the Indian Government and its officials should be held up to the hatred of the people as standing between them and the benevolence of the Government of Her Majesty; as endeavouring, in their own interests, to obstruct measures having for their object the welfare of the people; and as embodying traditions and practices of oppression, and of disregard to popular claims, which, but for their existence and influence in India, would have long since been put an end to. I object to this, partly because, if without offence I may say so, it is not true. I object to it mainly because, while being untrue, it is eminently calculated to further the designs and promote the aims of those natives who are no less opposed to the Congress than disaffected to English rule in India, but who will gladly avail themselves of so useful a mechanism for stirring up discontent, and so safe a propaganda for the spread of the doctrine that British rule in India is a calamity. We may, as it seems to me, introduce changes, proved necessary by time, in the administration of India without, on that account, labouring to make the

masses deeply discontented with the Government hitherto accepted by them. Still more may we do so without misrepresenting the character of our countrymen in India, or the motives by which they are actuated. I object, finally, because I think that the measures themselves, so far as I have been enabled to judge of them, travel beyond anything for which the country is at present prepared; or involve, if carried out in the direction which their promoters desire, a negation of true representation. If we are to have true representation we must be prepared to recur to an archaic order of ideas from which it is the great aim of the Government gradually to wean the people. If, on the other hand, we invite, as representatives of the vast majority, a class who are little less separated from that majority than we ourselves are, we add a fifth wheel to the coach. If, finally, we admit representation of "New India" we must give it no more weight than its numbers justify. Nobody is more willing than I am to recognize, and encourage, and find room under the Government of India umbrella for the younger men who, within the last 25 years, have, as you somewhere say, sprung into existence as a new factor in the country. But I cannot, on that account, affect to recognize in these forward spirits of the present generation the political maturity of all India; or regard even this, the most advanced element, otherwise than as still in the stage of political babyhood. For I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that no nation, least of all a nation of the East, can be trusted, within less than the lifetime of a living man, to adopt and to put into practice conceptions of political life confined at present mainly to the Anglo-Saxon race; and only by them elaborated after long and painful centuries.

23. You are at liberty to publish this letter if you publish it in its entirety. I should wish to exercise a similiar discretion with regard to it. I am afraid that it does not present my views to you exactly in the guise which, when you wrote to me, you anticipated. But you will not, on that account to recur to your own letter for a moment, think me capable of persecuting any man who differs from me in opinion. On the other hand, you will doubtless understand that I should not allow myself to be moved from conclusions which I have deliberately adopted, by the fact that they excite the opposition or even the ill-will of some of those who are subject to the Government of these Provinces. I should be only too glad to see those who direct the counsels of the Congress, return to the attitude which in its earlier days characterised it, and abandon the aggressive and hostile tone of their later publications. I believe that these inevitably mus

provoke opposition, alienate from them many who, like myself, had hoped from them better things. Meanwhile, I shall personally watch their proceedings with the interest they deserve; and follow the effects of their workings in these Provinces with the vigilance with which, as their head, I endeavour to inform myself of all public movements which show themselves within our limits.

Yours very sincerely,
A. COLVIN.

ROTHNEY CASTLE,
Simla, October 13th, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR AUCKLAND,

YESTERDAY I received your very kind and impressive letter and at once gratefully acknowledged its receipt. To-day I sit down to reply to it, and to facilitate this I have taken the liberty of numbering your paragraphs and by their numbers I shall refer to them.

2. Before, however, discussing any details, I desire at the outset to express my conviction that this letter of yours is one of the most valuable contributions to a right comprehension of this really important subject that have as yet appeared. Thus far everything worthy of consideration that has been written has been wholly in favour of the Congress. Anti-Congress utterances have, it is true, abounded, but they have been, without exception, more or less childish or violent in tone, illogical in method, and vitiated by either grave ignorance or serious misrepresentation of the real facts. Your calm and courteous exposition of your views, albeit these are based upon an imperfect knowledge of the facts, inaugurates a new era in the discussion, and though I may be, as you have anticipated, a little disappointed at your conclusions, I have no hesitation in saying that your letter deserves the most careful consideration of all interested in the Congress movement and embodies lessons that all may profit by.

3. I will not now waste your time by discussing the part taken by Sir Syed Ahmed in this Congress question. By me, as by you, he was long esteemed and respected as a friend; it is now close upon 30 years since I first learnt to value and believe in him. But I regret to say that facts, in connection with his recent action, have come to my notice which preclude my retaining any faith in his veracity, except on the hypothesis, which I gladly accept, that age has dimmed his once clear faculties, and that he is no longer altogether responsible for much that he says and does where the Congress is concerned.

4. Turning now to your 8th paragraph, I am glad to find (as, indeed, I knew) was the fact from the tenor of your letter to me at Madras, in which you promised that the Congress should receive the same kindly welcome at your hands in Allahabad that it had received at Calcutta and Madras, from those of Lords Dufferin and Connemara), I am glad, I say, to

find that until very recently you saw little to object to, whether in the methods or the measures of the Congress. I am glad of this, because it affords grounds for hoping that, partly by the submission of fuller explanations on points in regard to which the whole of the facts scarcely seem to have been before you, and partly by a stricter adherence to those principles on which you insist, and in which we all agree (though mortal like we may not *always* fully act up to them), our movement may yet regain your entire sympathy.

5. I concede the absolute truth of your remarks that, when the work was commenced, it was questionable "whether, in the present embryo state of political life in India, agitation, such as was encouraged by the operations of the Congress, was not likely to cause some miscarriage of the ends desired," and that "the experiment was quite new in India, and the circumstances which surrounded it not wholly favourable to its development;" and had it been possible, I, for one, should have been glad to see the inauguration of the movement postponed for some years. But, as has been repeatedly explained, no choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to this movement. The ferment, the product of Western ideas, education, inventions and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester, as they had already commenced to do, beneath the surface. I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, but from the most vital point of view, the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, the real question when the Congress started was *not*, is it premature, but is it too late—will the country *now* accept it? That question, by God's blessing, the country has since answered in the affirmative, and a distinct danger, that a few years ago loomed, to all who could see below the surface, tremendous in the immediate future, has now passed away, almost, if not entirely, out of sight. For the Congress itself and its basal principles, no justification is needed to any one; and indeed it is only to some of its methods and measures that you yourself take objection; but if, as you imply, some justification is required for its inauguration in the *then* existing "embryo state of political life in India," it is to be found in the fact that, even then, a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and that no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised. I will add that, whatever was the case then, political life in India at the

present moment, taking the Empire as a whole, though still in its infancy, is far removed from the embryonic stage.

6 But when you go on to say that those persons who anticipated that we should shortly see the country divided into two or more strongly hostile camps were correct in their surmise, I must join issue with you and submit that you have been misinformed on this point. There are no two hostile camps at this moment. The whole culture and intelligence of the country, excluding an inappreciable fraction, are favourable to the Congress; as a native gentleman of high position and education said to me the other day: "How can any Indian avoid being 'in heart favourable to the Congress? Is there one who does not 'know that it is for the good of the country?" But no doubt there is a tiny knot of Anglo-Indians, mostly officials, whose organs, the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer* and *Civil and Military Gazette*, are; a few Indian fossils, honest, but wanting in understanding; a few men who in their hearts hate British rule or are secretly in the employ of England enemies, and a considerable number (though utterly insignificant when compared with the total population) of time-servers, men not really in their hearts opposed to the Congress, but who have taken up the work of opposition to it because it has seemed to them that this will "pay." They are very noisy and very active, and they send wonderful telegrams of their exploits to their patron, the *Pioneer*, but they are really insignificant in number and devoid of influence with their countrymen. You will say this is uncharitable, that it is an unwarrantable assumption on my part, but it is the *truth*, and how can I help saying it? A truth that before long we will prove by statistics. Again, we know all these men, their antecedents, the repute in which they were held before any one ever heard of the Congress; we do not say that they are time-servers *because* they go against the Congress, but only that they always have belonged to that type, and that being time-servers, and believing that they can thus win the favour of the officials (a great libel by the way on some, at any rate, of these) they now, naturally, act in opposition alike to the Congress and their own convictions.

7. Just look a little around you. Take the poor old Maharajah of Benares, who has been lately put forward to oppose the Congress. You know the dear old man as well as I do, neither you nor any honest English gentleman who does know him will pretend that he has the mental capacity to think out the simplest question for himself—intellectually he is an absolute cypher—kind and courteous, but absolutely unable to form any opinion for himself on any earthly subject. Of course the speech attributed to him was put into his mouth by his

factotum and General Manager, Rajah Siva Prasad. And who is *this* gentleman? A member of the old amla class, formerly a subordinate in Government employ, for many years, having got the measure of the poor old Maharajah's foot, the real "malik" of the vast Benares domains—as such, gifted with most agreeable manners and a keen eye to his own advancement, and as the virtual dispenser of the Maharajah's princely hospitality to European officials and globe-trotters, he has become a titular Rajah and has acquired a certain status amongst Europeans. But what native gentleman, from Calcutta to Peshawar, has one iota of respect for him? I do not deny a bit that personally and privately he is a most agreeable companion. I myself, despite all I know of him, cannot help liking him in a way; nay more, when he was the execration of the whole country and they burnt him in effigy, I thought he was being unjustly treated, and I actually went out of my way to go to Benares and spend a couple of days there in the hopes of being able to set him right with his countrymen. It seemed to me that it was hard that he was to be denied a right to his own opinion on the Ilbert Bill, and I thought that it was merely the attitude that he took up in regard to this Bill that had brought him into such disrepute. But I found that his speech on this subject merely furnished an opportunity for the expression of sentiments, engendered long previously by a more thorough knowledge of his character than I possessed.

8. Take the so-called Raja of Bhinga; does not the whole country know him? A gentleman who has succeeded in getting the personal title of Rajah; who is no more Rajah of Bhinga than I am*; a gentleman vastly anxious to become a person of note, who got some one to write an ostentatious "history of his family and house," gorgeously got up which he presented to all high officials, and who, unable to write a single page of really good English, gets some one to write for him letters to the *Times* which he signs (but which, unless well coached up in beforehand, I would challenge him to translate accurately into his own vernacular), and who has been pestering editors of papers, it is understood, to write him up for a seat in a Council. Now is there a single independent Indian who attaches the smallest weight to anything this gentleman says, or gets other people to say for him?

9. Take Munshi Naval Kishore; I would not be hard on him, for there are, as he explained to me, excuses for him, and his position is peculiar. But what was his character in native society before the Congress? Did any native believe in

* Of course he is only a recently created titular Rajah Udely Pertab Sing, w chances to have become possessed of a portion of the estates of the real o Rajahs of Bhinga.

him, trust him, respect him? How did even the *Pioneer* then characterize him?

10. I might go on and deal one by one with the so-called leaders of the opposition, and I know that, with the exception possibly of Sir Syed Ahmed (of whom I will say nothing because I believe he is a little insane on the subject of the Congress) there is not one single one of them who *in any way* possessed either the respect or the confidence of his fellow-countrymen even before the Congress question arose. -But, as a matter of fact, you must know this as well as I do, and besides this, I feel that you will be only too likely to set me down as uncharitable, or to remind me that this plain-speaking is not calculated to promote that concord and brotherly feeling that I aim at. Yet, after all, have I set down ought in malice? Have I said one word about these gentlemen that you could deny on oath in a Court of Justice? And I am not *playing* at this matter. I am in deadly earnest, for it I have abandoned all the scientific pursuits that made the pleasure of my life—to it I am devoting my whole time and fortune—to it I am almost giving my life, because I believe that on the successful evolution of the movement depends alike the happiness of millions on millions, and, in no small measure, the future progress and prosperity, not only of India, but also of the British Empire, and am I to escape the pain of some little plain-speaking to allow a mere handful (for they are no more really) of men, who neither possess, nor deserve, the confidence or the respect of the bulk of their fellow-countrymen, to impose upon you, and other good men like you, with the pretence of their being an opposition party, a strong opposing camp? Were I to do this I should be shirking my duty; and this, moreover, is to me a vital point; for if, really, the Congress had divided or could divide the country into two strong opposing factions, I would have nothing more to do with it. But the fact is that, despite the frantic and unprincipled efforts (here again, because you do not know the facts, you will say I am uncharitable, but it is the truth) of some, specially the Wahabi followers of Sir Syed Ahmed, to get up rows and fights over the matter, and so, if possible, give our movement the bad name due to their own misdeeds. I say despite all this, the Congress, instead of dividing, is uniting, is binding up old wounds, and bringing together in harmonious co-operation men who previously scarcely met except to quarrel and even at times fight. It is only the other day that an enlightened Mahomedan gentleman, enlightened though he has had no English education, wrote to me from Salem, till recently a very hotbed of Hindu and Mahomedite religious antagonism, blessing the Congress, and saying that any it had done nothing else it had now brought together? his

kindly relations *all the* people of Salem, Mahomedans and Hindus, and that if it had not already rendered quite impossible any recurrence of those terrible scenes that Salem witnessed a few years ago, it soon would, as the people were beginning to understand something of their rights and duties as citizens, something of their real interests, and to realize that they must not fight amongst themselves, but rather join hands in a common effort to persuade Government to redress their common grievances. The whole so-called opposition is hollow, making a great show but based upon misrepresentations and possessing no appreciable substance. It is only the Europeans, for the most part, who are deceived by these empty shows. Take the absurd story put forward by the Anglo-Indian papers that Sir Syed Ahmed is the Mahomedan leader of the Mahomedans. Why no orthodox Mahomedan will allow that he is a Mahomedan at all. They may and will join in secular matters, with Christians, Hindus, Parsees, and any other set of infidels who are not disrespectful to their religion, but they neither can nor will follow nor join him in any matter, because he is in their eyes a pervert. The fact is that his religious views as set forth in his commentary on the Bible, &c., in their eyes involve **Atheism**, and hence the Fatwahs denouncing him and his opinions. Pray do not think that I am imputing any blame to him for this ; on the contrary I have always admired him for having the courage of his convictions, and I, myself, occupy a precisely similar position. For while I call and consider myself a Christian, believing Christ's cardinal doctrine that on the love of God and love of man "hang all the Law and the Prophets," and recognizing his as the most perfect type of the divine-human life, humbly endeavour, however unsuccessfully, to imitate afar of that life, the great bulk of orthodox Christians will not allow that I am a Christian at all, because I am unable to accept many of the fundamental dogmas of the majority of the churches, *as they are now understood and preached in these*. Thus I am the last person to blame Sir Syed Ahmed in this respect ; but then I do not go amongst the Hindus and claim to be a Christian leader of orthodox Christians. The idea that Sir Syed Ahmed *can* be, in any matter, the leader of any appreciable fraction of the orthodox Mahomedans is a pure delusion, and a delusion confined almost exclusively to Europeans, though of course the Anti-Congress knot of natives, seeing how it goes down with the officials, put it forward as strongly as they can.

II. I have dwelt at some length on this point (although I have not said half that might be said on the subject), because really of vital importance that you should, if possible,

realize how extremely unsubstantial and unreal is the so-called Anti-Congress Party. It owes its existence almost wholly to the promptings and support of a small but influential section of the Anglo-Indian Party. It has not the sincere heartfelt support of five men per million of the population of the empire, and despite its show and swagger, and the persistent falsehoods promulgated by the *Pioneer* and its *clientèle, et id genus omne*, and the magnificent donations of Native Princes who, because Sir Syed Ahmed dates from and remains at Nynce Tal, believe him to be your mouthpiece and you to be acting in concurrence with the Viceroy (a pure slander on both of you, but none the less widely believed), will, within the next three years, become universally known as what it really is and virtually collapse.

12. In most of the rest of your remarks in para. 8 I quite concur. It is undeniable that when the first Congress was held the people of the United Provinces knew and cared nothing about representative institutions, the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, Volunteering, and the like. But along with this, if we are to understand the matter rightly, we must consider three other facts. First, that these United Provinces were, with Sindh, the most backward Provinces, politically speaking, in the empire, and that when there was an urgent pressure for moving elsewhere, the whole country could not be kept back on account of the backwardness of one or two portions. Second, that though there was absolutely no knowledge of the particular measures you refer to, or indeed of any general or abstract proposition, there was a widespread feeling that things were not going right, that times were becoming hard, a feeling that would have grown into disaffection had it not been made clear to the people that legitimate and constitutional methods existed by which they could get such changes brought about in the administration as would enable them to get their grievances and discomforts and disappointed expectations, ventilated and thoroughly considered. Third, that though four years ago the case was as you state, now you can hardly find a village of even 500 inhabitants in this whole territory in which there are not some few, at any rate (in some you will find scores), who understand a great deal about the Congress, and realize that the introduction of some representative element into the administration would be a boon to them and to the country.

13. Again, nothing can be more true than that the idea (in which, as you say, you fully sympathize, as with your liberal views you necessarily must) of placing the Legislative Councils on a more popular and broader basis had been before the minds

of high authorities here before the Congress party had ever been heard of and quite independently of their initiative. But for this fact, and the knowledge that many of the broadest-minded Anglo-Indian statesmen favoured this view, the Congress would never have been able to bring it forward with the confidence which they did. But here too it must be borne in mind that, if there are broad-minded, there are also narrow-minded statesmen, that if a few of the best men favoured this view, a great number of the second best disapproved it, that noble views may, under such circumstances, remain a very, very long period, still in a viewy stage, without attaining any practical embodiment, and that the great service rendered by the Congress Party has been to strengthen the hands of these pioneers of thought, by teaching large sections of the community the value of these views, and then bringing home to large numbers of influential men here and in England that an appreciable portion of the community here really desired, and would receive with gratitude, those reforms which these high authorities, to whom you refer, had long since conceived to be right or expedient. From the very nature of the case, no political measure that has actually come like this one, within the sphere of practical politics, can ever possibly retain in it any flavour of originality; but does it not seem to you, on reconsideration, a little illogical to taunt us, as you do, however gently and kindly, with a lack of originality, when any such originality in our proposals would be our gravest condemnation? No, the Congress Party claim no originality, and the measures that they put forward are only such as have been for years and years not only in the minds of, but frankly discussed between, the best and wisest men; only such, in a word, as after a long embryotic stage have emerged fully organized for practical existence.

14. To return, after explaining that until quite recently you viewed the Congress movement with no disfavour and even sympathised with one of its main proposals, you tell me that since the issue of the Report of the Madras Session of the Congress the sympathy with which you had hitherto regarded the movement has received a severe check. You quote my speech at Allahabad and say that in the pamphlets reprinted as appendices to the 3rd Congress Report, you find no trace of what I state, *viz*, that "the people are taught to recognize the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that in 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.” Of all this you say you find nothing in the pamphlets.

Now, surely, this is the most unfair argument, if you only reconsider it, that could possibly be advanced. I speak of the verbal lectures, of which I had heard several, and which are all modelled on Mr. Dadabhai’s Calcutta speech; you quote what I say of these, you elide a long passage necessary to the right appreciation of what follows, and then you apply to the pamphlets what I said of the lectures, and reprove me, (yes, reprove me, however delicately) because you do not find in the pamphlets what I said formed one main staple of the lectures, and this though even in my speech I had carefully drawn a distinction between the two and had said that the pamphlets only referred to the rights and duties of subjects. Here are my very words:—

“Second, amongst our methods, is the distribution of elementary tracts setting forth similar doctrines and embodying teachings conceived in a light spirit in regard to the rights and duties of subjects.”

And what, pray, are the similar doctrines and teachings conceived in a like spirit in regard to the rights and duties of subjects? To show this I must quote the passage which you have elided: “They are taught,” I there say, “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 is 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 are not these points clearly pressed in the pamphlets? Let me quote a few passages only:—

“And if we persevere with these Congresses, and get more and more of the people everywhere to understand them, and take interest in them, and support them, we shall, and that before many years are over, have so strong a voice that even the people of England will hear us, and once they do this as a body (not merely two or three thousands here and there, whom alone, as yet, we have reached), all our reasonable demands will soon be granted.” (*Congress Catechism.*)

* * * * *

“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), un-
 “ derstand 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 associa-
 “ tion 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 com-
 “ mon sense is the leading characteristic of the British nation ;
 “ they no 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.”
 (Conversation.)

* * * * *

“ RAMBAKSH.—But surely you don't want us to join to-
 gether and fight with the *sincar* ? 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.

“ MOULVI 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." (*Conversation*.)

And yet you want to make out that the pamphlets do not contain what I have stated of them. Now I know you too well not to know that you had no intention of being thus unjust to me, but none the less see what a grievous injustice you have mentally done me by applying to one thing what I said of another and dropping out the passage which made the whole clear.

15. And, of course, the audiences addressed by lecturers and by the pamphlets are wholly different. The former may comprise largely ignorant and illiterate persons on whom it is necessary to impress the advantages of British rule; whereas the latter can only reach persons who know all about Education, Railroads, Post Offices, Telegraphs, Canals, and the Pax Britannica, and to whom it would be a waste of time to re-explain all these things which they already thoroughly realize.

16. A great deal, therefore, of what you say in regard to the pamphlets is written under a mistake, but in para. 10 you state the general conclusion that they are *not* "kindly and loyal alike in spirit and word." Here I am compelled to differ from you, but our difference of opinion in this case will be found to be based, not on the pamphlets themselves, but on the different views we take of the merits and demerits of the existing form of administration. You, I can clearly see from the eloquent exordium that follows your remarks just referred to, still look upon our government of the country through those rose-tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight. But leave the service, become a nobody, mix freely with the people, hear what they have to say when not afraid to speak their minds, study the reverse of the shield, and knowing you as I do, I know well that you would wholly change your views. As a fact, putting aside the most excellent *intentions*, what we have chiefly to be proud of are, the Education, the liberty of the Press, the Railways, Telegraphs, Post Offices and Canals, and the general peace that we have given to the country. Are these small things? No! very great and grand things, but notwithstanding all these India, in some respects, is still an extremely badly-governed country. In practice, despite those grand codes, revenue, civil and criminal, on which you dwell later with pride, there is very little real justice to be obtained, and that little has to be paid for dearly. Despite all courts and codes, the poor can hardly ever get redress against the rich, the non-official

against the official. We have courts of law by the hundred and the grandest system ever devised for extracting money from all foolish or unfortunate enough to enter them, but courts of justice outside the five or six High Courts are few and far between.

Our Police system is a disgrace to us, and I truly believe that the steady, daily, all-pervading oppression that the Police exercise everywhere is even harder for the people to bear than were the raids in olden times, once or twice perhaps in the lifetime of any villager, of the Pindarees or Mahrattas. For the rich money-lender no doubt the change has been a glorious one, but as to the masses, they are, I believe, worse off in this matter than their great grandfathers.

A large number, an appreciable proportion, of our European officials are utterly unfit for the responsible positions they hold, are not only wholly unsympathetic with the people, altogether careless of their comfort and happiness, entirely engrossed in their own selfish schemes, but in virtue of the existing unconstitutional and illogical union of the executive and judicial functions are not unfrequently guilty of acts of oppression and injustice, which ought to ensure, though they do not, their expulsion from the service of Government.

The way in which, in many provinces, the Arms Act and Forest Act have been worked have been productive of the most widespread and undeserved suffering.

The Revenue laws, despite the efforts to do justice to the peasants that have characterized the passing of some of the more recent of them, have by their hard and fast character entailed misery on millions, and in not a few provinces their unsuitability to the characters alike of the soil, the climate and the people, have reduced the great mass of the agriculturists from comparative prosperity to almost absolute poverty.

The militant policy of the Government and its extravagant employment of a non-indigenous agency have entailed upon the country a weight of debt and taxation almost exceeding its capacity to sustain, and as a result of these and the heavy and constant drain of Home charges and a general want of adaptation of the administration to the actual needs of the country, this latter is growing poorer and poorer year by year, and year by year are the millions of our half-fed proletariat increasing.

To me it seems a disgrace to England that in her grandest dependency the despotism she so persistently execrates where other nations are concerned should still survive, and that tens

of thousands of educated and experienced men, Europeans, Eurasians and natives of the country, should still remain debarred from political rights which are the birthright of every free-born British subject, and should still, like dumb-driven cattle, be taxed and subjected to all kinds of laws, without being permitted the smallest voice in either matter.

17. We have done great things for India, no doubt, but almost equally great things, *and these beyond our unaided power*, still remain to be done. The fact is, our administration looks better on paper than it is in practice; it always reminds me of Porthos' belt, grandly gold embroidered in front but very plain, somewhat ragged, leather behind. It is in some respects more ornamental exteriorly than the poverty of the interior material warrants. No one has a greater admiration than myself for the kindly and sympathetic impulse that prompted Lady Dufferin to inaugurate the association for providing medical aid to the women of India, but this loveable effort always sadly recalls to me, when I think of our half-starving proletariat of forty or fifty millions, that sweet and innocent victim of previous bureaucratic misgovernment (not wholly unlike our own) who desired to give cake to a population howling for bread. These are but the tithes of mint and cummin; it is to the weightier matters of the law that we have first to look. We want justice, cheap, sure, speedy and close to each man's door; we want a police that the people may look up to and rely on as friends and protectors, as much as they now hate and fear our present police as foes and robbers; we want a reform in the quality of our European agency, a careful weeding out of the unsuitables and the separation of the judicial and executive functions; we want a far more liberal and intelligent administration of the Arms and Forest Acts, so that, without compromising the public peace or the welfare of posterity, the men of the present day may be exempted from harsh restrictions on the exercise of necessary rights long antedating our rule, and from the destruction of their crops, their families and themselves by wild beasts. We require an altogether more elastic and sympathetic land-revenue system, based far more on systematic arbitration amongst the people themselves than on Codes and Courts and their rigid mechanical procedure; we want a non-aggressive foreign policy and an absolute abstention from Burmese annexations, Tibetan and such like wars, frontier tribe expeditions and the like; we want relief from many inequitable home charges, some of which ought to cease, and for the rest of which the British nation, as all the really honest men amongst them admit, ought itself to pay; we want a vast reduction in the foreign agency employed, and the substitution of a

national force, partly militia, partly volunteers, for at least half of the 70,000 European troops we are now condemned to pay for ; and, not to weary you with a full list of our grievances, we desire that every non-official, without distinction of race, creed or caste, intelligent enough to understand such matters, should, through his representatives, have a voice in regard to all matters affecting his own, his country's, or his fellow-countrymen's welfare.

18. And here I feel that you will ask, almost indignant-ly, whether in many of these matters we have not persistently done *our* best to secure for the country what I have set forth as its wants. I reply unhesitatingly in the affirmative. We have, many of us, I believe, done our very best, and if we have failed lamentably, as we *have* failed, in these matters, it has been due to no lack of good intention on the part of the best and noblest of our officials, but solely to the fact that aliens and foreigners, differing in manners, habits, methods of thought, traditions and all that makes up nationality, from the people over whom we rule, we are absolutely incompetent, without their full co-operation and guidance, to mould our administration and frame our institutions here in accordance with the real requirements of the country. This is one of the *raison d'être* of the Congress movement.

19. Now if two men sit down to a dinner, one of whom is the cook, it may be natural that the latter should look upon it as first rate, whereas the other, who has had no finger in the pie, may think it in some respects execrable, and then, equally naturally, the criticisms of this latter, though really kindly and indulgent and by no means making the worst of the matter, must appear to the artist, who is thoroughly satisfied with his own performance, not only unkind and unjust, but altogether abominable. That a considerable portion of the European officials should deny the loyalty and kindness of these two pamphlets is only natural, but that *you* should be amongst the number is a matter of equal regret and surprise to me, for it shows, as does your enthusiastic description of what the British Government has done for India, that you do not by any means yet realize how very defective, despite all this, our administration still is. This you will say is a matter of opinion, but the only opinion worth a straw in such a case is the opinion of the people, and the entire intelligence of the country will endorse every word that I have said in regard to each of the crying defects in our rule that I have pointed out. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is the people who have to eat our pudding, and they know ten times better than you or I, or Lord Dufferin, or any other European, how great and serious the defects in our administration really are.

20. Having thus indicated the Indian view (and, as I believe, the absolutely correct and true one) of the state of affairs which the pamphlets have to deal with, I desire to reply more directly to your criticisms. Virtually you say they are not loyal because everything that is said in favour of the Government is obscured by the thickness and depth of the darker shades of the picture, because they grievously misrepresent the British administration in India, and because they ascribe to this wrongs, or rather sufferings, without precautions taken to prevent ignorant and illiterate men from being tempted to impute to that administration all that is hard and disagreeable in their lives. I marvel that you can make such a statement in face of passages like the following:—

“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 the afflictions will be greatly diminished, and a very great check imposed on the evil omissions or deeds of men like Rajah Sahib and the Sheikh.”

Or again: “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.”

In the face of distinct and emphatic warnings like these, I do not see how even illiterate and ignorant men could possibly attribute *all* their ills to the blunders of the British administration. But, as I have already explained, these pamphlets are not addressed and cannot reach the illiterate and ignorant, but only that massive lower middle class, most of whom can read and write, and who are highly intelligent, although they lack wholly Western culture. You, it seems, in common with so many officials, undervalue the mental capacity of our better class common people, because they dare not open their mouths and become utterly stupefied before you; but there

are at this moment at least ten millions of these, any one of whom (might he meet you face to face as an equal, without any fear of consequences) could, though he knows no language but his mother-tongue, and is possibly by no means clear as to the Viceroy's name, silence you, great and able as you are, in half an hour, from his own experiences, as to the practical difficulty of getting justice, as to the cruel oppression of the Police, as to the hardness and iniquity in practice of our Revenue Codes, as to the pressure of taxation, the hardships entailed by our Arms and Forest laws, &c. If you think that the people do not know and feel bitterly about all these things, if you think that they do not speak in far harsher and less measured terms about all these matters, amongst themselves, than we speak of them in the pamphlets, then you are still living, I fear, in a dreamland outside the realities of this work-a-day world of ours, accepting what we should *all wish* to be, for what really *is*, and scarcely sufficiently realize what is going on, everywhere, below the delusive surface of our official veneer.

21. You make it in the same passage, though I have not, I see, quoted the words, a charge against us that we nowhere define the sufferings to which we refer. Now is this reasonable, considering that we are addressing the people who are suffering? If you meet a man whose face shows suffering, who tells you that his shoe is hurting him, and who asks you how he can obtain relief, do you sit down first to define the exact points where that shoe pinches? He knows that already too well! On the contrary, you, seeing that the fault lies in the hardness of the leather and its failure to adapt itself to the natural contour of the foot, tell him at once that all he has to do is to soften it by thoroughly impregnating it with some emollient, when the undue and galling pressure at many points will cease, and the softened leather will automatically adapt itself to the foot. Moreover, unless you are very unwise, you do not begin by telling him that the shoe is *not* hurting him—, on the contrary you say "poor fellow, you are suffering sadly, I see, but you have only got to do this, and you will be ever so much easier, but mind this won't cure that whitlow on your finger." And such is our course in the pamphlets; we do not weary him by defining his grievances which he already knows too well; we do not pretend he is *not* suffering when he and we both know he *is* suffering, but we tell him the truth that a great deal of his pain is due to the rigid, inelastic, unconformable character of our administration, and that this can be remedied by impregnating it with an emollient Indian and national element, and we tell him how to set to work to bring this,

about. Thus we not only put him in the way of securing relief but we leave him with hope in his heart, the only true antidote to that bitterness (which the most trivial circumstance may convert into a still more dangerous feeling) which springs from suffering for which no remedy but self-destruction seems possible.

22. This, I submit, is true wisdom; we do not blink or pretend to ignore the grave evils that exist; to do this, to our ideas, would be, not Loyalty, but something of a very different character, though both words begin with an "L." We don't paint our picture *couleur-de-rose*, because it would not be true, and because he knows the case so well that he would merely laugh at us, but we put the case in far milder language than he uses amongst his fellows, and the thickness and depth of the darker shades of our picture are the very smallest that he, or any one who understands what the people really suffer, can be persuaded to accept as true to nature. Is it possible that you fail to realize that, despite our beneficent intentions, despite our glorious achievements and all the material blessings of one class that these have paved the way for, the internal administration of the country, where justice, police, taxation and poverty are concerned (and these are the main things to the middle and lower classes) is an almost hopeless muddle, a "mere *eidolon* and sham?"

23. We are face to face with misery and misgovernment in every direction—a misery and misgovernment that is the talk amongst themselves of the leading men in every hamlet. They acknowledge and are grateful for the many unquestionably fine things we have done for them, but they are not altogether the ignorant and illiterate mass you fancy them, and in every hamlet there are men, the natural leaders of the rest who equally recognize and grumble over the many bad things they have to put up with by reason of our well-intentioned ignorance of how to fit our burthen properly to their backs. In our pamphlets we approach these intelligent men with sympathy, we admit their grievances, but we put them in a milder shape than they themselves do; we tell them that the "The English Government is superior to all other Governments in the world, for its fundamental principle is to shape its policy according to the wishes of the people." We tell them emphatically (in a passage which you yourself quote at the close of your 12th para.) that it is not the individual governors or officials who are to blame for the shortcomings of the administration, but the system, the form of that administration; and we further show them how, by loyal and constitutional efforts, they can secure the amelioration of

that system, and a remedy for many of the evils they have to contend against. Now I submit—and I believe that in England, at any rate, the vast majority of thinking men will agree with me—that this is the *only* wise and loyal course. But if you are really still able to persuade yourself that the internal administration of the country is, on the whole, very satisfactory, while I *know* that in many respects it is little better than a chaos, and that, in just those matters which touch the bulk of the population most closely, justice, police and taxation, its defects and their consequences are grievous to a degree, how can we ever agree as to what is the loyal manner of dealing with the case?

24. And the tone of the pamphlets is not kindly. I think the tone of the last quotation in my 14th para., eminently kindly. I think the following, which illustrates what good district officers and their wives are and may be (mind such people are merely a blessed minority), equally kindly in tone.

“RAMBAKSH.—That is very true no doubt, *Moulvi 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, unfortunately, at this moment, there are not in your whole great Government of the United Provinces more than six European officials of whom the people, amongst themselves, speak as highly as Rambaksh does of his Collector. There are a few others that are liked, but there are widely known blemishes in their lives that militate against that liking, and there are a greater number that the people dislike or despise even more than they fear them, while as to the major portion of the officials they are nothing to the people and the people are nothing to them. And in this we find a clue, not only to much of the maladministration from which the people suffer, but to the entire failure to realise this suffering which pervades the official mind, and which, I cannot but surmise from your tone, must be, to some extent, shared by you. The silver chord of sympathy which once, to some extent, bound together rulers and ruled has snapped; our district officers as a body no longer love or lean upon their people, and the people no longer love or rely upon them, and the consequence is that, despite their energy, industry and ability, their paid *mokbirs* (informers) and the inevitable clique of visiting toadies, who have ever the rupee ready for the *husoor's* orderly's itching palm, our district-

officers (and necessarily our more exalted officials who can only learn anything through these) are as ignorant of what the people really think, feel and suffer, as if they had chambers in the Albany and lived and worked there. I am not sure that the administration would suffer if one-half of our district officers really did this. They would be living in a healthier moral atmosphere and would no longer be, as they so often now are, the unconscious tools of small and evil cliques.

25 I read with pleasure the passages that in this same para. 10 you quote from the Catechism in reference both to the attitude of many of the Anglo-Indian officials and the general character of the existing Legislative Councils. I re-read these passages with the greatest care, and cannot discover in them one word that should be even modified. They appear to me (and, let me note, I had nothing earthly to do with them, as they were written by Mr. Viraragava Chariar in Madras and approved by the Committee, when I was in Simla, and published and circulated without my ever seeing them) they appear to me, I say, to embody the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, as completely as it is possible for any human writing to do so.

26. But when in your 11th para. you come to state your objections to these passages, you must forgive me if I say, to use an expressive colloquialism, that you seemed to me to get a little mixed. When pray did we ever say that the big useless men so often put in former times into Council (since the Hon'ble S. Subramania's speech at the first Congress much greater care has been exercised in this matter everywhere) would not show fight if you tried to meddle with their own personal rights and privileges? Even the worm when trodden on will turn, and even Rajah Rampal Singh's good uncle of pious memory would not have held up his hand along with the Viceroy had it been made clear to him that what the Viceroy was advocating involved serious loss to him, the Rajah, personally. According to your own showing the Bengal Zemindars and Oudh Taluqdars were not trying to do any good to the country (which is what we said such men rarely fight for), but only struggling strenuously for their own personal interests; and did we ever accuse them of any want of readiness to do this? And when again did we say that the measures of Government are opposed to the rights of the people as a general assertion? That they have been so in many cases I would not deny, but the general tenor of the pamphlets goes to show that this arises, as a rule, from failure to realize the whole of the facts of the case.

27. You refer to these two acts as a triumphant vindication of these Councils as a reality—why, they are a standing

proof of our assertion that these are a sham. Over the details of these measures there was doubtless a good deal of wrangling, and here and there illogical additions were made in the Bengal Tenancy Bill which made it about as clumsy and contradictory an enactment as we have on the statute book. As passed, it contained sections absolutely irreconcilable, and if they have not yet passed an amending Act (I do not follow the proceedings in such minor matters of the Council) they will soon have to do so. If you do not believe *me*, ask Mr. Macdonnell, or any other of the Bengal men, who really know the subject in practice. But I say, despite the so-called strenuous efforts and strong opposition (which did not affect the main result in the least), the principles of the bills, the real points at issue, had all been determined in the Executive Council. So far as essentials were concerned, the submission of the bills to the Legislative Council, and all the Committees and the debates, were a sham. All the strenuous exertions, all the strong opposition of the Zemindars and Taluqdars, did not result in modifying, in any essential point, the views of the Executive.

28. You are very jubilant about these two bills, but I am by no means sure that the people share your good opinion of them. So far as the Bengal Tenancy Act is concerned, I am informed that a large majority of the agriculturists of all classes, more or less, disapprove and dislike it. As to the Oudh bill, I know as yet nothing about what the zemindars and ryots think of it; probably it has hardly yet come home to these latter. But one of the greatest Taluqdars told me here the other day that it was pure confiscation, and that it created what, broadly speaking, never had existed in Oudh—occupancy rights. I know that an infinite amount of honest labour was bestowed on both bills, but I know that, so long as an English executive, not largely tempered by a native element, determines the principles of bills of this class, and an English majority practically determines their form, such labours will never either elicit or deserve the gratitude of the people.

29. The concluding passages of your eleventh para., so far from refuting, entirely confirm all that is alleged about many of the nominated Native Members of the Council. No one, for one moment, questioned their readiness to oppose Government in cases where their own pockets are to be roughly touched; these are very exceptional cases that occur once in a lifetime. What is contended, and that you admit, is that in all matters which do not touch their own personal interests they are apathetic, as you call it, subservient to Government and utterly careless of the welfare of their countrymen, as we consider it,

and what we say is, that in the case of elected members these would have to drop alike that strenuous energy where their own pockets were concerned and that apathy where the welfare of every one else is at stake, or we, their constituents, would know the reason why.

30. Turning now to your 12th para. I feel greater difficulty in discussing the Conversation, because of this I am the author, and cannot feel sure, therefore, that I am impartial in thinking it very good, and in being prepared to defend and maintain every word it contains.

But let me set you right on one point. Rajah Harbansrai is not the Government of India, but the Government of England, a personification, if you like, of the House of Commons. Having quoted a passage, pregnant as it seems to me with truth, you remark that under the "rule" (of the officials here, who hold their office in virtue of authority delegated to them directly or indirectly by the Government of England) "ignorant people" (not so very ignorant, please, but intelligent men, who in their practical experience in the matters in question would put most of us to shame) "are invited by this pamphlet "to believe that they are growing poorer and poorer." And are they not? And is not this all due to our ignorance as foreigners of how best to adjust the details of internal administration? That we more earnestly and sincerely desire the good of the people (though the good we desire is *our* idea of good, not theirs) than perhaps any previous rulers may be conceded; that by our education we are raising them, and that by our practical applications of the science of the West we have been able to afford them facilities of communication, and the like, undreamt of in the past, can be denied by no one. Why then are the people, as a whole, less well off? Why is real justice more difficult to obtain? Why is the Police more persistently oppressive and extortive? Why does the land yield a smaller produce than in the time of Akbar? Simply because the whole scheme of our administration has become, especially during the last thirty years, too centralized, too Europeanized, too foreign to the genius of the people; because in all our efforts, even in the noblest of these, even in education, we have blundered and worked too persistently on our own lines, too little on theirs and through them. And now it is too late to retrace our steps; we have practically obliterated the old system, we have hastily set forces in action whose growth will be irresistible, and all we can do both towards guiding these to the good of India and the glory of England, and towards remedying that internal maladministration which has resulted from our well-intentioned but unsuitable systems; is to associate with ourselves, as rapidly and

as largely as possible, the best and ablest of the natives themselves, alike in our legislation and administration.

31. *Au reste*, no reasonable man ever claims to push an illustration to its utmost verbal limits—Kambakhtpur, Shamshpur, Satyanas Kheyra, and the leading characters are drawn from life and introduced as concrete illustrations of abstract propositions. Nay, the conversation itself is not wholly imaginary; indeed, though re-arranged and shorn of remarks by Rambaksh, to which objection might reasonably be taken, it rather closely follows a conversation that actually occurred some three years ago in one of the villages of your own Province. But because in their main features these villages aptly illustrated the difference between the despotic and constitutional systems, and were thus prominently brought forward, and because Rambaksh said in the quaint, half-joking, half-sad and serious way that our villagers have, that if he and the rest of his co-villagers were cattle they might make a rupee or two out of their skins, which was about all they had left, it is really too much of a good thing to pretend that the pamphlet teaches that *all* the people of India have little left but their skins, though, unfortunately, this *is* the case with some forty odd millions of them.

32. You proceed to quote further from the pamphlet and then say, (para. 13) "the Government of India is here described as a Despotic Government, which, except by a misuse of the term, as usually applied, it is not." Well, if I err in this matter, at least I err in good company. I can remember at least three Viceroys, on different occasions, reminding me that "ours is a Despotic Government," and by a really extraordinary coincidence, as I was writing the foregoing paragraph, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab came in quite unexpectedly (he is going down on Monady) to have a little talk with me about the Congress movement, in regard to the *ultimate* results of which he also has some doubts, although on wholly different grounds to those taken by you. In the course of conversation he said: "Of course our Government is a despotism." I said: "Certainly." "But," said he, "like all others, tempered by fear." I said: "I don't think *that* is quite true of our Government; I should say tempered by good intentions." He said: "As to the good intentions, there can be no doubt, but I still think that if you carefully review the past you will agree that my definition is the more correct." Now, whether he or I am nearer the truth as regards this latter point, at any rate he no more doubted that our Government was a despotism than I did, nor than any other thinking man with whom I have ever discussed the matter has done. In finding fault with me for describing the Government of India as a despotism, you will, I

believe, find yourself almost alone amongst closely reasoning and accurately thinking men (amongst whom I fully admit that you must be numbered), and I can only conclude that in this particular instance you have allowed your mind to import into your conception of a despotism, the cruelty, and wilful oppression that in some countries have accompanied this form of rule. Ours is neither a wicked nor a cruel despotism; it is a well-intentioned and benign despotism, *but* a despotism none the less.

33. Then you go on to say that our final conclusions are based upon four propositions, which you (is it possible?) apparently consider doubtful, and you go on to explain that the onus of proof of all these rests with us, and that until some serious effort is made to establish these we must expect a considerable section of the community here and elsewhere to hesitate to accept these conclusions. Let me first say that I do expect that the unenlightened conservative section of mankind, the good folks whose cry is *super antiquas vias stare*, will hesitate, nay will refuse, to accept our conclusions. What reform has ever yet been mooted that they did not oppose? Alike in art and literature, in science and in politics, from the days when Galileo (to go no further back) was persecuted for setting forth the diurnal motion of the earth, what new or quasi-novel departure has ever been attempted, that these progress-fearers have not dissented from and denounced.

34. But I confess that I should no more have expected you, a true friend of progress, and a thorough Liberal, to require any demonstration of the first proposition (*viz.*, that after a certain period of their existence all Despotic Governments become injurious) than to require this in regard to the rising and setting of the sun. In both cases we have the whole life-long experience of all thinking men and the entire history of the globe to attest the fact, and putting aside an infinitesimal fraction of perversely-minded men like Froude, you will not find, I think, any man of any intellectual capacity in Europe or America who will contest this very harmless proposition. As to when that certain period did or will arrive in each concrete instance, wide differences of opinion will exist, but that sooner or later it must occur will, I believe, be almost as universally admitted as that sooner or later death must overtake every living being.

35. The second proposition, *viz.*, that the time has now arrived when the despotic form of our administration has become in many respects injurious to this country, is of course quite open to argument, though I can hardly understand any true Liberal like yourself questioning the fact,

Starting from first principles we may lay down as broad general rules (subject to certain exceptions, which however do not affect our present case, and requiring many minor riders to make them universally true)—

1st.—That the educated natives of any country, whose whole lives are passed in that country, whose whole interests are centered, and whose entire property is situated there, will know more of the wants of that country and its people, will understand better how to provide for those wants, and will be more interested, earnest and persevering in making that provision, than educated foreigners who only come to that country as visitors for a term of years, whose most vital interests are centered in a distant realm, where also the bulk of their property is situated, and, *à fortiori*, than such foreigners if their knowledge of the language, customs, habits of thought and generally of the genius of the people of that country happens to be extremely imperfect, and most of them devoid of any real or close sympathy with that people.

2nd.—That there is wisdom in a multitude of Councillors, and that, in the long run, for the general purposes of every-day administration, the decisions arrived at as the results of full and free discussion, by large bodies of men fully conversant with all the circumstances, will be sounder than those arrived at, after mere consultations *in camera*, by a few men, imperfectly acquainted with those circumstances.

3rd.—That the broader the basis of any Government, *i.e.*, the larger the proportion of the educated or intelligent men amongst the governed that directly or indirectly take part in it, the more stable it will be.

36. Now our despotism in India has arrived at a period when, despite there being tens of thousands of thoroughly informed natives of the country available to assist in this work, it practically confines the discrimination of and provision for the wants of the country and people to (as regards the matters in question) imperfectly informed foreigners; when, despite there being huge numbers of non-officials of all races, thoroughly conversant with the practical working amongst the people of the internal administration, it practically leaves all decisions in regard to this entirely in the hands of tiny groups of officials, who are most imperfectly acquainted with these practical results, and when, despite the existence of the great bodies of thinking and educated men referred to, it imperils the stability of the Government by practically excluding them, almost absolutely, therefrom. I could write fifty pages showing in detail, branch by branch, and department by department, how the present despotism

bureaucratic system is retarding progress, and entailing hardships on the people ; but I submit that even in the brief abstract form in which I have put it I have sufficiently shown that our despotism has now arrived at a time when it has become injurious to the best interests of India. I distinctly refuse to consider whether the continuance of this injury to India, and her people, may or may not bring any counterbalancing advantages to Great Britain and *her* people. I hold it impossible that, in the long run, it should do so ; but I simply decline even to consider the question, because I hold it, and I know you do also, as an axiom (in regard to which I will no more listen to an argument than I would as to the preferability of *vice* to *virtue*) that the sole justification of our presence in India is the good of India and her people.

37. The third proposition is that, in consequence of the already too prolonged continuance of a despotic form of Government, misrule, to a serious extent, and much suffering prevail, and, after what I have already said in the immediately preceding and previous paragraphs, this calls for no further exposition. It is open to you, or to any one, to deny what I have stated in regard to the lamentably frequent miscarriage of justice, especially in criminal matters, the oppression of the police, their koseness to the people of our revenue systems, the extreme poverty of enormous numbers of them, &c., but it is the simple truth, and all who know the ways of the people of this land will admit that, although you are a far greater man and much cleverer and wiser than I am, I am in a far better position to learn the truth and far more likely to be right, in this matter, than yourself. And I claim not only not to exaggerate, but to say a great deal less than I might. If I chose to write an Indian Uncle Tom's cabin, I could awaken a storm of indignation in England, not far inferior to that which Mrs. Stowe's work elicited in America. Mr. Zerberdust was a man whom your father would have gladly turned out of the service, and his doings in this case were exactly as stated. I could produce a score of cases, involving equal injustice and oppression, though of a different nature, with High Court comments on them, and that despite the incredible difficulty that exists of bringing home misdeeds to district officials. A single case like this (or like that of the officer who recently cruelly flogged 40 men and boys before breakfast for what the High Court declared was absolutely no offence), successfully worked up to the High Court and thus secured the reprobation it merits, indicates at least twenty similar ones, of which neither the general public nor the Government ever hear anything ; but I have never dwelt on such cases, because I know that, even though many of our modern officers are out of touch

with their people, are unsympathetic, and only intelligently mechanical in their dealings with these, it is only a comparatively very small minority who are wilfully oppressive and wicked, and to give any great prominence to *their* doings, would be to convey as unfair a general picture of our officers as Uncle Tom's Cabin did of the slaveholders as a body.

38. The last proposition is that the maladministration and suffering that results from the want of adjustment to their environment of our judicial, police and fiscal systems can only be remedied and relieved by the gradual and progressive introduction, *not*, as *you* phrase it, of representative Government, *but* of a Representative element into the Government. Truly after what I have said this last proposition seems to me not only to require no separate demonstration, but to follow as a necessary corollary. We have for fifty years been doing our best. You and I are both agreed on this point; but none the less, in many matters of internal administration, facts all over the country stare us in the face, defying us to deny that we have made a terrible mess of the business. We are the cleverest people on the face of the earth—at least we think so—and even our bitterest detractors will not deny us a large modicum of brains and capacity for and willingness to work; and yet we have failed, and failed lamentably, and, to me at least, it appears simply and *palpably*, because, with all other qualifications, we yet lack that supreme one of being ourselves one in mind and heart with the people whose affairs we have sought to regulate; because we are ignorant to a great extent of those affairs and wholly so of the manners in which it would best suit and please them to have these transacted; because, in a word, we are foreigners, and despite our most ardent aspirations to do right, are unable to achieve this in these, as it were, domestic matters, without the guidance and the fullest co-operation of the people of the country themselves, and this we *can* only secure by the method indicated in this last proposition.

39. The greater portion of your 14th para. has already been replied to, but when you say that I must have seen in the newspapers that these pamphlets have incurred the severest censures from a variety of native pens, I must remind you that if in three or four newspapers (whose character is so well known that no one out of a certain small ring fence heeds in the smallest degree what they say) I *have* seen possibly a score of such attacks *professedly* by native pens, I have, in ten times as many newspapers, seen endorsements, of all the pamphlets contain, by many hundred times as many *unquestionably* native pens. I do not, myself, attach much importance to either set of facts, but if any argument is to be deduced from them that argument

would unquestionably be favourable and not adverse to the pamphlets. Again when you say that, "feeling as strongly as I do the extreme un wisdom of writing and circulating among ignorant and excitable people, foreign to us in blood and differing in religion, such accusations as these against the present Government in India, I am unable to agree that native gentlemen who profess to share the same view are necessarily actuated by feelings other than my own," I must remind you that the classes to whom these pamphlets are addressed, the classes which they can alone reach, *viz*, first the English-educated classes ; secondly, the various classes of tradesmen and shopkeepers ; thirdly, the well-to-do ryots, and in, possibly, five places in India, artizans, are not ignorant in any true sense of the word, and so far from being excitable are probably the most unexcitable and law-abiding people on the face of the earth—that differences in blood and religion have really nothing to do with the question since it is the system and not the individual, as is distinctly declared, to which objection is taken, and systems, like corporations, have neither physically nor spiritually—that our accusations, as *you* call them—guarded admissions of such facts as it was impossible to blink, as *I* call them—are at any rate not one-half so bitter as those which for many years now all these people have been, amongst themselves, everywhere and at all times, bringing against our Government, and that coupled with these admissions, is information as to how by loyal and constitutional means the evils complained of may be mitigated. It is all the difference of your standpoint. You think that all these people who have not had an English education are a dull, ignorant lot, quite satisfied with the Government, and, thinking thus, of course you say it is a shameful thing to go and awaken discontent and preach to people about grievances which they have not recognized, and these pamphlets are abominable. But the facts are that these people are very sharp and intelligent in their own Oriental way, and that, while quite admitting how good are many of our arrangements, they are intensely *dissatisfied* with Government in regard to all those matters on which we touch, and so far from adding fuel to fire, we so put things as to make them look on the whole hopeful, and give the people a legitimate aim and a channel for the discharge of their dissatisfaction. It all comes to this. You still believe that the shoe is a very decent fit ; but the whole country knows that it is *not* ; and when you say that you cannot see why native gentlemen may not share your views, our reply is, because every really intelligent native gentleman knows too well how the case stands, and because it is impossible for any really enlightened and honest native gentleman, who

mixes personally with the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, and knows what they have to put up with, specially in the way of criminal (in?) justice and police, and what they have been saying amongst themselves for the last ten years, to deny that the Congress is doing a good work both for the country and for British rule. I reiterate, though you bring this up against me sarcastically, all I have ever said about our desire to promote harmony and good-will amongst all classes, but I must ask you to consider whether if we have spikes in our shoes which grievously prick those beneath us, that good will is more likely to be promoted by blinking these unpleasant facts, or by truthfully drawing attention to them and indicating an orderly method of securing their removal? Nay I would ask you to consider whether any real good can ever come out of anything short of the simple truth dispassionately told. This I claim for the pamphlets; and certainly they set down naught in malice, though I *cannot* assert that they in naught extenuate. But by this time, with your roseate views, you will have set me down as a hopeless pessimist. I regret this and it is a mistake, for, if I see the evil, I see much that is good and have large hopes of better things to come; but bear in mind at least—and it is a truth of which time will convince you—that in those matters in which my views now seem to you pessimistic, these latter are shared by ninety-nine out of every hundred Indians capable of reasoning correctly on what they see and hear, though fully half of them may lack the moral courage to confess their convictions, and a small percentage may be found unconscientious enough to deny them point blank.

40. In para. 15 you tell me that another seriously objectionable method of the Congress is that of identifying itself with the majority of the people of India, and assuming that it has a right to speak in the name of that majority. But my dear friend how can we do otherwise consistently with truth? It was quite true that at the time of the last elections not above ten per cent. of the adult males of the population knew anything about the Congress, but the perfect touch in which we were, through this fraction, with the rest of the population, enabled us to be certain that the general views expressed by the Congress were those of nine-tenths at least of the intelligent members of the entire community. We have never denied that there are some 12 millions of adult males, representing a population of about fifty millions, who are utterly incapable of thinking about or comprehending such things, who mentally and morally are very little above the level of our cattle; but no reasonable man would dream of including such in the people of India that has to be represented. The members for

Yorkshire, though they represent the county, are not supposed to represent its horses, and neither do we, who represent this country, profess to represent its cattle, be they human or bovine.

41. Your reference to the appeal to the British Nation signed by the Presidents of the three Congresses, Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naraoji and Budrudin Tyabjee (though *published* in London by our accredited Representative there) is incorrect. It nowhere purports to *come from* 200,000,000 of people; it merely states that such and such *are* the grievances of that vast population, and that all classes of the people of this country have met in Representative Congresses, year by year, for the last three years, and have formulated their needs; every word of which is strictly true. The appeal lies before me now, and you have only to re-peruse it to see that you were mistaken. And in entire accordance with this was Mr. Bradlaugh's explanation to the people of Northampton, that when he called Messrs. Dadabhai, Norton, Bonnerjee, &c., representatives of India, he did not mean that all the people had elected them. Even in England, where a regular electoral system existed, and had existed for centuries out of a population of some 60 thousand, only some 4 thousand had actually voted for him, and yet no one would question that he represented Northampton. So far as I have seen no word has been said or written in England or elsewhere by either Mr. Dadabhai or any other of our representatives, at variance with the fact that, so far as could be ascertained at the time of the last elections, not above ten per cent. of the population, then, knew anything about the *Congress*, though this does not mean that these others knew nothing of the grievances which the Congress is seeking to redress. Of course it cannot be said *now* that not more than ten per cent. of the population know anything about the *Congress*. At the *lowest* estimate, at this present moment, fully one fifth of the 38 or 40 million intelligent adult males, comprised in the population of India, know a good deal about the *Congress* and, save an inappreciable fraction, are favourable to it.

42. You say you do not understand what is meant by indirect and passive support. If the elders of a village talking over the matter on the *chopal* decide that one of their number shall go in and attend a meeting at which delegates are to be elected, then we say that those elders, and the people who follow their guidance in the village, indirectly support the movement. If at any meeting of a *beraderi*, or guild or caste, one or two of those present say: "Brothers, we are going in next week to the "Sudder and we shall attend the Congress meeting there to elect "delegates;" and the others say: "Well, the Congress is a good

"thing, we have no objection,"—then we reckon such *beraderi* or guild, &c., as passive supporters.

43. You object to the expression "the pretended defec-
"tion of the Musulman community from this national move-
"ment." I should use this expression at this present moment
with even greater confidence. Wait and see! Large measures
take time, in this country, to mature, but I have every reason to
believe that in a not remote future we shall be able to furnish
unimpeachable statistics proving, what we know now to be the
fact, *viz.*, that out of about eight millions of intelligent adult male
Mahomedans, fully one-eighth are already in favour of the
Congress and not even one per cent. are in any way, really,
opposed to it.

44. In your 16th para. you say: "Of the unmeasured
"and often scurrilous language of some of the Congress news-
"papers, I will say nothing, for I see that you yourself, in your
"speech at Allahabad, deprecate it." Of course I *do* deprecate
and condemn it in the strongest terms, and so does every
man of any sort of mark or influence connected with the
movement. But what may I ask do you mean by "the Congress
newspapers." Omitting Government Gazettes and the Madras
district papers, which are edited by the Collectors, out of 371
newspapers and periodicals of sorts, of which we have a know-
ledge, 309, including papers like the *Madras Mail* and the *Bombay
Gazette*, are distinctly Pro-Congress. If out of this vast number
there are some that degrade our noble cause by foolish or im-
proper utterances, is it any matter for astonishment? I see a
good deal of unmeasured and scurrilous language in some of
the London papers, even in those Society papers that constitute
the literary pabulum of the very cream of English Society, and
if you really expect our Press here to be exempt from blemishes
conspicuous in a considerable and important section of the
London Press, you must surely think that our people are
altogether superior to the London people, which is hardly re-
concilable with your contention as to their ignorance and illite-
rateness. But, moreover, if some members of that large majority of
the Press that supports the Congress are scurrilous and ill-con-
ditioned, we must remember that the example was first set them
by the Anti-Congress Papers. In all India *The Englishman*,
The Pioneer and *The Civil and Military Gazette* are the most
scurrilous and ill-conditioned, though the *Lucknow Express*
(nominally the organ of the Taluqdars, really that of certain
Anti-Congress officials), and one or two others run them pretty
close. And while I join with you heart and soul in condemn-
ing the scurrilous writings of certain native Pro-Congress papers,
and these are few in number and mostly conducted by

semi-educated men of no social position, I should have liked to see you even more ready to condemn the scurrilous writings of those English newspapers conducted by men who by position and education are, and in the conduct of their papers ought to be, gentlemen, and who by their evil example have led astray some of the weaker members of our flock. Could not you now preach a little abstinence from scurrility to the *Pioneer*, for instance, with which you have great influence, and which a short time ago dubbed Munshi Newal Kishore, a glib oleaginous Baboo, because he happened to be a native, though it now sings his praises because he poses as an Anti-Congressist? Could not you advise the *Lucknow Express*, nominally the organ of those native gentlemen whom you believe to share your views as to the state of the country, not to circulate infamous slanders as they do, *e.g.*, when the other day they said that Mr. Bhimjee was paid Rs. 10 a day by the Hindus to go about the country and lecture on the Congress, when every mortal man knows that the Hindus do not pay Bhimjee a farthing, and that he gave up a good appointment, and took up the cause solely for the love of the thing and because, as he said, having worked all his life only for himself and his family, he wished before he died to do something for his country also? It is all right extracting the moats from our eyes—it will do us good; but do not you think you might sometimes take a turn at operating for the beams in those of our opponents?

45. I entirely agree with you that the passage which you quote from the preface might just as well have been omitted. But in almost all you say about it you are under a mistake. In the first place, it is quite incorrect to say—"your own preface." I am the General Secretary, it is my duty to draft all important papers, but my relation to the Committee is precisely that of a Secretary to the Government of India, to the Viceroy and Council. If I write a pamphlet, like the *Conversation*, I am personally responsible for every word, and as I write, so the text issues; but if I draft any letter, preface or manifesto for the Committee, my responsibility there ceases, and the draft by no means always issues in the shape in which it was drawn. I dwell upon this because Europeans, who do not know how many much abler men than myself help to guide the Congress movement, fancy that I am its Alpha and Omega, instead of being merely, as I am, an humble though zealous member of a large party.

46. Having set you right on this general point, and having, notwithstanding in the case of this particular sentence, accepted the primary responsibility, let me repeat that I entirely agree with you that it sins against our first principles;

indeed some English friends have taken the same objection to it. At the same time, we being mortals do not pretend that we can in every small particular always act strictly up to our principles. Can you? And we must plead that if not very charitable it was at least true. For to borrow your rather kakophuistic language, the man who *after* Messrs. Dadabhai and Tyabjee's explanations could persist in saying that our Political Congress ought to be also a Social Congress, *must* of necessity *be* either a fool or a knave. It is an abuse of terms to talk of difference of opinion in this case, just as much as it would be in the case of a man who declared black was white. It is not a question of opinion, it is a naked fact. For you will observe that the people we are speaking of are not those alluded to at the end of your 16th para., of whom more anon, who put forward, according to you, views which *may* be treated as matters of opinion, but only of those persons who, *after* the utterly irreconcilable nature of the two works had been clearly demonstrated to them, could yet persist in finding fault because both were not combined in one undertaking. Of course you are quite right, and we will all try and profit by your just rebuke; the charitable way of dealing with knaves and fools is not to force them, poor things, to blush, by calling them by their right names, but rather to smile pityingly and pass on. But then, you know, persistent knaves, at times, and persistent fools, very often, become so irritating that the wisest of us at last get cross and fall away somewhat from our philosophic ideal. *Humanum est errare nemo mortalium semper, &c.*—but I entirely agree with you—the passage you refer to was not up to our standard of charity, and it had better have been omitted.

47. But you are in error in quoting the three fundamental objects of the National Party, as indicating what the *Congress* ought to aim at. For the Congress is only one of many national movements, set on foot by that party, and, as the page you quote from explicitly sets forth, the Congress was designed only to carry out one branch of the second of their objects, *viz*, regeneration along the political line. The text is quite clear on this point, and I cannot understand how you fell into this mistake. Nor are the other branches neglected; besides those that have arisen independently, more than two hundred schools and associations, of one kind and another, for promoting mental, moral and social progress, owe their origin to the same impulse that gave birth to the Congress movement, and in all of these you will find the prime movers, if not taking *also* an active part in the Congress movement, at any rate strongly in its favour. And this brings me to what you say at the close of your 16th para., that certain social reformers urge as objections

to the Congress movement. But who *are* these critics? Europeans who are only reformers of *other people*, and on paper. There is not a single real native reformer of any light or learning, whether a labourer on the mental, moral or social line, who has ever put forward any such preposterous argument; because, in the first place, all know that since the Congress started, the activity along all these lines has been infinitely multiplied, and because, although the Congress does not directly deal with social and moral questions, it indirectly assists the solution of all the most difficult problems involved, with an ever-increasing force, by breaking down the barriers of local and provincial prejudices, by widening the scope of men's vision, and by gathering together and facilitating the freest *consultation* amongst a large majority of those most interested in these questions. For the educated men of India are not blind, and they know well that to conquer for their country the position at which they aim, they must advance (taking the intelligent portion of their countrymen with them) pretty well *pari passu* along the whole line, and the men who are the most interested in the political regeneration of India are, with few exceptions, those who are most earnestly labouring for its regeneration along the other lines also. Here, as elsewhere, it is simply that the real facts have been withheld from you or you would be with us entirely.

48. In your 17th para. you again make a mistake; you say that I compared the Congress to the infant Hercules. Pardon me, I compared it to the handful of leaven hid in many bushels of meal; all I said about the infant Hercules was that you could no more expect from our Congress at the present day the great work at which it ultimately aims than you could have looked for from Hercules in his infancy, those mighty deeds which glorified his manhood. But your intuition has not failed you; our Congress, though in its infancy, *is* destined to be a Hercules, and true to its prototype, it now, in its infancy, aims only at reforming the internal administration, the nation's domestic affairs, though doubtless, as the years roll on, and the reformed and expanded Legislatures it contends for, broaden into Parliaments, it will, in its maturity, cleanse and thoroughly purge the Augean stable of our foreign policy. But why need you or I trouble ourselves about things that can no more possibly concern *us* than the next transit of Venus?

49. I need not follow you in your 18th para.; nothing can be more moderate or kindly than your discussion of our methods. Considering how little of the real state of the country and its people, in these particular matters, seems to be known to you, I wonder that you do not speak far more strongly than

you do, and I fully appreciate your reticence. I have no possible doubt, however, that as you grow to know more of the truth you will find yourself more and more in agreement, not only with our methods, but our measures, and that some day, if you live, you will say, "after all they were very nearly right. I did not understand how far things had gone."

50. In your 19th para. you say that you are in doubts as to what the Congress scheme, for the reform and expansion of the Councils, really is, because the Resolutions say one thing and a passage in Mr. Viraraghava's Catechism seems to say something else! Surely, you are joking! The Cobden Club prints and circulates a vast number of books and pamphlets bearing on free trade; do you suppose that either the Club, or the free trade party, is responsible for or in any way endorses every passage in each of these publications? Of course not; the publishing committee merely goes through the work and satisfies itself that in its main lines the book is in accordance with free trade principles and publishes it. Each author is responsible for his own work. So it is with our committees; they satisfy themselves that pamphlets and leaflets submitted to them accord generally with the principles of the Congress movement, and that is all. For all details the individual author is responsible. When the last Report was compiled this Catechism and the Conversation were the only pamphlets in circulation and that is why they were reproduced, as *specimens*, not because the Congress party endorsed every word in them. Now, they may be reckoned by the score; almost every circle has its own pamphlets, leaflets and speeches, many of them never submitted to committees, but published on their own account by volunteers, but for all opinions expressed and facts stated in each and all of these, the individual authors and orators are responsible; and if you ever find anything in any of them at variance with the Resolutions of the Congress, you may rest perfectly satisfied that it is these latter, and not the opinions put forth by individual authors, that express the mature views of the Congress party; in other words—if you will not be *too* indignant—of the nation. To me, until I found that you too had doubts on the subject, it *did* seem "absurd nonsense" for any one to suppose that any opinion expressed by any individual writer could possibly have any weight or value in determining the aims and objects of a party, in face of the formal and explicit declarations of what these are by that entire party's accredited representatives in Congress assembled. You might as well, it seemed to me, get hold of Hansard, and selecting the speech of some individual member, declare that you were uncertain what the House of Commons really meant,

because, though the House had passed a formal Resolution on a certain subject, you found a passage in a speech of a member, reported in the House's own proceedings, that certainly said something quite different. However, if *you* could share this supposition, the expression "absurd nonsense" was inappropriate, and I withdraw it, and will only say that this supposition involves the most remarkable misapprehension that I have ever met with.

51. Nor is this the only misapprehension that comes upon me in this portion of your letter as a surprise. In this same 19th para. you go on to say: "A really Representative Council, in the present state of India, would include, you will have foreseen, very few of the class who crowd the Congress benches." My, possibly, limited foresight, I am bound to say, does not permit me to arrive at any such conclusion. We have had artizans, cultivators, intermediate tenure-holders, small and great land-holders, noblemen, shop-keepers, traders, money-lenders, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers (in every branch of the profession), engineers, doctors, missionaries, educationalists of all grades, literary men, newspaper editors, men earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows, millionaires, men belonging to every province and every important district, to every creed and every nationality (except the Jewish) in India, at our Congresses, and these men, the most intelligent and enlightened of the classes and creeds which they represented; and truly your contention that very few of these men would find places in a really representative Council appears incomprehensible. But let us understand each other. Do you consider the English House of Commons a really representative council? I do not say, mind, a theoretically perfect representative assembly, but, in your own words, a really representative council. If you do not, *cadet quæstio*, for we do not pretend to go beyond our teachers, and, perfect or imperfect, real or unreal, we shall be perfectly satisfied if we *ever* get as near an approximation to "a really representative council" as Great Britain now possesses. But if you admit that the House of Commons is a really representative council, then I must point out that all your arguments against the Madras Congress having been also a really representative council are untenable. Analysing Debrett's House of Commons for 1888, by the help of the brief biography of each member therein given, I find that not 2-5th, as at Madras, but fully 2-3rds of the members belong to that "small section of men," that "fragment of the English people," that "owes its existence" to high education and culture, and though these gentlemen have succeeded "by energy and by manipulation of the necessary methods in entering" the House, I doubt whether there

are 50 intelligent Englishmen who would agree with you in thinking that they thus "occupy a false position." To say of these gentlemen, or of our Madras men, that "they can, at the most, claim to represent their own views," is, to say the least, to occupy a position, never yet, to the best of my belief, occupied by any other intelligent Englishman. "Represent their own views"? Very likely, but unless these views are those of the majority of their constituents they will very soon cease to represent anything. Of course, as in England, the people here, *as a rule*, elect and will elect to represent them, the men that they think, on the whole, most likely to do them credit, or the men that they most like or look up to, and here, as in England, a large proportion of those elected will always be highly educated men. True our electoral system is only in its infancy, and yet it is not even now so very despicable. This year fully two and a half millions of adult males will have taken an actual part in the elections. From some divisions and provinces from which the reports have come in, the figures would indicate a far greater number, but other provinces, like your own in particular, are so backward that, though the number may exceed two and a half millions, I will only take it as this. Let us turn to the English list and see how the case stands, and it will be sufficient to take the first two boroughs and counties on the list, for Aberdeen, with its ancient University, is politically and educationally quite on a par with the best boroughs and counties in Great Britain.

Name of Borough or County.	Population.	Estimated adult males.	Registered electors.	Voted at the last election.
Aberdeen North ...	55,893	13,973	8,383,	5,865
" South ...	49,110	12,277	7,885	6,003
Aberdeenshire E. ...	83,295	20,824	12,522	7,496
" W. ...	66,834	16,708	10,500	5,511
	255,132	63,782	39,290	24,875

So in this most favoured locality only 63 per cent. of the registered electors and less than ten per cent. of the population took a direct part in the elections. But if you turn to the published analysis for the whole of Great Britain, which, however, I cannot verify, less than half* of the registered electors and less than 8 per cent. of the total population voted at the last general elections. Now looking to the relative condition of the two countries, it is quite certain that even if the English system obtained here, *mutatis mutandis*, the franchise being lowered with reference to the generally lower standard of means, we should not, at the outside, have above 20 millions of registered voters, and of these I believe that nearly, if not quite, one-eighth will this year directly join in the election of representatives—that is, about one-fourth the proportion in Great Britain. It is true that our voters will be only about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the population against, at any rate, less than 10 per cent. in the British Islands, but the far smaller proportion of highly educated men in India, most of whom become everywhere centres of political activity, fully explains this. But while in these respects Great Britain will advance little, our figures will improve rapidly year by year, and, as it is, I confess I am unable to see on what possible grounds you can allege that the Madras Congress was not just as *really* (though not as *perfectly*) representative of the people of India, as the House of Commons is of the people of Great Britain.

52. Again, when you say that if representation be adjusted to numbers, “numerically they (the highly educated classes) will be nowhere,” I think you fall into a double error. In the first place, the Congress has always advocated the English system, which adjusts representation quite as much by intelligence and property as by numbers, and has always repudiated the idea of mere manhood suffrage. In the second place, even *if* manhood suffrage obtained, the ryots everywhere (broadly speaking, of course there would be exceptions), and they constitute an immense majority of the population, would elect their favourite pleaders; and so would a considerable proportion of the zemindars and traders. The fact is that the greatest number of well-educated, ready, self-possessed, and independent men are to be found amongst our lawyers, and in any Indian House of Commons this class would be found to hold a considerable proportion of the seats, just as they did last year at Madras, and just as they do now in the House of Commons. But it occurs to me that you may possibly mean that, *if the Government had the selection of the Representatives*, members

* It seems difficult to believe this, but these are the figures that I cut out of an English paper just after the close of the last general elections.

belonging to the highly educated classes, our best men in fact, would be numerically nowhere ; and if so, I am in no position to contest the fact ; you yourself, a Governor, ought to know best about *this*. But, I submit, that it is only by an abuse of language that a people can be said to be represented by a set of men arbitrarily selected by a close bureaucracy, and that whenever any *real* system of representation is introduced into India, the bulk of the Representatives here, as in England will always be drawn from the more highly educated classes, be these classes themselves, numerically, (in proportion to the total population), weak or strong. The empire of mind is indestructible, and though clouds may at times, here or there, obscure their rays, sooner shall the sun cease to give light by day and the moon by night, than the more highly educated cease to be chosen as leaders and representatives by their less enlightened brethren.

53. You go on to say that the business of the more highly educated classes "at present seems to" you "to be to seek "to communicate to their countrymen, the enlightenment "which they themselves have received, more than to attempt to "represent in the councils either themselves or those to whom "enlightenment has not hitherto been vouchsafed." You, "think, "in a word, they would if" you "might dare to advise them, be "more usefully employed in educating the people than in educating the authorities." This is kindly put, but yet I must reply that your alternatives are not, as you seem to fancy, mutually exclusive, and that on the contrary it is their duty BOTH to seek to communicate their enlightenment to their less advanced countrymen *and* to represent these in councils, where at present, practically, nothing is understood of their real position, BOTH to educate the people *and* to *try* (the hardest task of all it would seem) to educate the authorities. And at all this, with their whole minds and hearts, they are working.

54. There is enlightenment of many kinds—mental, moral, political (in the broadest sense of the word). Everywhere throughout the country schools and colleges are springing up or being resuscitated, founded or revived, by our Indian friends : I can truly say that not a week passes without some one writing to me about some new educational institution, of one kind or another, that he or he and his friends, have just started or are about to start. Day by day the party labouring specially for the moral and religious regeneration of the country grows in size and in earnestness, though here, as in England, this party will always be in a minority, since to be a real member of this party involves, not merely the sacrifice of time and money,

but the reduction of preachings to practice, a purity of personal life, a conquest over human passions, prejudices and frivolities to which comparatively few—few in any country, in any age—are, or have been equal. All this is the work of those more enlightened classes to which you refer. But what then? All men cannot be schoolmasters, still less moral or religious instructors. There remains, what to every citizen of a free state (and you won't contend that we are *quite* slaves, will you?) there remains, I say, what to every free citizen is as important a branch of enlightenment as any (not a few would contend that it is *the* most important branch), *vis.*, enlightenment, as to his duties and rights as a citizen. At this branch too our educated classes are labouring earnestly. At this moment, there are not less than 500 men, belonging to these classes, who are doing their utmost to communicate directly by word of mouth their enlightenment on these points to their less advanced brethren. Hundreds of thousands (I believe I ought to say millions*) of pamphlets, speeches, tracts, leaflets are in circulation, to say nothing of what fully 100 newspapers (all edited by this same highly educated class, I omit the others) are weekly, tri-weekly, or daily setting forth, and not one day passes but what in one part or other of the country meetings, often several on the same day, with audiences of from 100 to 5,000 men are held, at which these matters are explained and discussed.

I doubt if it be possible, in practice, for any set of men to do more along all these three lines than our educated classes are doing at this moment, and independent of this incredible multitude of isolated efforts, they have organized as a synthesis of the entire national energy, THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT, which, while only designed directly for the diffusion of enlightenment on the one line, by the interest it evokes, by the discussions it gives rise to, by the teachings it conveys, by the lessons it inculcates of self-control and self-sacrifice, of subordination of self to others, of personal interests to those of the nation, and in a hundred other ways, really operates with almost equal effect along the lines of mental and moral development, and constitutes, as a whole, I believe, an instrument for the national regeneration along *all* lines, unparalleled in the history of the world.

55. But when we come to the education of the authorities it must, I fear, be confessed that our people have not done as much as seems to be required. The fact is that, while we recognized that a certain section of the European officials

* Of my own Allahabad speech alone in several languages, the printing of over 150,000 copies has been reported to me.

were (owing to class and race bias, limitation of grasp, and general want of adjustment to their Indian environment) incapable of realizing the real position of affairs, the great bulk of our foremost men assumed, almost as an axiom, that all the Europeans of light and leading (though they might not think it politic or becoming their official position to speak plainly about it) in their hearts understood and regretted the shortcomings of our administration and the feelings these were engendering, as thoroughly as they did themselves, and hence, unhesitatingly, looked to all such as our necessary and certain, though, in consequence of their position, passive allies and sympathizers. Yet here are you, one, "foremost in the ranks of time," one, whose decision on any serious political question, if only you had all the facts fully before you, nine out of ten men, would prefer to their own; a judicial-minded man, full too, I believe, of liberal instincts, writing me a letter absolutely irreconcilable with these characteristics, except on the assumptions—that you really do not *know* that our internal administration is grievously defective, that justice, especially in criminal cases, is hardly procurable, that the police are a curse to the country, that taxation is impinging on the necessities of life, that one-fifth at least of the whole population are never more than half-fed and are often quite half-starving, and that in many other ways our people are suffering—that you do not *know* the feelings that, despite all we have done for them in other matters, these shortcomings have engendered in every intelligent mind throughout the population, nor the manner in which, for the last ten years, this latter has been giving expression to these feelings in every hamlet even—that finally you do not know how marvellously wide the grasp is that the Congress movement has already obtained on the minds of the people of India. If you do not know these things, and if you did know them, *you* could not have written this letter, as it would then be disingenuous—if you do not know these things, as your letter, it being yours, seems to prove that you do *not*—then there is not a village in the Empire, many of whose ryots could not teach you a great deal upon these subjects. I can understand second rate officials, such as I myself was, remaining blinded to the real state of the case, by that fatal official glamour that, in the East, so envelopes all in authority, but that a man like yourself, with your vast experience here and in Egypt, should still be lapped in such Utopian and roseate delusions, is past my comprehension.

56. One only explanation presents itself. You may say, "I *do* know these things though I consider that you somewhat overstate them, but I think it inexpedient to speak about

" them, and I deny entirely that our administration is responsible
" for them.

" How few the ills that men endure,

" That kings or laws can cause or cure !

" They exist, not as a consequence, but, in spite of our
" administration, they are of the nature of dispensations of
" Providence, and no changes in the form of the administration,
" such as you contend for, will diminish these evils. Are there no
" poor in London ? No miscarriages of justice in England ? "

If this *be* your position and this is reconcilable, to a certain extent, with your letter, I wish you had said so plainly, as it would greatly have simplified my task, but my reply would be, I think, none the less conclusive. There are miscarriages of justice in England, but even allowing for the difference in the size of the two populations, not one to one hundred that occur here. There is an enormous body of paupers in London, but taking the British Isles as a whole, and even ignoring the fact of the increased difficulties entailed by a cold climate, our paupers are proportionally four times as numerous, and even in England a great deal of this lesser proportion of poverty is due to errors in administration, and bad laws, which the people are beginning to find out and will gradually amend. It is true that our worst sufferings, the result of sin and sorrow, sickness and death, and our own moral shortcomings are to a great extent beyond the power of kings or laws to cure ; but those sufferings which result from unsuitable and *insufficiently controlled* judicial tribunals, from an under-paid, unprincipled, oppressive and practically almost irresponsible police, from excessive taxation and unsound fiscal systems, are just those ills which kings and laws can and do to a great extent cause and cure. I wholly deny that all that the people now suffer is "not in consequence, but in spite of our administration," and I and the whole Congress party affirm that as soon as a really strong and truly representative native element is associated in every branch and grade of the administration from the Executive Council of the Governor-General downwards, half at least of these sufferings will gradually disappear. But even admitting that we are wrong, none the less do the people universally attribute these classes of their sufferings to our maladministration and *not* to the decrees of Providence, and none the less does the future peaceful continuance of British rule depend upon our, at least, shifting the apparent responsibility for these evils from our own shoulders on to those of the people themselves. Whether therefore the results will or will not be as beneficial as we maintain, the only wise and safe thing for the British Government

to do is to accept what the ablest, most educated and most enlightened amongst the natives themselves, believe to be the right thing to do in these matters—in other words to accept the more liberal and less bureaucratic policy indicated by our Congresses.

57. The rest of your 19th para. seems, after what I have already said, to demand no lengthened or further discussion by me. It is founded, it appears to me, on a series of misapprehensions. We deny that the demand for representation, whatever it did originally, before the practical bearings of this reform were understood, *now* comes from any small or peculiar section of the people, and as to that class “created by Government,” to which you refer, for every one of this special class that urges this demand, many hundreds belonging to other classes *now* equally press it. So far from representative institutions being alien to the genius of the nation, they had, as far as we can see, their origin in India, they underlie the whole social structure of indigenous society, and are universally understood. The foreign policy of the Government of India *may* be beyond the comprehension of our most advanced men—I am sure that it is altogether beyond mine—but there is no single question of internal administration that our best men are not as well qualified to deal with as any English officials; nay, in my opinion, in consequence of their necessary want of what we may stretching the term sum up as local knowledge, the latter for such work are inferior to the former. Lastly, though it may flatter our national self-conceit to swagger about being a far more advanced people, this is only partially true. Our superiority lies chiefly in the advances we have made in physical science, but this is not quite everything. In this respect the Indians are by no means as backward as the ancient Greeks, and these latter, despite their crass ignorance of our modern deity, physical science, still stand out, after the lapse of 2,000 years, as a wiser and nobler people, in many respects than ourselves. A larger proportion of our English population has no doubt received a high education, and gorging ourselves on flesh as we do, we have more of the bull dog in us, and that is about all we can say to justify our grand assumptions of superiority. As for the average ryot all over the country he is certainly as good and intelligent a man as the average farm labourer in England or Ireland and knows quite as much, though in different lines; and the same may be said of the average Indian petty shop-keepers and traders, who represent our English hawkers and stall-keepers. Despite our old wicked Abkari system (in *your* Government, now doubtless purged of many of its former iniquities, but such is not the

case everywhere) the Indian people are far more sober, chaste, industrious and forbearing than are the people of England, and the Indian proportion of law breakers is much smaller; and this convenient British plea for all our high-handed and despotic procedure that "this people are *in statu pupillari*" to me, seems as ludicrous as it is impertinent. It is true that we having, partly by force and partly by fraud, shattered their administrations, disorganized their institutions, trampled out some of their best customs (*e.g.*, the friendly settlement by arbitration in every village and caste of all differences *inter se*), and generally shunted them, without their consent, on to a wholly new and to them strange line, they still need and will need for long our aid, advice and support in completing the grand transformation scene that we have inaugurated, but this is no earthly justification for persisting, as our bureaucracy does, in continuing to treat tens of thousands of men, not unfrequently far better men on the whole than themselves, as if they were still children "*in statu pupillari*." Indeed, there are very few of us who, in many matters, might not profitably go to school under our Indian brethren.

58. Your 20th para. again is also based to a certain extent on a misapprehension. You say that you turn to the Resolutions in order to get a clearer view of the wrongs and grievances of the people, and this is the right thing to do, but you fail to realize what these Resolutions really involve. You talk of the extension of the legislative councils, perhaps overlooking that the mere extension is a small matter, and that the essential point in this Resolution is the infusion into the administration of a strong representative element which shall possess a potential voice in the direction of internal affairs. It is a grievous wrong no doubt to those people of this country who are thoroughly qualified to participate in the management of their own affairs, that they are still "like dumb driven cattle," taxed without representation, and the hard gained earnings extorted from them, expended without their having any voice in the matter. But this is not the only wrong or grievance at which this Resolution aims; the improvement of the judicial system, especially where criminal cases are concerned, the reform of the police, the modification of our revenue systems, the larger employment of statutory natives of India in every branch of the executive—all these and much more are necessarily involved in this Resolution. It is hopeless recording Resolutions on these matters of internal maladministration, (though now and then, in plain concrete cases, such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, it is done), because it is felt that, as a rule, the British Government

has done its best, that unaided by native counsels and co-operation it cannot do much better, and that the only chance is to get the people themselves to work at the reform of the internal administration; and for all this, this first Resolution provides.

59. Moreover, your comments on some points touched on in this same para. are, I regret to say, as foreign to the general tone of your letter as was the passage you justly took objection to in our preface to that general rule of charity towards opponents which we endeavour to observe. You say: "If a Representative Council is to be established to abolish the Arms Act, replacing by legislation, in the hands of the people weapons of which the unrestricted use under former dynasties has grievously mutilated the roll of Indian annals, and in our own times traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo-Indian history, &c."

• This is only worthy of the *Pioneer*; it is unworthy of you, because, though you may not fully realize the state of the country, you *can* read the Resolutions and the debates that led up to these, and *have* done so, you say, carefully, and therefore ought to have known when you wrote this eloquent, but utterly fallacious passage, that the Resolution only proposed the modification and *not* the abolition of the Arms Act, that speaker after speaker explained that the unrestricted use of arms was not desired, was greatly to be deprecated, and that the Resolution itself proposed that the Government should retain the power of debarring all persons, classes, or communities that it considered unfit to be trusted with arms, from their use. Moreover, and this seems to me even less defensible, you talk of the general use of arms, as having traced the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our Anglo-Indian history; in other words, as having caused the mutiny, when you know well, not only that it had nothing to do with the mutiny, not only that this was purely a mercenary military outbreak, not only that the great mass of the people who then bore arms were with us, aided us, befriended and saved our isolated fugitives, but that it was solely the then universal habit of wearing arms (keeping alive as it did the martial spirit of the people) that (in those dark hours of danger and distress, when despite British genius and British pluck all seemed lost) saved our Empire and enabled us to re-conquer Upper India. It was not our 50,000, later 70,000, British troops that, despite their heroism, wrought this miracle, as, at the time, it seemed; it was the aid and support that the country (outside our military mutineers and their immediate friends and a section of the Mahomedans) gave us; it was the 250,000

Indians still full of martial instincts, because still permitted to bear arms, who flocked to our standards, that enabled us to regain our position and restore our rule. Had the people not been with us, and had the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces then been, as now, debarred for thirty years from the use of arms, Upper India, at any rate, would have been lost to us for good. And yet, in face of the facts that the mutiny was a military outbreak, that the bulk of the population was with us, and that our triumph was due mainly to the fact that that population was still armed and hence martial, you have not hesitated in true Anglo-Indian and *Pioneer* style to attribute "the bitterest and most bloody chapter in our history" to the very circumstance that proved our salvation.

60. I need not follow you in your congratulations of the Government on its legal exploits; I have already explained that *all* these codes are by no means so highly estimated by the country as by those who created them, and while admitting that some of them, like the Penal Code, are in many respects worthy of high commendation, I must remind you that paper work is not everything, and that the people might well be far more happy and contented, under far inferior codes, better administered in practice. Nor need I answer further your remarks about the separation of the executive and judicial functions, or native volunteering, for if you do not realize the frequent miscarriage of justice that now results from the union of these two functions, or the intense dissatisfaction that these miscarriages are generating, or again the grievous danger alike to the country and our Empire that this crushing out of the martial spirit of the people (which by a system of volunteering we seek to avert) is creating—if history teaches you no lessons, and in what for instance befel the disarmed Britons when the Romans withdrew from their country, as we shall some day withdraw from this, you can discern no warning against our present policy in these matters—it seems useless to continue a discussion when our standpoints are so absolutely different.

61. But in reference to the opening passage of your 21st para. allow me to remind you, first, that the Congress party puts forward no claim of the nature you refer to, and, secondly, that if it did make *any* claim it would simply be to have popularized and methodically formulated, more or less vague pre-existing ideas, and to have brought these within the sphere of practical politics. Let me point out to you further that that party does not speak "on behalf of millions it has had no opportunity of consulting and who have given it no warrant whatsoever," but on behalf of those millions that it has consulted and

whose foremost men everywhere have elected its members. You seem to ignore the fact that the people elect the Sub-Committees, the Sub-Committees and the people of the headquarters, the Committees, all these Committees and the local representatives and the people of the headquarters, the Delegates, and that all these Delegates belong ex-officio to the Provincial Standing Congress Committees. In your own provinces, thanks to the strenuous and unconstitutional opposition of certain of the officials, who have been the prime movers and main supporters of the so-called Anti-Congress Party, *without whose efforts this would never have been heard of*, the organization is defective to a degree, but you must please not judge India by these backward and unhappily circumstanced provinces. So it follows that the Resolutions of the Congress do not, as you suppose, represent the views "of a class, and that a minute and "exceptional" one, but embody those of, broadly speaking, the entire intelligence and culture of India. How far the Congress party has "overspread its natural borders" time will show, but though I know that, recently, you expressed doubts as to the propriety of re-forming the councils at the present time on the ground that this would be to invest the Congress movement with an importance it did not deserve, I am hopeful that the British Government, as a whole, will not share the autocratic sentiment which leads men to refuse to do justice rather than appear to have yielded this to the prayers of the oppressed, and will not find in the claims of the people to what have become, as free British citizens, their rights, any bar to the concession of these.

62. And now, to close this lengthy epistle, let me say with you that "I have expressed myself in this letter, as I "think you would wish me to do, with the perfect freedom which "your letter invited, and also, I trust, with the perfect fairness which "the tone of your letter" (barring that one passage about the arms question) "requires of me," and "I look to your indulgence not to class me with those" whose "aggressive tone may "rather hinder than assist the Government when the hour for action may seem to it to have come." If I have been compelled to differ from you, and even traverse your statements, it has been solely because the true facts of the case have not hitherto been laid before you, though I am rejoiced to see that you *do* recognize that there is a class, "who are no less opposed to the "Congress than disaffected to English rule," for it is this class that constitute the sole reality in that great sham, the Anti-Congress Party, and it is this class into whose hands, believing them to be their own instruments, our official antagonists (really the tools of these traitors) are so unwisely playing. Believe me

that so far from promoting the aims of those rebels, the Wahabi supporters of the Hindustani fanatics, the favourers of Duleep Sing and of Russia, (whom we are watching even more closely than the Punjab authorities, though they are ever on the alert), it is just because these all recognize that the Congress movement means their checkmate, that they are exerting themselves so frantically to obstruct that movement at any cost.

63. *Au reste*, though I have been compelled to set forth what I believe to be the truth as to the present position of affairs in India, and have thus necessarily traversed some of your leading statements, I should be indeed ungrateful if I did not realize and acknowledge the courtesy and the fairness (your knowledge of the facts being what it is) which characterize your letter; if I did not prominently avow that I believe you, and always have believed you, from the bottom of my heart, utterly "incapable of persecuting any man who differs from you "in opinion;" nay from first to last I have pressed upon all friends; and specially in Lucknow that the officials who under colour of giving effect to your wishes, have been practically persecuting the Congress party, were mistaken in your character; and if I did not acknowledge that all you say about the necessity of moderation and non-aggressiveness (so far as truth admits) in our statements, is wise, kindly and deserving all our attention, with these sole provisos, that battles cannot be all rose-water and kisses, and that if your adversaries, however inferior they may be in numbers and character, not only persist in hitting hard, but also in hitting below the belt, you must, just sometimes, in self-defence, let them too have it straight from the shoulder.

Yours very sincerely,
A. O. HUME.

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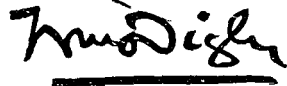
British Rule in India.

APOLOGETICS AND
CRITICISMS.

A RUNAWAY APOLOGIST.

CHIEFLY CORRESPONDENCE IN "THE TIMES,"
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1902.

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THE
RISING TIDE:

OR,

THE PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

IN

INDIA.



Calcutta :

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5, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET.

1886.

THE RISING TIDE.

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

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

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

UNION.

PREFACE.

THE *PIONEER*, one of the six* leading English daily newspapers in India, is the organ of the bureaucracy, and, as such, is persistently hostile to INDIAN aspirations.

Besides being permanently the organ of "the Services," it is also, wherever possible and whenever it can obtain employment as such, the mouthpiece of the Government of India, and specially of the Viceroy. In Lord Lytton's time, either the managing proprietor and real editor, or the nominal editor, used to see the Viceroy's Private Secretary daily. It is almost needless to add that the management of the *Pioneer* is not quixotically scrupulous, or that, thus favoured, it steadily supported Lord Lytton in all his "woeful waste and wicked wars." It is perhaps still more unnecessary to explain that with a simple-hearted, honest gentleman like LORD RIPON, such a paper found no favour; in his time it could gain no priority of intelligence, and it was treated just like all other journals;—above all LORD RIPON showed a disposition to defend INDIAN INTERESTS and INDIAN ASPIRATIONS, and consequently the *PIONEER* steadily abused and reviled him, as it has, ever since Mr. A. P. Sinnett was driven out of the editorship, by the proprietors, on account of his pro-Indian views, steadily abused and reviled the INDIAN COMMUNITY.

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

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

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

misrepresenting the scheme of constitutional agitation on which the Indians are entering, placing their aims, objects and *modi operandi* on perfectly false lights, and attempting to mislead the public entirely in regard to the whole question. Neither, perhaps, is it a matter for surprise that the Indian public accepted this article as inspired, since it embodied almost precisely the same sentiments as had been expressed in communications on these very subjects, generally understood to have passed, quite recently, between authorities in India and England.

The MIRROR is the leading English native newspaper, and this, taking up the challenge, in some very out-spoken articles, discussed the *Pioneer's* allegations sentence by sentence, and thoroughly exposed the injustice and dishonesty of its attacks. In doing this it incidentally afforded a good deal of information as to the objects and operations of the party of Reform in India, and placed their position in a far clearer and better light than it has, we think, previously enjoyed. Manifestly they are *above all things loyal* and PEACE-LOVING ADMIRERS and FIRM SUPPORTERS of BRITISH RULE, only determined to secure by constitutional action the removal of those defects in that rule which, as they allege, mar, to a certain extent, its otherwise noble character.

Whatever may be our views in regard to many of the matters discussed in these articles, which we reproduce now with the permission of the editor of the *Mirror*, we cannot fail to sympathise in the spirit which actuates the INDIAN NATIONAL PARTY. The particular reforms at which they aim may not, when attained, prove the panaceas that they now imagine them, but there can be no doubt that they are setting to work in the right spirit of independence and self-help. Whatever fortunes attend the toilsome and troublous task on which they are entering, and whatever the practical ultimate results of the reforms which sooner or later they are certain to secure, the self-sacrificing struggle in which they are about to engage, will prove the noblest possible education for that new INDIAN NATIONALITY of which Lord Ripon's auspicious reign beheld the birth, and merits, and will we are sure obtain, the sympathy and countenance of every unprejudiced Englishman.

THE PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

IN

INDIA.



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

This is how the article opens:—

The lessons learned in English political circles by Native agitators of the Bhowe and Ghose type are likely to be applied in India in such a form as may seriously hamper the hands of those responsible for the good government of the country.

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

The success which has attended the Parnellites in the case of Ireland has turned the heads of our Native friends, who state quite openly that they in their turn hope to force the hand of Government, just as the Irishmen, have done, by ceaseless agitation and attack at every point.

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

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

Of course, we shall ! Why if we did not, we should, indeed, deserve to be called the fools that the *Pioneer* and its party always profess to consider us ! Yes ! Good English friends, you have taught us the lesson ;

“Take a suck at the lemon and at him again,”

has been in substance ever your exhortation to us, and will you now blame us for taking your lesson to heart and resolving to act upon it ?

That we shall persevere and agitate, and agitate and persevere, never despairing, ever coming up again after each repulse fresher and stronger than before to renew the struggle, you may at once make up your minds.

Merses profundo pulchrior evenit,

you will find to be as true of our rising nationality as Hannibal found it to be of that of Rome, and all we can do is to suggest, as a kind of compromise, that you follow the example of the Coon with Colonel Crockett, and instead of giving us and yourselves all the bother that this will necessarily involve, quietly arrange a *modus vivendi* with us, by making some such small concessions, in the matter of representative institutions, as shall satisfy the country for the next ten years, and pave the way for such gradual further developments in the future as shall ultimately satisfy it permanently. //

“Cases of high-handedness and oppression” will be served up perpetually, in the hope that English officials in India will be intimidated by the threat of “a question in the House.”

Quite so, and we should like to know whether either in the interests of the rulers or the ruled it would be desirable that such cases should be hid away from public ken ; and whether, on the contrary, it is not highly expedient that officials *should* be so intimidated by the threat of a question in the House as to be thereby induced to abstain from high-handedness and oppression. The *Pioneer* apparently thinks these are virtues, and quite whines over the prospect of the poor

officials wickedly intimidated from practising them by some of us wretched Indians threatening to have a question asked in the House. Really this is too good. We are reminded of Leech's burglar, who happening "in the exercise of his profession" to break his shins over a coal scuttle, is loud in his complaint of the iniquity of people who leave things about for people to fall over.

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

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

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

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

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

members, whose aim is notoriety at all costs, and who will be willing tools in their hands. So much for their plan of operations in England, which are more likely to result in failure than in success.

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

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

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

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

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

really, despite all that we have heard, any actual, immediate danger of such an outbreak, but at any moment the danger might have become imminent; at any moment the flood-gates might have burst—there was nothing to prevent it—neither the educated classes on one side on the secular line, nor the religious leaders on the spiritual line on the other, had organized any systematic hold on the masses—all was chaos, and gigantic forces, innocent of all systematic control, lay only half dormant; ready at any moment under any accidental excitation to plunge the land in bloodshed and wreck a continent. Humanly speaking, those evil dangerous times have passed away for ever, and that organization which the ignorant fancy to have for its sole object agitation has really rendered impossible any violence, on any large scale, throughout all those portions of the Empire to which it has been fully extended.

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

The *Pioneer* need not be afraid, there is no lack of money; if it were worth while, ten lacs would be forthcoming to-morrow to establish a new paper at Cawnpore, and reduce the *Pioneer* to half its present dimensions, but one must have devils as well as angels, evil as well as good, a mischievous and lying print like our Allahabad enemy as well as an honest and benevolent paper, like ourselves and so as we work with nature and in accordance with her laws, we will leave the organ of the bureaucracy to the natural fate of such unhealthy growths. Fear not, little Pi! No bold Bengali Babu shall tear out that last remaining cherished hair from your poor old bald noddle!

They can even now arrange for “spontaneous outbursts of national feelings, in all the principal towns.

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

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

This is just what the real leaders of the movement do *not* wish,—nay it is exactly towards the prevention of popular *uprisings* that the movement, now gradually appearing on the surface, has, for years, been patiently working beneath it. Of course, although the river runs in flood down stream, there will be always little side eddies, where, for small distances, little portions of it run up stream, and so,

o, on the outskirts of this great movement will, from time to time, appear Indians taking exactly an opposite line to what the immense majority of us approve and who do act as if they desired blindly to use trouble. But such are always promptly put aside, and for some time past we have seen neither writings nor speeches at variance with the basal scheme for gradually securing all those political rights, to which we consider ourselves entitled, by peaceful and constitutional means. "Rouse the people" indeed! We wonder if those who so liberally write about this have any conception how easy that would have been—if they have any idea of the fire that lurks, so ready to burst to flame, below the, to them, impenetrable veil of ignorance and indifference; if they at all realize that years and years ago but for the influences secretly brought to bear, a *self-roused* people would have reached conclusions with *them*?

No! From time to time we hear much talk of the country's having been won by the sword, and having to be retained by the sword—only recently there was an idiotic leader in the *London Times* such to this purport—and we cannot help laughing, because the fact that were the influences at work, to protect and sustain British rule in India, turned *against* this, in one fortnight there would not be, we firmly believe, a single Englishman at large in India to wield that much-talked-of sword. We do not *want* to get rid of British rule, we do not want to, and we *will NOT* separate ourselves from the British Empire; at any rate, not within any period that can be included within any practical, political programme. British rule, with all its defects, is still essential to the welfare and progress of India, and British rule we will cherish and uphold, but certainly by all constitutional means we shall—the *entire nation will*—strive persistently to improve the existing form of Government, and remove those defects which still sadly mar the generally noble features of this generously conceived, but, none the less foreign, administration. Blundering bureaucrats, high and low, clever and anon, are guilty of acts of injustice or oppression, or commit errors which in their positions amount to crimes) sufficient to "rouse" a far more phlegmatic people, and our leaders sit, and have sat year after year, patiently watching and shielding the British Government from the, otherwise inevitable, consequences of the misdeeds of its unworthy representatives, and then a Government organ in, we fear, an only too liberally inspired article, talks of us as wishing to "rouse the people!"

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

This, too, is only partially correct. As to the holding of mass meetings we do not, in theory, much approve these, as no real good *work* is ever done there, and they virtually only publicly register the "foregone conclusions" of those who attend them; but there are times and localities when and where it is desirable to afford people the relief of such public registry of the convictions burning in their breasts, and in such cases mass meetings (and these will undoubtedly increase in

number and size as time goes on) are, and always will be, useful safety valves, whereat a great deal of steam not required for working the existing machinery of the country can be advantageously blown off.

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

That they are not making much headway as yet is, perhaps, due to the fact that their organisation is defective, but they are by no means idle, and when any important question again crops up, we shall probably see to what extent their efforts have reached.

Of course were our objects those which the *Pioneer* and the party it represents affects to, or, perhaps, really does believe, we should, indeed, not be making much headway. But it is passing strange that from their point of view the extreme disproportion between means and ends did not awaken in our opponent's minds a suspicion that, after all, our ends might *not* be what they supposed. To begin with what the *Pioneer* will, perhaps, consider the most important item, though we ourselves regard it as but a drop in the ocean, we have, at least, a score of Europeans, men of conspicuous ability, devoting themselves, here and in England heart and soul, to the movement. Then, and here is the real strength, there is not one single really able Asiatic in this Empire and very few influential ones, who are not publicly or privately linked in along one or other of the three chains, or one of their many branches. Of the middle classes, a very large proportion are, in many cases unconsciously to themselves, linked in through the religious teachers or secular leaders in whom they believe, and whose advice they will at all times implicitly follow. Amongst the masses much remains in some localities, and especially in Lower Bengal, to be done. A considerable proportion of the lower classes have already accepted different members or associations of the educated classes as their political guides, and are prepared to follow their leads, while a still larger proportion can be held back and controlled through their religious teachers, so far as the lower grades of these often bigoted and quite unconscious of the great machine of which they constitute the outlying parts, are controllable by the higher and more intelligent grades. But there still remain a considerable and in some few localities, a preponderant proportion, who have yet to be wheeled into line.

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

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

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

As for Bengal being tainted with sedition, this is the first time that we have heard of it. Undoubtedly, in past times, a knot of Wahabis at Patna were convicted of sedition, but it is odd if the ancient misdeeds of one tiny isolated community, who neither are, nor ever have been, in sympathy with either the rest of the Mahomedans or the Hindus of Bengal, are to be considered to taint the sixty millions of loyal inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa with sedition. The thing is too absurd, and as to politicians at home, looking askance at every thing (let alone every thing) that comes out of Bengal, we can only say that one or other of our leaders is in weekly communication with leading English politicians in both Houses of Parliament, not one of whom betrays any indication of looking askance at us or our movement. Quite recently, too, our friends, Messrs. Monmohun Ghose, W. C. Bonnerji, and other prominent Bengal politicians, found themselves received everywhere in England with cordial kindness, and nowhere detected any single individual even looking askance at them. Nay, wherever Mr. Monmohun Ghose, in his capacity of Bengal representative, appeared at public meetings, or, what is far more important, select, private gatherings of important politicians, he was received with open arms, and assured emphatically of support in all those projected reforms which we are now advocating, and to secure which we are

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

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

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

The grandiose resolutions of "National Conferences" are quoted in support of the view that India is united in certain subjects, and that every race and creed is at one in their demands for political power: but then the mass of the people are silent and inert, and so they must be "roused."

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

The rousing process in Bengal need not excite great anxiety in the minds of the rulers of India, populous though the province may be, for the people are mild and peace-loving race; but if this agitation spreads among the more martial races of Upper India, and they are misled by these agitators, then there may be trouble to be faced beside which the reign of lawlessness in Ireland will be as a child's play.

It follows from what we have already said that almost the primary end and object of the education which we are seeking gradually to impart to that portion of the masses still requiring it, (an education which truly is a rousing process, though not in the sense of the writer of this article) is to render impossible any such lawlessness as has, almost throughout, disgraced Ireland's, otherwise creditable, struggle for political autonomy. As one of our leaders remarked to us recently, "I will hear any one propose the smallest wilful infraction of the law, and I will myself denounce him, though he be my own brother, and I will myself denounce the authorities; things are in many respects bad enough as they are, we are not going to tolerate the faintest approach to lawlessness, or anything else that can make bad worse—a calm persistence in constitutional efforts to obtain the reliefs we require, is absolutely certain to succeed, and that without leaving behind any shadow of shame or regret." These are the unanimous sentiments of those who are in any degree influential amongst us, and if there really be any amongst our opponents, who have ever pictured to themselves a second mutiny or the growth here of a system of assassination and outrage, such as has, for some years past, had its home in *civilized* India (of course, we poor Indians are little better than savages!) they may for ever, we believe, dismiss this painful dream. Six years ago it *might* have been possible, (though the country is too civilized to expect, even then, tolerated much of what seems quite the National time of Ireland,) but now *both* have been made equally impossible.

That India will benefit by this systematic agitation we absolutely deny; it will do an end to good government, and make our present benevolent rule an impossibility, for once an alien Government is met at every turn by intimidation and attacks, benevolence has to be put aside, and a sterner policy adopted.

That India, despite all the opposition of the interested official and aristocratic classes whom the *Pioneer* represents, *will* benefit greatly by persistent agitation, and will, by calm perseverance in constitutional efforts to secure justice, obtain from the English nation that political emancipation to which she aspires, is as certain as that the Ganges, small as is the stream that foams and sparkles in the upper reaches of the Bhagirutti, will, all in due season, reach and blend with the waters of the ocean. Has this writer, like a modern Rip Van Winkle, fallen asleep for the last quarter of a century? Is he utterly blind to the "Spirit of the Age?" Has he forgotten the recent Reform Bill? Is he unable to understand that more than half the voters in England are men who, like ourselves, have been long and wrongfully debarred from the exercise of their just political rights, and who sympathize from the bottom of their hearts with us in the struggle on which we are entering to conquer for *ourselves*, what they have conquered for *themselves*?

Intimidation and threats! Yes, indeed, audacious rebels that we are, we stand up to the heaven-born official classes, from Viceroy downwards, and we say: "Look out! if you venture to depart in your dealings from us from the spirit of that policy which the people and the Par-

liament of Great Britain have laid down for your guidance, then, as sure as eggs are eggs, we will report you to that people, and that Parliament, and give them no peace till they wheel you into line." This is awful intimidation—these are truly fearful threats, meriting, indeed, the adoption of a sterner policy. But—and our friends have not recently visited England for nothing—we can promise the *Pioneer* that the tenure of office of any Government here, who tried under the circumstances to adopt this sterner line of policy, and even of any Ministry in England who ventured to support them in this, would not be *excessively* prolonged:—

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

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

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

It is to these that the Government must look for the means of placing before the people the true meaning of the wild and fanciful schemes which are now put forward so glibly: their influence must be enlisted against the agitators, suddenly India may find itself led to the brink of a precipice with no guiding hand to save it from ruin. The patriots who hope to make it a second Ireland will, perhaps, see how dangerous it is to take Western agitation as their model: it cannot be applied to India save as a slow match is applied to a train of gunpowder. Do they wish to do this?

We are a little tired of this writer now, and what our poor readers *must* be with our comments on his vagaries, is more than we can care to think of. Let us try and make an end of it. There are no patriots, that we can hear of, who wish to lower India by introducing to her that system of mingled cowardice and brutality that has, from time to time, too sadly characterized the popular movement in Ireland—a movement in which, but for this, we should have deeply sympathized. No one here is applying, has applied, or dreams of applying a slow match to any gunpowder. We believe in mind more than in matter, and prefer the influence of intellect to that of dynamite. But there has been a perfectly awful lot of gunpowder lying about loose which any chance spark might have exploded, and those who first undertook the work of storing this up in bags and casks in orderly arrangement, went about their self-imposed duty with their lives in their hands, as their very efforts to avert the terrible anger perpetually underlying the entire social organism here, might, conceivably, have proved that very chance spark. But now that much of the work has been done, and even the powder that is still loose has been practically isolated, all real cause for alarm has, we believe, virtually disappeared, and every fresh step in organization, every fresh lot of loose powder, packed safely away in sound casks, diminishes the small residuary possibility of any serious trouble.

No wild and fanciful schemes have been put forward that we know of, unless, indeed, it be wild and fanciful to assert, as we all do, that the best amongst us are not so much inferior to the average Englishman that we get out here in Government employ, as to be unable to discharge the duties performed by such in a perfectly satisfactory manner. For upwards of fifteen years our countryman, Mr. B. L. Gupta, of the Civil Service, to take a single example, has been before the public in all sorts of official capacities, and no Englishman, even, pretends that in any of these he has proved one whit inferior to his English colleagues, while we, Natives, consider that in consequence of his more thorough knowledge of the people and greater sympathy with them) in many of these he has proved vastly superior to any Englishman, who has ever held office here. But (each being the case, perhaps, it is wild and fanciful for us to endeavor to procure such a modification of existing rules, as shall give us fifty B. L. Guptas instead of one or two, and proportionally diminish the number of English officers, who cost us one-third more in salaries whilst here, do the work to our minds less satisfactorily, and then return to England to spend *there* the pensions drawn from the taxation of *our* people, and utilize for England the experience and abilities required and developed in *our* service and at *our* expense.

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

shall the proceeds thereof be expended?—that as at least fifty millions of our people remain chronically in a condition of semi-starvation, the result, as we believe, of unsuitable forms of Government, we have a right to such a share in the Government as shall give us a chance of gradually adapting the Government more satisfactorily to the condition of the country and its people? Or is there anything wild and fanciful in the schemes, embodied in the Resolutions of the National Congress held at Bombay, by which we stand and, we can now safely say, the entire country stands? If any one maintains that there is, we can only express our dissent, and remark that these resolutions have been seen and considered by a large proportion of the very ablest men and foremost thinkers in England, and while not a few have differed or doubted on particular points, not one has treated the resolutions as otherwise than reasonable and moderate, and not one has even hinted, to us, that they are either wild or fanciful.

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

THE APPEAL

OF

The Bengal National League,

TO ALL INHABITANTS OF BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA.

FRIENDS & FELLOW COUNTRYMEN!—A number of us, whose names you will find in the accompanying papers, being deeply impressed with the urgent and paramount necessity of introducing a representative element into the Government of this country, have formed ourselves into a LEAGUE, whose sole object it will be to endeavour, by all appropriate and constitutional means, to bring about the concession of REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS TO INDIA.

No one can be more fully alive than we are to the manifold blessings that we owe to British Rule; but we feel—and in this we have, we believe, the sympathy of many of the most distinguished thinkers and many of the leaders of Public Opinion in England—that the good and great work wrought by Great Britain in this country will not be complete until the existing form of Government is modified, and the administration here is made to partake of that representative character which is the glorious distinction of British Institutions, elsewhere, almost throughout the habitable globe.

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

It is not, however, to be denied that at present the authorities in India appear indisposed to concede what we desire, believing, we understand, that such concession would be premature. How then are we to bring home to them, and to that noble British Nation that they represent, the real facts of the situation, and lead them to realize, not only that what we seek is not premature, but, that it has already become urgently necessary alike in the interests of Governors and governed, of India and of Great Britain? Singly, or even in small bodies, our views attract little attention, but united in one great LEAGUE our unanimous and matured opinions will necessarily receive due attention. THEREFORE, we entreat *all* of you, high and low, rich and poor, without distinction of race or creed, caste or colour, to join us in this good work. Everyone of you is deeply interested in a measure, the ultimate results of which will be the removal of all grievances and the restoration, on an immutable basis, of the pristine prosperity of our beloved country. Everyone of you, who has been born and bred here, is bound by the most sacred obligations, even if you have never until now laboured for your fellows of your country, at any rate this *one* time, to join in this *one* great effort, to obtain for India this relief, this blessing, on which hinge all other reliefs and blessings, all true Liberty, Prosperity and Progress.

It is needless to explain that to make this LEAGUE a real success, and to attain the great object it sets before itself, a widespread co-operation and ample funds will be requisite, and it is with that co-operation and those needful funds that we now call upon you, in our Country's name, to aid us. Let none of you fancy that this is a matter with which you have no concern, in which you are not personally interested. There is not one amongst you, be he rich or poor, humble or great, a tiller of the land or a dweller in cities who is not directly interested in this primary and comprehensive reform, whereby alone the laws under which you live, the action of the Courts, and general the conduct of the administration as a whole, can be made to meet satisfactorily the daily and hourly requirements of your lives, and harmonize with your innate sense of what is Right and Just.

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

Signed, on behalf of the League, by Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.G.S.I., and nearly all the leaders of all sections of the Indian Community in Calcutta.

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REPLY

from the
Author

TO THE

INDIGO PLANTERS' PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

“BRAHMINS & PARIAHS.”

BY

JOHN DICKINSON, JUNR., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

J
P. 34

London:

P. S. KING, 34, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

—
1861.

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P R E F A C E.

When I decided, at the request of an old friend, on publishing some reply to the Indigo planters' pamphlet, I felt that the thing must be done at once, before any discussion in the House, to be of any use. I therefore wrote this "Reply" in a few days' time; and, in consequence of such haste, I was unable to give an analysis of the evidence taken by the Indigo Commission, or to touch an immense mass of other evidence contained in articles, official documents, and authenticated statements, published by the *Calcutta Review*, the *Indian Field*, and the *Hindoo Patriot*, for several years past; although it is difficult for anybody to understand, without reading these voluminous papers, the oppressions which the Ryots have really endured under the system of the Indigo planters. There is, however, a sample of such documents in a small pamphlet of "Selections from "Papers on Indigo Cultivation," published by a native in 1859, of which a very few copies are left, and any Members of Parliament may have these on application, personally or by letter, at the Offices of the India Reform Society, No. 12, Haymarket.

J. D., JUN.

London, March 1st, 1861.

REPLY, &c.

EVERY English interest connected with India finds zealous advocates over here. The interests of the natives, on the contrary, as a rule, are not represented in this country. I have therefore determined to answer the pamphlet entitled "Brahmins and Pariahs," published by the Indigo Manufacturers of Bengal, because it is calculated to prejudice most seriously the interests of the natives in their absence. In doing so, I cannot but express my regret that the task has not devolved on one of the many speakers and writers among the natives themselves, whose ability would do honour to any country, and whose knowledge of the subject must far exceed my own.

The misrepresentations in the above-mentioned pamphlet are so audacious, that the parties who have published and circulated it through the Parliament, press, and public of this country, must have calculated on a marvellous degree of ignorance and stupidity among English politicians. They could only expect such a pamphlet to influence public opinion at home sufficiently to bias the course of our administration in India, on the presumption that the British public are totally ignorant of the circumstances of our native fellow subjects, totally insensible to their complaints, and

stupidly indifferent to our interest in their good government.

Because the whole cause of the outcry raised by the agitators who issue this pamphlet, is that the Bengal Government has at length curbed the licence they previously enjoyed of making the native farmers work for them like slaves, without payment for their labour, by such means of compulsion as imprisonment, flogging, pulling down or burning their houses, ploughing in their crops, rooting up their date trees and gardens, seizing their cattle, sometimes even beating or spearing them to death, in short, by an organized system of oppression, such as none but Englishmen would be allowed to carry on for a day in any part of India; though Englishmen have hitherto enjoyed impunity for such offences, by that exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of the interior, which places them above the law.

However, the shortest way to expose the misrepresentations of this pamphlet will be to state some of its principal allegations, and give the answers to them, which I will endeavour to do as succinctly as possible.

I will begin with the statements of the value of the Indigo trade, and its ruin, or prospective ruin. The value of the capital invested in this trade is stated (pages 5 and 6) to be eight millions, with an annual trade of two millions; and the following passage is quoted, in corroboration of this estimate, from the evidence of Mr. J. P. Wise, before the Colonisation Committee:—
 “The value of the properties (producing Indigo)
 “including putnees, talooks, and zemindaries, through-
 “out India, may be from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000,

“varying with the value of money and the price of Indigo.” At page 167 the value is raised to ten “millions of capital, and two annual millions of trade;” but there is no authority for such an estimate, and therefore I will assume that the value of fixed capital engaged in the production of Indigo in the Bengal Presidency, is from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000, which produced in 1859—60 a crop of 106,000 maunds, worth, say £20 a maund, or two millions sterling. This trade, says the pamphlet, is ruined, or to be ruined. Page 6 informs us that the trade “is to cease out of India,” and the class of Indigo planters “is to be ruined and driven forth.” Page 107 describes how “these poor planters come to Government with ruined prospects, with their Indigo plantations trampled out, with their credits—which Mr. Grant says are, with their vats, all their capital—confiscated, some with their factories ‘looted,’ and all with their lives in jeopardy,” &c., &c., *passim*.

The answers to these statements are: firstly, that the trade is not ruined, but growing larger from year to year; and, secondly, that only a small section of the trade have run any risk of losing the services of the native cultivators, because they would not pay them a remunerating price for their crops.

The first fact shall be proved by an extract from the special organ of the Indigo planters, the *Calcutta Englishman*, which says in its weekly mail of January 3rd, in commenting on a report from the Hon. Ashley Eden, junior Secretary of the Board of Revenue, which stated, *inter alia*, that the cultivation of Indigo had fallen off, as well as that of opium: “What could tempt this

“ officer of Government to so falsify his statistics we cannot imagine; the peculiar dislike he appears to have imbibed to Indigo and Indigo manufacturers must be rabid indeed when it leads him to make a statement like this, which would not be allowed to escape notice for a day. The opium crop is short because of the niggardliness of the Government; but why has he not stated that the Indigo crop is not short? The Indigo crop has increased. The blow given to it in many districts by the rebellion has been recovered, and from the crop of 85,000 maunds of 1857—58, we have 106,000 maunds of 1859—60; the crop of the present year being still larger.”

So much with regard to the trade “ceasing out of India;” and now with regard to the exact portion of it which has run any risk. At para. 54 of Mr. Grant's Minute of December 17th, 1860, he gives an elaborate statement of the yield of Indigo from all parts of Bengal, and shows that out of the 106,000 mds. produced last year, only 20,000 mds. could be affected by the existing difficulties with the Ryots in a few particular districts: difficulties which have not occurred in the majority of the Indigo districts of Bengal, nor in any of those in Madras, which produce 34,000 mds., so that, out of the whole Indigo trade of India, amounting to 140,000 mds., only 14 per cent. has been in jeopardy; and the small section of planters in lower Bengal who are carrying on this agitation are actually abusing the remaining four-fifths of the Bengal Indigo planters, through the columns of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, for *not sympathising* with them! We shall see by-and-by whether they deserve sympathy; and I think, after

a little explanation, they will get no more from the public here, than they get from the majority of their own trade in India.

Before I go farther I may as well notice what the pamphlet says about the opium Ryots; as the subject has been already referred to in the *Englishman*, and there is a constant comparison in the pamphlet between the opium Ryots of the Government and the indigo Ryots of the planters.

Pages 3 and 4 inform us that opium, like indigo, is "cultivated by a system of advances," but with this difference, that opium is "produced under a coercive system; a system of forced labour akin to slavery, of such an unrelaxing character, that the remuneration to the Ryots has scarcely varied in a quarter of a century; while the cultivation is enforced by remedies so summary, and punishments so stringent, that neglect or opposition is almost unheard of." Page 5 describes the opium cultivation as a "grinding slavery upon the Ryot." Page 89 speaks of "the opium Ryots driven to their forced labour," and so on throughout the pamphlet.

The first answer to these assertions shall be taken from the pamphlet itself; which admits, page 74, that a year ago the cultivation fell off so much that Government was obliged to advance its prices to the opium Ryots; and quotes, page 76, the following answer from an opium Ryot to a missionary:—"Can you give it up (sowing opium) when you like?" "Yes, but I do not like to give it up, because the advances are very convenient, and we have not to pay interest on that money."

Is this "forced labour," and "grinding slavery?" But a still more conclusive answer must be given from the Report of the Indigo Commission, which states the facts of the case as proved by unimpeachable witnesses. Para. 111 states that the case of opium cultivation is distinguished from that of indigo in those indigo districts where discontent is rife,* by "the regular adjustment of accounts, the refusal to allow the smallest item of bad balances to remain clogging the cultivator, the reluctance to allow careless cultivators to remain under engagements at all, and the perfect freedom of the engagement, which is thrown up by any single Ryot who finds the same no longer profitable." It goes on: "For many years the poppy was the crop that paid the Ryot best in Benares and Behar. . . . As the returns from other crops crept up gradually to those of the poppy, there was seen the perfect freedom of the engagements into which the Behar cultivator had entered. The yearly license to cultivate was not renewed; no questions were asked by the Sub-Deputy Agent; and in the course of a few years more than *thirty thousand cultivators* in the Behar agency threw up altogether the cultivation of the poppy. Seeing this, during the present year the Government considerably raised the price to the Ryot." Para. 138 says, "That it is quite possible to adjust complicated accounts yearly, and to have no bad balances, is evident from the deposition of Mr. Hollings, and from the letters of Mr. King, Mr. Pughe, and Mr. Wilson, Sub-Deputy opium agents,

* See paras. 109 and 110.

“forwarded by the agents at Ghazepore and Patna, “and given in the appendix; as well as from the “evidence of Mr. C. Chapman on the salt manufacture.” It adds that the regular practice in the opium agencies of Behar, is to get rid of a bad or unlucky cultivator, not to renew the contract with him, and then to proceed to recover the balances by process of law, *i.e.*, by process in a civil, not a criminal court.*

Now let the reader remember that the writer of the pamphlet had all the above facts before him, for he repeatedly quotes the report, when he penned his unblushing misrepresentations as to the “grinding “slavery,” &c., of the opium cultivators, and consider whether his assertions can ever be trusted again?

The next point I will notice is the insistence of the pamphlet on the great blessing that indigo planters are to the people. In discussing this point, the reader will recollect that the assertions of the pamphlet, and my answers to them, only apply to the small clique of planters in Lower Bengal, who have got into difficulties with the native cultivators, and are trying to throw the blame of it on the Government; not to the general body of indigo planters throughout India, who go on well with the natives, because they use them well. Nobody denies that an English settler in the interior of India, provided he be an enlightened, liberal, humane man, is a blessing to the natives; and it requires a knowledge of the country, or a strong imagination, to conceive what a blessing such a man can be! I have known several settlers of this character who

* See answer of Mr. Hollings, opium agent, quoted in para. 179 of Report, and answer of Mr. Chapman, salt agent, No. 4,019.

were really a visible Providence to the people, and were almost worshipped by them in return; and it would be absurd to suppose that Government could excite their native neighbours and dependents against such men as these, for the truth is, they are so much stronger than the Government in their own circle, that they are constantly appealed to by the officials for assistance of some sort or other. Not so with the authors of this pamphlet; and I will now return to them.

Pages 4 and 6 say that "the remuneration for indigo" has kept pace with the increased value of labour," and declaim about planters "reclaiming the wilderness, "civilizing the people, curing the sick, relieving the "starving, upholding the falling, and accustoming the "suspicious native to associate all these blessings with "employment under a European." Page 30 describes a planter's house in the Mofussil, as an eastern patriarchal scene, convincing those who look upon it "how "utterly impossible it must be for that European to "live thus alone—one single English family among "thousands of Asiatics—if he had not acquired a moral "influence over the natives, and if his presence was "not felt to be a benefit to the population." Page 32 describes the planter lending money without interest; taken eagerly by the Ryots. Page 40 says that when "the world was all against him, the Ryot was *his only* "friend." Page 43 says that his trade flourishes upon moral influence alone. Page 44 says that his rule is to right himself, not by force, but by acts of good neighbourship. Page 48 says, "within two years of "this date, nothing in India was so comfortable as the

“relations between an indigo planter and his Ryots.” Page 54 compares the unrelenting money-lender who lends at 50 or 100 per cent.,* and if not paid, will sell up the Ryot without mercy, with the planter, the Ryot’s “easiest creditor;” with whom “all he has to fear is a “certain sort of undefined obligation to sow some “indigo for him next year, whether he may like it or “not.” Page 90 says that the summary law obtained by the planters last year “was not wanted to put Ryots “in prison, and it was to a very slight degree put in “force.” Page 127 asserts that only Ryots who do not work honestly and faithfully fail to make a profit of their indigo crop. Page 153 says that just before the difficulties with the Ryots began, “every indigo factor “had become persuaded that the time had arrived when “the price of the indigo plant must be raised. Rice had “risen; labour had risen; nearly cent. per cent. in a “few years.” Page 156 says the planters are not, and never have been, such fools as not to know that they must advance their offers with the increase of prices of food and labour.

Then why did they not do so? If they knew that the price must be raised, before the difficulties with the Ryots began, why did they not raise it at that time? Why did they not raise it after the difficulties began? Why did they wait and try first the effect of a summary law, by which the Ryots were sold up and thrown into prison by hundreds (there were 588 in Nuddea jail alone)? Why did they not raise it, even after this experiment,

* Page 142 admits that the *sole cause* of the exorbitant rates charged by native money lenders, is the badness of the security by which *most of them are ruined*. So Sir John Malcolm remarked many years ago.

until the Indigo Commission had proved that they were making the Ryots cultivate at a loss, and exposed the scandalous means by which they did so? It is an awkward flaw in the pamphleteer's case to be obliged to admit that his clique of the planters ought to have raised their prices to "*their only friends*," and that they did not do so.

However, I have given the writer's own version of the blessings which his friends are to the Ryots; and without stopping to point out the contradiction in his own statements as to "the remuneration for indigo "having kept pace with the increased value of labour," let the reader recollect especially his description of the "eastern patriarchal scene;" the "single European "living alone amongst thousands of Asiatics," because of "his moral influence over the natives;" and then, hear the other side!

My first answer shall be taken, as usual, from the pamphlet itself. Page 70 tells us: "The planters being "now deserted by those who hold the bayonets at their "command, are, as a matter of course, thrown into the "power of a hostile race, who hate civilian, missionary, "and planter in an equal degree . . . The mutiny "gives conclusive evidence of the hatred borne by "natives to all Europeans, or indeed Christians. "Surely it is a very suicidal policy for one set of "Englishmen to ruin another in a foreign country," &c.

Here is a change of tone! So then, directly our *cidevant* "eastern patriarch" ceases to be an embodiment of all the terrors of the Sirkar, his "moral "influence" over "the thousands of Asiatics" vanishes like a dream; they turn into a "*hostile race*," wh

“*hate him*” and all his “foreign” countrymen; and the “painting of his fear” suggests to him a vision (page 107) of “ruined prospects, indigo plantations trampled out, credits confiscated, factories looted, and his life in jeopardy.”

Happily, it is only a vision; though the kind of planters represented by the pamphleteer may well be hated by the natives, and would run no small risk if the Government did not protect them. What their own feelings are towards the natives we may gather from this pamphlet; *e.g.*, page 56 tells us “of a Hindoo or Mussulman it may be said, that whenever an act assumes the form of an obligation he hates it; but if it assume the form of an obligation, the price of which has already been received, he abhors it.” Page 83 describes the Ryots as “an excited and discontented population, already trying—in August, 1859—to force the planters out of their contracts;” and farther on, it denounces them as a “population of pagans.”

A population of pagans! that is, a population predestined to damnation, by the creed of a rough Scotch Calvinist planter. These hard, unrefined Scotchmen are about as strong a contrast to the imaginative Bengalees as nature can furnish; the two classes have no common sympathies; and when the *odium theologicum* aggravates a planter's antipathy to the colored race, he naturally feels himself “living in a foreign country,” among a “hostile race” who “hate him,” as described at page 70. Yet, even Scotch planters feel it necessary to account for the people's hating them. They feel that it is too much to expect us to believe that, because they confer so many blessings upon them, therefore

“the subtle Hindoo, and more crafty Mussulman,” (page 7) wish to “trample out their Indigo plantations, to loot their factories, and put their lives in jeopardy.” Accordingly the pamphleteer admits, page 48, that the planter’s servants “may sometimes have committed acts of fraud and violence,” and admits, page 56, that “there is a prejudice against Indigo,” though he ascribes it to the depravity of “native” human nature. The main cause he declares to be *official hostility*, stimulating an “excited and discontented population, already trying to force the planters out of their contracts.”—Page 83.

But it is evident that this explanation explains nothing. Why had official hostility such a mine laid for it to explode? Why were the people “already excited, discontented, and trying to force the planters out of their contracts,” before any official interference at all?

The truth is, as pointed out in paras. 112, 115, 117, 118, and 119 of the Report of the Indigo Commission, that so far from the planters’ system, where it was oppressive, having been upset by official hostility, it had only been upheld so long by official partiality to the planters, and injustice to the Ryots. Paras. 117, 118, show that the Honorable Ashley Eden’s order on a petition of the Ryots, that they should have protection from the police against any compulsory cultivation of their lands, was strictly in accordance with the law, and only excited so much surprise and complaint from the planters because the previous most unjust practice had been to refuse police protection to the Ryots, against their compulsion by the planters’ servants to cultivate Indigo on a mere *ex parte* assertion by the planters’ servants,

which the executive authorities did not examine, and could not even enquire into, that the Ryots had contracted to do so. Para. 119 continues, "So far from the charge of discountenancing and disliking the planters being true, we believe the facts to be that magistrates have not been sufficiently alive to the position of the Ryots, and have not accorded to them a due share of protection and support. It is not too much to say, that had all magistrates held the scales in even balance, a cultivation of the character which we have clearly shown Indigo to be would not have gone on for such a length of time. The real truth we take to be that, if anything, the bias of the English magistrate has been unconsciously towards his countrymen, whom he has asked to his own table, or met in the hunting field, or whose houses he has personally visited."

But this cant of official hostility to the planters deserves a yet fuller reply, as it is the sort of cry most likely to meet with a response in England, and it is founded on the grossest misrepresentations. The pamphlet starts (page 4) by the assertion that the Company's Government in India has always industriously calumniated and wished to destroy, if possible, the Indigo manufacturers, and harps upon the "traditional hatred" of the civil service to the planters, so often, in above thirty different places, that it is the great staple of its argument. I cannot notice so many assertions, but if I notice a few of them, from pages 35 to 40, it will be enough to give the reader an idea of their invariable falsehood. These pages describe how the planter settled in Bengal, "the victim of the civilian," and under

every discouragement ; and how, at the renewals of the Charter in 1814 and 1834 (why not say in 1854 ?), they bore their part in the successive steps by which the Company's trade was taken from them ; and finally they took a part in the agitation which led to the abolition of the Company's rule in 1858, which has given the fanatical civilians of the public service in India " a yearning for a great revenge."

Now, my first answer to all this rubbish shall be taken, as usual, from the pamphlet itself. Page 45 tells us : " Indigo planting in Bengal is an old child of the Company. Before the renewal of the Charter, in 1834, the private adventurer, in his eagerness to take shelter in the shadow of some potent civilian, associated himself with some fortunate mortal who was covenanted to the Company. The civilian lent money to the planter, either at interest or on condition of his having a certain share in the profits. At one time civilians openly carried on factories in their own names. Being the official of the district, they carried everything their own way with the Ryots." And this description is quite correct ! so much so, that when some individuals among the planters were tempted to join the agitation against the Company in 1814, they were stopped at once by the shrewd remark, " Take care what you are about ; you have virtually a monopoly of the Indigo trade in Bengal ; do you want to have a lot of competitors there ?" And it was this calculation, more shrewd than honest, which accounted for the body of the planters holding aloof, as they did, from every political agitation against the Company, not only at the renewals of the Charter in

1814 and 1834, but in 1853 and in the final crisis of 1858.

They may kick "the dead lion" *now*; but when the death struggle with it was going on, a struggle which lasted without intermission from 1853 to 1858, nothing could be more pitiful than the conduct of the Indigo planters; and when I describe it the reader will see that they had done nothing to excite the hatred of the Company's servants (and they had no reason to complain of it, as the Report has shown); but they had done something more to deserve their gratitude than merely giving them hospitality and hunting parties: they had given them political support at a critical moment.

In 1853, there was so much agitation in India, in anticipation of the renewal of the Company's Charter, and such important petitions were sent home against the Company's administration, that an India Reform Society was organized in London to support the petitioners, comprising in its committee about thirty Members of Parliament, and chiefly directed by Mr. Bright, its present chairman. The Native Associations of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, not only supplied this committee with funds and information, but they gave it the moral support of repeated petitions to Parliament, and public meetings in India, at which the abuses of the administration were exposed with the utmost freedom.

The Indigo planters gave no sign of life until the struggle of 1853 was over; but in 1854, excited by the example of the natives, they formed an association for the protection of the interests of their trade, at first

carefully eschewing politics ; and though they at length followed in the wake of the natives by a political petition presented in 1856, they so completely neutralised its effect by their next political move, that Sir Erskine Perry's words next year, when the planters sent a political agent to England, were almost literally true : " Down to the present day," he said, " the planters " have never once lifted their voice in favour of improvement in the administration of Indian affairs ; " at last, however, they have opened their mouths, and " they confirm every statement in the petition of the " missionaries." The political move referred to above, was the presentation of an address to Lord Dalhousie, on his departure from India, in which these same Indigo planters, who, the pamphlet tells us, page 39, were " ever crying aloud against the cruelty, rapacity, and " oppression of the Company's rule, and helping the " agitators in England," eulogised the success of that very administration which pushed the abuses of the Company's rule to an extreme that produced rebellion, in terms which contradicted the complaints of its failure, that the natives were then making, and gave a fatal advantage to the official opponents of the India Reform Committee in London. Finally, in spite of an urgent appeal by one of their own body, the Planters' Association gave no public support, and did not subscribe one penny, to the agitation which was raised in the winter of 1857—58, and led to the abolition of the Company's rule, although the series of public meetings held in London, and the lectures delivered in about fifty different towns in England, cost about £400, and the planters had not grudged £4,000 to keep an agent in

London to advocate their special interests. And yet, after this pitiful conduct, the pamphlet has the effrontery to talk of the "public spirit" of the Indigo planters; to say that it is this "public spirit" which has exposed some of their body to a malicious interference of the officials with their trade.

Alas, no! there has been no public spirit, there has been no malice provoked by it; but "the representations of Indigo planters cannot be expected to be otherwise than one-sided," as observed in the Missionaries' Petition of 1857; and we must search beyond the pamphlet to understand, either the people's hatred of Indigo planters, or the nature of the recent official interference with the system.

I shall now, therefore, undertake to show, 1stly, that the Ryots were compelled to cultivate indigo at a loss; 2ndly, that they were compelled to do so by means of lawless violence, almost incredible under a civilized government; 3rdly, that their "spirit of sullen discontent, from an impression that Government was indifferent to their sufferings," (of which the missionaries spoke in their memorial of 1856) had grown into a spirit of dangerous excitement, which compelled the Government to interfere; 4thly, that the object of this interference was to enforce obedience to the law, and justice in the administration of the law.

The first witness I shall call to prove that the Ryots were compelled to cultivate indigo at a loss, is, strange to say, the secretary of the Indigo Planters' Association, Mr. Fergusson! This gentleman was appointed a member of the Indigo Commission, but dissented from the report of the majority, and signed, with Mr. Temple,

a separate report, which contains the following admission:—" We deem it right to declare our apprehension, " that unless some important concessions are at once " made by the planters to the Ryots in several districts, " nothing short of actual force would induce them to " sow . . . If an attempt were made by the planters " to perpetuate by compulsion the present system, the " Ryots would meet force by force, and serious dis- " turbances would result. One prominent evil is the " risk borne by the Ryot and his consequent indebted- " ness . . . The deductions now made, which cause " so much dissatisfaction to the Ryot, should be discon- " tinued. The charges for cutting, weeding, carrying, " stamp paper, seed, &c., should all, or nearly all, be " borne by the factory. Then we think steps should " be taken to ensure correct and fair measurement of " the plant . . . It is of the utmost importance to " the improvement of relations between the factory and " the people, that blood should never again be shed in " an indigo dispute, and that lethal weapons should " never again be used in affrays between the factory " servants and the villagers."

Such is the verdict of the planters' own friends, of their own paid secretary. Even Mr. Fergusson is obliged to tell his employers that it is fraudulent *to measure the plant incorrectly*; fraudulent to throw the whole cost of cultivation on the Ryot, "*seed, stamp- paper, cutting, weeding, carrying,* (and, for fear he " should have forgotten anything), *et cetera.*"

My next witness shall be the very planter, W. Lar- mour, from whose evidence a garbled extract is cited by the pamphlet to prove that, among other blessings,

Ryots may make a profit of their indigo crop. Page 127 cites Mr. Larmour to prove that 237 Ryots had cleared off their advances from the Mulnauth factory, and made a profit, the last season. His very next answers admitted that the great majority, 1,141 Ryots, had not done so, although the returns of the Mulnauth factory Ryots were better than the average of other factories; and that the remaining 1,141 Ryots had been paid at the rate of less than 14 bundles of plant, 2 rupees, 5 annas per beegah, for a crop costing them 2 rupees 3 annas in cultivation, leaving only 2 annas, or threepence, for their year's profit and interest of capital, *in a district where labour is worth threepence a day!*

The amount of pecuniary loss to the Ryot is estimated by Mr. Grant, who gives the evidence on which he makes the calculation, as follows: "Rejecting all extreme cases, and giving indigo the benefit of all doubts, I cannot put the absolute loss to the Ryot at a low average, reckoning the net loss on the cultivation of indigo at the highest price now allowed, and the loss of the net profit the Ryot would make by any other ordinary crop at the market price, at less than seven rupees a beegah, equivalent to at least seven times the rent of the land."*

The next testimony I shall quote is the report of the Indigo Commission, which states broadly (para. 70), that, "all the defects of the (indigo) system, inherent and accidental, all the faults which justly are to be laid at the door of either planter or Ryot, by their

* See Mr. Grant's Minute of December 17th, 1860, para. 32.

“respective opponents, may be traced originally to one bare fact, *the want of adequate remuneration.*”

And the case is thus summed up by one of the most able and independent journals of India, the *Bombay Times*: “The Ryot *has* been paid for his Indigo beforehand, but then he has been paid at a price fixed by the planter himself, and with so little regard to equity that the testimony of all the witnesses examined before the Commission, without exception, whether they were planters, Ryots, Zemindars, civilians, or missionaries, concurred in the statement that the root of the evil was *the inadequate remuneration the Ryot received.* Under the system of advances, he falls at once within the power of the factory, and extrication therefrom is hopeless and unknown. Every rascality is practised to force advances upon him in the first instance, and from the date of accepting them he becomes the bondsman of the factory.”

Now as to the means by which the Ryots are compelled to carry on such a cultivation. The Ryot is a sort of customary freeholder, farming with his own plough, bullocks, and implements, from five to fifty acres of land, generally alone, but in the case of very small occupiers by a system of mutual assistance. In the case of Indigo he receives an advance, for which he signs a contract on stamp paper, before he sows the seed. The Indigo Commission report* that they cannot find out how “advances were first taken” by the Ryots, but that the practical effect of the system is, “that the son sows because he believes he is responsible for his

* Para. 57.

“father’s debt;” and* “whether the Ryot took his “original advances with reluctance or cheerfulness, the “result in either case is the same, he is never afterwards “a free man.” For this advance he signs† a *blank* stamp paper, often never filled up at all, nominally a contract for several years, but really renewed every year‡ for the sole purpose of binding the Ryot to his cultivation and to the factory; binding him§ to give suitable lands, to plough, sow, and weed at the proper times, to see that the plant be not damaged by cattle, and generally to deliver it at the factory. The lands of the Ryots are selected for Indigo,|| as the planter may choose, and he measures them for their produce by a standard from one-fourth to one-half larger than the ordinary land measurement. The cultivation is carried on under constant supervision by the planters’ numerous servants,¶ whose habitual extortion is not denied, and whose oppression may sometimes be considerable.* Such being “the life-tie which binds the “Ryot to the factory,”† it certainly is probable that for 20 years the Ryots have only been induced to cultivate Indigo, in certain districts of Bengal, “by numerous “acts of oppression and violence, by locking them up “in godowns, burning their houses, beating them, &c. :” as stated by a Bengal Zemindar (Answer 186).

I will, however, quote the Report of the Indigo Commission on these acts of oppression; premising that the cautious, diffuse language of the Report gives

* Para. 109.

† Paras. 48 and 49.

‡ Para. 52.

§ Para. 53.

|| Para. 68.

¶ Paras. 61, 66.

* Paras. 107, 109.

† Para. 66.

but a feeble idea of the real state of the case, of the reign of terror really maintained in the mofussil (interior) by those "common practices of lawlessness and "violence," and that "indifference to human life and "suffering," of which the missionaries complained in 1857, and which continued up to the date of the Government's interference in 1860.

The Commission report* that comparatively few cases of homicide, in Indian disputes, have been brought to their knowledge, as proved, of late years. I will give in an appendix the cases they report as proved, in the single year 1859, the last year before their Report, to give the reader a notion of the circumstances: merely remarking, that there are usually many wounded for one killed on these occasions, and that the remarks of the late Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, that a "very small "proportion of heinous offenders are ever brought to "trial, and half of those brought to trial are sure "to be acquitted," is particularly true of these Indigo cases; in which, as a rule, the European connected with the outrage not only escapes punishment, but even trial, through his exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of the interior. The Commission report† that there is no *proved* instance of the burning of bazaars and houses, though one most respectable planter admitted that "he had known of such acts;" but,‡ they fear the demolition of houses by order of the Planter does occasionally occur.§ They apprehend the practice of kidnapping and imprisoning Ryots in the

* Para. 85.

† Para. 88.

‡ Para. 90.

§ Para. 94.

factory or its outhouses (godowns) is of common occurrence;* and they add, the seizure of cattle is spoken of as a "general custom."† They fear that in some instances date gardens and plants are rooted up to make room for Indigo.‡ They dwell chiefly on the undeniable prevalence of seizing cattle, and more especially of kidnapping: that is, "of carrying off individuals, "taking them, sometimes in a wounded condition, "from place to place, to elude research and detection, "and confining them in godowns (outhouses of the "factory) until they submit to the will or caprice of "the planter;" they add that "this latter practice is "so common in the interior of the country as to be "spoken of without the least reserve;" and they express an opinion that "one such case of violent and "unlawful confinement spreads alarm throughout a "whole neighbourhood; and more than any other "species of illegality tends to make the Ryot chary of "complaining, hopeless of redress, and inclined to the "belief that Europeans are placed above the law"—(as in fact they are, by their exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of the interior).

Finally, the Commission give in their Appendix a list of 54 breaches of the peace, connected with Indigo, during the last five years, in the single district of Nuddea; and another list of heinous offences, connected with Indigo, given in by Mr. Eden, of which no less than 41 cases occurred within the last ten years, and fifteen within the last five years.

* I give two cases in the Appendix as a sample.

† Para. 95.

‡ Paras. 96 to 105.

After this sketch of the lawless means used to compel Ryots to cultivate Indigo at a loss, I will now state why the Government interfered. In March, 1860, the bitter hostility of the people to Indigo cultivation reached such a pitch of disaffection that the planters entreated the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Grant, to recommend a Bill to the Legislature to compel the Ryots to fulfil their contracts to sow by a summary law. Mr. Grant did so, and the Legislature passed in haste a summary law, with the express proviso that it should only last a single season, in order that before another season came round, the Commission, so long promised but not appointed, should inquire into the alleged oppression of the Ryots; which was proclaimed to the people, to give them a hope of ultimate justice, and assure their submission meanwhile to the summary law. Of the final causes which produced the explosion of popular feeling in March, I cannot speak with certainty. The planters at first imputed it to the missionaries, who had "stirred up the people to revolt." When this charge broke down, they imputed it to Mr. Eden's order, which I have already mentioned, or to casual expressions of Mr. Grant, which they have failed to prove. I believe the fact to be, that the irritation of the people had reached a point when the merest trifle would produce an explosion, and when mere trifles, which nobody can now trace, did produce it. It is suggested by Mr. Cuthbert (Answer 1830) that the example of the neighbouring Southals had much to do with "stirring up the Ryots to revolt," as they had obtained complete satisfaction and justice by their insurrection, although they had

in vain appealed to the authorities for protection, for years before it.

However that may be, the irritation of the people had become too dangerous to be neglected. The Commission report,* that "it is not easy to possess those who did not witness the demeanour, and hear the language of the Ryots, with a just appreciation of their intense dislike to the Indigo cultivation. Ryots from different quarters all expressed the same idea in the most pointed language, that Indigo and its attendant evils had been the bane of their lives;" and "declared, † *in language not to be mistaken*, their determination not to sow again." Even the Secretary of the Indigo Planters' Association was so impressed with the danger, as to report, in terms already quoted by me, that "the planters must make at once great concessions;" that, "if they attempted to perpetuate the present system by compulsion, the Ryots would meet force by force;" and that "it was of the utmost importance that blood should never again be shed in an Indigo dispute." And one of the most valuable witnesses who appeared before the Commission, the Rev. J. Long, summed up his convictions in these emphatic words: "I can assure the Commissioners that no language can depict the burning indignation with which Indigo planting is, and has been, regarded by the native population. It alarms me seriously for the future peace of India, unless an equitable adjustment of the question be made."

Having thus shown why the Government interfered,

* Para. 131.

† Para. 178.

I have now to show that it did so to procure obedience to the law, and justice in its administration; and I must remark, as the planters attempt to secure at least one victim by singling out for attack the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Grant, that from the very beginning of the Indigo disputes, in March, 1860, every proceeding of the Bengal Government was reported to Lord Canning and the Home Government, at first weekly, and afterwards by the regular fortnightly mails, and was sanctioned by them.

The planters' pamphlet charges Mr. Grant with the following grave offences: warning the judicial officers not to put the Summary Law Act in force (page 98); reversing their judgments, and letting off convicted offenders (page 101); removing a judge for not agreeing with him that a "mere clerical error" in a deed was forgery (page 113); and packing the staff of magistrates to defeat the free course of justice (page 114). I will answer these charges *seriatim*.

With regard to the first charge, the reader may be surprised to hear that the "judicial officers" referred to were magistrates. I believe that in every other civilized country but India it is acknowledged that the officer employed to catch a thief, and the officer employed to try him, should not only be different men, but men of a different training and habits of mind; and that an active magistrate is one of those persons least fit to be a judge, and most requiring the constant supervision of a judge. Nevertheless, in Bengal extensive judicial powers are confided to magistrates; and those who had to decide without appeal, under the Summary Law, cases involving on the one hand the serious profit or

loss of the Indigo factory, and, on the other, the comfort or imprisonment and beggary of the Ryot, were magistrates, mostly young and inexperienced, *and all without the least experience in civil judicial business*; because the Government was obliged to take the only officers it could get, to appoint the only magistrates available, and set them to work at once, to secure the object of the Summary Law, which was to save the season's sowing. Such being the qualifications of these magistrates, they are by law under the supervising control of the Commissioners of Divisions, men selected for their proved ability and experience; and it was through these superior officers, and on their reports, that Mr. Grant acted in every case; and to them, not to the magistrates, that he addressed the order which is described by the pamphlet as a warning to judicial officers not to put the law in force.

This order (of which I give the words in an appendix) enjoined the Commissioners to watch carefully the manner in which the magistrates, above described, discharged the judicial duties entrusted to them, in a time of great public excitement and prejudice, and with no appeal from their decision; and not to allow any one of them to retain such irresponsible power for a day, if he proved incompetent to do justice to all parties.

The necessity of such a caution will be apparent in discussing the second charge against Mr. Grant, of "reversing the judgment" of these magistrates, and "letting off convicted offenders." As, of course, the right of the Government to extend mercy to a convicted criminal cannot be denied, the question here is of its

justice in the above cases. But the release of such prisoners, in every instance, took place at the recommendation of the Commissioners, not from the initiative of Mr. Grant, and was grounded on a review of the case proving that it was an improper conviction; and the probability is that hundreds of Ryots were imprisoned and ruined by similar convictions, owing to the impossibility of reviewing such an immense number of cases.

As it was, there were two cases in which the Ryots' attorneys were imprisoned without having committed any offence; two cases in which Ryots were imprisoned who were stone blind, and could not have contracted to sow; one case in which a Ryot was imprisoned for three months without any award against him; another in which a Ryot's property was sold in execution, without any decree being passed; in all cases the damages given at first were double the maximum allowed by law; and one Deputy-Magistrate was reported to have decided 79 such cases in 4 days. Such were the judgments, as might have been expected, of some of these magistrates, *without the least experience in civil judicial business*, which Mr. Grant is blamed for reviewing; and one of these judgments I must notice in detail, as its justice is affirmed by the planters, and its effect of intimidation denied, to this day. This was the imprisonment of a native Mooktah (Attorney), on a charge of instigating Ryots not to sow. The prisoner was convicted on the report of a conversation to such effect, without evidence of any specific act or speech, and instantly sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 200 rupees (£20), or in default to further

imprisonment for six months. I shall not waste time in proving the injustice as well as the illegality of such a conviction, but I shall quote the following letter, dated November 8th, 1860, from Mr. Herschell, Magistrate of Nuddea, to the Commissioner of the Nuddea Division, to prove the intimidation caused by it:—

“ Sir, I have the honor, as requested, to state what was the effect of the imprisonment of Teetooram Chuckerbutty. Mr. Maclean, who was then in charge of Damoorhoodah, informed me that immediately after the sentence was passed every Mooktah who was on the side of the Ryots left the spot, saying, ‘that was evidently no place for them.’ One man was unable to get away for want of bearers, and was immediately pointed out to Mr. Betts as an instigator, by the planters’ people. Mr. Betts, however, saw no grounds for proceeding against him. The departure of the rest caused Mr. Maclean great inconvenience in trying his own cases, and it was several days before he could get the Mooktahs to go back. On the news of Teetooram’s imprisonment reaching Kishnagur, the Mooktahs in my own court, who were defending the Ryots, refused to act any longer, and continued to do so till I informed them that I had already sent the case up to Government.”

The next charge against Mr. Grant is that of removing a judge for not agreeing with him, that a mere clerical error in a deed was forgery.” The so-called “Judge” in this case was the Magistrate, Mr. Betts, who was summarily suspended, before any reference to Mr. Grant, by the Commissioner, for his unjust sentence on the Mookteah related above; and remanded

by Mr. Grant to his magisterial duties at Diamond Harbour, before the famous "clerical error" case was even heard of! This case, however, has become so notorious, and it has been so trumpeted to the world, both in England and India, as a proof of Mr. Grant's prejudice and injustice; that I am bound to explain it in some detail.

The case referred to was one of six cases of alleged contract to grow Indigo for the Peerpore Factory. Five of these were decided by Mr. Betts in favor of the contract on the 18th April, 1860, and the remaining case stood over for some months, in consequence of his removal.

The next contract cases for the Peerpore Factory were tried by another magistrate, Mr. Herschell, who considered them such palpable forgeries, that he committed the parties for trial before the Sessions Judge, who convicted them of forgery and perjury; although he refused to admit evidence subsequently obtained that the stamp papers on which the contracts were written were also forgeries, and his decision has been appealed against. In bringing their cases to the notice of the Government, the Commissioner of the division made some severe remarks on the way in which they were got up. (Letter dated May 15th, 1860). I have shown, from the report of the Indigo Commission,* that the contract was really nothing but the Ryots' signature to a blank stamp paper, often never filled up at all, at other times filled up by the factory servants at their leisure. In the case of the Peerpore

* Para. 49.

Factory, however, there was no such incompleteness; "there were," said the Commissioner, "the books of the factory; written contracts, with direct evidence to their preparation at the time of making the advances, and the payments of the advances; and every one of these proofs broke down."

On July 17th, 1860, the remaining one of the six cases, of which five had been decided by Mr. Betts, was tried before an experienced regular judge, Mr. Bell: *the parol proofs being identical in all the six cases.* The judge decided against the contract in the remaining case, on the ground that the evidence of the witnesses to it was never offered or adduced, and consequently the deed was not proved; while the secondary evidence brought forward, in the absence of primary evidence withheld, was that of notorious false witnesses, men who had forsworn themselves in several other cases. In delivering this judgment, he remarked that in one of the above cases decided by Mr. Betts the contract was spurious on the face of it; being dated in 1856, while the stamp paper on which it was written was dated 1859.

After this, the Indigo planters having complained to the Supreme Government that, since the substitution of regular experienced judges for young magistrates in the trial of their contract cases, these cases broke down to such an extent that it was "absurd to continue to institute such suits," Mr. Grant replied, that they would doubtless prefer to have them tried in such a fashion as to get decrees on agreements purporting to be four years old, although written on stamp paper only one year old: alluding to Mr. Bell's judgment.

The planters answered to this, that the error pointed out by Mr. Bell was obviously "only a mistake and "clerical error of the Bengali writer," by substituting 1856 for 1859 in the body of the contract; and assuming that their assertion was sufficient to prove this, they have for the last four months harped on the statement that forgery was imputed to their contracts *on account of a mere "clerical error,"* overlooking the fact that Mr. Bell's judgment was delivered on grounds quite independent of the date, as I have shown.

Mr. Bell, however, being accused by them of gross carelessness in not seeing that the wrong date was only a "clerical error," was called upon by the Government for an explanation, of which I will try to give the substance as briefly as I can. He says that, taken together with the other cases of forged contracts from the Peerpore Factory, the alteration of the date would do little to set up the genuineness of the instrument: that a person may from habit write the date of the year just expired at the beginning of a new year, but is not likely at the end of a year to write the date of another several years back, particularly as the Bengali figures for 6 and 9 are so totally different there could be no mistake between them, and therefore it is more likely that the date was left to be filled up in a hurry, particularly because in one of these contracts the date was not filled up at all, the figures 18 being entered for the century, and the figures for the year left blank; that the grounds of his judgment were quite independent of the date, although a correct date is essential to the validity of a contract, for which he quotes Bentham's words: "Paper, if of a date known to

“be posterior to the date apparent on the face of
“the instrument, a certain proof of spuriousness;”
that three other of these Peerpore Factory cases
were brought forward in the first half-year of 1860,
although dated the 9th and 10th of December, in the
second half of the year; that in two other Peerpore
Factory cases, in which the execution of the deeds
and the receipt of the advances by the defendants
was duly sworn to by the factory servants, it turned
out that the defendants were dead some time before the
date of the deeds they were sworn to have executed;
that similar cases were brought forward by another
factory; that in other cases, loathsome lepers, infants,
men so bedridden with age or disease as to be unable
to walk, and who were brought up in carts and doolies,
and whom it was necessary to prop up in court during
trial, were charged with having received advances
under Indigo contracts; that the planter’s oath to
advances was sufficient to establish claims, and yet they
would not swear to the validity of their contracts when
asked, on the ground of that being their native servants’
affair; that on a review of numerous cases he arrived
at an impression that to meet the particular exigency
of the times and to coerce the Ryots, a vast number of
contracts were called into existence to which the Ryots
were not assenting parties; that agreements were
fabricated, and fictitious details of accounts entered in
written forms prepared for the occasion, the date of the
year being left blank, to be afterwards filled up at
leisure, but the pressure of work left the factory
servants insufficient time to read through all the
writings, and thus it came to pass that fictitious dates

were affixed to agreements to which they were wholly inapplicable. (See Mr. Bell's letter of Nov. 3, 1860).

In confirmation of this impression of Mr. Bell's, he was obliged to commit thirteen cases to the magistrate, on charges of forgery and perjury, besides a fourteenth which he did not commit, as the forgery was not discovered till afterwards; and a letter from the Commissioner, dated November 25th, 1860, showed that there had been in Kishnagur a sudden and immense increase in the sale of stamp paper, to the extent of several thousands, during the few months when the Summary Law for the enforcement of Indigo contracts was in force: leading one magistrate to suspect that the greater part of the contracts presented under the Summary Law were forgeries.

Such is the explanation of the charge against Mr. Grant, of "removing a Judge for not agreeing with him that a 'mere clerical error' in a deed was "forgery."

The remaining charge, that he "packed the staff of "magistrates to prevent the free course of justice," has no better foundation. Only one magistrate was removed from the Indigo districts, viz., Mr. Betts, as already explained. The others were not removed, although, at the recommendation of the Commissioner, Mr. Grant applied to the Sudder Court to select two experienced and competent Judges to try the remainder of the civil cases, which they did, leaving the trial of the penal cases to the magistrates, as before.

I have thus answered the leading misrepresentations of the pamphlet, entitled "Brahmins and Pariahs," in the hope of protecting the interests of a vast population

in India, who have no voice and little sympathy here, from the injury that would be inflicted on them, if public opinion were deceived in England as to the character of the recent proceedings of Government in Bengal.

I have endeavoured to show, what is my sincere conviction, that the Government was at last obliged to interfere between the planters and the natives; and that its object in doing so was to procure obedience to the law from both parties, without partiality to either. And I have reason to believe that the effect of such interference, although it establish the freedom of the Ryots, will not be to injure the future prospects of Indigo cultivation in Bengal, from the encouraging report of those prospects which have recently appeared in the *Calcutta Englishman*, in its mails of January 3rd and January 8th, of which the first has been quoted.

I have only to add, that on one point the natives do most cordially agree with the Indigo planters, which is, in declaring that the maladministration of justice in India is such an intolerable grievance that the English people can form no conception of it! It is this shocking maladministration of justice which directly produces that "fearful state of demoralisation and "anarchy" to which the missionaries bore witness, in their petition to Parliament in 1857; and it cannot be too distinctly explained, nor too often reiterated, that this cruel mockery of justice is due, not to the badness of the laws, but to the want of professional qualifications in the men who administer the laws. As it was well observed by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday, in, I think, the very

last Minute he penned, before quitting the public service in 1859: "We are no nearer than we were twenty years ago to a system of judicial training for our civil officers; and while we are supposed to be improving our civil and criminal procedure laws, we are doing nothing whatever to improve our Judges."

The planters' pamphlet quotes a long list of cases, to prove the customary failure of justice in India, from the excellent pamphlet of Mr. Norton, published in 1853. But why quote a pamphlet eight years old; why go to Madras for such evidence, when they might have quoted any number of similar cases from the records of Bengal itself? The India Reform Society has for years denounced that great curse of India, the failure of the administration of justice to secure either person or property in that country. . It has for years traced that failure to the want of study, practice, and science of the law, in the men appointed to administer the law—to a want of qualifications, in short, which leaves them about as fit for their work, as an agricultural labourer is fit to navigate a ship! Until these facts be admitted, it is useless to propose a remedy for them; and the sham reforms of our Government will not touch the root of the evil.

FIRST APPENDIX.

From Appendix No. 11 of Indigo Commission Report.

AFFRAY ATTENDED WITH MURDER.

Mr. Wise's people, in the presence of the police, attacked the Villagers of Moulavi Abdul Ali to obtain possession of a Chur :—two men were wounded and one died afterwards.

AFFRAY AND SEIZURE OF CATTLE.

Some cattle were seized by the Ryots as trespassing in their fields, when the assistant in charge ordered a rescue, and an affray followed, in which Shitul Tarafdar was wounded, and carried off by the factory people. No cattle were rescued. Shitul Tarafdar *was never seen again*, having died in confinement at some factory.

AFFRAY ATTENDED WITH MURDER.

The factory people were taking trespassing cattle to the pound, when a rescue was made by the Ryots, and a man wounded so that he died afterwards.

From Appendix No. 21.

AFFRAY ATTENDED WITH MURDER AND ROBBERY.

Mr. Cockburn wanted the Ryots' ploughs; the Ryots refused to give them; his men attacked the villagers, killed one, wounded two, plundered houses and carried off cattle; Ryots were not under advances.

LIFE OR DEATH IN INDIA

8
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p 5

BY

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

*A Paper read at the Meeting of the National Association for the
Promotion of Social Science, Norwich, 1873*

WITH AN APPENDIX

ON

LIFE OR DEATH BY IRRIGATION

1874

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HOW SOME PEOPLE HAVE LIVED, AND NOT DIED, IN INDIA.

By FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

ON a former occasion I ventured imperfectly—for India is immense, while a paper is small—to bring before the Association how people have died, and not lived, in India; how people may live, and not die, in India.

I used some of that great body of information brought together by the 'Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Indian Army,' which was at work during four years, 1859–1863, and was presided over, first by Sidney Herbert—whose statue still stands before the War Office as a witness in favour of progress—then by Lord Stanley, now Lord Derby.

Ten years have elapsed, during which most of the sanitary proceedings which have been initiated, and their results, have passed (on paper) through our hands. And we may now reckon up our gains.

2. I must begin by guarding myself and others. A caution.
We *have* made an impression on the sanitary state of

that vast country ; but 'impression,' so far as this : only to show us the immense work that remains to be done ; the immense success that *can* attend it—we cannot yet say the immense work that has been done.

But how much this is ; what progress since the time we were taught to lament the 'hopeless Indian climate'!

What is the epidemic state.

The caution is this : as in all epidemic countries, more than in most—the death-rates of the Indian Army had shown two characteristics : they fell and they varied according to the nature of the season and the prevailing 'epidemic state.'

(1) E.g., in past, and, alas! in present years, we can say approximately what districts will be visited by fever or by cholera in 'epidemic' times: 'if the drainage and water supply, and neighbouring ground are left in *that* bad state'—when comes the 'epidemic,' those dwellings may expect it. If air, earth, and water continue to be fouled, if foul damp ground be not drained, if the public ways be not better kept, when comes the 'fever,' when comes the 'cholera,' those districts will have it.

But why does not cholera come every year to those dwellings? Their state is the same. And why is fever not always in those districts?

We do not know.

All we can say is, we know into what dwellings cholera and fever will *not* come, however 'epidemic' the year ; we can put towns and districts into such a state that the *epidemic*, like the mediæval witch, is exorcised, so that it cannot come near them.

More than this we do not know.

(2) In past years—not so long past—in a great town of England, 47 children out of every 100 used to die before they were five years old. But why those 47?

We do know how this infant mortality, or rather massacre of the innocents, can be mitigated or prevented; namely, by cleanliness of house and child, by fresh air, care as to food and clothes, whitewashing, by ‘minding baby’ in short, and by avoiding all ‘soothing syrups’ whatever.

But we do not know which babies will be taken and which not.

All this is pre-eminently true of India. From the great Sunderbunds, where cholera seems to have had its birth-place, and had not been born some centuries ago [great towns, shown in old Portuguese maps, now no longer to be found, seem to attest that the Sunderbunds were not then the home and hearth of epidemics], cholera sets forth on its terrible march over Asia, so reaching Europe; but why in one year and not in another we know not.

If the Sunderbunds were drained, cultivated, and again rendered fit for human habitation, would cholera disappear?

3. Now, after this caution, to proceed: The results we find, in the last Report* of the ‘Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India,’ and in other District Reports, have been so striking, that they

Satisfactory
Sanitary
results in
1871.

* Dr Cuninghams Report, No. 8.

may be fairly accepted as showing, not that India has become 'healthy for ever' (the year 1871 was a non-epidemic year), but that we can grapple with—that we may one day finally subdue, if we will—spite of the bugbear 'climate'—those local conditions which in former days decimated the strength of the Army, and which, unless preventable and prevented, make up a terrible prospect—that only at such a price could India be held by a British force. And this when man's life was becoming every year more valuable.

In the first part of this century the Death-rate among British troops serving in India had revolved round 69 per 1,000 per annum; that is, 69 men out of every 1,000 died on an average every year.

The 'constantly sick'* in hospital amounted in old times to ten per cent. of the strength; that is, out of every 1,000 men 100 were always ill in bed.

Or, in round numbers, the whole British Army went three times into hospital every year. The Royal Commission of 1863 gave a Table showing, as they state, 'that on an average in the stations of Bengal 84 men in a battalion of 1,000 were constantly in hospital, where 69 die annually.'

But men invalided 'are a total loss to the service as much as the men who die;'—indeed more so, as far as the country is concerned, for they have to be supported.

And the loss by invaliding was, as may be supposed, high in proportion:—in Bengal, as high as between 80 and 90 per 1,000 per annum, including all such casualties.

* On the authority of Mr. Annesley.

Steps had been taken before,* steps were being taken during the inquiries in India of the Royal Commission, for removing some existing sanitary defects, with corresponding improvement of the health of troops.

The Report and evidence were printed, with an abstract of evidence from the Stations, by Parliament in August 1863.

In December, Sir John Lawrence was sent out as Governor-General (Lord Elgin's death impending), and almost immediately on beginning his vice-reign he formed an organisation for grappling with the evils, with this hundred-headed Hydra, in the localities themselves—in the home of the beast.

In this way of late years a vast amount of simple, inexpensive sanitary work has been done in respect of cleansing, draining, improving the water supply. In many of the cities and towns of the North-West Provinces this cleansing, the better making and keeping of public ways, the straightening and widening of streets, are now looked after.

In the North-West Provinces and in Oudh the civil stations have been improving their drainage, and the whole subject is marching on.

In the Central Provinces, we are told, improvements of various kinds are going on.

In Berar the people are thinking about it—thinking

* In Bombay, sanitary reform began with Sir Robert Grant forty years ago, according to *then* lights; and subsequent Governors carried the work on, in advance of the *then* Indian ideas. The first scheme for an ample supply of good water to a city was matured in Bombay thirty years ago by Lord Elphinstone, and begun five years later—long before any such plans were believed to be possible in any other Indian city.

how bad is their water-supply. One trusts that they will go farther—though thinking is a good thing—and not only think but act.

In the Punjaub a good deal, we are told, is being quietly done in the towns.

In Bengal Proper, where most is wanted, least seems to be doing.

Many stations all over India—e.g., Barrackpoor, Umballa, Murree, Meean Meer—are supplying themselves with better water.

Many have had their barracks improved or reconstructed—not before it was wanted—and sometimes, it must be admitted, not in the most economical way.

Still the work has been done, and is being done, very zealously, as is shown by the Reports of Sanitary Commissioners, which give as striking instances of results to health from sanitary improvements as could well be imagined, were it even a Hercules who was working for us [these are real miracles of the present day] or as have been realised at home. And this has been done without burning down the city, which, it seems, was the only way of saving London from another great plague.

Army: Death-rate and Sick-rate in 1871.

4. And first, as regards the Death-rate of the Army:

For on this subject Dr. Cuninghame gives some most important facts, especially as regards Bengal, formerly, as we know, the most unhealthy province—if province it can be called—a country of nearly 69,000,000—the most densely populated in the world.

Formerly the Death-rate for all India revolved

round 69 per 1,000. In 1871 the Death-rate, including deaths among invalids *after* their arrival in England, was 18·69 per 1000. [The strength was 56,806 non-commissioned officers and men]; that is, 18 men died where 69 died before. Of the invalids sent home to England, 16·02 per 1,000 on a similar strength were discharged the service.

From these facts we arrive at this result: namely, leaving out the loss from invaliding in the old Indian Army altogether, the total loss to the present Indian Army in 1871 by deaths *and discharges* was 34·7 per 1,000, or just one-half of the loss occasioned by the old death-rate alone. In other words, we lost, in 1871, 18 men only by death—in India and England both—out of every 1,000 of the British Indian army; and 16 more were discharged as unfit for further service; that is, there was a saving of 51 men in every 1,000 in 1871 (a healthy year), or 2,858 men in an army of 56,806 were the savings of that year: one year's results: as compared with the average losses of old.

Let us remember, with the mercantile Briton's spirit, that every man costs with his arms 100*l.* set down in India: hence £285,800 was the money saving on recruits in that year.

But what is the value of a man otherwise?

To *us* these are not figures, but men.

Returning to the Bengal Presidency, we find in 1871 the deaths 17·83 per 1,000, where formerly the Bengal death-rate lay between 70 and 80 per 1,000, and annual losses from other casualties actually rose

to between 80 and 90 per 1,000. In other words, 17 men only die instead of 70.

A few results for 1871, from different groups of formerly most unhealthy Bengal stations, tend to show that the improvement in health is going on ; thus :

In Bengal Proper the death-rate for the ten years preceding 1870, including a time of sanitary improvement, was $29\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 ; and the daily sick nearly 7 per cent., or 70 per 1,000. In 1871 the death-rate was 18.72 per 1,000, and the daily sick-rate 5 per cent., or 50 per 1,000.

General Sick
Rate.

Let us here add, that in round numbers the whole Indian Army went once-and-a-half times into hospital, and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the force was always in hospital, during the year 1871, instead of nearly double the number.

Fort William.

We all remember the frightful sickness and mortality of Fort William. Its sick-rate continues rather high, but its death-rate in 1871 was only 10 per 1,000, less than a tenth part of its former death-rate : and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 less than the death-rate of 1870.

Oudh.

In Oudh the death-rate from 1860 to 1869 was $28\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000. In 1871 it was under 23. The constantly sick had also fallen from 69 to 61 per 1,000.

At Cawnpore much has been done to improve the site, and the station shows a death-rate of only 13 ; while Benares and Allahabad, in which less has been done, and Dinapore, in which we do not hear of much done, show quite double this rate of death.

Meerut.

Meerut and Rohilcund, in the ten years before 1870, were sick at the rate of 72 per 1,000, and sick

unto death at the rate of $26\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000. In 1870 these fell to 69 and $18\frac{1}{2}$ respectively; and in 1871 to 65 and $16\frac{1}{2}$. But in this group Roorkee, which has always distinguished itself, and Moradabad died at the rate of only 8 and $5\frac{1}{2}$.

In Agra and Central India, for the ten years before Agra. 1870, the sick-rate was 74, and the death-rate $38\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000. In 1870, though the sick-rate was 77, of these there died only 22 per 1,000; and in 1871 there were sick only 64, and there died under $18\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000.

In the Punjab, there has been apparently some Punjab. progress in improving the heavy sick-list. The ten-year period shows sick at the rate of 56, and dead at 25; but 1870 gives daily sick at 69, and deaths at under $24\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000; and 1871, sick at 54, and dead at little more than 18 per 1,000.

Now the Hill stations come in. During the ten Hill Stations. years before 1870 the daily sick were 49, and the dead nearly 15 per 1,000. In 1870 the sick were 40, and the dead 11. In 1871, 48 and 9. But at one Hill station, Raneekhet, the death-rate was as high as 24; while at another, Chukrata, it was under $6\frac{1}{2}$; and at Dugshai $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Now for the convalescent depôts: These gave a Convalescent Depôts. death-rate of nearly 31 per 1,000, during the ten-year period; for the men seem to have died rather than convalesced—whereas in 1870 it was little over $22\frac{1}{2}$, and in 1871 under 13 per 1,000.

The Army Sanitary Commission concludes its notice of this part of Dr. Cuninghams' statistics by 'congratulation at the improvements already effected

in the sanitary condition of stations and troops serving in the Bengal Presidency;’ especially, it says, when the former history of the old Bengal European Army is considered, with its annual death-rate ‘of from 70 to 80 per 1,000;’ and ‘its annual losses from other casualties of between 80 and 90 per 1,000.’ But it warns us not to delay measures for making the statistics of 1871—‘an avowedly healthy year’—the real representative statistics of every year in India.

For it must not be assumed that the work of improvement is done.

Far from it.

The general result only indicates progress towards realization : not realization.

As yet *what is BEING done* is all we have to show.

The Royal Commission pointed out that the death-rate, when we have *prevented preventable* diseases, ought not to be more than ten in the thousand.

The importance of the present results consists in showing that India is not necessarily fatal to European lives, and that the Government of India, the India Office at home, and the British public, have not only a common interest in the results already attained, but that they have a right to expect, and do expect, that their officers’ hands shall not be stayed in this good work; that they shall be assisted in every possible way. Expense has been incurred—somewhat more perhaps in certain directions than was necessary. But has there been no gain?

It has been shown that we are in the way of regaining every year a large part of the outlay.

5. Had time permitted, some account should have been given of the success of sanitary work in Indian cities, and even in country districts.

But we must be content with a few illustrations.

Ten years ago I reported to the Royal Commission that no one of those three large and populous cities—seats of Presidencies—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras—
had as yet arrived at the degree of civilisation in their sanitary arrangements at which the worst parts of our worst towns had arrived before sanitary reform sprang up in England at all.

Calcutta,
Bombay,
Madras.

Yet all the fault of the inevitable results was laid to the 'climate.'

Bombay, the second city of our Empire, had, it is true, a better water-supply, but no drainage.

Calcutta was being drained, but had no water supply.

Two of the seats of Government had thus each one-half of a sanitary improvement, which halves ought never to be separated.

Madras had neither.

This was ten years ago.

Now (and I cannot but name the name of the Calcutta municipality engineer, Mr. Clark, with this great improvement—let us give him a cheer), Calcutta has its water-supply complete: all classes, all castes, use it; and find, indeed, the fabled virtues of the Ganges in the pure water-tap.

Calcutta.

Draining has been going on, subsoil and surface: the subsoil water-level effectually lowered; and not only this, but a fine current of water runs through the subsoil from the river on one side to drainage out-

lets on the other, carrying with it old sewage out of the subsoil. The main drainage of most of the town is complete, and native owners of houses are already applying for private drainage—a fact of great importance.

Still there remain to be provided for—to make the Sewerage perfect—connections between the main sewers and the houses (and especially in large districts of the poorer population, and in the Bustees—‘temporary’ villages, of mat and thatch and mud).

Many miles of ditches have been filled up, to the great detriment of mosquitoes and great comfort of the inhabitants.

Then, also, the sewage is being applied to agriculture.

And what has been the result of all this sanitary engineering?

From 1866, when the deaths from cholera in Calcutta were little short of 7,000, they have decreased to 800 in 1871, the lowest number of deaths on record. Calcutta in 1871 was more salubrious than Manchester or Liverpool, and may be considered soon a sanitarium compared with Vienna, or even with Berlin, where the city canals are still fouled with sewage.

Still we must not ‘sing before we are out of the wood.’ Much, as Mr. Clark and Sir George Campbell would tell us, remains to be done.

And before the inhabitants of Calcutta can hope to be free from finding themselves any morning in the claws of some epidemic disease, they must have done

a great deal more to the *houses* of the *people*, crowded as they are on small unhealthy space, and to the undrained districts surrounding, and especially below Calcutta.

Caste prejudices have been alleged as insuperable stumbling-blocks in the way to sanitary improvement, but a curious and cheerful instance of caste prejudice being overcome is this: when the water-supply was first introduced into Calcutta, the high-caste Hindoos still desired their water-carriers to bring them the *sacred* water from the *river*; but these functionaries, finding it much easier to take the water from the new taps, just rubbed in a little (vulgar, not sacred) mud, and presented it as Ganges water.

When at last the healthy fraud was discovered, public opinion, founded on experience, had already gone too far to return to dirty water. And the new water-supply was, at public meetings, adjudged to be theologically as well as physically safe.

Besides its water-supply, then, the drainage of Calcutta bids fair to be a wonder of the world, when we remember what has been loudly said, even in this our day, that Calcutta at least was hopeless, because it lies close to the level of the river; and its public health has equally defied the prophets of irremediable evil, and will yet improve still further its powers of defiance, while the active—not prophets of evil, but performers of good—Mr. Clark,* and the energetic Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and other such authorities live.

* Unhappily, since this was written, Mr. Clark has been obliged to come home invalided.

Bombay.

Now for Bombay—Bombay, hitherto the pioneer : Bombay the active, not to say restless, the energetic Bombay. Bombay has for years done everything to drain itself, except doing it : it has had the best engineer, Major H. Tulloch, to look at it, to plan for it ; it has had surveys, plans, reports, paper, and print enough to drain all India—writing and talking enough for a thousand years. The only thing it has *not* done is *to do it*.

In the meantime it has had to thank its able Dr. Hewlett, the most vigorous of health officers—now alas ! no longer at that post—for having, at a quite incredible cost of time and energy, in organising, personally superintending, and being as it were the constantly present head of an immense and most expensive system of hand-labour, saved them from cholera epidemics, and done that for them, single-handed, or rather single-headed, which should have been better and more cheaply done by the civilised hand of engineering and machinery. He has been a sanitarily engineered city in himself—his own Reports are his best witnesses.

As for the water-supply, much the same may be said. The increased water-supply needed by the city is still on paper, some small portion only having been obtained.

And what has Madras done—Madras which had neither—neither water-supply nor drainage ?

Madras.

Madras has obtained a water-supply, and has just improved it, and is applying part of her sewage to agriculture with success. In other respects she

appears to be pretty much as she was, with her filthy Cooum estuary, and her foul, undrained area.

She has recently had the census taken, with the advantage of discovering that Madras is a very unhealthy city.

6. These illustrations would be incomplete if taken only from the large cities. Here, however, are a few experimental results described by the Sanitary Commissioner for Madras in his report on cholera of 1870. Madras Presidency. Cuddalore town had forty-two deaths from cholera out of a population of 28,421. Cuddalore jail with 301 prisoners escaped. The jail had those two indispensable requisites—good water and perfect cleanliness—which were absent in the town. Madura town contains 39,872 people, of whom 376 died of cholera, which, on arriving there, found bad conservancy, foul privy arrangements, foul subsoil, contaminated water. There are two jails at Madura, one old, the other new. The old jail had bad water and other insanitary conditions, and lost four out of fifty prisoners by cholera. The new jail contained 180 prisoners ; these were the only persons not exposed to sanitary defects, and they all escaped cholera.

Rajahmundry town, where the population live under the usual Indian insanitary conditions, lost 147 people from cholera out of a population of 17,498. The district jail, situated within the town, and under similar conditions, lost 16 prisoners out of 89 by cholera. The new central jail, where the sanitary conditions were good, had not a single case of cholera among

845 prisoners, although the disease prevailed 'violently in all the country round.'

Vellore town lost 67 people out of 30,529 from cholera. It has two jails, one old, the other new. The sanitary condition of the old jail was rigidly attended to, and there was no cholera among its 152 prisoners. The new jail had 576 prisoners, but no cholera. It occupies a healthy site, and its sanitary arrangements were good.

More sanitary experiments of this kind could be cited, but here is one of special interest regarding villages :—

Mr. Kearns, a Church Missionary in Southern India, states that on his arrival at Puthian Puttur, in 1856, few villages had suffered more from cholera and fever. The place was wretched and foul, and had bad water. To remedy this state of things, wells were dug and properly protected; surface drainage was improved, rigid cleanliness enforced, trees planted, and other improvements introduced. Similar improvements were carried out in other villages.

And they escaped cholera.

It is worthy of remark that the facts were brought out, in reply to a statement made by the Madras Government, that this village was exempt from cholera, 'cause unknown.' Mr. Kearns replied to this by showing that he was perfectly well aware of the 'cause.' Quite recently, improvements of a similar kind, including reconstruction of houses, in the foulest and most unwholesome parts of the city of Madras, have been

attended not only by an enormous diminution in the district death-rate, but the people have improved in civilisation as well as in health.

7. But one more word about country districts.

And let us remember that Bengal is the most thickly populated country in the world—a country of villages.

Bengal.
Country
Districts and
Villages.

Till country drainage is introduced, till agriculture is improved, till irrigation and drainage are combined—both better when together, the first dangerous when apart—no great improvement in health, civilisation, or vigour of the people can be expected.

The 'drain' in another sense, the drain upon human life and happiness, of *fever* in India is literally untold. But as far as *can* be told—in 1871, a peculiarly healthy year, about one-and-a-half millions of people died in India from fever, or nearly 12 in every 1,000, or 23 times as many as cholera destroyed.

But this is a mere trifle compared with the ravage fever commits in sapping the strength and vigour of the country, in making the young old, the healthy infirm for life, the industrious helpless invalids, the rich poor, the thriving country a waste.

The deaths must first be multiplied by 50 or 60 to give us the attacks

Then, a man who has once had a bad attack of malaria has it for life.

And almost all this fever is malarial.

Cholera destroys life, but does no more.

Fever destroys the life of the country; saps the world in which it is.

Look at the Burdwan fever; look at the Dengue fever.

'Dengue' is rarely fatal, but in its districts 'Dengue' is master, and 60 or 70 out of every 100 are 'down' with it!

Irrigation.

Irrigation is essential in many parts of India, but irrigation with stagnant water is almost as injurious to crops as to health. Irrigation should be accompanied by improving the natural drainages of the country, so as to keep the water moving, however slowly.*

Let me tell a curious history told me by one of the members of the first Bengal Sanitary Commission. In 1857 nine miles of country, with twenty-five villages, were laid waste by fever; death came sometimes in three hours; of 600 in a village only a few in the centre houses lived. All the others died or fled. All the other houses were unroofed and tenantless. In the other villages nothing was left but pariah dogs. The crops were uncut. The dead lay about in the hollows, unburied and unburnt, for there was nobody left to bury them.

Where the people did live they degenerated mentally and physically.

The cause of all this was a screw turned by a coolie, which flooded the low lands from the Ganges canal

* As the meagrest discussion of the vital question of irrigation would occupy too much time here, it has been placed in an Appendix.

faster than the water could be carried off. The man at the screw (at four rupees a month) ruled the destinies of a large population, not only as to health and life, but as to soul and mind, according as the screw turned to the right or to the left.

This, the cause, was found out—only a few months before my informant gave me the account, through an inquiry made by Sir John Lawrence.

And all the time the people were going on degenerating, except those who were dead.

This melancholy history is given here (merely as an illustration; did time permit, hundreds such might be told), not for our discouragement, but for our encouragement; not because it is so hopeless, but because it is so hopeful. If the screw turned too much brings fever, the screw turned just right brings plenty and health.

Let the people only see how much they can do for themselves in improving their surface drainage, in keeping their water supply free from pollution, in cleansing inside and out.

Let the Government see how much they can do for the people in introducing and stimulating better agriculture; irrigation, combined with drainage works in water-logged districts; for the two must never be separated there.

There is not a country in the world for which so much might be done as for India.

There is not a country in the world for which there is so much hope.

Only let us do it.

Drink.

8. Unfortunately there is one disease-cause in the British Army quite beyond the influence of engineering works, for every man is his own disease-cause, and must be his own remedy.

And this is: drink.

The quart of porter and quarter of a pint of spirit per day are still procurable at the canteen, and as much more as the men like (and as will destroy them) at the bazaar—and will always send to the graveyard and invaliding depôt a large number of men every year, until they are made to understand their own interest, and are furnished with employment.*

Caution
again.

9. I might have ended here by repeating the caution with which I began: not to stay our hand, because the year 1871 gave a death-rate of only 18 per 1,000; but the experience of 1872, just coming in, justifies, unhappily, but too well, all the caution that can be used.

The disease death-rate of 1872, minus the super-added epidemic death-rate, was as low as that of 1871. But cholera intervened, and raised the death-rate materially in Bengal, though very little in Bombay and Madras.

* Is there no possibility of checking drunkenness by a system like that of 'equivalents' in the Navy? so that a man might drink his ration of spirits, or have its equivalent in coffee, beer, meat, &c., or in money.

Would it not pay Government to give men 5 per cent. compound interest on the price of drams so foregone, either paying in a lump on discharge, or, better still, giving an additional pension?

This is no reason for discouragement, but the reverse.

It is not a defeat, but an attempt of the enemy to 'turn our flank.

We know enough of his strength and his arms to turn the check into a victory, if we are only wise.

But is not the following an example of action quite other than wise ?

The report by the 'Sanitary Commissioner with Quarantine. the Government of India' on this same cholera of 1872 tells that people have been trusting much to quarantine for safety, and that quarantine has been fully tried, with results such as the following: 'In a question so intimately connected with the happiness of the human race, it cannot be too widely known that quarantine was tried in the hope of protecting a number of the cantonments of Upper India; that in many of them it signally failed, and that in no single instance is there the smallest reason to believe that it was productive of any good. The direct evils of quarantine are great enough, but . . . by no means the least indirect evil is this, that so long as men believe that they can escape from cholera by such means, they will never be fully alive to the importance of the greatest safeguard, sanitary improvements.'

Forced removals of sick, especially of women, for quarantine purposes, and other restrictions 'set the people against everything that is done under the plea of the public health,' and the sanitary reformer is regarded 'as the greatest destroyer of their domestic comfort and happiness.'

As a consequence, cholera cases were concealed.

The troops also had to bear their share of this mediæval infliction. The evils are described as 'very great.' 'The troops are exposed to form cordons at the very time that exposure, and especially exposure to the night-air, is calculated to prove most mischievous.' Two stations, Meean Meer and Umballa, appear to have suffered from this. Both supplied complete cordons, and both suffered severely from cholera. No better *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole practice could be given than the fact that the fear of spreading cholera interfered with the more decisive moves of troops which were their best chance of safety from cholera.

And then, to crown the whole, there does not appear to have been a single instance in which quarantine could be rigidly enforced.

The Government of the Punjaub has taken the common-sense course of prohibiting quarantine except by special orders; and in the case of organised bands of pilgrims.

Sanitary reformers, like other reformers, have more to fear from their friends than their enemies—

Da chi non mi fido, mi guarderò io,
Da chi mi fido, mi guardi Iddio.

Conclusion,

But we must stop; only, however, to bear emphatic witness how great are the sanitary deeds already achieved, or in the course of being achieved, by the gallant Anglo-Indian, as formerly we bore emphatic witness against the then existing neglects.

Let but the Government of India continue to sustain the energetic efforts of their officers, and at the same time insist on the municipalities and local authorities prosecuting the good work. This was of importance for the Central Government to do ten years ago, seeing that there was no local self-government at all; it is, if possible, of still more importance now, when there *is* some local self-government; but it wants guidance: which does not mean that the Governor is to *do* municipality himself, even though a very good municipality he would make.

The natives are always ready to be taxed, as far as obtaining, at least, a purer and more plentiful water-supply goes. There is never any 'discontent' about this. What they do not like is paying the tax and receiving no water; and in this they are not so far wrong.

The Lieut.-Governor of Bengal has invited, by proclamation, the payers of some of *his* rates [this as regards roads] to claim the benefits (or their share of them) of what they pay for.*

Thus it will be rendered not only an easy matter to hold the great Indian Empire by a British force, but benefits untold will be conferred on the vast populations of our fellow subjects of whom we have undertaken the charge.

* 'Every taxpayer is encouraged and invited to claim that the tax shall be fairly applied to the village roads or water channels in which he is interested. The Government will use every effort to see that such local claims are fairly met, and that every taxpayer derives a fair benefit from the tax which he pays.'—*Proclamation of Bengal Government, August 1873.*

APPENDIX.

HOW TO MAKE IRRIGATION HEALTHY.

THE cause of irrigation has received a frightful significance from this Bengal famine, irrigation being literally a matter of life and death. Not whether we will have irrigation or not; but how to make it healthy, and how to pay for it, are our questions. Wherever water for irrigation and navigation exists, famine is effectually met.

The paramount necessity of combining drainage with irrigation was never forced upon the attention in Southern India, as it has of late years been in Bengal and the North-West Provinces.

In the great irrigated districts of the Godavery and Kistna in the northern part of Madras, and of the north-west provinces and Punjab, drainage is now being taken in hand on a great scale, as outbreaks of fever have shown the results of its neglect.

In Tanjore, south of Madras, where there are above 1,000,000 acres of irrigated rice, without a weed to be seen, the drainage is said to be of the rudest

description, yet the health of the people good. The population is more than 700 per square mile in the Delta. But the climate is a dry one; not moist like that of Bengal.

In this part of India the thermometer never falls so low in the cold months as it does farther north; and there appears to be some relation between the range of temperature at that time of the year and the prevalence of fever.

The Hooghly drainage investigation was taken up by the able Col. Haig, then chief engineer of the Irrigation Department, under the orders of the Lieut.-Governor, Sir G. Campbell, though there are no irrigation works there, in hopes of contributing towards the clearing up of the fever question, which has of late years assumed such enormous importance, or rather its enormous importance has only now come to be known. The fever seems partly owing to entire want of drainage, partly to foul drinking-water in the dry season.

Much more information than what Col. Haig managed, with all his super-eminent ability and energy, to collect in the course of a six months' enquiry, is said to be needed; and there is at least one point, the relative levels of sub-soil water, about which we as yet know far too little.

Col. Haig's 'Note' embodies certain facts in regard to the rainfall, surface levels, and drainage discharges of the district; but, as he states, he has no pretension to having exhausted the subject.

It is not, however, more enquiry that is most

needed. Enquiry and investigation are the curse of India, as of any country where we do not act up to the light we have: where evils are investigated and re-investigated fifty times over, simply as an excuse for *doing* nothing.

Everybody has known for half a century that, if the water of Bengal were regulated, the superabundance carried off during the monsoon, and plenty of water, fresh from the rivers, carried through every village in the dry season for irrigation, drinking, and carriage, the whole condition of the people would be immeasurably improved. All that is wanted is that the works should be executed; but this is the one thing that will *not* be done.

We shall have the country levelled and surveyed, the works planned and approved, report upon report called for, and commission upon commission appointed: anything that can be done as a reason for *doing nothing*.

1. One question is whether an area of ground, covered to such a depth with water as not to give off malaria from decomposition of dead organic matter, is necessarily unwholesome. This would be very much the condition of an ordinary tank, or of a lake in which the surface of the water is retained permanently at a fixed, or nearly fixed, level.

Shallow
water un-
healthy.

In the dry climate of Southern India such masses of water are said to be perfectly healthy; but in the warm, moist climate of Bengal the growth of aquatic plants is so prodigious that unless tanks are periodically cleared of the weeds and mosses, which form

in time a dense mat of vegetation on the surface, the water, it is said, becomes unfit to drink, and gives out deleterious gases.

But, in point of fact, such cases are extremely rare. As a rule the surface of every tank or collection of water falls several feet during the dry months, and exposes a margin of damp soil more or less saturated with organic matter, which is, of course, unhealthy.

Lower Bengal is one mass of tanks, mostly very small, in which every kind of pollution collects all through the dry season ; and from these in many places the people drink. All are natural hollows or formed by excavation—not, as in South and Central India, by damming up the outlets of valleys and hollows. But very few are dug out to such a depth as to leave, during the hot months, a sufficient depth of water to prevent decomposition, and fewer still are properly cleansed and protected from defilement by organic impurities.

Even in Bengal it is the poverty, not the will, of the people that consents to drink bad water. Whenever they have the means, they are glad to fence and line their tanks and wells with masonry. A sure sign of a thriving landowner is : masonry tanks and wells on his property. The rich often bring their water from immense distances, in sealed jars, on men's heads; and there is no such popular application of taxation as in improved water-supply.

Sub-soil
water level.

2. Observations of the level of sub-soil water are doubtless most important.* It is stated, however,

* The precise relation between the level of the subsoil-water and

that in tracts in Lower Bengal where the fever has been most deadly the water-level in the dry months

the prevalence and intensity of fever has not yet been traced in Lower Bengal.

Both irrigation and drainage are there new things. The first irrigation work was not begun until 1862, and that by a private company: the Government expended nothing upon works of this class until 1868 or 1869.

The Dancienic Drainage Works, in the Hooghly district, carried out last year, are the first of their kind.

But in N.W. India—i.e. the N.W. Provinces and Punjab—some important facts have been established. In the districts on the upper part of the Ganges Canal, which were, of course, the first and the most copiously irrigated, there has been for many years a terrible increase of fever. By many it was asserted that the fever owed its origin to the canal; that the Mozuffernuggur District, e.g., which is now said to be so unhealthy that it is in general avoided by officials, was formerly one of the healthiest and most popular.

This, however, appears to have been clearly disproved. There is abundant proof of the existence of fever long before the canal was heard of. But this also seems to be certain that, wherever irrigation has been excessive, and stagnant pools and swamps have been formed, by carrying the minor distributary channels (as was formerly frequently done in the hurry of construction or from a faulty system) across the natural drainages, there has been a marked increase in the prevalence and virulence of fever.

Wherever the subsoil levels (which are usually termed the 'spring levels' in the N.W. Provinces and Punjab Reports) have been raised by supersaturation of soil from their original depth of twenty-five to forty feet to *twelve feet or less*, there there has been a terrible increase in the mortality from fever. Though still disputed, this fact is now pretty generally admitted by the best authorities, and in some official 'Resolution' of the N.-W. Provinces Government, it is distinctly laid down as the basis of remedial measures. Sir W. Muir is a hearty friend to irrigation.

How far this 'water-logged' state of the soil in the districts referred to is due to excessive irrigation, and how far to the faulty alignments of distributaries and neglect of drainage above alluded to, is not decided.

But misuse of water is often made an excuse for not draining.*

is at an unobjectionable depth below the surface, say sixteen feet. But it does not follow from this that, during and immediately after the rains, the sub-soil may not give out fatal malaria.

If the water rises too high during the rainy season, the difficulty in a rice-growing district is how to lower it.

The moment you cut a drain the ryots complain of it as injuring their crops by drawing off the water in which they always keep the rice standing to a depth of three to six inches, if they can get enough.

This is, of course, the consequence of partial work. What is wanted is a general *regulation* of the water, so that everywhere water shall be kept at the level required: some inches over the surface for rice: some feet under the surface, where irrigation is not needed.

Where the laws of drainage have palpably been violated, of course the remedy is plain and will be certain.

And much may be done by selecting new sites for villages on higher ground.

Rice cultivation, which consumes an enormous quantity of water, has greatly increased in the upper part of the Ganges Canal, and no doubt has been one cause of supersaturation. It is said that it has been determined to check this by raising the water rates! In the case of one large town where the fever had been severe, a committee recommended that the rice cultivation, which had crept right up to one town, should be prohibited within a certain distance of all dwellings.

Scientific sanitary irrigation is in its infancy. The danger is lest the abuse, or ignorant use, of irrigation should lead to its undue restriction, and cause the Government to hesitate in carrying out works on the scale required, at least, to secure the food supply of the country. Possibly, Sir G. Campbell, for one, was unduly influenced in this way; but his Government is so imperial that he never had *time* to think properly of the subject.

3. The ryots always, and justly, prefer *running* to stagnant water. Irrigation with stagnant water is injurious to health and also to vegetation. Irrigation should be accompanied by improving the natural drainages of the country, so as to keep the water moving, however slowly.

Moving water best for crops as for health.

But the difficulty is said to be, how to supply moving water, and make the works *pay* at the same time, for the whole surface of the country. Everywhere, however, water can be supplied for irrigation at a *cost* enormously below its *value*—the average *cost* of water in works on a large scale being about £2 per acre of rice.

Irrigation works are planned generally to supply one cubic foot per second to every 133 acres, which is the same as one cubic yard per acre per hour, or $\frac{1}{5}$ inch in depth on the surface per day. Two-thirds of a cubic yard per hour for 100 days are given for wheat or other 'dry grain,' and two cubic yards per hour for 120 days for rice, including rain—i.e. $\frac{1}{8}$ inch per day for dry grains and $\frac{3}{8}$ for rice.

To this extent, even if every cultivable acre in the country were irrigated, we can change the water; but, as only a certain proportion of the area commanded by the canals is irrigated, and of this all is not receiving water at the same time, we do, in fact, supply a greater depth, and in that degree renew the water lying on the surface.

In the rice districts in Madras the whole area is irrigated: in the wheat country out of the tropics in

the dry-season cultivation a portion only of the area is irrigated.

There is no doubt that the more water that is passed through the rice-fields in a running stream, the better the yield, both because stagnant water is more or less injurious, and because more water means more *silt*, which renews and fertilises the soil, and leaves, together with matter in chemical combination, behind it food for the plant.

It is certain that if the ground were thoroughly and sufficiently intersected by deep drains, and water enough supplied to meet the increased consumption which this would involve, rice cultivation might be a healthy employment. There is rarely fever in a village surrounded by rice swamp as long as the water is moving—'living,' as the natives say; the fever time begins when the water falls and stagnates.

Expense is the sole thing that stands in the way of all these improvements. As it is, our irrigation works in N. India are said barely to pay the interest on the outlay. Is this because we persist in debiting the works with the cost of all our blunders? Do we make a canal on a bad plan—twice as costly (say) as need be, and only half as useful—excluding navigation and cheap transit; and then, because it only pays 5 per cent., do we say, 'irrigation won't pay'? If we kept our turnpike road or bridge accounts in the same way, without reckoning consequences, should we not find that road-making and bridge-building was of all things the most fruitless application of

public money, and that it was better finance to build houses and let them as gin-shops?

The management of the works may be so wrong that, as in Orissa, the people refuse to use the water; and this is the case in only one out of the seven vast works which the Government have executed. The actual results are these; the cost of irrigation on these great works has been from £1 to £3. 10s. per acre, including the navigation; and the actual increased value of crop is from £1. 10s. to £2. 10s. in grain only, besides straw.

Is it not only because we are in such a hurry for results that the people seem slow to take water? Irrigation, unless it come from great rivers in flood season, when it renews the soil, requires manure; and manure costs money; and the people have to get a little money or credit before they can use their greatest boon.

Of the value of the canals for transit, the following may give some idea: Up the valley of the Ganges at least a million tons a year are carried at present prices, a small quantity by the rail at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, besides half as much more paid out of taxes, and the main portion at about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ by the rivers; by the canals this would cost about $\frac{1}{20}d.$, or £200 a mile for a million tons, against £6,000 by rail, or £2,000 by river; a perfect steam-boat canal, 40 yards broad, on that line costing about £3,000 a mile.

The irrigation works in the north-west yield an enormous profit in all, about £1. 10s. in *grain* only, on an expenditure of £2. 5s. per acre, or 60 per cent.,

besides the straw and navigation (on the Ganges Canal).

And the area of irrigation is still extending. About 7 per cent. net of this now comes into the treasury. In the Jumna Canals, in the same part of the country, the returns into the treasury are 25 per cent., and in all the Madras districts double and treble that. The question of returns to Government,* though a point of importance, is of much smaller consequence than that of total benefits to the community. Besides its being a question of life or death, of health or disease, of civilisation, comfort, and cleanliness, or dirt and barbarism and misery, the average total benefits are at least 100 per cent. The Godavery district used to export £60,000 a year; it now exports, by sea only, £800,000 or £900,000 a year, besides the whole population being well fed and well clothed and housed; so that their home consumption is probably doubled. The 560,000 acres irrigated, then, now yield about £1,100,000 a year more in grain, besides straw and navigation, by an expenditure of about £600,000.

The results of the irrigation and navigation works in the Godavery Delta have been so conspicuous that I cannot but give the following short account: In 1843, when the first sketch of them was made by Sir Arthur Cotton, he and Lady Cotton took up their abode in tents and rough sheds on the bank of the

* Official papers are written as though the Government were simply a trading Company to whom the sole question was: What direct profit can be obtained?

river, or rather on the side of the river-bed ; for only a narrow thread of water was flowing down the middle of that bed, and on each side of that thread was a mile and a half, at least, of hot, deep sand. The want and filth and need of every kind around were a continual, pressing sorrow. The weary faces of the women, toiling through the dry river-bed with their waterpots, creeping out of their huts after the exhausting heat of the day to bring the family supply of water between one and two miles, their naked feet sinking at every step in burning sand, were most distressing ; and the thought how insufficient the supply after all the labour, painful to look back upon even now.

Sir Arthur and Lady Cotton remained in that district some years, till the works were fairly set on foot.

In 1861, they visited the Godavery Delta again, and describe the happiness of that visit. Instead of dry sand, the river-bed was covered full with abundant water ; instead of parched, perishing attempts at cultivation, there were rich crops of many kinds, and trees which seemed to have sprung up as by magic ; instead of filthy, *waterless* villages, there were channels, well filled, flowing everywhere ; and instead of the weary, over-worked women, almost all looked well fed, well washed, and comfortable. One great obstacle to religious civilisation thus removed, the time and strength of mind and body need no longer be solely taken up with the daily drudgery which before absorbed every power. But, in this as in

other cases, the occurrence of Fever has warned us to look to our drainages.

Irrigation to be combined with drainage.

4. No one, now-a-days, would think of proposing irrigation without drainage.

There is no danger in the one provided the other goes with it.

The engineer's problem is to apportion the one to the other, so as to increase production without injuring health.

Degeneration due to malaria and rack-renting.

5. Whether the physical degeneration of the people in and over Bengal is due solely or chiefly to malaria, or to malaria and rack-renting combined, is just the point which a commission might be appointed to investigate. But the drainage and irrigation works should be executed first. About these there is no doubt. This is as well known as St. Paul's. And the investigation may be carried on afterwards.

Under the permanent settlement the share of the produce of the soil left to the cultivator is often too little for health. A process of slow starvation may thus go on, which so enfeebles the great mass of the people, that when any epidemic sets in they are swept off wholesale. Land is let and sublet to a degree unknown anywhere else. The Zemindar will let his land to a Patnidar, the Patnidar to a Durpatnidar, the Durpatnidar again to a Seypatnidar, and he again may farm it out to an Izaridar.

Under such a system what portion of the produce do we suppose falls to the share of the ryot who tills the soil?

Then, population has increased to a degree that has raised the fear lest it may have outstripped the productive powers of the soil.

After at least half a million souls had (in the estimate of the present collector) been swept off by the fever in the Hooghly district, the population was still at the rate of 1,000 to the square mile.

But the productive powers of the soil under irrigation are enormous. *One* crop of rice without any manure at all will produce sufficient to feed a population of 2,000 per square mile.

The poor people are glad to go long distances for work and food, if they know where they are to be found. They go readily as coolies to the West Indies and Mauritius. But if Bengal were properly furnished with roads and canals of irrigation, navigation, and drainage, might not a population half as large again as the present be maintained in health and comfort? Are not the vast tracts of jungle—fertile land, but without population—quite as striking a feature in Bengal as the dense masses of rural population in the cleared parts?

6. If a complete system of drainage were carried out, periodical inspection by specially appointed officers would be essential to prevent the destruction of the smaller channels and consequent outbursts of fever. It is astonishing how evils are unseen by eyes accustomed to them.

Periodical
inspection
necessary.

7. Every village should have its pure water supply.

Village
water supply.

The present state of the supply in Bengal is shocking beyond description. The water drunk by a large portion of India is utterly unfit for men's use, and is often brought from miles distant. Much might be done by the people themselves, under proper supervision, in the way of clearing out and deepening existing tanks. But this should be combined with a fresh water-supply from the great rivers by means of the subsidiary irrigation channels.

Wherever we have irrigation the people have this, and appreciate it highly.

But, if we are to have all these things, there *must* be, we are told, some tax of the nature of a water-rate (as in towns), to be levied on the whole community.

It is impossible to regulate the drainage and water supply of vast tracts, like those in Bengal, except at an expense which cannot be met, it is said, by the mere receipts from *irrigation*, which (with navigation tolls in the canals) have hitherto been our sole source of profit. There is no question about returns, however, *if the water is used*; and, if it is not, it can only be from mismanagement, as in Orissa. Col. Haig remarks upon the 'far stronger feeling of confidence and security which prevails under a Ryotwari settlement' (speaking of the Godavery) 'than under a Zemindari.' When a Cuttack-ryot is asked why he does not use the water, which he acknowledges is so profitable, he says, 'What is the use of it, when half the profit goes to the Zemindar and half to the money-lender?' While the water has been generally

refused this year, a considerable extent has been irrigated surreptitiously; and when one of the engineers was reporting about it, a Native Revenue official told him he had had his predecessor turned out, and he would have him turned out too if he reported it. Such is the confusion in these districts. Such the relation between the State and the 'creatures of its own creation,' the Zemindars. Such the difference between the Ryotwari and Zemindari tenures.

8. It is here, however, that the Government hesitate, or rather that they have drawn back.

Lord Mayo's Government was in favour of a compulsory rate in all irrigated districts.

Lord Northbrook and Sir G. Campbell are against it:

But, without it, it is said that irrigation and drainage (if the works are to be constructed by Government) can never be carried out on a scale commensurate with the wants of the country.

Is there much diversity of opinion, however, where the water is *actually given*? But then no compulsion is needed. Are not the people only too glad to get and pay for the water, as fast as they can prepare their fields and get manure? But are we not always in a hurry? and, after shutting our eyes for years to the truth as to the value of irrigation, always trying to force the poor cultivators to take the water the very instant we ourselves are converted to a sense of its value, and charging them for all the blunders we have made in supplying it?

Nay: do we not even go further and make laws

enabling Government to charge for the water, even if it is not supplied: if we only intended or promised to supply it?

Was not Lord Mayo's proposed law of this character?

Had he lived, he would have modified it, so as to charge for water only where actually given. But really no *law* is needed. If we only make the works, bring the water, and sell it at reasonable rates, the people are only too glad to buy it for their fields.

Was not Lord Mayo misled, for the time, by a policy—better at drawing up symmetrical laws which looked well on paper, than in carrying the people with it to *do* what was needed?

The Duke of Argyll's final decision against such a rate is said to have stopped two or three immense irrigation schemes (one for five millions of acres in Oudh) in the very part of the country which is either now threatened with famine; or, not threatened—the famine is upon us.

But was it so much the 'Duke of Argyll's final decision,' as the mistakes of Lord Mayo's unfinished policy which stopped the irrigation schemes?

Did not Lord Mayo fall, for the time, into the hands of the Fisherman's wife, who never would make the best of what the Enchanted Fish gave her, but always wanted something better? She, after somewhat violently opposing Canalisation for years, went far beyond its demands, and would do nothing till an Act was passed to enable her to tax every Ryot in India for water, as soon as she

had good intentions of irrigating his fields. And when she was told she must tax only after she had given the water, she sulked, and would not amend her Act.

So with Loans: there was no end of writing and planning, but it never got beyond paper.

They never borrowed the money, because they were always following some new butterfly of Finance.

And so they never had it to spend.

Nothing can be more just than a partial compulsory water-rate in the irrigated tracts, because, whether the people irrigate or not, they have the enormous benefits of navigation, drainage, drinking-water, forage, &c. Under the Orissa Works, at £3. 10s. per irrigable acre in cost of works, $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees an acre would pay 8 per cent., leaving the transit free, and the increase of produce 15 rupees an acre at least.

The water-rate paid in Godavery on about 500,000 acres, at 4 rupees, is £200,000; but the increase of Revenue has been above £300,000.

If no water-rate at all were levied, it would be impossible to prevent the works paying, from the increased revenue due to the increased wealth of the people. As a native gentleman wisely said, the Government of a rich population can never be poor.

But at this moment, including all mistakes in projection from want of experience, and the temporary failure from refusal of water in Orissa, all the new works would show a direct net return of some 20 per cent. into the treasury, and at least 100 per cent. in all.

44 *Railways and Canals both needed for Life.*

If the Canal is completed up the valley of the Ganges it will carry two million tons a year at $\frac{1}{10}d.$ per mile, and at all speeds, from that of the Railway downwards, against 200,000 tons carried by the Railway at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a mile, though supported by half a million a year paid out of the treasury as interest of its debt.

But Railways are wanted as well as Canals. And as matters now stand, must they not be made before Canals? Must we not do what comes to our hand to promote communication, without limiting ourselves to what is abstractedly best? It has been truly said that, while 'we want waggons to carry hay, we provide phaetons.' But, if we want to get across country, do we not take what the country affords—jaunting car or broken-down gig? People here will give their money and labour to make Railways and not to make Canals. Shall India wait till they get wiser, or let internal improvement, which depends so much on easy intercommunication, stand still till she has made them wiser?

If all the Canals which the great artist has devised, and which he could give men to execute, were made, the works would then convert the world.

Meantime, we should get all the Railroads and common roads made which we could find money or men for; certain that, if not the best and cheapest, they are the next best, next cheapest appliances we can give the country.

Is it not the fact: that we want both Railway and Canal?

And must not the Canal, which will supersede Rail-

ways, be very different from any Canal we have yet seen?

But we may believe in its coming—that is, a Canal workable by steam as well as by animal power ;—and able to carry at 10 miles an hour.

That we shall see this in India before it appears in Europe is likely.

But will anything save example convert the world?

Meantime, even if we give India only Railways, the people will neither starve nor stagnate.

9. *There is no great new irrigation work in India that is not paying ample direct net profits, excepting that of Orissa; and that not at all on account of any real failure in the project, but only from the non-use of the water, which will of course be got over before long, and there is not the least probability of its occurring anywhere else.*

Indeed, the so-called failure of the Orissa works is mainly due to the tardy and incomplete execution of the original scheme. Government no sooner saw that the works *must* be a financial success than they bought them—and then starved them—waiting for more plans, estimates, and paper, before the money to complete them was given. We saw the ‘Hay-waggon,’ in fact, and were charmed with it, and bought it as it stood, half-finished ; and have since been doubting whether we can afford to complete the wheels, and whether the tyres should be broad or narrow.

10. The question will now be *forced* on public

attention. It is no longer a question. The famine looms large and terrible upon us, as an awful fact.

What has
been done in
irrigation.

It must not, however, be supposed that little is being done in the way of irrigation.

In Bengal alone we have been spending, for some years past, half a million annually; and that is only one province.

There is said to be a practical limit to the rate at which such extensive works can be carried on—viz. available labour supply. If this is pressed upon unduly, wages rise (Oh, would they should!), and with them the price of all materials of construction. In Southern Behar and Orissa we are said to have quite reached this limit, for there has been a considerable increase in rates since the works were begun. But is not one of the most important effects of these works that they help to release the labouring population from their bondage to the high castes and wealthy, and in all ways improve their condition and raise wages? * Every district could easily provide labourers for an expenditure of £100,000 a year, requiring about 20,000 people; and £30,000,000 could easily be spent in three or four years.

There is said to have been much, too, in our recent

* The works in the Godavery essentially altered the condition of the whole body of labourers almost immediately. The employers found that their most energetic men would leave them for the works, if not better treated. And thus the employment of 30,000 people at good wages, with thoroughly good treatment, affected the welfare of a million. The state of the agricultural labourer was low enough in England; it may be supposed what it is under Indian landowners of *high caste*.

experience of irrigation in Bengal—chiefly the unwillingness of the people to take our canal water, except when driven to it by the failure of the rains—to cause the Government to pause before beginning new schemes, without some such guarantee for the repayment of the interest on the outlay as a compulsory rate would afford. The works are all carried out with loan funds, and the interest must be met from some source. But, as above said, our expenditure has been, and continues to be, £500,000 per annum.

As far as has been seen in India, however, 'the unwillingness of the people to take canal water' really means 'our own bad management' in some way or another.

One can hardly conceive now but that, even had famine been averted, the great drought would not have given a vigorous impulse to this most important class of land improvements.

But famine *has* come.

In Lower Bengal the field for *drainage* is boundless.

There, however, the one question which stops the way is whether Government will make the Zemindars, who are the possessors of the soil, pay for the works or not. Here there is great hesitation. *Are* the Zemindars so selfish and worthless a class as to exercise their considerable influence over the Government in this way? And *would* they resist, as is said, with all their might?

Who is to pay?

The drainage, however, of about eighty square miles of swamps on the banks of the Hooghly is now

Drainage experiment on the Hooghly.

being carried out at the expense of the landowners, under a special Act; and Government would probably have awaited the result of this experiment before extending the Act to greater schemes.

But if the famine interrupts everything it must also urge forward everything.

May it not also force the authorities to look in the face the terrible evils of the whole Zemindarry system? Is not the case something similar to that of the old Bengal army; and, if it is still ignored, may not a similar terrible convulsion ensue?

The subject is so vast that it is impossible to do more than just touch upon the principal points here.

II.

Crops improved.

1. Irrigation and drainage improve the crop, and give crop when and where there would be none. Consequently—

Who is to profit?

2. These combined works improve the entire value of the land: and the question is, Who is to reap the increase?

The Zemindar?

3. This must be either the Zemindar and his subordinates, who have spent nothing, or the Government which finds the money, or the ryot who cultivates. In England we should force the Zemindar to bear his part by a Poor Law to compel him to feed the suffering people, in the hope that he would find it cheaper to irrigate and drain than to feed.

Or we should pass a law calling on all proprietors to improve the drainage, irrigation, and roads over their property, on pain of being taxed for the support of their people every time that famine comes—something as we did in Ireland, where we charged for famine and where the landlords had to pay over and above what other landlords had to pay, because the people were dying. *Should not the fixed land-tax rest only on the basis that the people can live and not die?*

This was, in fact, Lord Cornwallis' principle. People blame his 'Permanent Settlement,' but they forget that the best half of his plan was never carried out by his successors. He clearly intended to make the Zemindars maintain a police, make roads, and do all other things that a landowner should do. But when he died his successors went to sleep.

4. Drainage and irrigation will improve the stamina of the entire working population; but of this improvement the Zemindar, if untaxed for the work, will reap the whole profit.

'The husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the fruits.'

In Godavery there is no comparison between the present condition of the people and that before the works. But the extraordinary effect these works have had in the improvement of the people's bodily strength and spirit is one that is not generally observed. In Godavery the difference between a people under-fed and working utterly without hope, and the same people as they now are, is most striking. There is, perhaps, nearly three times the amount of work done by the same population, now that they are well

50 *Who shall Pay for Improving Zemindars' Estates?*

fed and more sure of fair treatment than they were before. When we began the works, we used to find in cutting the canals, that large gangs would average one cubic yard per day; and this rapidly increased to three under exactly the same circumstances. Well-to-do, the people have now no look of poverty.

Value in-
crease d.

5. Hence sanitary work, such as this, creates a great surplus value over and above the present value; and, when we consider the millions of acres to be improved, the addition will be very great.

Conjoint
liability

6. Would not the best course be in India to take a lesson from the present distress, so as to plan for the future some conjoint liability for the drainage and irrigation works?

The Hooghly scheme will afford valuable indications on this point, because the increase can be used as a standard.

But the difficulties in the way are said to be enormous, arising from the extremely complicated state of property and innumerable interests in the land in permanently settled Bengal, and from the engagements made with the landholders under existing settlements elsewhere. Some idea of what these are in temporarily settled districts may be gathered from the Orissa irrigation scheme: they are far greater in the permanently settled.

Also, is it right that the revenue for the whole of India should bear the cost of improving the revenue of the Bengal Zemindars?

Would they wish it themselves?

We cannot believe this of a noble body of Indian gentlemen.

Should not the local revenue be augmented to pay for this?

Also, if money is borrowed, it must be repaid with interest, although it is applied to the improvement of private estates.

Clearly, in some way or other, justice requires that men who own these lands, on which so many thousands die from preventable fevers—and now and then from a famine, which counts its deaths by hundreds of thousands—should either pay, or the Government should remove the people (one of our alternatives), in which case the value of land will cease to exist.

7. Should not the landowner be made liable by law to pay for all that is really *done* to improve the land or to save the lives of the people on it? Is not the real practical solution of the financial problem a scheme like that applied to Lancashire after the cotton famine—a fund administered by trustees who lend from it, on security of local revenues, for works of permanent value to the reproductive powers of the locality, the advances to be repaid by instalments from local revenue at such rates as shall extinguish the debt in a reasonable term of years? Practical solutions.

Or should not the Government do as they did in Ireland—advance money to the landlords, and send to the Encumbered Estates Courts all who could not repay them?

Such plans have been often laid before the Government of India; and, no doubt, *some time* will be adopted.

One effect of the famine may be predicted, and that is, that it will lead to a revolution in the Zemindarry system in Bengal; which, in its effects on the mass of the population, can be compared to one thing only namely, the slavery system as it was in the United States.

Pecuniary
loss in
labourers'
deaths ex-
ceeds cost of
works.

8. The wealth of an agricultural country is the result of labour; and, in a properly governed country, labour ought always to be producing wealth.

Every efficient labourer is a wealth-producing agent; and every efficient labourer, lost by death, is a pecuniary loss to the country.

These are truisms.

The people pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per head in taxes—the interest of 50 rupees, sufficient to irrigate 2 acres, which would support 5 people: and in actual famine 10 rupees would certainly provide food per head through the famine.

Scarcity and famine act in two ways; they reduce the wealth-producing power of survivors, and destroy the wealth-producing power of those who die.

When labourers die by thousands on account of famine and epidemics, because the ground on which they existed was left without irrigation and drainage, it may be affirmed with certainty that the pecuniary loss to the country exceeds what would have been the cost of works.

May not this be safely assumed as a law of the universe from which there is no escape? We may cry sick on account of the cost of doing what Nature says must be done: but this will not prevent her from resenting her bill at the due time; and when presented it must be honoured, whether we will or no.

A large part of India is occupied on these conditions, and an awful bill it is.

9. But the people are not the only sufferers. Our Army. noble Indian army, although it may be saved from Army. mine, is doomed to the inheritance of epidemics which always begin among the people.

We know all this now. The sanitary history of the British army in India begins with the sanitary history of the Indian people.

III. *A few Facts about Canals.*

Colonel Rundall, the Inspector-General of Irriga- Irrigation. tion, projected, and for the most part worked out, the plans and estimates for the following schemes:—

The Sone scheme, for the irrigation of the Sone. Bahabad, Patna, and part of the Gaya districts south of the Ganges, included in the great tract now in danger of being laid waste with this dread famine. This work is in hand.

The canal, from Monghyr to Mirzapore, will be 80' wide at bottom, with a depth of 8 feet, and a length of about 180 miles, of which 30 miles have been excavated to one-half of the full section. This

canal will be used not only for irrigation, but for connecting the Lower Ganges with the Great Ganges Canal. Its great size renders it well adapted as a relief work, as large numbers can be massed upon it, which has already been done; and the railway, at no great distance, will enable food for the labourers to be supplied at different points along the line.

There are other smaller canals (40 to 50 miles in length each) forming parts of the same scheme.

The execution of some of these, it is understood has been ordered.

The Sone works irrigate South Behar, south of the Ganges. Their value, as part of the grand line of communication up the valley of the Ganges, will be even greater than for irrigation. From Allahabad to Monghyr is 300 miles, and on this part two million tons would be carried per annum; saving, even compared with the river, about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a ton a mile, or £4,000 a mile—£1,200,000 a year in all. This is besides many hundred miles of branch canals. If the works cost four millions this alone would be 30 per cent.

Gunduck. There are two proposed canals on the Gunduck, a tributary of the Ganges on the north, to supply the Chumparun and Tirhoot districts on the one side, and Sarun on the other—through the middle of one district of the famine-stricken country.

A fight was certainly made to start one, at least, of these at once.

Damoodah. The Damoodah Canal project was brought forward in Lord Mayo's time, and a beginning made; but

Government afterwards stopped the works, on the ground, it is said, that as coal had been found at Midnapoor, it *might* not be necessary to carry the coal from Raneegunj. Shortly after, on the convict in charge of the boring at Midnapoor being relieved, his successor asked whether any more coal had been found, and was told by the native in charge that they had not put any into the bore lately. But on this discovery Government did not re-order the Damoodah Canal.

Under this pressure of famine, however, it is likely to be resumed, with two or three other stopped works. Two modifications of it, though poor substitutes indeed, were wisely suggested, in hopes of getting some irrigation started, and of them the little canal from the Damoodah in the Hooghly district has been ordered to be carried out. But the works had not been begun; and we may still rejoice to hear that Colonel Rundall's original scheme has now been accepted by Government in its integrity.

There is the great canal, which it is proposed to construct from the Ganges at Rajmahal, and to bring down beside the Bhagiruttee (the name given to the upper part of the Hooghly) to tide water near Calcutta.

This would irrigate Moorshedabad, now so cruelly suffering, and Nuddea, and enable boats and steamers to avoid the difficulties of the navigation of the Bhagiruttee, and the circuitous route through the Sunderbuns.

It would be a magnificent work: was originally proposed by Sir A. Cotton, the most perfect master

Moorsheda-
bad.

of the question living (by others, indeed, it is said, before him), and the plans worked out under Colonel Rundall's orders.

2½ millions
acres.

The first three schemes, above mentioned, would afford irrigation for at least 2,500,000 acres. If they had now been in operation, the saving of crops, irrespective of the increased yield due to irrigation, would have been half a ton per acre. So that 1,250,000 tons of food would have been *secured*, which has now been lost—enough effectually to have prevented famine, and perhaps even scarcity.

In North Behar and Oudh, the great works projected have all been stopped.

Is there one of the many works thus stopped that would not have entirely prevented the famine in its tract?

The Rajmahal Canal has been thoroughly projected, and might be begun at once. It will form 200 miles of the main Ganges Valley Canal, and can be connected with the Sone Canals by a link of about 70 miles. This, with the Sirhind Canal from the Sutlej to the Jumna, the Ganges Canal to Cawnpoor, another lower Ganges Canal to Allahabad, will form 1,200 miles of perfect steamboat navigation, the finest navigation in the world, and will save at least £4,000 a mile, £5,000,000 a year, as compared with *river* transit. On the railway alone there is actually paid £1,600,000 for the carriage of goods only, at 1½*d.* a ton; on the canal this would cost, at 1*d.*, £100,000, saving £1,500,000.

Such are the sums India is losing for want of cheap transit.

But if a complete system of canals were cut on all the main lines, every part of India would pour food into any distressed tract in any quantities, and at a nominal cost of carriage.

A return showing the extent of irrigation in Madras Presidency, gives 4,800,000 acres, and the real area is above this. This is at the rate of 250,000 acres per district. About 40,000,000 of acres more, besides the works in progress, would give every district in India 250,000 acres, and cost about £100,000,000, producing an additional value of grain of about £200,000,000 a year, besides the transit; the whole benefit being certainly eight or ten times the whole amount of taxation, £40,000,000. That is, it is in our power in this way to do eight or ten times more for enriching India than the abolition of all the taxes.

The total paid into the treasury in Madras for water is about £3,000,000 a year.

The Sone works are now watering more than 130,000 acres—the first year, the water-rate of which would be, at 3r., £40,000—on a present expenditure of about £500,000, including all the fundamental works; and the value of crop is estimated at £450,000.

Such is the real case of irrigation.

Do not many write as if all irrigation had been a loss to the Government, and the one difficulty how to obtain it without overwhelming burthens on the

country? The Godavery works alone, in their present unfinished state, pay the interest of £5,000,000.

Is there anything to prevent the Government ordering at once the irrigation of from 250,000 to 500,000 acres in every district in India, including a complete network of steamboat canals of 20,000 or 30,000 miles, embracing all India, and to be completed in five years, with an absolute certainty of two or three times the present interest of money in direct returns? The Sone works are calculated to irrigate about 2,000,000 acres, paying £500,000 water-rate alone, or 12 per cent. on £4,000,000.

The water-rate paid in Godavery is 4rs. per acre of *rice*; on the Ganges Canal $2\frac{1}{2}$ rs. an acre of *wheat*. Some of the old irrigation in Madras used to pay 20rs. an acre; some now pay, it is said, 12rs., and much pays 8rs.

Two millions a year are now actually paid for goods transit between Calcutta and the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmapootra, a distance of 130 miles, £15,000 a mile per annum; while £3,000 a mile would make a perfect steamboat canal, carrying at $\frac{1}{4}$ r. a ton for the whole distance, or £50,000 for the present 2,000,000 tons, producing a saving on the *present traffic* of 500 per cent.; this is besides about 1,000,000 tons that would be carried along the first 100 miles of the canal for the Upper Ganges. And at this charge the present traffic would be soon doubled.

On this little line of 130 miles, a saving would be effected of at least £3,000,000 a year, including the new traffic.

N.B.—Seven-eighths of the traffic still go by a very bad navigation of 470 miles, three times the distance by rail, and taking six weeks on an average.

Is not the Government of India too much like a dispensary, which does all that man can do to cure when too late to do anything to prevent?

Dispensary
Government.

IV.

These facts speak loud: I have no need to add my poor words. He who runs may read.

Are we to pay
out of current
revenue?

What is the answer given by modern 'financial policy' or impolicy? That we must only do what we can pay for out of current revenue, or at least what will pay for itself at once.

[Instead of interest enough not being taken in India, too much, it would seem, is taken—an ignorant, unsound interest. So much the worse for India.]

It seems like going back 500 years: to the times when our beds were our banks, and we took out of our old stocking, hid in the mattress or in a hole in the floor, enough for a miserable sustenance day by day, careless of whether we starved or died 100 days hence.

Christ himself tells us not to bury our talent in a napkin, but to put it out to interest.

'Sound Indian finance' appears to be what Plato calls 'wanting to have money safely kept and not used,' or 'justice useful' and 'money useless.'

Is it not as though we said: It is 'unsound financial policy' to live unless you have money in your stock-

Or by loan?

ing; to borrow in order to build, or to trade, or to farm; you must not make railways except you can pay for them out of your income, nor telegraphs, nor any means of communication by steam or water?

Is not this reversing the whole principle which has given England her unparalleled success in trade and manufacture—her greatness, as a nation, over the whole globe?

Unless you have money in your stocking to do it, we say in India, don't do it; you must not utilise the money in your neighbour's stocking. You can't eat roads, or railways, or canal-banks this year, though they may bring you a hundred-fold produce in twenty years. Be not fools who spend their money, unless, having £100 in your mattress, you can see £110 for every £100 in your mattress before Christmas. Eat what you can grow in your garden; you can keep your own money safer than anybody else can use it for you.

Is it 'extravagance' to provide for ten years hence, or even, as this famine has but too fatally proved, for one short year hence, what we are to eat then?—or die of starvation—unless we can provide with the money now in hand?

Is it 'sound finance' to let a man starve a year hence, and live this year by eating up all he has?

Is it cheap to let him die, too dear to make him live, if you have to provide for his next year's food on borrowed capital, even if that capital returns cent. per cent. in future years; and even if—not borrowing it—you spend next year millions where you would

only have had to spend thousands this year, besides the small item of a few hundreds of thousands of acres of depopulated country?

Is it cheaper to let a man 'get dead' than to feed him or house him, on borrowed capital?

Then comes the drought; and costs us tens of millions instead of millions, to say nothing of a million or two of people who 'get dead.'

To thrust these poor remarks upon those who know it all so much better than I, and can put it so much more forcibly, seems needless.* This appalling

* It will, perhaps, be said that the loan system has been now adopted, and public works are no longer carried on out of current revenue only;

That the Government is no longer in the position of the old woman with the stocking;

That the principle has long since been admitted that the cost of such works should not be borne by the existing generation, which has only a life interest in them, but in the shape of interest upon public loans by succeeding generations, which will equally benefit by them.

But this is not true. Loans have been *talked of*, but not raised, nor sanctioned till Famine came; and now the money may be spent—not in preventing Famine, but in feeding and keeping alive some of its victims.

It will perhaps be said that for years the whole expenditure on irrigation and State railways has been defrayed from special loan funds.

But this is not so.

That the Government is open to blame for not having conceded the first sooner, and also for not having pushed forward such works fast enough, though the immense establishments which it has been necessary to organise could only have been got up by degrees.

But this is hardly true.

Why did they stop private companies from doing the work?

There has been fatal hesitation for the last three or four years,

famine speaks louder than any man can do—or woman either.

not so much in carrying on the schemes actually in hand—for some of these have been prosecuted and funds supplied as fast as the engineers could submit estimates and designs—as in starting new schemes. And this has chiefly arisen from the presumed discovery that the promises held out by the advocates of irrigation of high direct returns are illusory (made so indeed by our own mistakes), and that, with the notable exception of some great works in Madras specially conditioned, such schemes do not, and for many years to come will not, pay the current interest on the loan capital invested. This is what is said.

But then why did they abolish the Income Tax?

There is no doubt that such works do vastly enrich the land and add to the general wealth of the community, and it may safely be concluded that, directly or indirectly, they must eventually pay—even in spite of our own mistakes.

In permanently settled Bengal, the Government, in laying out money upon irrigation, is always said to be in the position of a man who, having given his property in lease *for ever* at a mere quit-rent, proceeds to lay out vast sums upon it. The tenant reaps the whole profit.

From whence, then, are returns to come? Increased wealth will lead to increased consumption, but of what? Opium or spirits? God forbid. Let us hope that these two sources of income are to decrease, not increase. Salt? The 'Poor Man's Income Tax'? God forbid again, we say.

What, then, are we to look to?

Should not the Government do as they did in Ireland—advancing money to the Landlords?

Or as was done in Lancashire after the Cotton Famine?

But when Lord Mayo's tax was negatived, as above recounted, both he and the members of his Government, who had up to that time been staunch irrigators, drew back, and refused to advocate any new schemes without such a guarantee.

And so matters have stood.

Has not the old woman been to blame, although she had begun a little to mend her ways before the day of retribution came, too late to avert the sad fruits of former error?

But one must live in order to be a subject for sanitary considerations at all; and one must eat to live. If one is killed off by famine, one certainly need not fear fever or cholera.

CONCLUSION.

This great essential work of the regulation of the water of India is perhaps at this moment the most important question in the world; or rather not question—action.

Nothing can compare with it for the material progress of the people, and their moral progress is greatly dependent upon it: for, till the people are in a measure relieved from their bondage to poverty and want, they cannot attend to other things.

Another very important point, and intimately connected with irrigation in all ways, has to be taken up: and that is, the subject of manufacturing in India.

There are at this moment at least 100,000 horse water power available and made no use of in the great irrigation canals. The canals will convey the goods to, and from manufactories, and the irrigation will set free millions from agricultural labour for such work.

With cheap labour, cheap power, cheap carriage, and cheap food, India will have the very highest advantages for manufacture, for civilisation, and also for life, and all that makes life worth having to those whom God has created higher than the brutes, and only a little 'lower than the angels.'

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INDIA REVISITED:

ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

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BY

SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A clear conception of the economical state of India is

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The statistics of foreign trade show that India exports

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I will here allude briefly to the objections alleged by the

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

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

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

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

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

Up to the present time it may be said that our

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indeed many of our best administrators are coming to

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

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

municipalities in England before the close corporations were abolished.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.—No. X

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P 8

"The World must be made safe for Democracy,"

—PRESIDENT WILSON, April 3rd, 1917

An Indian Catechism

FOR

British Electors.

BY

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.

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An Indian Catechism for British Electors.

IN the near future India's claim for a safe and reasonable advance towards self-government within the British Empire, will come before this country for decision; and it is of vital importance that the true bearing of the case should be generally understood. Fortunately, there is nothing in the facts that may not be understood of the people; for, however intricate the details of Indian administration may appear to the lay mind, the real issue is simple: the question is, whether, against the protest of united India, we should enforce a system of bureaucratic government, alien to British principles of freedom and progress; thereby alienating affection, and stimulating unrest; or, whether, reciprocating the goodwill and trust made manifest to the world by India in this crisis of our history, we should satisfy the reasonable expectations of a law-abiding and peace-loving people, thereby consolidating India, with her vast resources, as a tower of strength for the British Empire?

The main points for decision may conveniently be indicated in the form of a dialogue, between an enquiring British working man, and "Indophile," a person of experience in Indian affairs, who is in sympathy with Indian aspirations.

BRITISH WORKING MAN—*Question No. 1*: The British people recognise their responsibility for the good government of India, and have every desire to redress grievances; but they have little opportunity of learning the facts. We hear of "unrest" in India, and stringent measures of repression; and we desire to know the cause of this unrest, and its remedy. It appears that according to Indian opinion the remedy is to be found in granting to India a liberal share in the management of her own affairs. Further, we are informed that a Deputation of Indian leaders is coming to England, in order to lay their case before the British Government, and the British people. Can you tell me what are the merits of India's claim?

"INDOPHILE"—*Answer No. 1.* India's claim is, in its nature, a "Petition of Rights," addressed to the British nation as the High Court of the Empire; and her case may be briefly summarised in the following propositions:—(a) That by reason alike of their ancient civilisation, and their modern educational developments, the people of India are specially qualified to manage their own affairs; and the claim now put forward, on behalf of a united India, for an effective advance towards self-government within the Empire, deserves the most favourable consideration of the British people; (b) That the British connection has been highly beneficial in the past, by protecting India from external aggression, by maintaining internal order, by promoting unity among the various races, and by opening the way to further progress; but in the course of years, far-reaching changes have been developed in India's relations to the Empire, so that a system of government by foreign officials, operating through great centralised departments, has ceased to be suitable to Indian conditions; and the time has come for a well-considered measure of progressive reform, which will bring the administration into harmony with modern requirements; (c) That the claim for reform is based upon successive Royal Proclamations, and upon a direct pledge, given in Parliament with unanimous assent, that there will now be "a new angle of vision" in dealing with Indian affairs.

Question No. 2: Taking the first point, what are the political and social conditions which specially qualify India for self-government? British India is said to contain over 250 millions of inhabitants. Will it not be a task of practical difficulty to organise self-government for so vast a population?

Answer No. 2: Assuming good-will, there is no real difficulty, whether we look to the masses of the population, the educated class, or the hereditary aristocracy. The frame-work of settled government, as affecting the units of administration—the Village, the District, and the Province—is familiar to the Indian people from long ages; and their instincts are in favour of peace and orderly progress. For an advance, therefore, in self-government, no new official mechanism is required. All that is needed is to restore Indian organisation and develop Indian resources.

Taking, first, the masses of the people, it must be borne in mind that the urban population is comparatively small. In India there

are few large cities, and four-fifths of the whole population are grouped in about half a million village communities, in size like an English parish, little self governing republics, which have been the admiration alike of the historian and the economist. Sir Charles Trevelyan, a former Governor of Madras, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1873, dwelt upon the extreme importance of these rural municipalities, and explained how by ancient habitude the Indian peasantry are specially fitted for the management of their own rustic affairs: "The foundation of "Indian society," he said, "is the village municipality; that has "been the salvation of India. One foreign conqueror after another "has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck "to the soil like their own *Kusa* grass, which they liken it to; it "is a kind of grass which it is impossible to tear up by the roots, "because it grows in bunches, and they say that the village con- "stitution is like that grass." The Indian village has thus for centuries remained a bulwark against political disorder, and the home of the simple domestic and social virtues, conservative in the best sense of the word. Working under their natural leaders, the villagers can manage, in their humble way, every department of business required for their local wants.—land revenues, civil justice, police, communal forests and pastures, irrigation, public charity—all these were in the old times excellently well administered by the Patel or Head Man, acting according to custom, and with the advice of the village elders; and carrying out his orders through the hereditary village servants. In order to be prosperous and happy, all that the village communities ask from the central power is to be protected from external violence; to be taxed in moderation, and according to custom; and to be let alone in the management of their internal affairs. Unfortunately, this last condition, to let well alone, is incompatible with an active official administration, framed on European models, and operating from distant headquarters through highly centralised Departments. These Departments (their name is legion)—Police, Forest, Excise, Public Works, Salt, Opium, Survey, Irrigation, Registration, Vaccination, and so forth—enforce their cast-iron regulations by means of a swarm of ill-paid and hungry subordinates, who dominate the villages, coercing the village authorities, and making the ryot's life a burden to him. So far, therefore, from needin

any new official mechanism, the first requirement is to emancipate the villages from the yoke of the Departments. All Executive authority should be withdrawn from the Departmental subordinates, the management of the village affairs being restored to the decent villagers themselves, working under the supervision of the District administration. In his Famine Report, Sir James Caird, an expert of the highest authority, describes the system of the village community as "the sheet anchor of Indian statecraft." And, more recently, Lord Morley's Decentralisation Commission have shown how, on the secure foundation of the village community, an efficient representative administration may be built up for the District and the Province.

Next, as to the educated class. No one can doubt the extraordinary ability and moral grit of the Indian Intellectuals, who can send their sons 6,000 miles, over the "black water," to England, to compete successfully, in a foreign language, with the pick of British candidates. When in China many years ago, being myself among the early "Competition-Wallahs," I visited with interest the buildings at Canton in which were conducted the competitions (literary and physical) for admission into the hierarchy of the Mandarins; and on learning the particulars, the question forcibly suggested itself: "Had I been sent here to compete in the Chinese language, what would my chances have been?" This reflection made one realise what it meant for an Indian to become a Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, and in London to head the list of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. So much for educational proficiency; and as regards administrative capacity, experience has proved the efficiency of the distinguished Indians who have held high and responsible office under the British Government, whether as members of the Viceregal and Provincial Executive and Legislative Councils, or as Judges of the High Courts of Judicature. In no case has public opinion questioned their high standard of excellence; and when a further move is made towards self-government, there will be a still wider choice of men trusted by the people for their learning and integrity.

Lastly, India has her Royal Houses, and her ancient aristocracy, which in past times produced rulers like Asoka and Akbar the Great, and administrators like Todar Mull and Sir Salar Jung. In modern times, the Ruling Princes in their own territories have been the

pioneers of progress, affording an object lesson and example to the British Government by organising representative assemblies, and granting to their people free and compulsory elementary education.

Question No. 3. Next, as to the Deputation which India proposes sending to England. What will be its credentials, and programme? **And how** will it proceed to lay its case before the people of this country?

Answer No. 3. The initiative has come from the Indian National Congress, the great representative organisation which for the last thirty years has voiced the feelings and aspirations of the Indian people. At its thirtieth annual session, held in 1915 at Bombay, under the presidency of Sir S. P. Sinha, the All-India Congress Committee was authorised to frame a scheme for Indian self-government within the British Empire, and to confer with a Committee of the All-India Moslem League, with a view to joint action. The outcome of the Conference has been a complete agreement between the leaders of the two great Indian communities; and a Joint Committee was appointed with power to make all the arrangements necessary to promote the cause of self-government. It is under the instructions of this Joint Committee that, when peace is within sight, the Deputation of Indian leaders will proceed to London in order to plead the cause of united India. As regards procedure in England, it may be presumed that the first approach will be made to the Home Government as represented by the Secretary of State for India. It is understood that the Government are already prepared to make a certain advance, on the lines of the Morley-Minto reforms, in accordance with the policy of Lord Hardinge, who advocated Provincial autonomy, with a gradual transfer of authority from the official body to the representatives of the people. There seems, therefore, reason to hope that the Government, in conference with India's representatives, will be able to prepare, and place before Parliament, proposals for such constitutional reforms as will satisfy the Indian people, and be in conformity with British principles of freedom and progress. At the same time, it is possible that the Government may not see its way at once to grant all that Indian opinion considers essential. It is therefore suggested that if the Government proposals do not come up to India's expectations, the Government offer should be accepted as an instalment, the points of difference being reserved for sub-

mission to Parliament, on the report of a Parliamentary Committee, with a view to further legislation.

Question No. 4: Are there not classes in India out of sympathy with the Congress programme?

Answer No. 4: Yes. There are the Extremists of the national party, political and religious idealists, who believe that the presence of foreigners is a profanation of Mother India's sacred soil. These men, swayed by race prejudice, wish to get rid of foreigners altogether, and are hostile to Congress measures of reform, as tending to reconcile malcontents to British rule. These Extremists for the most part are young men, who have broken away from the control of their elders; and, representing a party of physical force, they have attempted military risings in certain parts of the country. Such attempts have been promptly put down; the action of the authorities being followed by repressive legislation of increased severity, arming the police with exceptional powers, and superseding the ordinary courts by special tribunals. These measures have been successful in quelling open resistance. But, on the other hand, they cannot be regarded as the right antidote for the poison in the body politic. On the contrary, irresistible military and police repression drives the disease below the surface, where it generates secret conspiracy, leading to brigandage and assassination.

Besides these declared revolutionaries, who are comparatively few in number, there is a considerable class, who are sometimes called extremists, but who are far less extreme in their views and objects. They see the hopelessness of physical force, and disapprove of outrage. Further, they agree more or less with the Congress aims as regards self-government; but they deny the efficacy of Congress methods, which depend on argument and memorials: they call this a "Mendicant policy"; and decry the results obtained by the Congress labours of thirty years. They advocate the boycott, and passive resistance, so as to make the existing system of official administration difficult, if not impossible; maintaining that the British Government never yields to mere reason and persuasion, and that this is the only way to obtain the attention of the British Democracy to the grievances from which India is suffering.

There is undoubted difficulty in dealing with both these classes

of non-contents. But the wise course is to follow the advice of Lord Morley, when he said, "Rally the Moderates"—that is, strengthen the hands of our best friends, who still retain their faith in our justice and wisdom. To allay excitement and distrust, Government action is needed on broad lines of statesmanship. An authoritative pronouncement should, without delay, be made public, declaring that self-government for India within the Empire, is the ultimate goal of British policy; and at the same time cordial response should be made to the healthy and patriotic desire of Indians to share in the Empire's defence, as good comrades, and on equal terms; a response accompanied by such practical marks of trust and goodwill as will appeal to the imagination of the younger men, and bring them back to a happier view of India's future.

Question No. 5: As regards opinion in this country, from what quarter does opposition come; and what are the pleas put forward against India's claim for a reasonable share in the management of her own affairs?

Answer No. 5: In England, the Indian claim for an advance towards self-government necessarily clashes with powerful class interests. We cannot expect that the proposed reform will be welcomed by those who now enjoy a practical monopoly of official power and emoluments; but it is hoped that the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service will not, in this matter, be led astray by the Anglo-Indian Extremists who, in Parliament and the Press, support class privilege, and appeal to race prejudice. The details of the scheme entrusted to the Deputation may not as yet have been matured, but the main desiderata have been foreshadowed in the Memorandum submitted to the Viceroy by the nineteen independent Indian members of his Legislative Council; and to these proposals bureaucratic Extremists have already declared unqualified resistance, objecting even to the hearing of the case, and demanding imperiously that such proposals shall be "promptly and finally rejected." But those who would refuse to India the blessings of self-government—blessings which we value so highly for ourselves—will have to reckon with the British Democracy, who have little sympathy with class privilege or race prejudice, and will not consent to India being exploited for the benefit of a small group of highly paid officials.

Further, the British people, in giving effect to vital principles of government, cannot blow both hot and cold, enforcing in the East what we reprobate in the West. On this point the Bishop of Madras uttered a timely warning in his article on "India after the War," in the *Nineteenth Century* of last August, pointing out that if it is wrong for Germany to impose her system of bureaucratic rule on unwilling nations, equally wrong is it for England to enforce such a system upon India against the will of the Indian people: "We cannot," he says, "fight for one set of principles in Europe, and then apply "another set of principles in India." And as a matter of British history and experience, bureaucratic rule has always proved a failure. Through bureaucratic ineptitude we lost the United States of America; and it was only by the grant of self-government that our great colonies were preserved to us. Now, the merest common sense demands that we should extend to India's peace-loving, intelligent, and loyal population a generous measure of that self-government which, under circumstances of difficulty and discord, brought peace and brotherhood to Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

You have further enquired, what are the arguments put forward by the opponents of India's claim? Originally, it was urged that self-government could not be granted because it was not desired by the Mahomedan community, but this plea fell to the ground, and was abandoned, when the All-India Moslem League gave its cordial support to the Congress proposals. Now, in support of the present system, a new and curious claim is brought forward, viz., that the permanent Civil Service, manned by foreigners, is a better friend of the masses, and understands the ryot's requirements better, than the Indian National Congress, whose members are elected freely, in all the provinces of India, by every caste and creed. Cogent proof is required to establish so fantastic a proposition. But as a matter of fact, the evidence is all the other way; for the two great calamities from which the Indian masses are suffering, are, destitution and illiteracy; and a reference to the public records will show that the practical schemes for relief have come from the Congress side, and the opposition in each case from the official body. Thus, for the relief of the ryot from his hopeless indebtedness to the moneylender, schemes were matured by

educated India for Agricultural Banks and Arbitration Courts; but after a prolonged struggle, extending to debates in the House of Commons these proposals were crushed by the authorities. Even enquiry into the facts of the ryot's condition was refused, as in the case of the Indian Famine Union, whose memorial to the Government demanded an economic enquiry in typical famine villages; although the memorial was supported by the signatures of Archbishops and Bishops, Members of both Houses of Parliament (including an ex-Viceroy), Mayors and Provosts of great cities, Heads of Colleges, and the Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce and County Councils. Then, as regards any official claim to be apostles of enlightenment to the Indian masses, we have the crucial case of Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education, which was supported by the independent Indian members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, but was refused a second reading by the official majority. Surely here it was the educated Indians who showed themselves the good Samaritans towards the masses; for what can be a more piteous figure than the agricultural labourer in India—landless and untaught:

“ Bowed with the weight of centuries, he leans
Upon his hoe, and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.”

Question No. 6: Do you maintain that the members of the Civil Service have failed in their duty to the people of India?

Answer No. 6: No; I have no complaint against the *personnel* of the permanent Civil Service. So far as these public servants have truly been servants of the public, their record has been excellent. There has not, I believe, existed in any country a public service more capable, industrious, and trustworthy; and in times of war, pestilence, and famine, they have shown a devotion beyond praise. The complaint is not against the men, but against the system, which has placed them in a false position, making them masters where they should be servants. An *Imperium in Imperio* has thus been created at Simla; so that the permanent Civil Service, a privileged foreign body, with professional interests adverse to Indian aspirations, dominates the administration, and intervenes,

as a non-conducting medium, between the goodwill of the British Democracy and the reasonable claims of the Indian people.

This bureaucratic dominance depends for its authority on Clause 3 of the India Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Victoria, c. 67), which provides that three out of five ordinary members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are to be appointed from among persons who have been at least ten years in the service in India of the Crown; and this provision has been interpreted for the sole benefit of the Covenanted Civil Service; so that the Viceroy's "Cabinet" is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials who, mainly by virtue of seniority, enter the Executive Council automatically, imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments, over which they have been accustomed to preside. Under this system a Viceroy, fresh from England, and unfamiliar with the routine of Indian administration, is not in a position to give effect to the policy prescribed by Parliament and the Crown. Further, this mischief of official predominance extends to the India Office at Whitehall, and to the House of Commons; for, by a process of co-option, the Council of the Secretary of State is regularly recruited from retiring members of the permanent Civil Service; so that the Secretary of State, who rarely has personal experience of Indian affairs, hears only the official side of the case, and is not in a position to decide judicially when exercising his authority in the House of Commons, where he commands a party majority, whatever the political complexion of the Government may be. The simple legislative remedy (a condition precedent to all other reforms) is to withdraw from the official class the exceptional privilege which, half a century ago, was created by Clause 3 under very special circumstances which have long ceased to exist. Such an amendment of the law will bring the Indian Executive into conformity with the settled rule in England—a rule common to all civilised governments—that members of the permanent Civil Service do not enter the Cabinet, but must be content to close their official career as heads of the great Departments, without aspiring to political control.

Question No. 7: If you offer yourself as a witness in support of India's claim, will you state what has been your practical experience of Indian affairs; and what have been your opportunities of knowing the aims and objects of the Indian leaders?

Answer No. 7: Belonging to a family which has served India for

three generations, I entered the Civil Service in 1859, and passed through the official mill in the Bombay Presidency; serving in the Revenue and Judicial branches, and in the Secretariat, where, as Chief Secretary, I was in charge of the Political, Judicial, Secret, and Educational Departments. After retirement from the service, I obtained a seat in Parliament, and was elected Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which owed its origin to Mr. John Bright, and at one time numbered over 200 members of the House of Commons. On two occasions I had the honour to act as President of the Indian National Congress, being unanimously elected, at Bombay in 1889, and at Allahabad in 1910; and as Chairman in London of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, I have for the last thirty years maintained constant communication with the Indian leaders in the different Provinces, seeking to make known in England the Indian view of Indian affairs. From personal knowledge I can affirm with absolute certainty that the aims and objects of the Indian leaders are simply and solely to promote the welfare of India, to revive her ancient glories, and to obtain for her a worthy place as a partner in a free, tolerant, and progressive British Empire. It is to be hoped that the British people will rise to the height of the occasion. The problem is a simple one: Trust the people; and India will become the biggest asset in the world for the cause of peace on earth and goodwill toward men.

Home Rule Series No. 23.

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THE LESSON FROM RUSSIA

A FEW NOTES ON THE EFFECT OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ON THE PROBLEM OF
HOME RULE FOR INDIA

THE COMMONWEAL OFFICE, ADYAR, MADRAS, INDIA

1917

P R E F A C E

WE have put together in this short pamphlet some reflections on the successful Revolution in Russia as it touched and inspired us in India. There were big meetings held in Londón, reports of which are also included, and we draw pointed attention to Commander Wedgwood's reference to India. Not only our educated classes but our masses also should be made aware of the work of the poor down-trodden Russians. What moral grit the stricken peasant of Russia displayed will be an inspiration to the equally if not more stricken peasant of India.

reforms in international morality. The foundations of that international morality are laid down in a few pregnant words by President Wilson: "Every people should be left free to determine its own polity." On that principle the future of Internationalism has to be shaped. On that principle, as a writer in the April *Nineteenth Century* points out, "the Danes of Schleswig must be free to rejoin the Danes of the Kingdom; the Prussian Poles must be reunited with their brethren in a united and autonomous Poland; the people of Alsace and Lorraine must be allowed to choose the flag under which they live". It is that ideal of Liberty and Freedom for all, that has made us call this War a War of Ideals:

The dim apprehension of that fact has furnished the stimulus and the inspiration to the free peoples who are in league to-day against the Empires whose very existence is a denial of the principle of liberty, a negation of the doctrine of Nationality. Is it imaginable that the freedom-loving sons of Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa would have sprung to arms to secure a territorial readjustment in the map of Europe, or even to curtail the dynastic ambition of Hohenzollerns or Habsburgs?

The writer, Mr. J. A. R. Marriot, in both the above quotations, forgets India. If the Poles and the Alsatians and the Danes must be left free to determine their "own polity," then India too must be so left free. And if Australia and New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have "sprung to arms," so has also India, as much as she was allowed to spring forward by the shackles imposed by her short-sighted Government, which did not see what the Indian leaders saw years beforehand, and in their conceit and high-handedness did not act up to the professed advice.

At length the tide is turning. The blow struck by the Russians is having its effect, and by a strange destiny, the Revolution brought forth these words in reference to free England:

Do not go home without realising that in British prisons some of the best young men of this generation are imprisoned for civil and religious offences. Do not forget that in Russia the prisons have been opened.

Such were the words uttered by Mr. George Lansbury, who presided at a huge meeting of British Democrats. Mr. Nevinson, who knows Russians well, recalled the names of heroes "who

marched stage by stage from one dreary barrack to another in the frozen desert of Siberia," and he called upon the large audience to rise to its feet, "to show that we do not forget". Mr. Bellamy, of the National Union of Railwaymen, was there to encourage his people; there was Dr. Lynch, the Irishman, who stood up and demanded "immediate amnesty for political prisoners"; Mr. Zangwill "did not thank her, he congratulated her, and rejoiced that Russia could at last look the world in the face".

These British people will help India. In them lies our hope. How we wish there could have been an Indian present at the great gathering to speak on our behalf. However there was one noble Englishman who spoke for our Motherland. He said:

We have a duty also to India. I know well enough that unless we adhere to the old English principles of freedom for all the people in the British Empire, unless you treat your fellow-citizens as though they were reasonable individuals, they will not *become* reasonable individuals, and you will not end by glorifying the name of England but by degrading us in the dirt. I want to see as a result of this heroic struggle, in which the Indians have taken no small part—I wish to see an acknowledgment that men who are fit to stand side by side with us in the trenches are also fit to stand side by side with us in the government of their own country.

The man who spoke these truthful words was Commander Wedgwood, M. P., and we must thank him for thus championing the cause of Justice. Thus the lesson from Russia is supreme, and our people must learn it as soon as as possible, and must not forget to teach it to our masses.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY AWAKE

THE huge Albert Hall was packed on March 31st by as many of the English Democracy as could get into it, "the *Herald* crowd," as it was called, with the *Herald's* Editor, gallant George Lansbury, in the chair. The *Herald* says :

"The meeting at the Albert Hall on Saturday night was a portent, a prophecy : it was in the literal sense epoch-making : it marked a turning-point in the mood, the spirit, the activities of our country. Over and over again during the speeches one note was struck, and always it met with the most enthusiastic response—the note of *beginning*. Here, one felt, was the first light of morning, the first flush of returning liberty in the black skies of loss and oppression and reaction. The great industrial Triple Alliance, and all the more active elements in the Socialist and Radical movements, found representation in the words and personalities of the speakers ; and more impressive even than the courage and eloquence of the speeches was the electric and indescribable spirit of the audience. Every seat in the vast hall was occupied. People stood three deep in the gallery. Five thousand were turned away disappointed from the doors. Russian, Polish, and Jewish refugees were there in great numbers, British working men and women in greater numbers still—all joined together, not merely to congratulate Russia upon its Revolution, but to initiate a revolution in the political, social, and economic life of the British Commonwealth. The most passionate applause of the evening was evoked by two points, insisted on by several speakers—that the soldiers who

REFUSED TO SHOOT

their comrades in the streets of Petrograd have set an example for all the workers of the world to follow ; and that when, *and only when*, the soldiers and workers of the world have learnt this lesson, wars will cease. Nobody who was among that more than ten thousand can any longer doubt the signs of the times. The capitalist Press has indulged over this meeting in its usual senseless

orgy of suppression and misrepresentation. But to tell lies is not to alter facts. The meeting was out and out and through and through for Peace, for personal liberty of speech and action, for the ideals of Social Democracy and for

THE RED INTERNATIONAL

—and more—the pettifogging legislation by which our bureaucrats have tried to silence and cripple the democracy was smashed into a thousand fragments. Free speech was not just preached on Saturday—it was practised. The speakers stood up to say what they believed, without fear or favour. Truth showed its greatness and prevailed.”

The great meeting passed the following resolution :

“This meeting sends joyful congratulations to the Democrats of Russia, and calls upon the Government of Great Britain and of every country, neutral and belligerent alike, to follow the Russian example by establishing Industrial Freedom, Freedom of Speech and the Press, the Abolition of Social, Religious, and National distinctions, an immediate Amnesty for Political and Religious offences, and Universal Suffrage.”

What will it be for our India when Great Britain follows in Russia's track, and frees *her* captive Nations, Ireland, Egypt, India ?

Mr. H. W. Nevinson described what Russia had paid for her freedom. He said :

“Men and women, I have been put up to speak first after our Chairman, simply because I happen to be one of the few Englishmen who were present during those glorious and terrible scenes of the Russian Revolution in S. Petersburg and Moscow twelve years ago; and in consequence I have had the privilege granted me of speaking to a theme which requires no eloquence, and for which the highest eloquence would be inadequate—for I am to speak to the honour and memory of those men and women, boys and girls, who have suffered and died for the cause of Russian freedom. It is a long and glorious roll of honour, and from that roll of honour I would not exclude any party or denomination or race in Russia which has contributed to the struggle. I would include the people who were called Nihilists, and the Social Democrats of Russia, and the Social Revolutionaries of Russia, and the victims who fell on Bloody Sunday,

January, 1905, and those who died, as I saw them die, upon the barricades in Moscow, and those who died in that terrible repression of the Revolution under the hang-rope that they called Stolypin's necktie, and those who were betrayed by provocative agents more infamous in ignominy even than the man Gordon, whom our Government has not disdained to use; and I would also include those who have striven within the last ten years for the maintenance of the Duma, be they Social Democrats or Constitutional Democrats. I will not trouble about a long list of names, but I think here we must mention the names of a few women, such as Sophie Perovsky, Vera Figner, Vera Zassulitch, Marie Spiridonova, and Katherine Breshkovsky, the aged grandmother, as she is called, of the Revolution, who now, to our great joy, is returning from Siberia to the country she has served. And here in England we are especially bound to mention the names of glorious Russian exiles, such as Stepniak, Felix Volkhovsky, Nicholas Tchajkovsky, and that great friend of us all, and of all men of good will, Peter Kropotkin. Those are great names, but what shall I say of that great cloud of witnesses, unnamed, unknown, unremembered, the men and women, the boys and girls, who spent years of hideous monotony shut up in such fortresses as that of SS. Peter and Paul, where on one side you can see the marble domes of the Tsar's Dynasty, and on the other the glorious walls sanctified by the blood and tears of the martyrs of freedom? What shall I say of those men and women who were forced to march from stage to stage, and from one dreary barrack to another, on their way to the inhospitable and cold deserts into which they sank as into the oblivion of the tomb; or those I have seen hunted up and down the streets of S. Petersburg and Moscow by mounted Cossacks with heavy loaded whips of leather and lead; or those who were hunted to death by the secret police, who were betrayed by provocative agents, who were handed over to the most terrible tortures that fiendish ingenuity can invent, or the human frame can endure, in the torture chambers of Riga and Warsaw? It is less than ten years ago that men and women, 2,100 of them, were hanged within three years, an average of about two a day, and that the Russian prisons were crowded with 181,000 men and women, chiefly political prisoners, and that 84,000 were sent to Siberia. It is for us that those men and women suffered; in tears and sorrow they planted the seed, of which we now reap the harvest in joy. With

their stripes we are healed. In 1885 the American writer, George Kennan, in passing through Siberia, met Katherine Breshkovsky, then a young woman of thirty or thirty-five, and as they parted she said: 'We may die in prison and exile, our children may die in prison and exile, our children's children may die in prison and exile, but something must come of it in the end.' Something has come of it now, and I wish we could penetrate the darkness into which those noble men and women have passed, so that we could tell them that not all in vain has been their heroic struggle. Men and women, there is a custom, in Russia, at the beginning of meetings like this, which, I think, we might imitate here to-night. It is the custom, in memory of those who have suffered and died for the Revolution, for all the audience to rise and stand silent for a few seconds, to show that they and we do not forget what has been done for the Cause. I call upon the audience now to rise in memory of those who have died and suffered for the Russian Revolution, to show that we do not forget what they have done for us all."

At these words the audience rose and stood silent for some seconds.

Commander Wedgwood, M. P., did not forget India. He said:

"The Russians are free, but they have given us the hope of freedom, and when we rejoice with them, as we do to-night, with the Russians of to-day and the Russians of yesterday, let us remember also all those rebels in other countries, in England and elsewhere, who have gone under in the struggle. (A voice: 'Liebknecht'.) We march on. Russia is free. What are we to do? Every real freedom lover stands for the equality and freedom of all the races. If we feel our responsibilities for the belief that the democracy is international and irrespective of race or colour, then I say that it is our duty everywhere to support those democracies when they are in trouble, and to support them by every means in our power.

"The next thing is this: it is our duty to look to our own house and to see that that freedom which we acclaim in others is extended to the best of our ability, not only to our own people here, but to all people in our great democracies. I pass over the Irish question, because it is an impertinence in an Englishman to deal with the injustices of Ireland. (Applause.) I pass over,

too, the women question: their freedom, I hope, is coming so far as the suffrage is concerned—(applause)—but the suffrage is nothing at all. It is not a question of whether women are going to vote, but a question of custom and public opinion. We are dealing with a beautiful Bill in Parliament 'for the better persecution of prostitutes,' and it has got a clause in it to say that any girl of eighteen can be run in off the streets and put into a home until she is nineteen! It is in the interest of society! Every crime against freedom is promoted in the interest of society! I pass over these things because the point I want to make is, we have a duty also to India. I know well enough that unless we adhere to the old English principles of freedom for all the people in the British Empire, unless you treat your fellow-citizens as though they were reasonable individuals, they will not *become* reasonable individuals, and you will not end by glorifying the name of England but by degrading us in the dirt. I want to see as a result of this heroic struggle, in which the Indians have taken no small part—I wish to see an acknowledgment that men who are fit to stand side by side with us in the trenches are also fit to stand side by side with us in the government of their own country."

We thank Commander Wedgwood. Would that H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir had been there to speak for his country. A King himself, he has the right to consort with Kings, but we would that he had come face to face with the English Democracy, to feel the heart of England, and learn where lies the hope of India's freedom.

DAWN IN THE EAST

Russia, by one of time's ironical revenges, has become the envy of less happy lands. Three great meetings, in the Albert Hall, the Queen's Hall; and the Kingsway Hall, last Saturday, acclaimed the Revolution, and in doing so tempered their joyful welcome to the new Russia by strong protests against reaction at home. Comparisons between the present state of Russia and of England were inevitable in a gathering like that at the Albert Hall, which was organised by the advanced wing of the democratic movement and addressed chiefly by leaders of the "rebel" movement. Serious inroads have been made upon the traditional liberties of the British people since the War began, and although ultra-patriotic people in the Albert Hall may have felt that England is hardly so black as she was painted, and that Liberty can hardly be called a lost cause in a country where it finds so many resolute and able defenders, the opportunity of bearing witness against reaction was too good to be lost. A magnificent demonstration of faith in democratic principles was the result. Many remarkable meetings have been held in the Albert Hall, but none so tremendously enthusiastic, so sure of its ground, so convinced of the validity of the principles it was designed to support. Revolutionary Russia, in freeing herself, has set free a new hope for mankind, which finds its incarnation in such huge and unanimous assemblies, filling every corner of the vast amphitheatre and rising tier upon tier to the very roof. There one saw Democracy in its most exalted mood: its generous ardours, its radiant hopefulness, its passionate idealism, its splendid faith in the redemptive force of freedom, gave to the gathering an almost Pentecostal quality.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLL CALL

It was an unforgettable experience to share the emotions of this immense audience of democrats, over which Mr. George Lansbury presided. There was a veritable crisis of feeling when Madame Clara Butt stood forth upon the platform to sing,

to the tune of the Russian National Anthem, the words of an old hymn invested with a new and poignant significance :

God the All-Terrible! King, who ordainest
Great winds thy clarions, lightnings thy sword ;
Show forth thy pity on high where thou reignest ;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord !

Alternate verses were taken up by the audience, and the appeal was poured forth on a wave of surging emotion which shook the foundations of self-control. Madame Butt sang with glorious passion, sustaining in the most extraordinary way the tremendous pressure of the audience which carried it beyond itself. Deep called to deep, too, in that moment of strained silence when Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the first speaker after Mr. Lansbury, called the roll of the brave men and women who have striven and suffered for liberty in Russia. No man had a better right to speak of the Russian martyrs than Mr. Nevinson ; he was one of the few Englishmen present during the terrible scenes of the Revolution in Petrograd and Moscow twelve years ago. Beginning with the Decembrists of 1825, Mr. Nevinson recited the names of the Russian martyrs, known and unknown—men, women, boys, and girls—who suffered and died for freedom, who marched stage by stage from one dreary barrack to another in the frozen desert of Siberia, in which they sank at last as into a tomb. He told the audience that it is a custom in Russia at such meetings as this to remember the heroes and martyrs of Revolution, and he called upon the audience to rise to its feet “to show that we do not forget”. With a single impulse and with impressive dignity, the audience responded to this suggestion and stood up in proud silence.

MR. LANSBURY AND MR. SMILLIE

From the chair Mr. Lansbury read the resolution which sent joyful greetings to the democrats of Russia, and called upon the Governments of Great Britain and of every country, neutral and belligerent alike, to follow the Russian example by establishing industrial freedom, freedom of speech and the press, the abolition of social, National, and racial distinctions, an immediate amnesty for political and religious offences and universal suffrage. He said this was the most representative international assembly since the International Socialist Congress in this country. Russian freedom has been secured, he went on, because for the first time in modern history working-class soldiers have refused

to fire upon their brothers and sisters. A great roar of cheering emphasised the statement, to which more than one speaker later recurred. "Do not go home," Mr. Lansbury added, "without realising that in British prisons some of the best young men of this generation are imprisoned for civil and religious offences. Do not forget that in Russia the prisons have been opened." Mr. Robert Smillie, the Miners' President, said it was a splendid thing to be able to speak freely about Revolution . . . in Russia. He hoped Russia was really free; but he was sure that the Nation of which we form a part is not a free Nation. His reference to the conscientious objectors, like that of Mr. Lansbury's, was emphasised by a thunderous cheer. It is for the people of Great Britain, he said; to prove to the Russian people whether we are worthy to send a message of congratulation to them.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS AND MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Mr. Robert Williams, speaking as the leader of the transport workers, said that the rights of organisation and combination and civil and political liberty had been challenged by the reactionary classes in this country. The Defence of the Realm Regulations were calculated, in his judgment, rather to defend the privileges of the profiteering classes than the safety of the sovereign realm. He declared that they were resolved to use the powers of the great Triple Alliance of railwaymen, miners, and transport workers against industrial conscription, against "indentured white labour," as against indentured coloured labour. We want to send men like Robert Smillie to represent to the Russian democrats the true attitude of the industrial democracy of this country. Mr. Israel Zangwill delivered a charming speech as a representative of the race which has suffered most from the old Russia. Many of his sentences had a cutting edge. We democrats, he said, never denounced Russia, but only the Russian Government. We welcomed the representatives of the Duma to our shores; it was only the Tsar that we refused to allow to land here. We have always recognised that there was a holy Russia; but it was not the Russia of holy candles and ikons, but the Russia of the holy struggle for freedom. Passing on to speak of the inroads upon British liberties during the War, Mr. Zangwill became very epigrammatic. Lloyd George, diluted by the Constitution (he said) is all very well; but unalloyed George is a National danger. Freedom, it is said, broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent, but our

freedom seems to be falling down from precipice to precipice. For that great gesture with which Russia freed his people Mr. Zangwill said he did not thank her, he congratulated her, and rejoiced that Russia could at last look the world in the face; he rejoiced that this burden is now lifted from the soul of Russia as from the body of the Jews.

MISS ROYDEN AND COMMANDER WEDGWOOD

Miss Maude Royden delivered what was, perhaps, the most generous and free-hearted speech of the evening. It had been suggested more than once that English democrats, because they are in the grip of reaction, had little right to praise Russia, but at least (said Miss Royden) the spirits in prison may send a message to the spirits who are free. We can rejoice that Russia is free, with no grudging after-thoughts about ourselves. She dwelt upon the message of the Russian literature, with its insistence upon the principle that every human being counts for one, and none for more than one. "Why, where do you think the Russian people could have stopped when they were deciding who should have political freedom, before deciding to give it to every man and woman?" Commander Wedgwood, likewise, had the courage to speak counter to the prevailing sentiment of the audience. [He is pro-War, Ed., *N. I.*] If we believe that democracy is international, he said, it is our duty to support that democracy everywhere when it is in danger and trouble by every means in our power—an obvious reference to the part democrats like himself have played in fighting against German aggression.

DR. LYNCH AND MR. ALBERT BELLAMY

One of the most interesting figures on the platform was Dr. Lynch, the Irish rebel, whose career is a romance. He has a wild Irish eye, and, watching him, one saw the very spirit of Revolution at work, ardent, high-spirited, and fundamentally reckless of consequences. He stood up when his time came, and demanded "an immediate amnesty for political prisoners and the establishment of the Republic". He did not qualify this demand. Some one in the audience suggested that the Socialist Republic was wanted, but Dr. Lynch said promptly that for the moment he would be content with any sort of Republic. Amidst all the falsity and hypocrisy of the War it had become more and more apparent (he

said) that this is a War in which on the one side we have militarism, Tsarism, autocracy, and the Trust of Kings; and on the other the Republic. Perhaps the course of events will be, first Russia, then Germany, will get a Republic, and then England—for we have got so much from Germany. He would like to see, not Imperial Federation, that Pecksniffian imitation of the German model, but a ring of British Republics; and he believed that this programme would be found to be the solution of the Irish problem also. Mr. Albert Bellamy, of the National Union of Railwaymen, and Mr. W. C. Anderson, each in his own way, drove home the moral of the Revolution as they would have the British workers understand it.

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DISTRICT WORK

BY

ANNIE BESANT

*The Presidential Address delivered at the Chittoor District Conference,
on March 18th, 1916*

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DISTRICT WORK

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CHITTOOR DISTRICT CONFERENCE

BROTHER DELEGATES :

You have done me the honour to invite me to preside here to-day, and I sincerely thank you for the love and trust which have inspired your choice. And I thank you also, from the bottom of my heart, for giving me this opportunity of service, of service to that great Motherland to which you belong by right of birth, and I by right of love.

The increase in the number of District Committees, with their Conferences, is one of the many signs of the growing political life of the country, and a most welcome sign. For no sustained political agitation can be carried on without a network of associations spread over the country, supporting and strengthening each other, ready to move in a common direction, and to organise the expression of public opinion so as to bring it to bear effectively on any desired point. If each District in each Presidency and Province had its District Committee, and if that Committee organised its District under Taluq Committees, we should have an instrument for educating the people by the distribution of literature, by lectures, by discussions, by the establishment of Free Reading Rooms, and by the collection of many necessary statistics, and we should also have the means of evoking and crystallising the public opinion of the Province into a power that no Government could afford to ignore.

I desire to put before you some suggestions for the organisation of our Province, and to place this in the forefront of this Address. Then to consider the work that is specially pressing, the educational needs of the country and the way in which these should be met. Then to consider what part our District Committees can play in the establishment of Village Panchayats.

LOCAL ORGANISATION

It seems to me that for the effective working of our Political Associations, some division of function is necessary, and that it is desirable that a general agreement should be arrived at so that our work may be better organised than it is at present. For though enthusiasm and persistent earnestness are necessary in every political movement, it is also necessary that the movement should be well organised, and that there should be division of labour among the various Associations. We have the outline fixed by general agreement: the National Congress, with its All-India Congress Committee, its working body for the year; the Provincial Congress Committees, each charged with the general supervision of its Province; the District Committees, in charge of each District; the Taluq Committees, to organise the Taluq under its Firkas; and ultimately, I hope, the Village Committees; but, for the present, we must rely on the members of the Firka Committees to divide among themselves the superintendence of the Villages within their areas, each Firka member gradually associating with himself the most intelligent villagers, working with and through them, and thus training them to self-reliant and associated action.

Such a voluntary organisation of the Districts is a necessary preliminary for complete Local Self-Government, and would be the most effective way of obtaining it. It would demonstrate the fact that, in every District and Taluq, there were a number of efficient and earnest public men, prepared to take up and effectually discharge the public business of their localities. From these bodies would be drawn the non-official chairmen of Taluq and District Boards, as well as the members of those bodies, and they would fairly quickly capture the whole of the Local Government, and so gain the power to accomplish thoroughly the objects at which they aimed in their at first voluntary Committees. I do not deny that the successful carrying out of this substitution of non-officials for officials in the whole control of the executive and administrative business of a District will demand self-sacrifice, devotion to the public welfare, perseverance in the face of opposition—in a word, will demand Patriotism, that sublime and virile virtue by which alone a country may free itself from bondage, may win civil and political liberty, and guard that liberty inviolate after it is won. I know that I am suggesting nothing less than

a tremendous but peaceable Revolution, which shall change the Local Government carried on by a foreign bureaucracy into the Local Self-Government carried on by the citizens of a free Nation. That Self-Government will be carried on by paid officials, for it demands whole-time men, but they will be officials elected by the people as their servants, not officials appointed by a Government as their masters. No sane person objects to officials, for executive and administrative work must be carried on by trained men, and that implies that they must be men who gain their livelihood by their public work. The objection raised to officials at the present time is because the officials are bureaucrats, that is, they are permanent executive and administrative clerks who govern, and who govern without any responsibility to the governed. The freedom of a country can never be secure, unless the Civil Servants are rigidly kept apart from the Government, and unless the Government itself is responsible to the people it governs. This is true in the small as in the large. As the Government of the Empire is responsible to the Imperial Parliament, and that Parliament is elected by the people, so must the principle of the responsibility of the governors to the governed, and the election of the governing body—National Parliament, Provincial Parliaments, District Boards, Municipalities, Taluq Boards, Firka Boards, Rural and Urban Boards—that is Village and Ward Panchayats.

The mere fact that these divisions, except the last, already exist in the country, is a reason for utilising them, and forming our voluntary Political Associations side by side with the Government bodies; our Committees should seek to put their own members on the Taluq and District Boards and on the Municipalities, and they would thus capture the local bodies, practically absorb them.

It is most desirable that the Zamindars should be members of the Congress, District and Taluq Committees, and that Indian merchants should be elected on Municipalities. In the latter case, and in some of the former, a knowledge of English would often not be possessed, but that should not be a bar. The proceedings in District, Taluq, Firka, Village and Ward Committees should be carried on in the Vernacular of the District, or, if preferred, in the local Vernacular and in English. In Lower Canada, business was, and perhaps still is, carried on both in English and French in the Legislature, and all Government

documents, laws, proclamations, etc., are published in both languages. Similarly in the parts of the Union of South Africa, wherein Dutch is the prevailing language, English and Dutch are used. Either language can be used in the local Legislature. There need be no more difficulty here, than in those two parts of the Empire.

It would be well that English should be allowed as well as the local Vernacular, for there may be sympathetic and friendly Englishmen who would be willing to submit to election on these Committees, and who would prove useful thereon, just as A. O. Hume was elected as Congress Secretary for many years, and as Eardley Norton, W. A. Chambers, Pringle Kennedy, John Adam, and others, were elected as delegates to the National Congress.

We need not here go into the work of the Provincial Congress Committee, which is, obviously, the synthesising centre for the Province, and which should be in continuous touch with all its District Committees, interchanging plans of work, suggestions, lecturers, publications, etc. The Provincial Congress Committee should be the clearing-house of all the political work in the Province, and the intermediary with the All-India Congress Committee.

DISTRICT COMMITTEES

The District Committees should be the eyes, ears and hands of the Provincial Committee, the sources of information on all the subjects that should be brought before the Provincial Legislative Council by your members. The work of the latter would be rendered easier and more effective if the District Committee had ready for reference all the essential facts of the District, its special needs, grievances, products, manufacturing facilities, mineral treasures, water-conditions, and so on, tabulated and indexed, ready for use. Before a meeting of the Legislative Council, the elected members should meet, each armed with the reports of the area he represents; they should compare the relative importance of the matters that need attention, formulate a common policy, frame the resolutions to be brought forward, choose the speakers for each resolution, and strenuously support each other, taking into counsel any non-official nominees who are patriotic and are people's men. Important resolutions and bills should be supported by petitions, sent in good time by the Provincial Committee to the District Committees, and

distributed by these to the Taluq Committees, who should send out collectors to each Firka or Village.

The chief work of the District Committee should be the organisation of the District into areas of convenient size, Taluq, or indeed Firka, divisions, as thought best. The Firka is regarded by Government as "the basis of the elective system," and the Firka and the electoral circle are generally identical, though, in a few cases, an electoral circle may include two Firkas. In Madras Presidency no Taluq contains less than 3 Firkas, nor more than 13. Most Firkas return one member to the Taluq Board, many return two, and in two cases a Firka returns 3 members. As each Firka contains many villages, it seems to me that, for effective organisation, the Firka Committees are necessary to subdivide the area of the Taluq. To take one illustration; Anantapur District has 4 Taluqs, and these Taluqs have, severally, 6, 7, 8 and 9 Firkas—30 in all, returning 31 members to the Taluq Board. (These figures are from the 1914 Government Paper.) In the District Committee's work will be the tabulation of information received from these, the arrangement of lectures, the distribution to Taluq Committees of literature, the choice of subjects on which special reports are needed, the management of electoral business, the choice of candidates for the Legislative Council, the keeping in touch with the sitting member or members. The District Committee should discuss and register its opinion on the larger political issues of the time, meeting not less than once a month, and should, as occasion arises, send up its opinion to the Provincial Committee for transmission to the All-India Congress Committee, calling on it to take action where desirable. All the District Committees of the Madras Presidency, for instance, should, by the end of this month, have sent up to the Provincial Committee their approval or disapproval of each of the principles of a scheme of Self-Government circulated last autumn by the Provincial Committee, and should request the Provincial Committee to send their decisions to each Madras member of the All-India Congress Committee, asking him to give weight to their views in coming to a decision at the Allahabad Conference in April.

The Provincial Congress Committee and the National Fund and Industrial Association have each lately organised a series of lectures, one political, one industrial. Why should not the District Committees request these lecturers to read their papers, or deliver lectures founded on them, in the District centres? The

papers should, of course, be printed and circulated, but a lecture reaches many who will not read at first, but will often begin to study when their interest has been aroused by the spoken word.

The District Committees of Bombay—probably only over a portion of the Presidency—have formed a “Secretarial Board,” with the special object: “To carry on systematically the propaganda of Home Rule.” At a lecture delivered by Professor Kale, of the Fergusson College, the lecturer showed the necessity for fiscal autonomy for India, by pointing to the antagonism between the British and the Indian Governments on the import duties of cotton goods, and his chairman, the Hon. Mr. Setalwad, said that Indian trade and commerce cannot progress on sound lines, unless the Executive is responsible to the Legislature. In the immense area of the Madras Presidency it may presently be found convenient to federate District Committees which have the same vernacular, and thus facilitate the vernacular propaganda, without which political movements will lack the strength of numbers, necessary for success.

In Madras Presidency there are 26 Districts: Anantapur, Anjengo, North and South Arcot, Bellary, South Canara, Chingleput, Chittoor, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Ganjam, Godavari, Guntur, Kistna, Kurnool, Madras, Madura, Malabar, Nellore, Nilgiris, Ramnad, Salem, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Trichinopoly, and Vizagapatam; these are subdivided into 96 Taluqs, and the Taluqs, as we have seen, into numerous Firkas.

TALUQ AND FIRKA COMMITTEES

Let us take a case of the detailed work of the Taluq Committee. A member of the Legislative Council is going to speak against an increase of land-revenue. He wants facts, and writes for them to his District Committee. The Committee turns to its files, and seeks the reports of its Taluq Committees on the raiyat's budgets for the year in the villages comprised in the Firkas within each Taluq, and sends to him a selection from each Taluq. The Firka Committee had conducted an investigation into its villages on the lines of that made in the United Provinces and elsewhere by Government officials, and had sent up its results to be stored in the Taluq Offices. (A large number of these raiyat's budgets may be found in Digby's *Prosperous British India*; a few of these, enough to show the

lines on which the investigation should be conducted, may be seen in *India—A Nation*, pp. 42—44). The Taluq should have formed its Firka Committees, and each of these should, if possible, have a reliable friend in each village, and he should be asked to conduct the local enquiries. He should ascertain :

- Acreage of land, freehold or rented, and amount of tax thereon.
- Crops, number of cattle, fodder and water supply, and, if latter is paid for, amount of payment.
- Family or hired labour, and if latter, what wages.
- Work outside agriculture, and, if so, what earnings thereby.
- Number in family and dependents.
- Amount spent on food, clothing, religious ceremonies.
- Any loans taken, and, if so, at what interest.
- What total cost of cultivation during year.
- What profit over cost of cultivation.

These and other relevant facts should be collected in each village, for such facts are the arsenal of the political reformer. Other village statistics should be collected on the condition of elementary education, on the village industries, the working of the forest laws where the village is affected by them, the roads, sanitation, tanks, wells and other water-supply, any grievances, any Co-operative Society, and any special advantages or disadvantages.

Wherever possible, the Firka Committee should try to introduce into a village the idea of co-operation, and organise a Co-operative Society, and the members should try to enlist the sympathies of any neighbouring Zamindars and educated persons, to take interest in and brighten the village life. Lantern lectures on physiology, botany, useful and harmful birds and insects, have been found acceptable. Pictures of holy places, cities, etc. are also enjoyed. And this brings me to the question of Village Education, what should be its nature, and how adult villagers can be helped in this respect.

VILLAGE EDUCATION

The old methods of education were more helpful to the villagers than the new methods so far have proved. The pial schools were widely spread, and the wandering Sadhus constantly visited the villages on their journeyings, reciting stories

from the sacred books, and so introducing the wider and sweeter ideas of life that are found in all great literatures. Men and women may be educated through the ear as well as through the eye, and the villagers have not been left wholly without such culture.

On this, Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, in his lately published *Speeches on University Reform*, says as follows—and I must confess to a slight feeling of personal pleasure when I read in the speech of another, the speech of a man who has thought deeply on Education, a view regarding Hindus that I had long held and enunciated. He says :

I am not one of those who believe that the Hindus are, as a nation, illiterate. Doubtless in the arts of reading and writing we are lamentably behind other Nations, but this deficiency of book knowledge, gathered through the eye, is more than made up by the capacity to hearken and to retain in memory. I think the uneducated people have more of real education than the so-called educated, because the knowledge that they possess, through oral communication, of our great legends, of our Epics, and Puranas, which are, as literature, as great and inspiring as any works of the West, is a knowledge which goes deeper down than the skin, engages their feeling, fires their imagination, and transforms their personality, which is a great deal more than what can be said of the effects of English education on you. It is no paradox to maintain that our so-called uneducated are really more deeply educated than the so-called educated. If modern knowledge could be made akin to the knowledge of our traditions and philosophy, which has permeated the very air and life of the country, then it too would become part of our mental and moral constitution, the dowry of our birth, so to speak.

Changing times have, however, brought changed conditions, and the Indian villager must now acquire education on modern lines. But that education must be suited to his needs, and the one now offered to him is not so suited. It does not prepare him for life, which is the object of education, nor is it, in fact, related to his life, as it should be.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

The village school may be of the simplest kind, so far as structure is concerned, and in Ceylon, under the inspiration of Colonel H. S. Olcott, the President-Founder of the Theosophical Society, the villagers themselves built their schools. A thatched

shed might do in the beginning, so as to reduce expenses to a minimum, and, in the earliest stages of teaching, blackboards may serve as books. In some of the educational efforts now being made, classes are held in the open-air, under the shade of a tree. The tendency of the Education Department, as of all Government Departments, is to exalt the mechanism used above the life which the mechanism ought only to train, but really cramps and stunts. Under the present system, "efficiency" means buildings and apparatus and an unchangeable routine, instead of flexibility, adaptation to varying conditions, and the drawing out of the faculties of the pupils, so that they may enter on life alert and open-eyed. Children are full of eager interest in the world about them, as is shown by their constant questionings, and if the method of education were to take advantage of and to encourage this natural and fruitful curiosity, the child's capacities would unfold naturally and joyfully, and the school hours would be anticipated with pleasure instead of being feared and disliked.

Many things should be taught by verses, in the old pial way, especially arithmetical tables. As is said in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (iv. 407, 408) of the old style of education :

Village schools were scattered over the country-side, in which a rudimentary education was given to the children of the trading classes, the petty land-holders, and the well-to-do cultivators. . . . Seated under a tree or in the veranda of a hut, the children learned to trace the letters of the alphabet with their fingers in the sand, or recite in monotonous tones their spelling, or a multiplication table which extends far beyond the twelve times twelve of the English school-room. Simple mensuration and accounts and the writing of a letter are the highest accomplishments at which this primitive course of instruction aims.

Morals should be taught by stories out of the Puranas and Ithihasa, and these stories should be turned into very simple little plays which the children, to their great delight, should be taught to act. Stories should also be the media of instruction in elementary history, and, through these, love of country should be inculcated—easiest of all tasks. Songs full of patriotic fervour should be written and set to Indian music—excluding rigidly the abominable hand-harmonium, even if offered as a gift, a fatal gift—and the boys and girls would sing them all over the villages, inspiring patriotism wherever they went.

Religion should equally be taught by stories and songs, and the *Catechism*, published by the Central Hindu College, and already translated into all the vernaculars, can be used by the teachers as a guide. The old shlokas should be taught which name the holy places, so as to increase the love of the common Motherland.

It is true that such schools will not, at first, obtain Government grants ; those will only come when Home Rule is obtained. But we want schools suitable to village needs, schools which will serve as a real preparation for life, and for this it is necessary to have a free hand. Moreover, we do not want teachers, drilled out of all spontaneity, initiative and gentle human relations with their pupils, such as are forced upon us through Departmental Regulations. We want elder brothers, full of love for their youngers, taking pleasure in the work of teaching, and ever devising new ways of interesting and developing their pupils. Reading, writing and arithmetic must, of course, be included in the curriculum, and then the subjects which prepare the children for life should follow. Very simple lessons, illustrated with pictures, on plant and animal life, on cleanliness and hygiene, on kindness to animals, the treatment of slight household or field accidents, should all come within the school curriculum ; cooking, cleaning utensils, and, for the girls, the feeding of infants, should be taught. Every school should have a workshop attached, where the boys should learn the beginning of the trade they are to take up ; a carpenter's shop, a weaving shed and a potter's, perhaps a forge, or if these exist, the practice might be taught by the village workmen. Gardens for sowing, transplanting seedlings, etc., should be attached to the school, and the little trees, when grown sufficiently, may be moved to the cottage grounds. It has been found that villagers value saplings, though they will rarely take trouble over the preliminary processes.

The training of brain, eye and hand into co-ordinated activity is an essential point of all sound education. Let us give it to our village children at least.

The Taluk Committees should shape the curriculum for each Taluk, and these curricula might be sent up to the District Committee for approval, so that they, having before them all the curricula proposed, may add to any Taluk proposal good points suggested by others. The curriculum thus obtained would then be issued for the District.

The boys who show superior talent should be sent on to a Secondary School, to a Taluq Model Farm, or a Technical Training School, according to their capacity. For the ordinary lads, evening classes may be provided, so that they may not lose what they have learnt; and as soon as there are villagers enough to use it, a Reading Room should be opened.

It is desirable to have physical exercises for the boys and girls and drill for the boys: these teach alertness and make the body smart and flexible. I was struck the other day with the smartness and good carriage of the boys at the cotton mills of Sethji Narottam Morarji Goculdas at Sholapur when drilling, and they enjoy it. India must revive the old military spirit, if she is to be a bulwark to the Empire, and to be safe within her own boundaries.

HIGHER EDUCATION

On the larger educational reforms I will not touch here; they are matters rather for the Provincial Congress Committee, as the Madras University covers the whole Presidency. But I may urge on the District Committee the necessity for pressing the Vernaculars as the media for instruction at least as far as the completion of the school course, making the English language a compulsory subject, but as a language only. It is for the Provincial Committee to take up the reform of the Madras University, and to transform it into a centre of light for the whole Presidency, sending out some of its graduates to Districts, Taluqs, Firkas and even Villages, to carry the light of Science to them, diffusing it over the Province. Courses of University Extension lectures should be planned, some suitable for the larger towns, and some for the villages.

Here again I may fall back upon your able Chittoorian, Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy; he says.

Let me point out the various measures adopted in western countries, notably in Canada and the United States, to extend knowledge amongst the masses. Besides teaching their own students, universities carry on propagandist work, or Extension work, as it is called. They issue small practical bulletins to the farmers and other rural peoples, who have, as we know, a great tendency to stagnate, if left to themselves. In winter, when agricultural operations cannot be carried on, men and women from the villages are brought over to the university to undergo a few weeks training in scientific

agriculture. The university sends out lecturers to hold institutes or short-period-classes in the different villages. But, perhaps, it will be asked how about laboratory equipment, without which real education, or education in science and technology, is impossible? Well, they equip railway cars as laboratories. I have seen cars equipped for stock-judging, seed-judging, and other branches of agricultural study. Easier still it is to equip them for such Elementary Physics and Chemistry, and Sanitation and Hygiene, as would be of interest and profit to the men in the street and the women in the village. These railway cars are shunted to a siding at different stations, and the population around is gathered, and short courses of lectures given with adequate laboratory demonstration. In the Philippines I saw a number of cars equipped for purposes of agricultural demonstration, agriculture being there, as it is here, the most important industry. It is a mistake to think that knowledge means book knowledge, and that educational systems should aim at nothing except book-knowledge. It is the biggest fallacy that has vitiated and circumscribed educational activities in India. On the contrary, I think that our people are quicker at learning through the ear than the eye, and therefore the State ought to take advantage of this fact and proceed to organise a gigantic system of Extension lecturing.

FREE AND COMPULSORY

When we realise that the object we should set before ourselves in education is the humanising of the whole people, and not the creation of an "educated class" apart from the people; when we realise that to make education a barrier instead of a unifier is a crime; when we realise that education should not be the privilege and luxury of the few, but the right and the daily food of the many; then shall we begin to understand that education must be free as the sunlight and the air, and that compulsion must be applied to parents and guardians who refuse it to their children or wards, as you would use compulsion if they shut up the little ones physically in dark and airless cells.

You will find a definite formulation of a proposal for free and compulsory education in the convenient form of an Act, passed by the Madras Parliament, with the speech on moving the second reading of Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who gives a mass of details bearing on the question, useful for propaganda on this vital subject. Let us take as our aim that laid down by the Mikado of Japan in 1872, realised by 1896,

when "92 per cent of the boys of the school-going age were receiving, or had received, elementary education" :

It is designed henceforth that education should be so diffused, that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member.

Are the Japanese children cleverer than Indian children? Nay; the cause lies not in the children. But Japan has Home Rule, and India has not. It is to the interest of the Japanese Government to foster education, while the Government here shrinks from the expense of elementary, and discourages higher, education, for educated men are ever discontented and restless until they enjoy freedom. Hence Sir Valentine Chirol's delight in "the healthy decrease of matriculates"; hence the dismay when the colleges become efficient enough to pass too many of their students; hence the cry to raise the standard of examinations, as though the object of schools and colleges was to turn out failed matriculates, intermediates and B. A.'s, instead of educated citizens. In no country save India do Universities try to pluck instead of to pass, so that efficiency is judged by the number of failures, not by the number of successes.

PANCHAYATS

The founding of Urban and Rural Panchayats is a matter in which the Provincial Committee should plan the outlines of the system, the District Committees should educate public opinion on the question, and the Taluq and Fırka Committees should work it out in detail in each village within their areas. Here again the Madras Parliament may be of the greatest service, for it has just passed an Act for the establishment of Panchayats, with every necessary detail of their working, and Mr. T. Rangachariar made an admirable speech in moving the second reading; the mass of material he gathered, too much to be utilised in a single speech, will be published complete in a week or ten days, giving a rich mine of information on the subject, which can be used by all who are willing to take part in the task of public propoganda.

The regarding of the village as the first administrative unit in India dates from an unknown antiquity, and we find Sir William Hunter referring to Megasthenes, the Greek historian, who spoke about 300 B. C. of the little independent

republics existing in India. These villages remained stable throughout Indian history as a characteristic of Indian life, and they show the deeply rooted instinct of Indians for Self-Government of the most practical kind; the individual taking part in the management of the business of the village as a community; the responsibility of the appointed officials to the village as a community; and with that responsibility, the rendering of honest public service. The whole basis of the Aryan idea of the Self-Governing village was destroyed when the Headman of the village was made responsible to the English official instead of to the villagers. The old names have been retained—the Potal, or Headman, the Karnam or accountant, the watchman, and the rest; but their value has been annihilated by the change in their allegiance. They have been transformed from the servants of the village community into its masters, and are set over against the village instead of being its executives. They become the last links in the foreign chain of mastery, instead of the officials of a free community, and they are disliked as the agents of the Sarkar, whose interests are opposed to those of the villagers, instead of being trusted as the village functionaries, discharging their duties for the benefit of the whole community.

Fielding, in his *Passing of Empire*, very well describes an exactly similar process which has gone on in Burma, and which there, as here, has destroyed the admirable village organisations. The Englishman is penetrated with the feudal idea of officials appointed by the Crown, or the Crown's representative, he being responsible to those above him, while he, in his turn, ruled those below him. The old Aryan communal system was based rather on the idea of a family, and the family appointed some of its members to carry out certain family duties, for the proper discharge of which duties the appointed members were responsible to the family. The system cannot be termed patriarchal, as in the patriarchal system the rule is in the head, the father, as in the Roman family; here it was rather fraternal, a fraternity of equal brothers, choosing some of their numbers to discharge certain functions. Very characteristic is the division of the land; a certain acreage is set apart for the support of the temple and its services; another portion for the discharge of the duty of hospitality to travellers, pilgrims, sadhus; a third for the maintenance of the village officials and servants; and so on. Village needs were supplied out of the

common property, and fell on no individual; the services rendered to him were as to a member of the village family. Another item was the payment to some Chief, great or small, who received a certain share of the village produce in exchange for his protection, a payment for services rendered. This tax on the village must not be confused with the rent paid in the West to the Crown, or to a great landlord as the *owner* of the soil. That idea, so far as I have seen, has no historical existence in India, and is alien to the spirit of its institutions. The earth, to the Indian, is the common property of the human race living upon it; but as this natural possession it is uncultivated and of little use to man. The man or the community who cultivates the waste, who clears the jungle, becomes, by that addition of labour to the land, the rightful occupier of the soil he has redeemed, and the owner of the results of his labour.

In Part III of the Report of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation in India, a slight historical sketch of the old village autonomy is given, and it is stated that "the village government was originally by the Panchayat, or group of heads of superior families". The Report admits that the disintegration of the village communities has taken place under British rule, and while not thinking that the whole corporate responsibility of the village could be revived, it yet advises "that an attempt should be made to constitute and develop Village Panchayats for the administration of local village affairs". The Report, however, makes the fundamental, though natural, mistake of desiring to keep the movement "completely under the eye and hand of the District authorities". No healthy development could take place under such conditions, for the supervision of "Tahsildars and other sub-divisional officers" is in no sense Self-Government, and the best men would stand aside, while the supple cringing hypocrites would keep in. The Report would give the Panchayat civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases, the construction and repair of local minor works—wells, tanks, roads, sanitation and the like—sole supervision of village schools, pounds, local markets. The members should be elected in an informal way, qualified voters and ballot-boxes being unfamiliar—yet the old way of pot-voting was very similar.

The Madras Government, in relation to Panchayats, is undetermined and hesitating. It clings to the idea of Union

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PROBLEMS OF INDIAN POVERTY.

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PROBLEMS OF INDIAN POVERTY.

A PAPER READ TO THE FABIAN SOCIETY ON JANUARY 10TH, 1902,
WITH SOME ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.

WHEN an Englishman, after long exile in the land of regrets, returns home for good, he finds, go where he may, that most families have some connection with India, and that incomes derived from the Indian taxpayers contribute largely to the prosperity of his country. He knows that the possession and successful government of India give England the first rank amongst nations, and that were she to lose what has been called "the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown," she would fall from her proud pre-eminence to a position a little better than that of Holland.

Knowing all this, he might reasonably expect his countrymen to be interested in the welfare of the Empire to which they owe so much of their greatness and riches. Instead of interest, he finds ignorance and indifference. If anyone will look through the files of our newspapers, or the headings of the articles in our periodicals for the last two years, he will have proof that Indian subjects have been rarely discussed in them. In fact, but for the new *Empire Review*, the weekly paper called *India*, and the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*—both of which latter have a very small home circulation, and the London Press and periodicals are concerned, India might almost have been non-existent. The measure of our people's interest in the well-being of India may be gauged by that of their representatives in Parliament. In August last, on almost the last day of the Session, when the Secretary of State for India made his annual budget speech in the House of Commons, out of 670 members only seven took the trouble to be present. When, then, I received an invitation from your Society to give an address on India, I accepted with pleasure, for it was gratifying to find that a serious and highly cultured body of Englishmen and English ladies, amidst the many nearer subjects which engage their attention, had time to feel a deep concern in the administration of our Empire in Asia.

The General Charge and its Four Counts.

The subject being large, I have thought it advisable to confine myself to that branch of it upon which two eminent Indian gentlemen, Messrs. Naoroji and Romesh Dutt, now resident amongst us, have for some time been endeavoring to arouse the attention of the public. It will be convenient to treat their opinions and pronouncements as identical, though in the mode of expressing them their methods are different, Mr. Naoroji's being dogmatic and even a little Mr. Dutt's sober and persuasive. Put concisely, the general indictment against us as a nation is that we English proclaim them,

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govern India for her good alone, whereas in reality we selfishly exploit her for our own advantage. In support of this charge the two gentlemen just named—and, indeed, most Indian reformers—put forward the following facts and considerations, viz. :—

(1) THE "TRIBUTE" OR "DRAIN."

Indian exports exceed by roundly thirty millions sterling her imports, the balance of trade against India all going into our own pockets in gold payments made in England on account of pensions, private remittances, establishment, interest on loans raised in England to meet unnecessary and unproductive expenditure in India, such as the cost of foreign wars, strategic railways, and the like. These home payments are referred to as "a drain without economic return," or shortly, as "tribute."

(2) COMMERCIAL POLICY.

Though India is a very poor agricultural continent, subject to devastating famines, and has consequently urgent need for home industries, the aim, or at least the effect, of our commercial policy from first to last has been to destroy her few industries and prevent the establishment of new manufactures, which may interfere with our trade. In furtherance of that policy we deliberately killed India's silk industry, and later attempted to ruin her struggling cotton factories by forcing the Government of India to repeal the cotton duties.

(3) LAND TAX.

To find money to pay the "tribute," and meet the expenses of India's unnecessarily costly system of Government, we exact, under the name of land revenue, from the poverty-stricken cultivators in a rigid and harsh manner the estimated equivalent in rupees of from 33 per cent. of the gross produce of the land to half the estimated rental, or, say, 20 per cent. of the produce.

(4) EXCLUSION OF INDIANS.

Contrary to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and to solemn pledges made from time to time, we practically exclude fully qualified Indians from all good administrative posts, reserving them for ourselves.

To redeem our pledges, and rule India for India's good, we are called upon to reduce the "tribute," to permit India to establish her industries in her own way in accordance with the accepted teachings of our leading political economists, to lower the land tax, to open high administrative appointments to capable Indians, and so gradually lay the rails for "self-government under British paramountcy."

The General Charge an Exaggerated Truth.

Taking the points in the order given, and first dealing with the general charge, it must be conceded that there is a good deal of exaggerated truth in it. As a nation we are, perhaps, inclined to self-righteousness, to calling attention to our virtues, our altruism,

our disinterestedness in carrying more than our share of what has been called "the white man's burden." Naturally we do not see ourselves as others see us. Looking back over our whole connection with India, it shows, I think, progression on our part from narrow to what I may call enlightened selfishness. For long years some of our best selves, under the name of the East India Company, ruled a large part of India on commercial principles, the chief aim being dividends. As the Company's dominion expanded, we realized that being a handful of foreign sojourners, we could not govern a continent except with the goodwill of its inhabitants. With a view to secure that goodwill, we gave India what was most likely to content her people—impartial justice internally between man and man; but externally we subordinated India's interest as a whole to our own. In furtherance of these principles, we strangled those of our dependency's industries which clashed with England's—India's silk, calico, and muslin trades, for instance—and we rigorously excluded outsiders from sharing in the profits of our Indian estate. After the Mutiny, when the nation collectively became directly responsible for the good government of India, we opened the country to all comers, and gave Indians as full a measure of justice as was compatible with the superior claims of our own people. With these objects in view, we completed the destruction of the hand-loom cotton-weaving manufactures of India, and insisted on the abolition of the duty on imported cotton goods, and not until the Indian Treasury was empty and the whole Press of India, English and Vernacular, united for once in history, condemned with one voice the selfishness of our proceedings, did we in 1896, sanction the re-imposition for revenue purposes of very light cotton duties. It was the coercion of shame and fear, and not the pricks of conscience, which induced Parliament to accept what all India was demanding—shame at the *exposé* of our selfishness, fear that persistence in refusal would alienate from us not only Indians but Anglo-Indians as well.

Again, in the domain of foreign policy, India for many years was treated by both Conservatives and Liberals as a football to be kicked about in the great game of vote-catching. As India not England had always to pay the bill, consequences mattered little to either side, provided that the play was pushed to a win. Happily, there is now a reasonable hope that in future the treatment of Indian affairs will be kept outside the comparatively unimportant interests of parties. If the hope be realized, we may expect that in future our great dependency will receive fair play from both sides.

If my view is right, namely, that our actions towards India are now governed by enlightened selfishness, I see no reason why as a nation we should be ashamed of the fact. It would, to my thinking, be more satisfactory if we announced the truth in plain terms, instead of, as is the habit of our statesmen and high officials generally, endeavoring to hide it under a cloud of high-sounding declarations which mean little. After all we are not Pharisees, ^{in a} general if hard-headed Anglo-Saxons. As self-interest is the universal ^{aim} ^{th:} and England not India is the predominant partner, it is natural th

when the interests of the two countries cannot be reconciled, ours should prevail. It should never be forgotten that were India held by any other European power, there would almost certainly be more selfishness and less light in her administration. That such would be the case is a reasonable presumption from what we can learn of the doings of France in Tonquin and Madagascar, Holland in Java, Belgium in the Congo Free State, Russia in Central Asia, and indeed, of the rival Western Powers generally—not omitting ourselves—in China.

(1) THE "TRIBUTE" DEFENDED.

I now pass to the consideration of the various counts under the general indictment. The first was the "drain without any economic return" of thirty millions annually to England. Whatever the correct amount may be, there is no doubt that a large part of it is a drain to India. It is self-evident that so long as India is ruled by a handful of sojourning foreigners, the whole of their annual savings and pensions, and the profits made by their merchants, must be so much wealth withdrawn from India. The aggregate of these items accounts, I believe, for rather less than half the estimated drain. There remains the interest on loans raised in England for works and wars in India, the cost of the India Office, and the like. A part only of these charges can fairly be called a drain. This drain, or "tribute"—which is called by its apologists the cost of "insurance"—must be accepted as part of the price paid by India for the *pax Britannica* secured to her by her dependence upon England. It is inevitable, unavoidable, and must, I fear, be endured. Regarding the first group of items, it is unreasonable to expect that Englishmen, whether officials or merchants, will exile themselves in a bad climate for the best years of their lives except for their own good. If so, it is nonsense to assert, though the proposition has, I believe, been seriously advanced by responsible statesmen, that we rule India for her good alone. We did not conquer India from philanthropic but from selfish motives. We hold India now for her good certainly, but for our own as well. These facts do not prevent the English officials who administer the country doing their best, each within the scope of his powers, for the good of the Indians over whom they exercise authority.

"The Principle of Enlightened Selfishness."

Not only are the limitations of the individual official great, but even those of the body which constitutes the Government of India. That body is subject to the will of the British Parliament, and over and over again has that will been exercised unwisely or unjustly for India. I have already referred to England's commercial policy towards India. I might additionally mention the recent case of the forcing on India of the Opium Commission and the attempt to saddle the whole cost on that country, also the home obstruction which prevented Lord Elgin's Government from passing the necessary measure, since passed by Lord Curzon's Government, the

countervailing duty upon imported sugar. I might also mention a recent case as an amusing instance of the way in which the fear of losing votes exercises pressure upon the Secretary of State for India. Some years ago the cotton-spinning and certain other interests in this country, having discovered, I suppose, that Indians worked on Sundays, had their consciences awakened to the habitual desecration of the Sabbath out there. It was contended that as Sunday was a holy day in England it should at least be a compulsory holiday for factory hands in India. The agitation had considerable support. In due course the Secretary for India sent a despatch to the Government of India drawing attention to the sin of Sabbath-breaking in India, and calling on him *quâ* factory hands to conform to the rule in England, or give reasons for not doing so. Amongst others, I was consulted as to the arguments for and against compulsory closing on Sundays. I suggested that as Indians were mostly Hindus and Mahometans, and invariably abstained from work on their own holy days, were Sundays also added, it would hardly be worth while to keep factories open at all, as the working days in the year would be reduced to something like two hundred in all. I hinted—no doubt, indiscreetly, as we should not judge others—that probably the cotton-spinners of England had initiated the Sunday-closing movement for India more from business than religious or sympathetic motives.

(2) COMMERCIAL POLICY.

I pass now to the second count, the selfishness of our commercial policy towards India as exemplified in the killing, or attempted killing, of various industries and the action taken in regard to the cotton duties. I have already touched upon this subject. I agree generally with what Mr. Romesh Dutt said to you about it in July last. There is no doubt that in the past England treated India commercially as badly as she did Ireland, but that now, as with Ireland, so with India, she wishes to be as fair as her own interests will permit her to be. The compromise effected in 1896, when moderate cotton duties were reimposed with a countervailing excise on Indian cotton manufactures of certain standards, was a reasonable one, though a higher duty on imported cotton piece goods would have done more justice to India. It is, however, unfortunate that to appease the Lancashire vote the Government of the day allowed it to be understood that the duties were for temporary revenue purposes only, and would be repealed as soon as the financial position of India was again satisfactory. Though that will not be before the Greek Kalends, we shall probably a few years hence, if not sooner, see strong pressure put upon the Secretary of State for India to insist once more upon the abolition of the duties. If so, there will again be serious risk that the interests of India may be subordinated to the electioneering manœuvring of one or both of the parties bidding for power in England.

(3) MODERATION OF LAND TAX.

The next count is that the land tax is so heavy and so rigidly collected that it practically leaves no margin of profit to the

majority of the Indian peasantry. I may here remark in passing that had the salt tax been also attacked, Messrs. Naoroji and Romesh Dutt would have made their case all the stronger, for the salt duty is a tax on a necessary of life, which falls heavier, both absolutely and relatively, on the poor peasant than on the rich man, because every cultivator keeps cattle, and cattle eat salt, whereas the rich man does not keep cattle. Why salt was overlooked I do not know. As regards the land tax the remedy suggested is, of course, that it should be reduced, and fixed once for all as was done in 1793 when Bengal was permanently settled. Mr. Romesh Dutt has made a special study of this branch of the general subject, but excludes from his argument the justification for the exaction by the Government of a large part of the profits of cultivation from the land-holding classes. The real facts, as I read them, are as follows:—From prehistoric times the State of India has regarded itself as the universal landlord, and has taken from the cultivators as much of each crop as it was politic or possible to extract from them. As we achieved dominion, we considerably reduced the share to be taken, converted it into rupees, and enforced payment on fixed dates, crop or no crop. We call our demand land revenue, though historically it is rather State rent. Except during the period when the craze for permanent settlements and the enabling assessees to redeem the land tax was in the ascendant, our practice has been to revise the land revenue assessments every 20th or 30th year, in order to meet the changing conditions of prices, rents, area cultivated, classes of produce, and so forth. Owing to those shifting conditions, a permanent settlement—on a cash basis at least—is impracticable. In point of fact, the now lauded permanent settlement of Bengal was due to an English landlord-Governor-General's ignorance and folly, for it elevated revenue-farmers and middlemen into landlords, deprived some twenty millions of cultivators of all opportunity to establish their tenant-rights, and the Government of India of their just claim to revenue enhancement as cultivation extended and prices appreciated.

The loss to the Government of India by the permanent settlement of Bengal now amounts to about five millions sterling annually. I shall have something more to say on the subject of land revenue assessments presently.

(4) WHY INDIAN ASPIRATIONS FOR GOOD APPOINTMENTS ARE NOT BETTER MET.

I now pass on to the fourth and last count, the preference shown by the Government for Englishmen over qualified Indians in the matter of well-paid administrative posts. As some classes of Indians, particularly Bengalis, Mahratta Brahmins, Kashmiri Pandits, and Parsis, are endowed with quick, clear, logical minds, and we give them university educations, it is natural that they should view with dissatisfaction the administrative monopoly enjoyed by Englishmen. Though the common portal of entry into the ranks of the covenanted Indian Civil Service is open to Indians, equally with Englishmen,

the conditions of the examinations held in London—arranged partly no doubt on the principle of enlightened selfishness which actuates all our policy—so handicap Indians against success that few compete. There are, however, hundreds of good appointments filled by uncovenanted civilians—mostly at present Englishmen—for which Indians are eligible and educationally fit. Moreover, there is no *à priori* reason why the lists of offices just now reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service should not from time to time be revised so as to open more to Indians. Why then are Indians not better represented in those branches of the Service for posts in which they are or might be eligible? I think one reason is that all experience shows that education in India qualifies an Indian rather for fine judicial than comparatively rough executive or administrative work. Accordingly, most of the courts of first instance, and an appreciable and slowly increasing percentage of those with superior powers, are composed of Indians. In the revenue and executive line, roundly 80 per cent. of appointments with emoluments not exceeding £500 a year are similarly filled, and in respect of those carrying high salaries the Government is from time to time cautiously augmenting the small number open to Indians, and bestowing them upon Indians when satisfied of their fitness. The truth is, in my opinion, that unless an Indian, in boyhood, experiences some years of the invigorating training enjoyed by English boys, he is inclined in manhood to be deficient in what I may call grit and principle, qualities peculiarly brought out by English home influences and the public school system of our country, but as yet only embryonic in the two or three Indian Etons known as Chiefs' Colleges.

It is this defect in character, due perhaps to heredity and environment, which must for long militate against the full employment of Indians in executive appointments of large responsibility. Further, owing to the local influences affecting Indians—influences of caste, religion, family, property, and in some respects to a different standard of morality—or shall I call it of “good form”?—to that obtaining amongst English gentlemen, it is very difficult for an Indian—outside his own province at least—to carry out his duties as an executive officer without a tendency to bias in their performance. Outside his own province the people are inclined to look upon him as a foreigner, whilst suspicious of him as an Indian. Even in the Bombay Presidency, the home of the Parsis, since they left Persia, the people, *i.e.*, the villagers, regard Parsis as outsiders. It is the same with that able and generally upright class, the Kashmiri Pandits. As to Bengalis, the class who have more than any other assimilated English learning, I think Mr. Romesh Dutt himself would agree with me that, had he been a district officer or commissioner in the Punjab, the Punjabis would not have regarded him as a fellow-countryman. There are a few Bengalis in the Punjab holding positions higher than clerkships, and very able men they are as judges and practising lawyers, but to excel in those lines requires qualities quite different from those necessary for success as a district officer—sympathy, independence of character, power of rapid deci-

sion, ability to gain the confidence, and love, if possible, of the poor and illiterate masses. All these are qualities which the best district officers possess, but most of them are either unimportant or positively detrimental in a judge. Rightly or wrongly, be the explanation what it may, the peasantry, who have a sound discernment as to the best stamp of men to be put in authority over them, antecedently trust English Sahibs but distrust Indians. Apart from the advantage of belonging to the ruling race, Englishmen have certain other points in their favor which Indians can rarely possess, *e.g.*, exemption from every kind of local influence. So careful is the Government that its English officers shall be above suspicion in this respect, that none of them are permitted to hold land or take any part in any business enterprise in the province in which they serve.

Though such is my opinion, I yet recognize that the larger employment of educationally qualified Indians in the more highly paid posts under the Government of India must shortly be accelerated. The pressure upon the Government to this end is annually growing greater—about 16,000 candidates present themselves each year for matriculation in the Indian universities, roundly, 6,000 succeed, and nearly that number year after year obtain university degrees from F.A. to M.A.

In addition, the Indian National Congress movement is gaining solidarity and influence. The demand then of educated Indians to be at least tried in the higher administrative appointments, at present reserved for Englishmen, will soon be irresistible. Provided that the experiment be first introduced in a quiet homogeneous advanced province like Madras, I see no reason why the door to advancement should not be widely opened to "young India."

"Our System"—The Root of all Evil.

I now come to my main thesis—the poverty of the masses, the comparative wealth of some of the classes, and the reasons thereof.

In my opinion it is not the "tribute," not the weight of the land tax, not the salt duty, not England's commercial policy, which are chiefly responsible for the pauperization of rural India. All these causes may be contributing factors—some certainly are—but the root cause of the increasing poverty and self-helplessness of the Indian peoples may be most comprehensively expressed by the term our "system."

We found the people generally very poor, but as there were no technical law courts, no hard and fast laws, and little or no credit, the peasantry were at least unindebted and living, as their forefathers had, in village communities, the individuals in each being all members of what may be called a mutual-aid association. Our "system" soon changed all that. By preparing a register of titles for each village and for each cultivated plot in the village, and limiting the land revenue demand thereon to a moderate fixed sum, we created individual property and credit, and encouraged, or in short seasons constrained, the unsophisticated owners to borrow. We thereby converted each petty village grocer into a money-lender.

We further, in all our legislation, treated Indians of all classes, though differing from each other as widely as the lowest types of human beings can from the highest, as if they were all alike keen men of business, and we flooded each province with hard technical laws on Western models and law courts. As the litigants, especially the debtors, were ignorant of the niceties of the law, practising lawyers were called into being. The supply was equal to the demand, and soon legal practitioners, from the barrister-at-law to the humble Mukhtar, swarmed in every town, and competition amongst them has been for years so close that in their hunger for fees they even waylay rustics, if not at the railway station, at least at the approaches to our Courts. As the contract and other laws were exact and exacting, every lender soon became a Shylock, and as the courts were courts of law and not of equity, and the judges were overworked, and most of them of money-lending extraction, the borrowing masses have fallen easy victims to the forces arrayed against them. Each famine that has occurred has submerged more and more of the peasantry, and as famines have of late years been increasing in frequency and intensity, more than half of the agriculturists of British India—a few favored localities excepted—are now in about as miserable a plight as human beings not officially designated slaves or serfs can be. Our "system" has disintegrated their ancient village commonwealths, involved a majority of the members in hopeless indebtedness, and transferred the proprietary or cultivating right in their best fields—the worst are worth little to usurers—to their creditors. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the truth; and yet, paradoxical as it must seem, it is equally true that, except for the checks caused by famines, the official statement, annually repeated, that India is year by year increasing in prosperity, is correct.

The "Juggernaut Car" of Western Progress.

To the cold calculating eye of the statistician, whether Secretary of State for India, or bureaucratic head of a local government, our great dependency is a unit, progressive or retrograde, according to the volume of the output. So viewed, as there is annually an increase in production, trade, revenue, litigation, cultivated area and railway mileage, there is consequently annual growth of prosperity. To the sympathetic discernment of the disinterested statesman, the man who considers producers as well as production, India contains not one unit, but 300 millions of units, each a struggling atom of humanity, lying prostrate and bleeding under the wheels of the Juggernaut Car called progress on Western lines. If a country's prosperity is measured by the material volume of its wealth, a people's depends on the width of that wealth's diffusion. India, for an agricultural country, has wealth, but as our "system" has accumulated most of it in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, the people, the masses, are poor sweated creatures. A part of the system, which has had these unfortunate consequences, is that by which the land revenue demand—in itself moderate except,

I understand, in parts of Madras and Bombay—is levied on fixed dates immediately after the time of harvest. As, however, the crops vary with the rains, and the rains are sometimes copious, sometimes short, and sometimes a total failure, it follows that agriculturists already in debt and even free men, whose labor and seed grain are lost to them in bad years, are then forced to borrow to pay their land revenue or feed themselves, or both. In such lean years the rate of interest charged varies with the borrower's necessity from 36 per cent., if the security is good and the borrower not quite a simpleton, to 100 per cent. if it is indifferent or the borrower is desperate. In such circumstances I have known peasants sell or mortgage valuable ancestral land, literally for a mess of pottage, *i.e.*, for a few sacks of corn, all perhaps taken from the debtor the year before as interest on some pre-existing debt. It is no wonder, then, that under our "system," with the population increasing by one per cent. per annum, *i.e.*, by three millions each average year, with poorer and poorer rain lands being annually subdued to the plough in order to feed the redundant mouths—and therefore increasing the area and frequency of famines—with the gross income of an agricultural family of four or five persons amounting in normal years to not more than six or seven pounds sterling, with fixed land revenue and salt tax to pay, whether the crops be good or nothing at all, and with debts doubling themselves in two, or at most three, years, it is not to be wondered at, I say, if under such circumstances the small assets of the agricultural masses are passing to the usurers and big men of India at a rate which in another generation or so will render the peasantry entirely self-helpless in the hands of their parvenu landlords. Bad though the condition of the cultivating masses in India may be, they have reason to be thankful for some blessings rarely vouchsafed to struggling agriculture elsewhere. In India the climate is kindly to poor men, lean years are less frequent than fat years, and when starvation threatens the Government does the best possible to feed all the destitute, whether counted in lakhs or millions. If we compare these ameliorations in which all Indians participate, with the conditions obtaining in other heavily-taxed agricultural countries, say, in Russia and Italy, we shall see that Indians are better off than their fellow-toilers in those two countries. In Russia the winter is long and hard, famine is never absent from some vast area, and relief machinery is at best embryonic. In Italy, between exactions by the State and by the landlords, the cultivating classes are in a chronic state of semi-starvation and desperation.

Returning to the case of India, it is a strange irony that during the Victorian era, under our well-intentioned, enlightened, and superficially impartial rule, our most extensive economic achievement has been the destruction of India's ancient village communities and the practical enslavement of half of their members under a politically valueless class, who, up to fifty years ago, were the servants of their present servants. By "politically valueless" perhaps I should explain that, as most of the new landlords are non-agriculturists, and depend on the terrors of our exotic and over-elaborate

legal system for the collection of their rents, did the force maintaining that "system" lose power, they and the system which has created them would disappear together. Non-agricultural landlords are, therefore, a source of weakness not of strength in the body politic.

"If right in your facts," some may say, "let the Government at any cost retrace its steps, simplify the laws and procedure affecting agriculturists, give them more equity and less law, and limit their powers of alienating agricultural land to money-grubbing non-agriculturists. As for the land revenue, be it rent or land tax in origin, poor men must live; let the Government reduce and elasticize it." These certainly are the obvious remedies, and some of them Lord Curzon and his Council are tentatively beginning to apply. It is, however, very difficult to recast a working system, particularly when the moneyed and legal classes of India—the beneficiaries interested in preserving existing conditions—are solidly opposed to any drastic changes. Besides, too, we must remember that though poor men must live, the Government has also to live, and unless heavy import duties can be imposed on cotton piece-goods, and the like—a measure which India's dependence on England makes impracticable—no one yet has suggested any substitute for the revenue now drawn from agricultural land and salt.

Probable Effect of a Large Reduction in the Land Revenue Assessments.

Regarding that last relief, the reduction of the land revenue demand, it is worth noting that under our system our very generosity in exacting less from land-holders than was the habit of the Governments which preceded ours, has been a prominent cause of the indebtedness and undoing of the peasantry. So much so is this the case that it is a question whether peasant agriculturists as a body would not be better off, and less discontented, if the land revenue were enhanced rather than reduced. Our "system" so operates that it enables money-lenders to easily exploit the ignorant poor, hence were the Government not only to reduce but to surrender altogether its land revenue, I think the only result would be that in a few years the money foregone would be in the strong boxes of the usurers. This assertion will be challenged by those who insist that over-assessment is a potent cause of the poverty of the people. I happen to know a case in point, which goes far to support my forecast as to the almost certain effects of further reducing our assessments, so long, that is, as the rest of our system is maintained.

Two important Native States in India, Alwar and Bhurtpore, have recently been settled by a civilian friend of mine. The lands of many of the villages in those States are interlaced with those of villages in British territory. All the peasantry are of the same brotherhood or tribe—Meos. The only difference is that those belonging to Alwar and Bhurtpore pay acre for acre about double as much land revenue as their brethren inside our boundary lines. Under these circumstances, peasantry, production, quality of soil,

sources of water supply, in short, all the conditions of agriculture being identical, it would be reasonable to suppose that our Meos would be more prosperous and contented than those who are so much heavier taxed in Alwar and Bhurtpore. The exact contrary is the case. Our Meos are indebted, partially expropriated, and utterly miserable in the grip of the money-lenders and of our "system." On the other hand, their brethren in Alwar and Bhurtpore, though poor, are unindebted, the sole right-holders in their villages, and each village is still a vigorous self-governing community. I do not instance this case as a plea for high assessments, but as proof of my assertion that until our system is thoroughly reformed—adapted to the wants, circumstances, capacities of people who in worldly wisdom are still children, and consequently should be treated as children and not as business men—the lighter the rating on land the easier the road to ruin.

The present Government of India has officially admitted the evils resultant from our "system," and has begun a series of experimental reforms, but the opposition is strong, and in any case progress will be slow, and behind all is the discouraging fact that for more than seventy millions of the sufferers it is too late for any change of system to be beneficial.

Some Relief Nostrums Adopted by the Government.

Having criticized freely what I have called the "nostrums" of others, I shall conclude by giving in briefest outline some of my own, beginning with those of the Government of India, which are in part the outcome of inquiries and suggestions made by me in 1896.

As our "system," by giving full ownership of their holdings to the occupiers thereof, created assets readily convertible into rupees, and made borrowing easy, the peasantry soon became poor, their creditors rich. In short seasons the "system" compelled them to take advances to pay their land revenue and procure food, both necessary purposes. At other times they procured loans for what may be called luxuries, marriages, funerals, law suits, and the like. Thus, by degrees, a considerable percentage of them dropped from the position of land-holders to that of tenants, whilst a still larger percentage became seriously or hopelessly indebted. Such being the position, the first thing to do was to curtail agricultural credit, and so prevent the simple peasants from ruining themselves and their descendants. This object was partially effected in 1900 by disabling agriculturists in the Punjab and later in Bombay from permanently alienating their interests in revenue-paying land to the money-lending class. Temporary alienations, up to a term of twenty years, by leases and the simpler forms of mortgage, are still legal without restriction in the Punjab, but at the end of the period the land returns unencumbered to the alienor's family. How this twentieth century revival of the ancient Jewish Jubilee will work will depend on the comprehensive simplicity and good sense of the executive rules framed for carrying out the provisions of the new Act. Further, the very precise and complicated civil law of British

India, particularly that part of it contained in the Contract and Specific Relief Acts, has recently been amended in the interests of agriculturists, and the courts are now empowered to go behind the letter of a contract and give decrees, to use the old formula which used to bind our courts "in accordance with justice and good conscience"—in other words, where agriculturists are concerned our courts are now courts of equity, and the value of the change will depend on the broad common-sense and fair-mindedness of the judges.

Others Recommended by Myself.

These instalments of reforms are, I think, steps in the right direction, but if the Government now, as seems the intention, marks time whilst waiting to see the effects of its experimental legislation, it will be for the unfortunate agriculturist a case of *ægrescit medendo*—he gets sick by being doctored. His physician, by reducing his credit, yet in hard times compelling him to borrow to pay his fixed land revenue, will have killed him. All the world over agriculture occasionally requires the help of loans. In India the long droughts, small holdings, and narrow means of the holders, make borrowing more frequently necessary than in other countries. Further, as in India, in addition to her other difficulties, the Government demands a fixed payment twice a year for each field, crop or no crop, the breaking-strain is soon reached.

ELASTICITY FOR FIXITY IN THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM.

What is necessary, then, is that the Government should in drought periods grant full and timely remissions of land revenue of right to all peasants and yeomen cultivating rain lands. On the other side of the account there is no reason why at the same time the Government should not recoup itself for its sacrifices in rain tracts by levying enhanced rates on irrigated lands, particularly those under State canals. During the last five years of famine prices the happy owner of such lands as, for instance, those commanded by the new Chenab Canal, some two and a half millions of acres have reaped constant crops and sold them at double or treble the price on which their fixed assessment rates were based. A sliding scale of rates to work automatically, according to character of harvest and the harvest prices obtaining, could easily be devised without much change in the revenue system of India. It would create that elasticity, that adjustment of each season's demand to the character of each harvest, which the system at present lacks, and the want of which now constrains the Government to be tardy and niggardly in granting cropless famine-stricken owners adequate remissions of revenue.

THE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE MONEY-LENDER MUST BE THE GOVERNMENT.

Even were this improvement in our system introduced, borrowing would still be necessary in time of prolonged crop failure. The Government is now attempting to find a substitute for the partially

disestablished money-lender by inducing groups of public-spirited men to come forward and start Land Banks, or, as they are to be called, Mutual Aid Associations, somewhat on the Raiffeissen model. This endeavor to shift its own responsibility on to the shoulders of private individuals is, I think, foredoomed to failure, because under the "system" grasping individualism has taken the place of the old village communism, which flourished in India from prehistoric times until the present reign of hard Western law destroyed it. Eventually, I am convinced, the Government will itself have to recognize that, as it is, as Lord Curzon recently called it, "the largest landlord in creation," it must act up to its duties as a good landlord, and readily make advances to cultivators to tide them over periods of stress due to the vagaries of the rainfall.

AGRICULTURISTS AS JUDGES IN AGRICULTURAL LANDS.

The honest substitute for the usurer found, the land revenue system elasticized, the next most important relief to agriculture will be the revision of our methods of recruitment of the civil courts of first instance. At present they are almost all Indians, some appointed as rewards for good service as clerks in Government offices, others because of their literary attainments and success in competitive examinations. As a consequence most of the judges who hear agricultural causes are town-dwellers drawn from the commercial classes. They know nothing of the rural economy of the villages, and what sympathies they have are with the money-lending classes. So long as they had to administer hard law their work was almost mechanical, but now that they are courts of equity, and required to go behind the contract, it is essential for justice that the courts should have practical knowledge of the great borrowing masses, the peasantry. This object will perhaps be best secured were the Government to admit as judges a certain proportion of agriculturists in each province, giving the appointments by nomination, subject to the passing of a qualifying examination, and to confirmation after some probationary period. I have reason to believe that if Lord Curzon had a clean slate he would carry out most, if not all, of these suggested reforms. Unfortunately, his time is short and the slate is written over, much of it with indelible ink. Official conservatism, vested interests—particularly those of the money-lenders and lawyers—and the dead weight of the working system will, I fear, be more powerful than Lord Curzon and the small band of reformers, whose earnest desire it is that the profits of cultivation should go to the producers instead of to the usurers.

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with the writer's profound regards. 12
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ENGLAND'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

BY
CHUNDER NATH BOSE, M. A.
Fellow of the Calcutta University.

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ENGLAND'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION

There is just now very much more discontent in India than is ordinarily seen, and many are asking, why. I think that a consideration of this specific question is hardly possible without an enquiry first made into Indian discontent as a permanent feature of Indian life under the English Government. That Government has not, so far, been successful in the most important sense of the word Government, according to our idea of it, consists of two parts or branches, *Sāsana* and *Pālan*. *Sāsana* consists in establishing peace, preventing or putting down disorder and disturbance, punishing crime, and so on ; and in this part, which is concerned with the groundwork, so to say, or material side of an administration, the English Government in India has been a remarkable success, much greater success, indeed, than any other Government would or could in all probability have been, England's genius for organisation in this branch of Government, together with the magnitude of the resource needed for such work, being, as we think, unrivalled by any other country in Europe, perhaps, in the world. In this respect, therefore, there can be no question that India could not get a better master than England. But we are sorry we are unable to speak with anything like that admiration and enthusiasm regarding the other part of our Government's work, *Pālan*, which is concerned with what may not inaptly be styled its superstructure or spiritual side. If what we mean by *Pālan* has to be explained fully and accurately and at the same time in the fewest words possible, I think I should say that *Pālan* is maintaining a subject people in the style and spirit in which one maintains one's own family. *Pālan* is, there-

fore, higher work and requires higher qualities and capacities than *Sávan*, chief among them being fatherly care, motherly affection and the parental spirit of self-sacrifice. Of this higher part of her work we are obliged to say that England has not, as yet, done it at all like its lower part. There are many reasons for this, some of which are not known or are very imperfectly known to her, because, being a foreigner with foreign modes of thought and feeling, she does not know where to find them. It is, indeed, not quite easy for her, with her peculiar character and mental constitution, to understand or enter into the heart and soul of an Eastern people like us—a thing, which, with those words of that superhuman Englishman, General Gordon, before her, which were quoted with the fullest approbation by Mr. Morley in his second budget speech—"To govern men there is but one way and it is the eternal truth : Get into their skins, try to realise their feelings, that is the true secret of Government"—she is bound to admit as indispensable to the success of her administration of this country. Our skins penetrated and our feelings realised, England will see the beauty and necessity of changing her manner in relation to us and the style and spirit of her Indian administration. It is, therefore, in the earnest hope of rendering her such little help unto that end as is in my power that I place these pages before her, telling her what we are and what she should be unto us. If this be considered as an act of presumption in an insignificant person, my only excuse for committing it is my belief that it is the duty of every friend and loyal subject of a foreign government to tell it what no one else can tell—a belief, in which I am confirmed, as nothing else could confirm me, by the words recently written to me by a revered English friend of mine—"The wearers of the shoe know best where it pinches ; and it is for them to point out where the English Government, with all its material success, fails on the spiritual side."

MATERIAL CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

The Labourer.

The official opinion of the material condition of India under English rule is that it is one of unprecedented prosperity. There are visible all over India at the present time many things which were not seen in this country in any previous regime, Hindu or Musulman, and which certainly mean great material activity and consequent material prosperity. Long railway lines, long steamer lines, long telegraph lines, docks, warehouses, jetties, wharves, steam cranes, funnels, rivers and ports and harbours crammed with shipping, mills and factories with tall smoking chimneys, coal-fields, gold-fields, tea-gardens—these things and such things, wherever existing, certainly mean material activity and advancement, and must bear that meaning also in India of to-day where they are now seen in such profusion, making the whole country look as it never looked before—a busy and blessed land of industry and wealth. Travellers from Europe and America, accordingly, are often heard to speak of the effects of English rule upon the material condition of the Indian people in terms of unstinted praise, and many English officials in India, who know present Indian economics better than such casual visitors, make quite a gleeful use of their testimony. We know, however, what the present outward appearance of India means. It is an appearance created almost entirely by English money or capital, and the material prosperity which it undoubtedly indicates is the material prosperity not of India but of England. Of the two parts of industry, Capital and Labour, the former gets all the profit, however large, the latter gets only wages and salaries which are nowhere large, and in India, in particular, are very small.

But however small, the new wages are better than the old wages, and are, so far, not to be trifled with. Mere better wages, however, do not constitute what is ordinarily meant by the material prosperity of a country. And in estimating the material value of the new form of labour, one should not also omit to take note of its social and moral side, which is not always quite safe or agreeable. Mills and factories and mines require gang labour, the labour of large crowds of men, women and children from the lowest classes of society, spending many hours every day away from home and healthy neighbourly influence, and enjoying ample opportunities of mixing with each other in the freest and most unlicensed manner. Such labour, therefore, may produce social vices and tend to convert those in the lowest strata of Hindu society, hitherto kept sober, sensible, steady, orderly and God-fearing under the all-pervading influence of the incomparable social and religious polity built up by the Brahman, into a disorderly mass, apt to be led away by the passion or idea of the moment, easily worked upon by agents of mischief, and not knowing what it is to be accountable to God or man. While admitting, therefore, that some material advantage has come to the lowest among us in the shape of better wages under English capitalists, I am constrained to say that, with the idea of human life and its purpose which has been ours for countless ages, we Hindus regard any material gain as a social misfortune which may be attended with the loss of inestimable social and moral virtues in classes of the population who are sadly wanting in them almost everywhere, and the want of which in such classes, as the history of modern European industry so clearly shews, makes them a source of social and even political danger. Already such wage-winners have given us warnings of the dangerous form into which they may develop in this country by becoming what in England is called the *mob*, that terrible element of social, moral

and political lawlessness which is the disgrace of modern human society and civilisation and the formation of which was absolutely prevented and precluded by the spiritualised social polity of the Hindus. Such warnings we received only the other day in the *looting* of the bazars in Serampore, Titagur and Khardaha, all within a few miles of Calcutta, by large gangs of factory coolies infuriated by the rise of the price of rice to Rs. 8 per maund. It is India's old experience that high price or scarcity of food increases only petty theft, it is her new experience, her experience under English rule, that it may lead to wholesale pillage of the most daring kind. The economic improvement which has a tendency to encourage disorder in this way, whatever its present pecuniary value, is positively injurious and degrading in *our eyes*. However good for the *animal* man, it is very bad for the *human* man, whom it drags down from the level below which, as we learn from modern Europe, dwells only the beast and no human being.

The better wages of the Indian labourer under the English rule are not therefore things of which we can be glad or which England may, *in our opinion*, regard as one of her achievements in India. And we feel all the more anxious and alarmed on this account, because there will certainly be no remedy for the evil thus introduced from the West into the East, so long as the form or system of industry of which it is the inevitable result is not modified or abandoned in Europe --an event, which if it comes to pass at all, will come to pass so long hereafter that the evil will probably have by that time become one of our greatest social dangers and a cause of serious anxiety and trouble to our rulers. I may say in passing, however, that it is an event which is bound to come to pass in Europe, whose present civilisation contains features and elements which will sooner or later make its reconstruction a grave necessity, as a stray writer here or a stray writer

there, in England itself, already seems to say by condemning the tremendous machinism of the age.

The Cultivator.

I am sorry I cannot give a better account of the Indian cultivator under the English rule. He is a notoriously indebted man for whom Agricultural Loans Acts have to be passed, Credit Co-operative Societies have to be established, *takavi* advances have to be provided for in almost every budget, and large remissions of revenue have to be granted almost every year. He has not much acquaintance with a full meal and he often lives in such dangerous proximity to the point of starvation that the failure of a single harvest is generally found enough to drive him down to it. It is true that where he grows jute, he gets very much more money than he got at any former time, and growers of rice and wheat also get somewhat more, though much less than the grower of jute, in consequence of European merchants taking away enormous quantities of these things every year. But this is really not such a striking or solid improvement in the condition of the cultivator as official witnesses or superficial observers seem to think. A friend of mine writes to me from the interior of the Burdwan District:—"Almost all cultivators have to borrow money from the *Mahajan* (money lender). Cultivators have not to borrow only in those places where the land is very fertile, irrigation is easy, drought and inundation are infrequent, the quantity of land is small, but the number of cultivators is large. Otherwise, borrowing is the general rule." And there are good reasons that it must be so. The cultivator is certainly getting higher prices for the produce of his fields, but he has to buy all his own necessaries at higher prices; and this means no trifling subtraction from the additional money that now comes to his hand. There are now also placed before him temptations of

which there was little or nothing in pre-British times, such as the law court and the cheap seductive luxury which Mammon-worshipping Europe so heedlessly brings here to ruin the poor Indian in more ways than one. I shall here state once for all that we are now witnessing a curious phenomenon—a phenomenon, not witnessed under any other rule that India has seen. It is that whenever England does any thing in consequence of which there is influx of money among us, it also does certain other things which compel its efflux from us. There is, therefore, we are sorry and alarmed to see, hardly an Indian, especially on the Bengal side, whom English rule gives more money without at the same time devising means for squeezing some of it out of him. In the matter of money, in fact, under the English rule, efflux is simultaneous with influx, depletion with repletion. And the practice is carried out with such consummate skill that not even the cooly, of whom it may be more truly said than of any other person that he earns his humble meal by the sweat of his brow, and, wonder of wonders, not even the beggar in the street are allowed to remain unaffected by it. A blind old Musalman beggar sits for alms every morning in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. He has no one whom he can call his own. He never gets more than 7 or 8 pice any day; often gets only 4 or 5 pice; some day only 2 or 3 pice; some day not even one pice. But I have seen the *Cha-garam-wala* (street vendor of warm tea), perhaps the latest invention made to squeeze money out of the very poorest under Lord Curzon's magnanimous advice to the wealthy tea-planter and his agents, come to him with his temptation which I found him unable to resist, giving him a pice for a cup. I have explained to him that a pice worth of *muri* (fried rice) would do him better service than a small cup of highly diluted milk containing a few grains of a not very harmless weed. He is thankful to me

and I have not seen the *cha-garam-wala* near him any more. The *cha-garam-wala* has become indispensable to the cooly who flings down to him pice after pice every day. And *Cabmen's Shelters*, stocked with tea and with costlier and more alluring things than tea—soda-water, lemonade, gingerade, &c.,—are despoiling drivers of hackney carriages, mostly Musulmans, under the auspices of the Calcutta Corporation. Indeed, England is placing temptation before every man and woman and child, at least on the Bengal side of India—and I ask her whether this is, according to Christian's Scriptures, God's work, and whether Lord Curzon spoke the right word when first coming out as Viceroy of India :—" The spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal " !

The additional money that English rule gives to the grower of jute, wheat or paddy cannot, for this reason, settle in his hand so as to make a permanent or substantial improvement of his condition ; and that is why, as my Burdwan friend writes, " he has still to borrow money for marriage and *sradh* and house-building and to borrow very much more (in the shape of paddy) for his food." It is not that he never has money in his hand or large stocks of paddy in his granary, but when he has either or both, he does not, like his ancestor in his situation, spend it, as my Burdwan friend says, in pious acts like Pujas, popular readings from sacred books by *kathaks*, temple consecration and the like, but in litigation. He, the hardworking man—the type of gentleness, meekness and quietness, who feared nothing so much as the law court—is now in love with it, regarding it as his pleasantest resort on earth. More money or more grain is making him haughty, and as Government, perhaps from a beneficent motive, takes very good care to make his access to the law court easier every day, he is becoming heedless, thoughtless, quarrelsome, vindictive and revengeful—all that man, high or low, should

not be, nor can be without imperilling the best social and spiritual interests of humanity.

But the thing that is doing him and his country most mischief is the cheap alluring finery that England and other countries of Europe are placing before him in such variety and profusion, thereby compelling him to acquire a taste for fine living and foppishness, which will, in all probability, make him, one day, unfit for a calling which demands above all else the sternest simplicity of life and the utmost hardihood of character. The wide prevalence of luxurious habits among the higher classes, commonly called *Bhadralok*, is also infecting them like a vicious example that cannot be resisted. A friend writes to me from the interior of the 24-Parganas district:—"When the cultivators have money in hand, they buy fine *belati dhutis* and *saris* with nice borders; use umbrellas worth Re. 1 or Rs. 1-4, holding them, fearful to think, over their heads when ploughing; many of them wear shoes worth Rs. 2 or 3, springed shoes being especially liked; there is hardly a cultivator now who does not buy *afwans*, wrappers, woollen comforters, &c. in the cold season. I have seen many boys of cultivators, only 7 or 8 years old, to smoke cigarettes."

District and Divisional officers in Bengal point to the Bengal peasant's shoes, shirts, Guernsey frocks, *belati* umbrellas, *belati* broadcloths, *belati* wrappers, as evidences of a state of material comfort and advancement which was unknown to him before the establishment of English rule. This is certainly true; but neither district nor divisional officers nor other Englishmen look or wish to look beneath the surface where the worst features of the Babu—foppishness and love of finery—have already begun to be visible. Some years ago, at the house of a friend in Chinsura, where the great P'uja was going on, I saw a *chaukidar*, who was also a cultivator, in coarse *dhuti* and *chadar* and wearing a pair of silver *balds* or

bangles which, in the arms of a watchman, mean very meritorious service. There was with him a boy of about 20, in shoes, shirts, fine dhuti and chadar. I asked him who that boy was. Mournfully he said—' He is my son, but he is not like me or my forefathers. He has become a Babu. He dislikes such work as I do. I know not how it will fare with him.' Many Englishmen think that nice shoes, shirts, umbrellas, wrappers, &c. are required by everybody for protection against the weather, and they may attribute my disapproval of these things to want of sympathy with a lowcaste man. I strongly protest that it is not so, that true sympathy with the poor peasant of Bengal is wanting not in me but in them. A good thing becomes a bad thing if it is used with a bad motive or intention. And there is no doubt whatever that our poor peasant uses nice shirts, shoes, &c. not as absolute necessities, for there are coarser, cheaper and more durable things that can serve that purpose very much better, but as fineries. And his wife and daughter, too, so long his simple, unsophisticated help-mates, have, I tremble to think, begun to turn up their nose at the thick coarse and almost immortal *Panchidhuti* which they got their village weaver to make for them for a trifle with home-spun yarn, and must have in lieu of it the fine, frail, showy and costlier fabric which Manchester brings to their door to dazzle their eye and undermine their mind. Yes, their mind is so much undermined that they have not only discarded their old ornaments of silver and brass, but they must have some ornaments, at least, made of gold. As my Burdwan friend says :— " There is want of food, there is debt, still there must be some gold in the house." Debt and insufficient food are dreadful things enough, but gold ornaments in juxtaposition with debt and insufficient food mean also a mind that has begun to be dangerously disposed. The fact is, the cheap showy luxury with which England and other countries of Europe are furi-

ously filling India is poisoning every man among us from the prince to the peasant—from the prince to the peasant, not in a figurative but in a strictly literal sense—making the body feeble and the mind feebler everywhere, reducing both physical and mental stamina in most people, disabling or unfitting many to follow, however partially, the ideal of life prescribed in our Shastras for high and low, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, man and woman, and demanding the exercise of the virtues of rigid simplicity, patient suffering, willing self-abnegation, joyous self-sacrifice and pious devotion to the service of God and his entire creation, animated or inanimate. We are all becoming fibreless and ease-loving; and our cultivator, the maker of our country's food, is no exception. Driving the plough with the umbrella over his head means that he is beginning to lose the hardiness of his forefathers who did not mind the hottest sun. Take another fact. I was one day coming from Diamond Harbour in a third class railway carriage. At the Baripur Station a low-class elderly Musalman, with a basket in his arms, entered into the carriage. I made him sit near me and began to talk with him. He was a cultivator living in a village near Baripur and he was coming to his daughter in the adjacent village of Rajpur to give her the fruits and kitchen vegetables in his basket. On my remarking that he looked strong enough not to mind the 5 or 6 miles' walk between his village and Rajpur, he said—'Yes, Mahasay, it is only a few miles' walk, but it is no walk and only a few pice by rail.' He went down at the Sonarpur Station, making me a revelation of a serious bodily malady and a still more serious mental malady as the result of the wholesale emasculation that cheap European luxury and cheap modes of English travelling are effecting in the country. A Hindu king, with the Brahman for his counsellor, would have, at this time, enjoined the strictest enforcement of the Shastric interdiction of such luxury; and if England had felt

more for her Indian subjects than with her phenomenal rage for trading she feels for her own merchants and manufacturers, she would not have found free trade or fair trade or any trade whatever standing in the way of the imposition of a prohibitive duty on its import into our country. There are human interests far higher and more vital than can be served or allowed to be dominated by economic science, a science, which has not yet acquired a moral basis in Europe. In matters moral and social, England is making a mess of India, because with all her moral capacity and intellectual greatness she has contracted an inordinate love for success in trade as the best and surest sign of national prosperity. She makes that love dominate her heart and thereby prevent or contract that imperial height and breadth of mind which should be the first qualification of one who would rule other men for their own true and lasting welfare. India, however, longs to see, because she is perfectly entitled to see, the high, unselfish, kindly heart which alone befits England's great guardianship of this continental land, and earnestly hopes that her lawful and legitimate longing will be satisfied.

The Artisan.

This man—no inconsiderable portion of our population, doing the most useful work generally in the homely style that suits a religious race—the wonder and admiration of the world in all ages, always in comfortable circumstances, often enjoying affluence, never unoccupied—is now almost extinct ; and his extinction, as history says and all the world sees, is England's ruthless work. England has killed our indigenous industries in order to make of our country a great market for her own merchants and manufacturers. Our blacksmith, brazier, oilman, sugar-maker, many practisers of handicraft, in fact, not excepting even the poor maker of our children's toys, are suffering more or less severely, and

our weaver is in acute misery. England cannot say, as she is sometimes heard to say, that Manchester cloth being cheaper than our hand-loom cloth, she has done us great good by ousting the latter. We paid, indeed, in some cases; more money for the latter, than we pay for the former. But all that we paid for the latter remained in our country and with our countrymen, whereas almost all that we pay for the former goes out of our country for good and remains with the foreigner. By destroying our own industries, which gave us everything of every quality that we wanted, and gave it so as not to press hard upon any one's means or resources, England has incurred a fearful responsibility to God and humanity. And it does not speak well for her that she does not feel that she has incurred such responsibility. It is no wonder, therefore, that she feels no agonising remorse for the work of devastation which she has done by killing our industries and is so seriously aggravating by filling our country with the things of her own making and manufacture which we were never unhappy for not having and which are, by their seductive appearance, easily breeding in us habits of fine and luxurious living that are wrecking our minds, enfeebling us in body, squeezing out of us much of the money that she herself gives us, and driving large numbers among us even into debt. We ask her whether we are wrong in our belief that, if she had realised this grave responsibility and felt this remorse she could have known any rest or peace of mind until she had taken the promptest and most effective means to restore to us our mangled arts or to enable us to learn art on her own method, no matter at what cost. She does, indeed, talk of our technical education. But she talks of it so fitfully and languidly that we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that she talks of it from her heart. Some years ago, when the subject of technical education was engaging the attention of the Bengal Educational Department, an English gentleman

with one of the openest minds we have seen among men of his race, then residing in England, wrote to one of my friends —“Do they really mean it?” We are afraid England does not really mean it, at least to the extent she should. Or that so-called Indian enthusiast, that Englishman who never tires of calling himself one of the warmest lovers of India and her people, would not, on the 20th February 1901, while discussing Victoria memorial schemes at the Dalhousie Institute, talk of technical education as ‘in many ways’ ‘the need of the future in India’ and not, as we think, India’s most pressing immediate need. This has also been most clearly and convincingly demonstrated by England’s attitude of hostility to the *Swadeshi* movement. We have heard Englishmen express sympathy with that movement. It is an expression of sympathy which is certainly in some cases sincere. But we are sorry we cannot help saying that it is not so in many cases. We have heard that some Bengali officers of Government have had to take some punishment or other for betraying *Swadeshi* proclivities or for having even relations possessed of such proclivities. Here, in India, most Anglo Indian journals have only taunt and jest and banter and sarcasm for the *Swadeshi* movement and its preachers, and quote with malignant glee all trade figures that seem to them to prove its futility and failure. There, in England, anxious enquiries were some time ago made in Parliament to know if England’s export of piece goods to India had suffered any check. England was, I doubt not, very glad to hear that it had not; and I beg to be pardoned for saying that, even as regards Mr. Morley, there was no indication in his reply that he would have been glad or pleased if he could have said that it had.

If England had really a heart for India, such heart, that is, as a kingly country ought to have for the poor, injured, demolished people under her sway, and if it had been true, as Lord Curzon said at the dinner given to him by his Etonian friends

in England when first coming out to India, that England 'thinks much of the welfare of India and but little of its wealth' and that England's mission in India 'is one of obligation and not of profit,' all England—official and non-official, aristocratic and democratic, manufacturing and commercial, spiritual and temporal—would have felt sorry and the remorse in her heart made keener, instead of feeling relieved to hear that our *Swadeshi* has failed to touch her pocket. Government does, indeed, recommend *swadeshi* now and then. But that is only such small *swadeshi* as is not expected to touch the pocket of the English manufacturer. Seeing all this, we beg to be excused if we say that England is forcing on us the alarming conviction that she holds India in her own interest and not in ours, though her statesmen and administrators are asserting in season and out of season that it is not so. We have now very little hope that our own arts will ever revive, and that England will allow our *Swadeshi* movement, against which she is just now carrying on a vigorous campaign, to succeed. We have, we are sorry to say, many a time found her forgetting all considerations of kingly generosity and setting in motion against us her tremendous executive and legislative machinery when any thing done by us in the way of art or manufacture has appeared to her merchants and manufacturers not quite favourable to their interest. The *swadeshi* movement, I fear, is doomed; and it is not, I think, permitted to us to cherish the hope that our artisan will breathe and look up again.

The Middleclass Man.

I knew this man as he was till about 60 years or more ago. He was not a wealthy man, but he was a man of full means, almost always independent, sometimes only taking service under zamindar or trader or in the law court. His *golá* or granary, which was always well stocked, supplied all his wants and did not allow 'corroding' care and anxiety for the needs

of the flesh to come anywhere near him and make upon his mind or body its unerring and unmistakable mark. Above all, he was almost always free from *Rin* or Debt, and he could, therefore, afford to be cheerful, lively, jovial, hale and hearty and not morose, mirthless, careworn, dejected and decrepit like his present descendant. He knew no worldly ambition worth the name and therefore no disappointment, disgrace, degradation or deterioration such as is falling to the lot of those who are taking his place. He had his aspirations, but they were mostly of the pious, unselfish or spiritual kind, so unlike those of his present representative of the so called cultured or educated type. He delighted to feed the low-caste poor of his village, to support female relations whom loss of guardians had rendered helpless, to maintain *Sadabratas* and *Atithisalas* for religious mendicants and wayfarers requiring food and shelter, to dig tanks to give drinking water to whole villages, to plant trees for the relief of sunburnt travellers. His ancestral home was the sanctuary to which he was passionately attached, which was his dearest and most glorious place on earth, which he could never leave without feeling severe mental pang, and where it was a point of honour with him as well as his life's most important work to maintain intact the social and religious traditions of his family by continuing and, if possible, by amplifying the social and religious celebrations started by his ancestors. Hearing readings after nightfall from his sacred books—the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Durgabhakti Tarangini, the Kalibilas, &c.,—to which were invited the low-caste men of his village—the husbandman, the blacksmith, the potter, the mason, even the *Bagdi*—with whom he was in very close touch, was almost an institution with him. About his own dwelling house, he was rather indifferent, not minding if it was humble and lowly, generally preferring to make it such, caring only to make it commodious. But about his

Chandimandap and *Mandir* (temple) and *Takurbari*, he was all ambition and enthusiasm. He devoted the best part of his resources to these and engaged the best artists to give them the inimitable style and finish which is now perhaps hard to reproduce and specimens of which may still be seen, though not in many places, in the far interior of Bengal.

His present descendant is a very different person. The old rural economy being disturbed in wide tracts of country by the disorganising influence of English education and the desolating effect of malarial fever, his living has become precarious and his income small and uncertain, and high prices keep his two ends so far apart from each other that between them are often found bad and insufficient food, semi-starvation, occasional fasts, decrepit dwellings, scanty clothing and indebtedness with all its dangers and embarrassments. It is a most alarming and melancholy fact that many *bhadralok*, as Anglo-Indians are wont to call our middleclass men, cannot buy milk for their infants and keep them upon sago, arrowroot and barley water !

There are certainly those in far better circumstances than the ordinary middleclass man. Amongst doctors and lawyers, who come from the middle class, so ne once made fortunes, but only a few do so now, the rest struggling hard and living from hand to mouth. Service, private as well as public, gives employment to many ; but the great majority of these—clerks in public and private offices, law-court and zamindari amla, schoolmasters, &c—generally receive pittance and are in the hardest straits in these days of abnormally high prices ; and only a few, such as Munsiffs, Subordinate Judges, Deputy Magistrates, have decent incomes, and that generally after many years of service, so that, after defraying the present high cost of living, high cost of education, high cost of marriages, high cost of everything, in fact, that is indispensable, a member of these higher grades of the uncovenanted service, when retir-

ing, seldom finds his entire saving, as some ex-Subjudges have told me, worth more than Rs 150 a month in Government security or house property. And these men, the most favoured among us, form only a minute fraction of the immense mass whom the new order of things has so seriously disturbed and unsettled. It should also be noted that among all such men, that is to say, among those engaged or seeking employment in service, those who are really middle class men or *bhadralok* find their position one of greater difficulty than it would have been if the destruction of our indigenous arts by England had not driven a whole army of men of the artisan castes to compete with them in what had been so long their legitimate and almost exclusive field of employment.

Add to all this the ruinous effects of the seductive luxury and finery, unfortunately so cheap at the same time, with which England is filling our poor country and which she is carrying to its every nook and corner. This luxury and finery no one who is secularised by English education and influence—and the secularised man is now a large part of our population—can resist—no, not even the poorest. It is weaning everybody from the old simple and sober line of life, but it has all but overwhelmed the man, the woman and the child of the middle class, thereby making their acute suffering acuter.

As this luxury is sold and carried to all places in the country, it has created some new employment in the shape of trading, shopkeeping, agency work. But all this is of the pettiest kind, and in this too the middle class man or *bhadralok* finds himself in keen competition with the descendant of the old artisan.

In large towns like Calcutta fine ornamented buildings are now springing up every day, which probably give visitors from foreign countries the idea of a thriving middle class in

Bengal That some of these structures are sound investments, there can be no doubt ; but that many of them mean debt or encumbrance which is seldom repaid or removed, we who live in the heart of Bengali middle class society very well know. They are the offspring not of pecuniary power but of that demoralising and therefore debilitating love of show and sound which is the creation of circumstances that did not exist in this country at any pre-British period.

That England has no heart for our middle class man any more than she has for our artisan can be proved in various ways. Till very recently vernacular schoolbooks prescribed by Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal were books written and owned by Bengalis and Musalmans—schoolmasters, inspecting officers, Professors, and scholars of established reputation not in the educational service—all middle class men, to whom the sale of these books brought some welcome alleviation of the difficulty under which they, as a body, perpetually labour. The Educational Department, in fact, poorest as it is of all departments of the administration, has not much to give to Indians in the shape of salary or in the shape of profit from the sale of schoolbooks. It was therefore only fair to poor Indian writers of vernacular books that its small patronage was so long confined to them. But to the English publisher, rolling in wealth, not the smallest thing that glitters is too small. He cast longing eyes upon even the poor patronage of this poor department, and English officials marked that In 1902, therefore, when, during the Directorship of Sir (then Mr.) Alexander Pedler and the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir John Woodburn, the present scheme for vernacular education, technically called the Kindergarten scheme, was introduced, a plan was adopted, plan never before thought of or deemed necessary, which enabled English publishing firms to enter into competition with poor Bengalis in the making of Bengali schoolbooks, as if there was

in the country a dearth of Bengali scholars able to write good schoolbooks on any subject whatever. I have seen their Bengali science readers, historical readers, geographical readers, alphabetical primers, &c., and I can honestly say, after comparing them with books of the same kind written by Bengali gentlemen, that they are decidedly inferior to the latter. And such they must be, for they are translations from English done for a poor remuneration by men almost innocent of Bengali scholarship. But Bengali authors or publishers are no match for English publishers in competition tactics and with the whole official sympathy on their side, the latter have during these 4 or 5 years enjoyed the best part of the patronage of the official who should be above all others the purest and noblest model of justice, honesty and impartiality, the Director of Public Instruction. If English publishers' Bengali books were even equal to Bengali books by Bengali authors, a Government with a heart for the poor Indian would feel impelled to confine its patronage to the latter and to advise the former to retire from the field. And the case certainly becomes one of gross jobbery in the interest of the opulent English publisher and of utter heartlessness to the poor Indian author if books by the former, decidedly inferior to books by the latter, at least in language and style, receive so much more patronage. As already stated, not the smallest thing that glitters is too small for the Englishman, and he must snatch and Government helps him to snatch something out of even the trifle that falls to the lot of the poor Bengali in even the vernacular section of the Department of Education.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I think I should tell a story, an astonishing story, which clearly means that the interest of Englishmen absorbs the English official mind in a manner which makes us despair for our poor selves. Two years ago an English reader, with the meaningless

name *A Reader for Middle Classes in Bengal*, and written by one Mr. Marsden, a retired member of the Indian Educational Service, was made by Sir Alexander Pedler the text-book in English literature for the Middle English Scholarship Examination all over Bengal before its partition, a very considerable patronage in the gift of the Department of Education, such as it is. The book was written in scandalously bad English and displayed a scandalous ignorance of Indian things and matters. It was severely criticised in the vernacular press and an Indian member of the Bengal Council gave notice of his intention to make an interpellation on the subject. But Government did not probably dare to allow the matter to be brought before the Council and had it disposed of departmentally. An English officer, then on special duty in the Office of the Director of Public Instruction, wrote to the publishers, Messrs. MacMillan & Co., drawing their attention to the criticisms, making other criticisms himself, and giving them distinctly to understand that if the book was not thoroughly revised it would have no chance of being accepted by the Department again. The book has not been revised as directed, no revised edition of it, under the sanction required by rule, of the Central Text-Book Committee, has been brought out, and Mr. Marsden has trifled with the order given to his publishers by only inserting in his old edition a page containing a very few errata under the following note : —

“I am very sorry to observe that owing to the difficulty of correcting the proofs of the first edition of this book which was printed in Calcutta while I was in England, several errata have crept into it. These will be duly corrected in the next edition. Those who use this edition are requested to make the corrections as noted below.

E. MARSDEN.”

But our educational authorities have not minded the insult, they have not pressed their demand for a thoroughly revised edition, and they have again given Messrs. Macmillan & Co. about an equally large patronage by again directing this book, so full of errors and faults, with only a mockery of an errata page and that too not quite correct attached to it, to be read for the middle scholarship examination all over Bengal and Eastern Bengal with the exception of the Burdwan Division ! I beseech England herself to say whether she can fairly blame India's belief that she has a heart only for Englishmen and no heart for the Indian and would take most money herself by setting up an absurd, ungracious, and heartless competition even with the poor middle class Bengali in a field which is not very lucrative in itself and which ought to be left to him and him alone. Enquiries into this department of the educational administration in other Indian provinces will, I am afraid, result in equally deplorable disclosures. And yet Lord Curzon said at the Etonian banquet that England thinks "much of the welfare of India and but little of its wealth" and that her mission in India "is one of obligation and not of profit" and was cheered by some of England's worthiest sons and foremost statesmen for saying this !

HEALTH OF INDIA UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

Malaria.

One-half of India, so to say, is now in the hands of Dr. D. Gupta of Calcutta, of malaria mixture fame, the other half in the hands of Dr. Batliwala of Bombay. And behind these two are hosts of people selling numberless mixtures, pills, *pâchans*, decoctions, specifics, infallibles, &c., to a countless malaria-stricken population. It was not so 50 or 60 years ago, when none of the districts of Bengal, with 5 or 6 exceptions, knew what malarious fever was, and people enjoyed capital health in the districts west of the river Bhagirathi and in many of the districts east of it, the towns and villages on both banks of what is now called the Hugli river having been like so many sanitariums. For a change in difficult diseases, which were less numerous than at present, we, in the districts around Calcutta, had not to go beyond Burdwan, then one of the healthiest places in Bengal, but now one of malaria's choicest abodes. After Burdwan, Raniganj became our health resort for a few years, after which it became malarious, and we had to give it up. We then repaired to the Sontal Parganas, where we got many good places by pushing ourselves further and further—Sitarampur, Barrakar, Jamtara, Karmatar, Madhupur, Baidyanath, Simultala—not bad places still, but not so good as before. Bengal malaria was cured in many of these places, but is not always cured now, and has, it is suspected, crept into one or two of them. But Sontalistan does not meet our extreme cases—phthisis and the various sequelæ of malaria, the former now almost an epidemic with us, witness, for instance, the Bengal Government's wide promulgation of a vernacular circular, 8 or 10 years ago, containing such hygienic directions as can be given

to laymen and unlearned people in view of its prevalence, and a fearful indication of decreasing vitality in the country—and we are sending such cases to Waltair in the Madras Presidency and Almora in the Himalayas. Cuttack, once so healthy, is not yet malarious, but is less salubrious, and we have therefore begun to give the sea-coast at Puri clear preference over it. Malaria is fast advancing from Bengal through the North-Western Provinces and has made its appearance even in the land of the stalwart Sikh. It is, indeed, spreading its net throughout India like the railway which seems to be its favourite conveyance in many parts of its journey, the canal, which cripples navigable rivers and full streams of water, being another, but not the only other. Nothing kills so much as this malaria—no, not even cholera, plague and smallpox put together. Indeed, it kills more people in one year than war and carnage and crime jointly killed in one hundred years in pre-British times. It is England's just boast that she has freed India from the dreadful evil of internal warfare; but Lord Curzon was perfectly right when in his reply to the address presented to him by the Jubbulpore Municipality on the 22nd November 1899, he said that "poverty, starvation, disease, and pestilence are more inveterate foes of humanity even than human beings themselves." And among these "inveterate foes of humanity" malarial diseases have become under English rule far more dreadful evils than internal warfare, which is denounced and rightly denounced as the shame of all pre-British administrations in India, after the Musalman conquest, ever was. And they are dreadful not only because they kill so many but also because those whom they do not kill they convert into perpetual sufferers—shattered in health, unable to work, cheerless, spiritless, morose, melancholy, dejected and despondent.

Bad drinking water and jute nuisance.

With the silting up of tanks and rivers, we are drinking extremely impure water almost all over Bengal, and the water we drink and the air we breathe are both contaminated and made insufferably offensive to the nose by the practice of jute-steeping in so many of our districts—a practice, which is spreading at a fearful rate, and which, though daily complained of in the vernacular press, does not excite the anger or indignation of Government, perhaps because it is a necessity to the English trader. To us, it is a most obnoxious practice, aggravating the effects of malaria, affecting our health generally and making residence in our villages painful and nauseating to a degree.

Insufficient Nutrition.

Roughly speaking, we now get less food to eat than we got when the prices of eatables were so much more cheap than at present. Almost all of us had less money in our hands then than we have now, but our kitchens received far larger supplies of the things that support life and promote health. We then got one seer or two pounds of potato for one pice or even less and in no season of the year had we to pay more than two pice for it. Now, in the full height of the potato season, we cannot get a seer at less than 3 or 4 pice in most places and for many months in the year at less than 6 to 12 pice. Thus, one of the most nutritious of our kitchen vegetables has become too expensive for most of us, and I am obliged to record the startling fact that, in most families in ordinary circumstances, no man or woman or child gets one entire potato to eat in a day and everybody has to be content with only 2, 3 or 4 small bits of a middle-sized potato weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. It is the same as regards many of our other vegetables, notably the brinjal, of which I myself, when a child, bought 50 to 60 for a pice in my village *hát*, but of which not

more than 3 or 4 can be now had for a pice anywhere, even in the height of the brinjal season, and often not even one for one pice. Thus, no member of a family of the type just mentioned gets even a sixth or an eighth part of a middle sized brinjal weighing 5 ounces to eat in a day. And, speaking generally, with the great rise in prices which has taken place within the last 30 years or so, we are getting vegetables to eat in extremely small quantities, and our nutrition from this source is becoming poorer and poorer. *Dál* (pulses), for instance, which is so very nutritious, many of us have now to eat so largely diluted with water in order to make up the quantity required in a large family that it is hardly a joke to say that we eat its all but vanished colour and not its substance.

Fish is one of the most nutritious things we eat in Bengal, but its supply has become so small in many parts of the country within the last half a century or so and its price has gone up so high that large numbers of people do not get it or cannot buy it, and of those that do get or buy it, very many may be said to eat it only in name. I have no doubt whatever that, as in the case of vegetables, so in the case of fish, there are lakhs and lakhs of families in ordinary circumstances in Bengal no member of which gets fish to eat morning or evening or gets, on an average, more than half a *chhatak* or one ounce or even less of it to eat in a day. Our children cry and clamour for fish morning and evening in a manner which, often brings tears to the eyes of our matrons. Milk and ghee, our two most nutritious articles of food, have become so dear that though the entire country, almost to a man, revelled in them 50 years or so ago, they are now almost beyond the means of three-fourths of our people, the remaining one-fourth too getting them in limited quantities, and no one getting them pure or unadulterated. Large numbers of people in towns as well as in the mufassal cannot, as stated

above, buy milk even for their infants, who therefore live upon sago or barley water sometimes with only one or two spoonfuls of milk mixed therewith, oftener without even that. Fed in this way in infancy, no people can grow up healthy and strong and we are, therefore, as a race, losing health and physique at an alarming rate. It is also no wonder that our infant mortality is so high—a mortality, the most powerful cause of which Government is unable to explain, because it does not know where to find it, and which its apologists, not very conscientiously I fear, are content to attribute to our early marriage—a practice, which has prevailed here for many long ages unattended with such abnormal infant mortality as is now the rule. Where infants, in so many cases, get little or no milk, it would be folly to expect adults and grown up people to get it in quantities required to maintain health in even its lowest standard, not to speak of its improvement or expansion. The fact is that, in families in ordinary circumstances, consisting of 15 or 16 members, possessing a monthly income of say, 50 to 100 rupees, and buying or rather borrowing 5 to 10 or 12 rupees worth of milk in a month, no one—child, adult, man or woman—gets on an average more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 *chhataks* or three or four ounces of the article in a day; and in poorer families, by far the most numerous in the country, the ration is still smaller, and often absolutely *nil*. The case is worse as regards ghee, which every family formerly used more or less in its purest form and in sufficient measure, but which no one now eats pure, many eat noxiously adulterated and most cannot eat at all for its price.

Thus, practically without milk and ghee, our most nutritious food, our health is failing, we are losing physical stamina, we are becoming sickly, our capacity to resist disease in the increasingly insanitary condition of the land we live in is decreasing.

Of rice, the staple food in Bengal, our stock is becoming

shorter and shorter. Foreign merchants take much of it away, thereby raising its price to a point which is too high for the man who grows it as well as for numberless others. The grower of jute is also reducing our stock of rice by encroaching upon our paddy land for the better profit his new produce yields him, and is making rice dearer still. The result is that a large section of our population have to run into debt for full measures of rice, whilst a large section, not getting as much rice as they require, live on short ration, making up the deficit with heaps of in-nutritious and often indigestible herbs. In the wheat-producing districts, mostly in the North-Western Provinces, a similar process is going on. By taking away so much of our wheat England has reduced our stock of the commodity to an extent that makes it impossible for many of those that ate it before to eat it now and made its price too high for the proverbially poor Hindustani and so tempting to the cultivator that he sells off to foreign traders more of it than he ought to, preferring to descend to less nutritious food himself.

Thus it is in-nutrition and therefore sinking health everywhere. A few more rupees may be in circulation in the country under English rule, but our real wealth, which lay in our overflowing stocks of food and in our own excellent and harmless manufactures, is passing away. We are becoming poor in the truest sense of the word, which is not that we are not getting money, (for as a matter of fact, more money passes through our hands now than what passed through before), but that we are getting less and less to eat, losing health, becoming sorer and more sickly and are prevented from supplying all our wants ourselves. True poverty means poverty of food, poverty of health, poverty of work—poverty of health being the most serious of the three. Can England fairly refuse to admit that India is piteously poor under her rule?

Anxiety and Overstrain.

The disturbance of the old village economy and the loss of our industries have made the question of living one of very serious difficulty with us. Service, public or private, cannot provide employment for any but a very small section of the population, and the employment it provides brings in remuneration which is in most cases too small for even urgent wants and requirements. Employment in the shape of petty trade or shopkeeping or order supply or commission agency or other business of that kind is also limited to a very small section of the population and is generally not more remunerative than service in its lower ranks. And those not having fixed or regular employment of any kind are unfortunately the most numerous now-a-days, excepting, of course, the agriculturist. The old state of things in which plenty of every kind kept men in high spirits and filled whole villages with life and hilarity has passed away, giving place to a state of things in which corroding care and anxiety for the first necessities of life is devitalising a whole community, thereby slowly and insidiously undermining their health and making them cheerless and morose and even despondent. Such anxiety we knew not ever before : it depresses and deranges our mind in a manner which dwarfs and deranges our body. For our living, too, we have now to work in a style in which we never worked before. Our hours of work under English rule are very different from our hours of work in all previous regimes. Those old hours of work, viz., mornings and evenings, were hours best suited to our climate and physical constitution and had therefore the sanction of custom and the *Shastras* from the remotest antiquity, the Musalman, with the same climatic and physical necessities as ourselves, keeping them unaltered all through his rule. But unable to adapt himself to our climatic and physical conditions or finding it inconvenient for his purpose in this country to do so, the Englishman is mak-

ing us work, and work very hard, in office all the time, forcing us to take our day's meal long before we should take it and to work when we should not work but enjoy repose—thus compelling us to change our most vital habits and disobey the most peremptory of behests, the behests of Mother-Nature's Climate, in a manner which cannot fail to affect our health. And the effects of this change, I am sorry to say, are already painfully visible in an unprecedentedly wide prevalence of dyspepsia, culminating in a fearfully increasing number of cases in deadly diabetes. I do not, of course, mean to say that this change is singly responsible for these maladies, which are in my opinion, due to the operation of various causes. But there can be no doubt whatever that this change is a very powerful cause. And I may add that most of the other causes, at any rate, such as addiction to luxury and sensual excesses, due to our lamentable secularisation under the influence of English education and to indiscreet missionary denunciation of the Hindu religion, did not exist under any pre-British regime. We have now also to work much harder than before, to work harder, that is, than a man born and living in a tropical country, with his whole nature and external surrounding predisposing him to a life of repose rather than to a life of breathless activity, can work safely or with impunity. This hard work under English rule, so incompatible with our geographical zone and physical and mental constitution, is also devitalising us and seriously affecting our health, especially as it is coupled with a malarial or deteriorating climate and insufficient nutrition. England wants us to accept her own system of high pressure work, which is the outcome of an intensely restless disposition and of a climate very different from ours. Is it not, therefore, England's clear duty, as India's all powerful guardian and protector, to do everything that can be done to prevent, minimise or counteract the untoward effects inevitably growing for us, slowly, it

may be, and insidiously too, but surely, out of this intimate connection between two peoples almost diametrically opposed to each other in nature, habit and disposition and with vastly different surroundings? I have no doubt whatever that she will do this duty in the regal style which will become her in her grandest dependency if she is only told that it is a duty of which she has not yet had full notice given her by others or taken by herself.

The question of its improvement.

This is without doubt the most important and pressing of all questions of internal administration at the present time. Depopulation and decline of health are the most serious evils that can afflict a country, far more serious, indeed, than any other evil, social or political, that can be conceived of or imagined. A country with the best of governments, with the most affectionate or sympathetic of rulers, is the most miserable of countries if disease decimates its population and a congeries of causes conspires to undermine its health. But, unfortunately for us, this is precisely the question which is sadly neglected—neglected by Government, neglected by ourselves.

The question under consideration is a difficult and complicated one, and this is not the place in which it can be fully discussed, nor am I the person fully possessed of the knowledge and other qualifications required for its discussion. I will, therefore, only throw out a few hints in this connection—

(a) The question of insufficient nutrition should engage our own attention more than that of our Government, but it is at the same time a question which cannot be solved by us without the active assistance and co-operation of Government.

Increase of one portion of our food stock—that, namely, which is derived from the vegetable world, such as rice, wheat, pulses, potato and other kitchen vegetables—will demand an

expansion, a development and a re-arrangement of our agriculture, which should be, without doubt, the first and foremost duty of the Zamindar and every landed man. And this duty they should perform in consultation with the Government which will have a grave responsibility of its own in this connection either in the shape of the adoption of measures which will entail a reduction of the export of rice and wheat from India to enable us to eat more of these things at a smaller cost, or, if that export is not reduced, in the shape of the adoption of measures calculated to bring about a material enlargement of the wheat and rice area, or in the shape of the adoption of measures which will lead to a reduction of the export of jute and consequently of the jute area, or in the shape of the adoption of more than one of these measures. Keeping enormous multitudes of India alive or in health is certainly a higher and more imperative duty of a great enlightened and responsible ruler than enabling a few English brewers to draw more wine, a few English manufacturers to make more cloth, a few English swine-keepers to fatten their beasts. As regards the other portion to our food-stock—that, namely, which is derived from the animal world, such as milk, ghee and fish—the Zamindar and the Government are jointly responsible for its decrease and both of them should therefore labour for its augmentation. Provision cannot be made for sufficient pasture land, for treatment of cattle disease, for a stronger and more numerous breed of cattle if Government and the Zamindar do not combine for the purpose ; and as the question of the slaughter of cows for food is one which can be dealt with only by Government and may be helped forward by enlightened Musalmans, it is clearly the duty of both of them to attend to it at once. I should ask my Musalman brother to consider in this connection whether, in this tropical country, he will not promote his own interest better by having a cheaper, purer and more plentiful supply of milk and ghee than by

eating beef. As regards fish, Government and the Zamindar are again responsible for its practical disappearance in most parts of Bengal. Silt in rivers and tanks makes them unfit abodes for fish and whilst Government is responsible for the former, the Zamindar, the landed man and the substantial householder are responsible for the latter. They should, therefore, attend to their respective duties at once, Government encouraging them through its Divisional, District and Sub-Divisional officers by means of cordial visits and interviews and advice affectionately given and enthusiastically pressed. Excavation of large silted up rivers will certainly require enormous expenditure of money—crores and crores. But crores and crores we have, as I shall show further on.

Steps ought to be at once taken by Government to prevent insufficient nutrition among a large number of its subjects. They are our schoolmasters, *mohurrirs* and clerks, the majority of whom are so poorly paid that they cannot get enough to eat in quantity or quality. Government now a days fixes their salaries on the commercial principle of demand and supply, and as the supply greatly exceeds the demand their pay is generally fixed very low, being often only a pittance. And as the distress among such men is very acute, Government might make a stricter enforcement of the principle in question with perfect safety. For a clerk or schoolmaster on Rs. 30 a month would have no alternative but to continue to serve if reduced to Rs. 20 a month. It was certainly on this commercial principle that Sir Alexander Pedler, when Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, appraised an Indian Master of Arts at only Rs. 50 a month. But it is a principle which, however fit or appropriate in a commercial establishment, is an extremely unworthy principle to follow in a Government school or office. The merchant, who means money and money only, may not be wrong if he works with the most poorly paid

establishment; but the Sovereign, who should mind the life and health of his subjects first and more than any other thing, cannot act on this principle without practically abdicating his sovereignly position. Our Government ought to fix the salaries of its poor Indian officers and employes, not on the commercial principle of demand and supply as it now does but upon a full, sympathetic and kingly consideration of their wants and privations. It is its first and foremost duty to increase their salaries as a measure which can be adopted at once without any difficulty whatever, in view of the mitigation, however partial, of the grave evil of bad eating and under-eating among a large number of its Indian subjects. I think Government may be fairly asked to raise all salaries of Rs. 100 and under 25 per cent and all salaries exceeding Rs. 100 but not exceeding Rs. 200 20 per cent. If the poor Indian *mohurrir*, clerk or schoolmaster, who cannot buy more than a quarter of a seer or 8 ounces of fish or half a seer or 16 ounces of milk a day, is in this way enabled to buy even one pound of fish or two pounds of milk a day, God's special blessing will descend upon our beloved Edward and the great English nation. The measure will require additional expenditure of money; but it should not, in my humble opinion, lie in the mouth of a Government which found no difficulty whatever in granting an exchange compensation allowance of over 53 lakhs of rupees a year to the highly paid European officers who have to send money home, to say that it is too poor to pay what will be, in comparison, only an additional pittance.

(b) *Overstrain.* English rule has introduced in India a form of labour with which we were perfectly unacquainted and which by its disagreement with our climate and physical constitution is subjecting us to a strain which cannot fail to be prejudicial to our health of mind and health of body, especially as this strain has to be borne in a climate which is

fast deteriorating and with a food supply which is shrinking every year. There is absolutely no hope, however, of the new form of labour giving way to the old or to anything resembling that. Humanity, therefore, requires us and our Government to combine to minimise, as much as possible, the harm which it is doing. What is most necessary for this purpose is a large increase of the food-stock of the country and a cheapening of its price—a matter, which, as already stated, should be the joint concern of Government and the landed classes and which has been too long neglected by both. Another measure may be taken unto this end though it will not be a measure of universal application like the above. It is a measure which should be taken first by Government, in order that it may serve as an example to other employers of labour. It has become Government's policy in these latter days to make its paying departments still more paying and to arrest increase of expenditure by, among other measures, making officer, mohurrir and clerk its whole time servants, mornings and evenings not excepted—a policy, which often results in one man doing the work of more than one man—very serious overwork for the ill-fed Indian with his declining physique. The Englishman, with his flourishing physique and over-full possession of all the needs of the body, may be able to do two or three men's work ; and stiff, unsympathetic and unimaginative as he is, he cannot understand why the Indian should not be able to do the same thing. But he who would rule others than his own kith and kin ought to be the most elastic and flexible of men. And as English rule in India is an accomplished fact, I beseech our Government to try its best to realise to itself the declining physique and extreme poverty of the Indian and afford some relief to its overstrained Indian officers, clerks and others by increasing their number. Overwork is a fatal thing. We hear that overwork has begun to tell upon England's own superb health.

By her keen and frenzied pursuit of money—a pursuit, which has no parallel in the history of man and which leads her to multiply her worldly concerns beyond counting by extending her empire day after day—she has created so much work for herself that it is only natural that her physique should begin to fall. Let England then consider how disastrous her adherence to her over-work policy must be to the poor Indian with his failing health and failing food. We feel that we should fail in our duty to England as our guardian and protector if we did not inform her that overwork has begun to be regarded by us with grave apprehensions for our physical safety. And not only this, but we think that we have the best right in the world to demand of her the needed relief and remedy in an increase of the numerical strength of such of our people as work harder for her than they should and she has the best of reasons in the world to grant our demand, especially when to grant it she will have to spend not her own money but ours.

(c) *Anxiety*. This must remain so long as the measures suggested in (a) and (b) and to be suggested under (d) are not carried out, and also so long as the commercial spirit which now rules our own matrimonial affairs and the spirit of sensual enjoyment which is pervading whole Indian society do not give place to a spirit of sobriety and religiousness—a change, which we alone can accomplish and the accomplishment of which will require earnest and persevering effort on our part probably for centuries.

(d) *Malaria*. This is a gigantic question which will require gigantic efforts for its solution and can be dealt with only by a gigantic Government like the English Government in India; and all private agency, individual or collective, all corporate agency, municipal or other, will be too small to handle it. But Government has so long sadly neglected this question of questions.

To ascertain the cause of malaria it has appointed only a few committees in a half-hearted manner, as if knowing the cause very well but not willing that we should know that it knows it. Against the opinion almost universally expressed by us that the cause lies very much in the obstruction which railway lines present to the full, free and natural drainage of the country, it has, therefore, nothing to present except a dogmatic No. It is therefore no wonder that most people among us take this No to mean Government's fear to make an admission which would render its adherence to its infatuated policy of indiscriminate railway extension and careless railway construction difficult and an abandonment or material modification of that policy its supreme moral duty and clear political obligation. Nothing but an attitude of indifference like this can account for Government's "masterly inactivity" in the sanitary department of its administration for over half a century. For it has done absolutely nothing during that long period to check malaria and malaria mortality beyond waging a petty, fitful crusade against village vegetation, advising villagers to kill the mosquito race in all their countless tanks, ponds, and pools of water with kerosine oil—advice, which the country has taken in the light of a joke—and supplying quinine to the sufferers, but, strange to say and sad to think, not free of charge even to the poorest among them.

It is hopeful, however, to see that the idea of sub-soil humidity due to obstructed drainage as a cause of malaria—the idea so clearly and forcibly put forward so long ago by the late Raja Digambar Mitter, C. I. E.,—has within recent years taken possession of the mind of Government. This is clear from the passing of the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Act, 1895, under Sir Charles Elliott. It is a pity, however, that it is proposed to carry out the idea by means of a special cess to be levied from zamindars and cultivating raiyats. Poor as he is and already bearing quite a burden of

other imposts, would it not be, we ask England, an act of cruelty to the cultivating raiyat to compel him to pay another heavy tax to obtain some immunity from malaria? It is extremely doubtful moreover whether the drainage of so large an area as that of Bengal can be effected in this way with the promptitude which the very serious situation of the country demands. It is also a question of principle which should not be lost sight of, as it is apt to be and as it often is, whether the life and death of the subject is not the sovereign's own concern and liability, instead of being, as the legislation referred to assumes, a concern and liability that is almost entirely local. It is a universally admitted principle of politics that where the subject is unable by his own endeavour to save his life, it becomes the sovereign's own most imperative duty to save it. It is a principle already recognised and acted upon by our Government in the case of the many charitable dispensaries it has established all over India. It is this principle that makes the lives of his subjects during famine the sovereign's own special charge, and famine expenditure his own obligation and not an obligation limited to the distressed area or locality. And it is difficult to understand why or how this principle cannot apply where the subject is unable by his own endeavour to save his life under malarial conditions absolutely beyond his control and of the widest possible prevalence. It is wrong morality and wrong political philosophy to prevent death from famine in one way and death from malaria in another. Life and death being man's first fundamentals, whatever imperils the one or the other in a manner which places them beyond the control of the individual, becomes the most imperative and legitimate concern of the sovereign himself. Bengal should be drained not with money raised by local cesses but with money from the imperial exchequer. The Sanitary Drainage Act does not contemplate the excavation of the beds of dead or dying rivers.

But these too will have to be excavated if the country is to be freed from malaria, and the equally essential improvement depending upon a plentiful supply of good drinking water is to be secured. The execution of these gigantic works and their up-keep will require crores and crores of money. But crores and crores, as I have stated above, we have. I will now show, how.

(1) There can be no doubt whatever that India is fully entitled to be relieved of at least one-half of her military expenditure. It is true that India wants England; but it is perhaps truer that England wants India. As Lord Curzon said to us in his University speech in Calcutta on the 10th February 1902:—"You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you." Yes, without India England's impotence will become such as to amount to her effacement from the world. She will lose all her wealth, power, prestige, dignity, activity and influence. She will become a fifth rate country, obscure, unknown, unhonoured. It is clear, therefore, that India is England's most vital concern, more vital concern, to be sure, than is England India's. A large army and great defensive works to ensure India against foreign invasion are therefore needed in the interest more of England than of India. Within India, England's political position is so strong, I might say, so overpowering, and the entire population, disarmed as they are, are so completely at her mercy that any serious troubles, demanding military operations worth the name, are almost impossible; and even if such troubles arise, frontier defences will not be needed for their suppression. It will, therefore, be nothing more than the barest justice for England to pay at least one-half, if not more than one-half, of the ordinary military expenditure of India. In his great budget speech (1906) Mr. Morley expressed his "very shrewd suspicion" that the partition of the expenditure and cost of military operations between

India and England was "not in all respects equitable." I am not quite sure, but I hope that the suspicion thus expressed by Mr. Morley extends also to the ordinary military expenditure of India. If England pays even one-half of that expenditure from her own exchequer, as she ought to, several crores of rupees will remain in our own treasury every year, available for the execution of the gigantic sanitary works all over India and especially in Bengal which have been already too long delayed and which ought not to be delayed a moment longer.

(2) In the same speech, Mr. Morley also said—"That India is a poor country I do not deny ; that the system of Government is costly I know ; that it is extravagant I suspect." Yes, everybody has been all along saying that European officers in India are paid much higher salaries than are paid to public servants anywhere else in the world, are paid, in fact, on an extravagant scale. Should not and cannot that scale be lowered, at least out of pity for the 33 millions of people who are pinched in their most essential matters for want of money ? A slight lowering of that scale can cause no real difficulty or inconvenience to the recipients of these extravagant salaries , and even if it did, should it not be imperial England's clearest duty, with her responsibilities to the people of India, which are of imperial height and dimensions, to make a little sacrifice of her superabundance of the creature comforts of life in order that the lot of her poor Indian subjects may be bettered in however small a measure ? During the century and a half she is ruling India, England has made no sacrifice in the interest of her Indian subjects. She has of course shed much of her own blood and sacrificed the lives of many of her brave sons in the conquest of our country ; but that was sacrifice made and suffered in her own interest and not in ours. May we not therefore ask her to make what, in Hindu opinion, would be the very trifling sacrifice of a small percentage of the enormous salaries she pays to her country-

men in India? It is our bounden duty as loyal subjects of England, anxious and willing to co-operate with her in her administration of our country, to tell her what she does not perhaps know or appreciate as we know and appreciate it, namely, that we, Hindus, have an idea of kingly sacrifice of which there is no parallel anywhere else in the world. We have got that idea from our national bard Valmiki, in whose immortal poem, the *Ramayan*, the ideal king Ram, though fully convinced of the purity of his consort Sita during her enforced residence in the capital of the Rakshasa King Ravan, sent her into exile because the tongue of scandal was over heard by his trusted spy in the streets of Ayodhay. Do not judge this ideal of kingly sacrifice by the tough, prosaic and business-world standard of European ethics. The highest Hindu morality, like the highest Hindu philosophy, is nothing if not transcendental. There is also a touch of the romantic in it, derived from the essentially romantic character of the East as distinguished from the West. Prosaic Europe may deride it as a touch of the foolish or quixotic, but England, bound to rule India for India's welfare, cannot deride it with safety to herself and her incomparable charge. She, at any rate, must take it as a hard fact, as one of the eternal entities of the Eastern world, which will not bear to be wiped off or trifled with as not understandable or inconvenient. It is therefore England's imperative duty, if she is to make her Indian rule successful in its *pālana* or most important portion, to try her utmost to realise in her mind, as much as she can, this transcendental Hindu ideal of kingly duty and kingly sacrifice. If she can do this, she will see that my proposal for the sacrifice of a small percentage of the enormous salaries her countrymen receive in India, is not a childish or a ridiculous proposal, but a proposal of the truest practical utility to her and conducive, if adopted, to the moral elevation of her rule, of a kind without which imperial-

ism is a term of mere technical material import and not, as it should be, a term denoting a morality of imperial height and grandeur. Judged by the Hindu ideal of kingly sacrifice, England will not rise in the estimation of the Hindu unless and until she makes some such sacrifice as I propose. By becoming the ruler of the Hindu people England has created for herself a difficulty which did not present itself to any other ruling or imperial nation in the history of the world, and it is to us a matter of the deepest concern that this is a difficulty which England should realise and overcome. It is therefore incumbent upon her to make a titanic effort for the purpose. If she only thinks, as a thinker like her ought to think, that she, India's self-constituted guardian, is healthy and wealthy, while India, her acknowledged ward, is poor, is in excruciating bodily agony over large tracts of country and is in a state of vanishing vitality throughout, she will feel irresistibly impelled to reduce all European salaries above Rs. 500, say 5 per cent., and all European salaries above Rs. 2,000, say 10 per cent., and then her claim to be acknowledged and honoured as a truly imperial country will be established and our exchequer will have some more money to spare for the purpose of saving our lives and enabling our country's vitality to rise again.

(3) The conversion of British India from a Kingdom into an Empire has not been, I fear, for the real good of either England or India. An Emperor, according to popular notions, is a grander thing than a King and a grander out-fit is therefore considered necessary for an Empire than for a Kingdom; and a grander out-fit means greater expenditure of money. I can give only one illustration in this place. We are latterly seeing our Government bent upon adorning our large cities with imposing and ornamented public buildings which cost more than the plain, unimposing and more tasteful structures which satisfied it in the days of British India's kingship. The new style of architecture is, I believe, thought to be a

necessity and requirement of India as an Empire. India as an Empire is, therefore, bad for England whom it is demoralising and bad for India whose money it is wasting for purposes of increased pomp and pageantry. Architectural grandeur as a fitting emblem and expression of an Empire, we, Hindus, do not understand. We had our own architectural grandeur, but we had it almost exclusively in the temples of our gods and goddesses. The best and truest emblem and expression of a great Empire, in Hindu opinion, is moral grandeur.* An Indian High Court, sitting and dispensing justice without fear or favour and in a spirit of uncompromising independence in a plain and unostentatious building like that which the old Sudder Dewanny Adalat and, after it, the High Court of Calcutta in its Appellate Jurisdiction occupied near Belvedere, would be a truer and grander because more elevated expression of India as an Empire than a less dignified, less trusted and less respected tribunal sitting and dispensing justice in an imposing structure of Gothic style and massiveness like that to the west of the Viceregal palace in Calcutta. A great inside with a plain, homely, undecorated outside is an unspeakably great thing; it is moral grandeur of the highest type. After visiting the tols of Nadia some years ago, a savant from Europe, whose name I have forgotten, spoke of them in terms of inexpressible admiration because he found them located in lowly huts in which the highest and deepest

* External grandeur of any kind, not excepting even a great State pageant like Lord Curzon's Coronation Durbar, makes no impression on the mind of the spiritually trained Hindu nor, I am afraid, on the Musalman mind still full of the proud memory of Mogul splendour, that is at all favourable to England. I think I should also add that, to the Musalman, such displays are not only not agreeable but are positively galling. It is only the very lowest among Hindus and Musalmans and men of the mental level of the aborigines who are dazzled and overawed by the spectacles which cost us so much money so often.

learning is taught—taught not for money but for love—by the greatest and most self-sacrificing of teachers. Yes, moral grandeur like that is the grandest grandeur, grandeur which we Hindus love and appreciate more than any other grandeur, grandeur which is the best and truest emblem and expression of an Empire which would prefer to be loved as an Empire of morality and moral power to being feared as an Empire of materialism and material force. Our Government has, however, begun to give England's Empire in India a material form and meaning by displaying its new passion for showy, ornamented edifices which cost us and will go on costing us more money than we, with so many vital wants of ours, pre-eminently our life and health, so long neglected and requiring the promptest attention, ought to be made to spare for such a useless and unworthy purpose. Rage for architectural grandeur is a dangerous thing; it increases by demoralising. Government should subdue it at once, if it would not like that some one, in no remote future, should find reason and occasion to tell it, as Lord Curzon, referring to the great architectural works of the Adil Shah kings of Bijapur, told the Municipal Commissioners of that place on the 10th November 1900—"External splendour often meant internal misery."

SOME PECULIAR FEATURES OF ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA

The owner of a house in Calcutta, provided with connected privies and filtered and unfiltered water connections, gets notices every now and then from the Corporation of Calcutta requiring him to do this or forbidding him to do that. Compliance with these requisitions have to be made with the utmost promptitude, often within 24 hours, and failure to comply means, in the absence of bribery, serious inconveniences like stoppage of water supply. And as plumbers,

masons, carpenters, &c., with the Indian's characteristic and constitutional lethargy, are all dilatory workmen, these requisitions, besides costing money, are often felt to be harassing, disquieting and vexatious. What happens within the limits of a Municipality happens also throughout the British Empire in India. Everywhere in that Empire people get notices, one day, from a Municipality, a District Board or a Local Board requiring them to do something, to undo something, or to refrain from doing something, notices from the income tax office, another day, requiring them to pay their dues before an appointed date on pain of fine, or to contest, if they like, the assessments that have been made of their incomes; demands by the collecting panchayet, this day; certificates from Collectorates, that day, demanding payment of arrears of road cess within an appointed time; summonses from law courts, yet another day, to appear as witnesses on fixed dates however inconvenient; sub-pœnas from the distant Court of Sessions some other day to attend as jurors day after day for an inconveniently indefinite period, on pain of fine; and so on. To the Indian, with his natural and necessary yearning for repose and consequent aversion to frequent trouble, anything that breaks the quiet and even tenor of his daily life and requires him, in addition, to make expenses so often beyond his means, is not only distasteful and disagreeable but positively painful and vexatious. Therefore, as in the Municipality so in the Empire there is a widespread feeling of vexation, of botheration and of unnatural and uncongenial environment. I am not sure whether the Englishman, bound to be restless by the exigencies of his climate and the exigencies of his physical and mental constitution, will be able to understand this. It is a state of things which was unknown in all pre-British regimes, and it is, therefore, in painful conflict or disagreement with the historical and traditional sense and temper of the Indian people.

English rule is found to be, in another way, in similar conflict or disagreement with the historical and traditional sense and temper of the Indian people. Under that rule, the Indian cannot tap a date or a palm tree unobserved ; cannot collect firewood in a forest unmolested ; cannot row up or down a canal unobstructed ; cannot open a shop or start a business, however petty or small, within specified areas, without making it cognisable ; cannot, child or adult or old, do a whole category of acts without being punished (under the Police Act V) ; cannot even send out a cow to graze fearless of the poundkeeper's man ; cannot attend a public meeting unwatched ; and so on. Restraint here, restraint there, restraint everywhere ; restraint for childhood ; restraint for youth ; restraint for age ; restraint for wealth, restraint for poverty ; restraint for rank ; restraint for no-rank—restraint for every unit of the population, so to say. It is a state of things which was not known in any pre-British regime ; and it is, therefore, in painful conflict or disagreement with the historical sense and temper of the Indian people.

I have seen a third feature mentioned in a paper written in Bengali by a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University, a Premchand Roychand scholar and a leading member of the Hindu society of Calcutta. He says :—

“ In the time of the Hindu kings we enjoyed independence in most matters ; we are now in a state of the very greatest dependence. We are fettered all over and in every part and day after day we feel the fetters more keenly. Police law, jail law, habitual offenders law, unlawful assemblies law, &c., &c. &c. It is long since the interfering hand has fallen on the Hindu law—recall to mind the *Lex Loci* Law and the *Widow Marriage Law*. Latterly, domestic matters too are being regulated by law—a sort of interference, which has commenced with the *Age of Consent Act*.

Have you ever seen the figure of the 'Laokoon' born of the overflowing heart of the Greek sculptor? The huge serpent has bound the mighty man in a hundred coils. The man is straining every nerve to shake off the coils. The monster, now and again, as if without effort, is drawing its coils tighter and tighter. Does this piece of sculpture bear no resemblance to our political condition?"

IS INDIA HAPPY UNDER ENGLISH RULE?

Every reader of the foregoing pages now knows that this is a question which, it pains me to say, cannot be answered in the affirmative. It is, therefore, unnecessary to explain again the many reasons which compel such an answer. I will, therefore, in this place refer again only to one of those reasons, because it has not been fully stated above. That reason is the cruel work which malarial fever has done and is doing in Bengal.

Malaria has changed lakhs of villages into scenes of desolation which any Englishman, caring to know whether India is happy or unhappy under English rule, may see for himself any moment in the company of competent local guides, if he has not seen it already. It is desolation of the most dismal kind. Flourishing villages, full of life and health, full of joy and mirth, and ringing all the year round with sounds of festive merriment, are now hushed in the silence of death and desolation. It is silence that is deepened by the weary wail of the childless mother or the motherless child. It is silence best beloved of beasts and birds of prey. Edifices here and edifices there without a single soul or with only a soul here or only a soul there, which are pictures of silent sorrow, sickness and suffering, fallen into ruins, with the wildest vegetation above, around and within them; mud houses and huts, with their doors and thatches gone and their walls in every stage of ruin; tanks and ponds

covered with thick vegetation and smelling as if like malaria itself; roads and lanes and bye-lanes made almost impassable by and sometimes even invisible on account of jungle, with hardly a dozen pedestrians in the course of the lighted part of the day, the unlighted part being out of the question; school houses without scholars; pathshalas without pupils; the blacksmith's bellows stirring up no fire; the potter's wheel giving no shape to clay; the oilman's crude, creaking machine standing silent as the grave—this is desolation which the eye cannot bear to look upon, which it cannot behold without a shudder, even in the midday sun.

But infinitely deeper and more deplorable than this external desolation is the mental desolation which malaria causes. There is no counting the number of men, women and children who lose their dearest and indispensables every year. Bengal is plunged in the wildest and most distracting grief. We are at our wit's end what to do, where to go, where to live, how to save the wrecks that malaria makes of our darlings from drifting into the jaws of death. The situation is simply bewildering; the anxiety is overpowering; the embarrassment is immeasurable; the despair is inconceivable. If this is happiness there is no unhappiness anywhere on earth.

We are an essentially homeloving people, but malaria makes hundreds of thousands among us homeless like the Jews. We fly from the houses of our ancestors—those abodes of piety and pleasure with which are associated our dearest, holiest and most glorious memories, as from the dwelling houses of disease and death. I have not dared to visit my own ancestral house for more than 42 years, except for a day or a half-day three or four times in the height of summer during that long period. The sight of my ancestral house in ruins and partly hidden in jungle is heart-rending to me, brings tears to my eyes. And my case is only one out of many

hundred thousands. This enforced severance from ancestral home is a heart's wrench of which those who do not love home as we do and revere and worship ancestors like us can form no idea.

The reader should now recall to mind what has been said above of our characteristic devotion to the sacred duty of maintaining the continuity of the social and religious celebrations of our ancestors. If he does this and can form any idea of what this devotion means, he will not require to be told how very unbearable and agonising it is to many among us, no very inconsiderable number, that they cannot come to the houses and Puja halls or *Chandimandaps* of their ancestors to do by them their solemn and sacred duty of celebrating the social festivities and religious ceremonials started in the remote past and continuing the work of every day charity for which their ancestors, each according to the best of his power, endowed *Atithisálds* and *Sadábratas*.

This is enough to show that malarious Bengal is not only not happy but is in a state of indescribable mental and bodily agony under English rule. And as malaria is spreading throughout India and has commenced to make the healthiest places unhealthy, all India will sooner or later become miserable like Bengal, if measures be not forthwith taken by Government to eradicate the poison wherever it is found and make its further propagation difficult, if not impossible.

HOW TO MAKE INDIA HAPPY ?

The writer of an article, entitled "Racial Antipathy," in an issue of the *Pioneer* newspaper some months ago, says: "No one can suppose that the happiness of India would be attained by throwing open more appointments to Indians, or even by a system of representative Government." Nothing could be truer than this. Appointments under Government, however numerous, are, after all, extremely few considering

the countless millions that are in need of material provision or distressed for livelihood. The country will not also be happy if the majority of the highest appointments in the State are given to Indians. It will be no comfort or consolation, for instance, to the great mass of the ill-conditioned people of India, if all the judgeships in all the High Courts and District Courts, if all the Divisional Commissionerships and so on are filled by Indians. By the happiness of India we should all understand the happiness of the entire Indian people and not the happiness of the 'microscopic minority,' as it is the fashion to call those who are equipped with Western learning or education. In this sense, it will not also conduce in any degree to the happiness of India if the educated Indians get representative government or enlarged legislative councils. Elected Indian members in the Legislative Councils and the exercise by them of the right of interpellation we have already had for so many years, but India is nevertheless as unhappy as ever. The Civil Service Examination in India, reformed legislatures, executive functions separated from the judicial, either, will not make India happy. Police reform, jail reform, office reform, army reform, re-distribution of departments, redistribution of provinces, railway extension, committees, commissions, conferences, &c., which occupy the mind of Government more than anything else, will not also make India happy.

How, then, can India be made happy? The writer in the *Pioneer* has given an answer. It is that the happiness of India "could be brought about, perhaps, by a determined effort on the part of each individual Englishman to forget occasionally the consideration which he is apt to demand as an Englishman, and to meet the Indian on the platform of a common humanity." This is, however, not very clear; and assuming it to be clear, it seems to us, with our knowledge of English hauteur and exclusiveness, very doubtful whether

each individual Englishman will be able "to forget occasionally the consideration which he is apt to demand as an Englishman, and to meet the Indian on the platform of a common humanity." Englishmen would certainly do this and probably more in this direction if they only thought it worth their while, as it is indisputably worth the while of all European peoples, to reconsider their idea of what true patriotism is. For true patriotism consists not, as all Europe apparently likes to think, in shedding blood or sacrificing life for earthly things, when threatened or coveted, which many lower animals too are found to do, but in making one's country not feared by any but loved and revered by all for catholicity of spirit and nobility of conduct. In this sense there is no true patriotism anywhere in Europe. Besides, by his "Indian," the writer does not mean any of those who really constitute the Indian people—the labourer, the cultivator, the artisan, the middle class man, the rural man, in general—and whose happiness, more than that of any other, would be the real happiness of India, but "others highly born, well educated and sensitive to a degree entirely foreign to the English understanding." He expressly keeps out of his view the "bovine agriculturists and degraded domestics" who do not make up "the entire population of India any more than of England," when it is exactly the men whom he would keep out as of little account and no moment whose happiness is the real happiness of India as it should be also of England.

My answer to the question is contained in all that has gone before. India can be made happy only by making the many millions happy who are suffering one way or another in the sense explained above, are being placed on the road that leads to suffering, or are threatened with suffering. For the relief of this widespread and variegated suffering Government has done nothing as yet worth naming, though it was its first duty very long ago to have done it in consultation

with all men of large practical knowledge and experience and with the co-operation, willing or enforced, of the zamindars, who, be it said to their shame and to the shame of India, have, so far, done little or nothing in this direction. Instead of doing its duty by the ignorant, illiterate and half-educated millions, Government has, so long, attended only to the few thousand graduates and under-graduates of the Indian Universities, who form only a fringe, hardly visible, of an immeasurable population, apparently thinking it enough for its political purpose or political safety in India to humour these and these alone, because these and these alone can criticise.

CONCLUSION.

It is a conclusion extremely painful to us, people of India, to arrive at, conclusion the very opposite of what we should desire to reach in regard to a great country like England, especially when she happens to be the guardian and protector of a country which is the most ancient in the world and the most wonderful in the history of human civilization, that she governs India in her own interest and not in ours, and that the thing which is uppermost in her mind, in her administration of our country, is India's money, not India's men. If it had been otherwise, our whole military expenditure would not have been made a charge on our own revenue; our European officers would not have been paid on an extravagant scale, nor would their domestic circumstances have received such anxious consideration as is seen, for instance, in the grant of the exchange compensation allowance, when those of ours, so much more complicated and necessitous than theirs, are thought to be beneath notice—an ex-Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, for instance, who declared *Kesur* sufficient food for the famine-stricken, being reported to have considered Rs. 50 a month enough for every Bengali—

cess would not have been added to cess and tax to tax ; the salt-tax would have gone ; our law courts would not have been made ruinously costly ; our Department of Education, to us the most useful and important of departments, would not have been treated in the most niggardly style, instead of being treated, as it should have been and should be, in a style of princely lavishness, and the education of our children would not have been made costlier every ten or twenty years ; our villages would not have remained in full possession of decimating and desolating malaria for upwards of half a century ; our cry for water in the hottest part of the year would not have received the heartless reply that it is the business of the zamindar to take notice of that ; the simple, sober, contented Indian would not have been allowed to be ruined in body and mind by cheap seductive luxury from Europe ; and so on. To make her administration of India successful in the most important sense of the word, that is to say, in its *pálan* or spiritual branch, radical changes have become indispensable and imperative in its principle and policy. The present self-seeking policy should give place to a policy of self-sacrifice. The policy of practically ignoring the great mass of the people and endeavouring to humour and conciliate only the educated few will have to be altered, without, however, neglecting the latter ; the principle of making the administration practically synonymous with the manipulation and re-manipulation of offices, departments and the services, with the issue of circulars, proclamations, reports and resolutions, with multiplying cesses and taxes, with devising new sources of income almost every other day, and so on, should be curtailed in favour of the principle of making it consist mainly in the adoption, maintenance and furtherance of measures for the real everyday relief and welfare of the great population that dwell in the village.

And is it not to be given to us to cherish the hope that this will be done? It will be England's severe self-condemnation if she says, it is not to be. We are sanguine that with her keen sense of duty, the basis of that sense of justice which is characteristic of the English people more than of any other in Europe, it will be impossible for England to say that. That we have still to appeal to her sense of the duty she owes us as our sovereign, is because she has a failing in common with other European nations in her habit of looking down upon all coloured peoples as inferior to her. We feel and feel very acutely that many Englishmen in this country, not excepting many holders of high offices, hate us as niggers, as low luckless creatures contact with whom is a painful necessity and often even contamination, and who should be and who are, as a matter of fact, shunned, borne down, or brushed aside everywhere and whenever possible. How great this contempt of the Indian was made shockingly clear to us in Barrister Branson's vulgar but thunderingly applauded speech at the ferocious Anglo-Indian meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall against the great Ilbert Bill and the ignoble Concordat which Ripon the Good was obliged to accept. The keenest sense of duty and the strictest sense of justice become, we are afraid, blunted and bedimmed, if they are not actually replaced by conscious or unconscious neglect and perverse prejudice, where the men to be dealt with are held in contempt or tiny esteem and those dealing with them are positive that they belong to a distinct and decidedly higher order of beings with a monopoly of every human excellence. This attitude of the white man towards the non-white has begun to be confessed as unjust by white men themselves. It is a pity, however, that it has begun to be condemned only after seeing the non-white's physical prowess in the last great war in the far East, instead of being protested against at all times as an attitude which

should never have been taken up, being fundamentally and on the plainest principles of morality unworthy of and degrading to human beings and forbidden by God and religious scripture in every land. That it has begun to be condemned, however late and though not for the high and truly human reason, is still matter for congratulation as a slight gain to the cause of humanity. It is gain, however, which cannot be seen in Europe's actual conduct or on any scale probably for centuries to come. India's case, however, is an urgent one and demands urgent treatment. It has become necessary for Englishmen to at once cease to look down upon their Indian subjects and to begin to treat them with respect, sympathy, civility and even affection. As one means of awakening these feelings in their mind I think that it may be of great immediate use and effect to tell such of them as do not know, and they are the most numerous, and remind those who are apt to forget what a people their Hindu subjects are. Well, it is their Hindu subjects whose forefathers were the earliest civilisers of the world, gave the world its first religious books, propounded what is still the highest and deepest spiritual philosophy in the possession of man, created a grand literature, made signal contributions to the most useful branches of human knowledge, and built up a social organisation which is the most enduring because the most spiritualised the world has ever seen and which is destined to endure as long as the race of man; and who have in their own days produced apostles and incarnations of spiritual love like Chaitanya, religious devotees like Rámprasad Sen and Ram Krishna Paramhansa, representatives of Hindu spirituality like Bhaskaránanda Swami; intellectual athletes like the logicians of Nadia, even scientists like Dr. Sarkar, Dr. P. C. Ray and Dr. J. C. Bose, the last having electrified the scientific world by his discoveries in the most scientific of centuries, not to speak of the great men of other parts of modern India;

and who are carrying off the palm in the highest intellectual contests with the flower of England's youth. Such a people, I dare say, have every right to receive respectful, if not reverential, treatment from whoever may be in political authority over them ; and they certainly prove themselves unworthy of sovereignty over such a people who look down upon them as animals inferior to man or hate them as niggers. I think I may also say that, wherever there is high humanity, there ought to be perfect sympathy with such a people—that is, full participation in their joys and sorrows—and where there is political suzerainty in addition, there ought to be every attention paid to their wants and grievances, difficulties and disadvantages. And as their present suzerain is England, the most freedom-loving country in the world, I am sanguine that their political subjection will be regretted by the race that rules them more keenly than by anybody else as a misfortune calling for the largest measure of solace and consolation that can be provided for them in such circumstances. They are, I beg leave to submit, fully entitled to cherish a sense of self-respect not a whit less keen than that of any other people in the world, a pride of a pedigree which is very much longer and more glorious than any other known to anybody else, an estimate of the service rendered by them to the cause of human civilisation in its temporal as well as spiritual form, which, not unjustly or unwarrantably, inspires them with a no very contemptible idea of their importance and dignity as a civilisation-making people. All these their rightful feelings cannot be ignored, wounded or slighted by whoever may be their ruler without making them feel their political subjection in a manner of which no one not in their position and not hurt like them can form an idea. By hurting us in this way England does herself more harm than can be done by a mutiny or a rebellion, as is seen in the condition of Bengal and the attitude of the Bengali people towards

their Government after the partition of their country effected in a manner which was felt by them as an insult deliberately offered to their sense of honour and self-respect. England cannot make a sadder or graver mistake than by forgetting that it is universal human nature, wherever there is dependence or subjection which is felt to be such, to become a little too sensitive (अभिमानि, *abhimāni*) and therefore much too angry or indignant under insult or ill-treatment—a fact, which creates important obligations for rulers and ruling peoples in relation to the ruled. It is very unfortunate, however, that such obligations are not and have never been thought of by the English Government and the people of England. For it is owing in no small measure to this serious omission that our Government is one of the most unpopular in the world. It would be the truest magnanimity in the eye of the Hindus, if not in the eye of any other people, and not, as so many members of our ruling race seem so positive, an exhibition of weakness tending to destroy Government's prestige, to recognise with alacrity this interesting phase of a noble human failing. The Hindu, with his peculiar culture, has his peculiar way of thinking and feeling in many matters, and those who are ignorant of his peculiarities are not likely to rule him with success or to his satisfaction. In her Government of this strange people England should, therefore, associate with herself in the friendliest and heartiest manner the men of large knowledge, sound thought and deep feeling among them in whatever rank of life existing, instead of confining her choice, as by another fatal mistake she proposes to do, among notables or notabilities. Superior thought, accurate knowledge and sound feeling are seldom found associated with rank or opulence, they having, as all the world knows, their most congenial dwelling in the world of plain, poor, untitled humanity.

No man worthy of that noble designation can withhold

from true worth his respect and, where sympathy is a duty, his sympathy too. England cannot, therefore, endeavour to change her present unsympathetic and disrespectful attitude towards India into an attitude of deep sympathy and profound reverence with greater chance of success than by knowing India's place in the history of the world's thought and civilisation. It is, therefore, her duty to know as much as she can of India's wonderful personality among the nations of the world. And to make this knowledge impressive and useful, she should begin to acquire it very early in life. Every English boy and every English youth should be compelled to read the story of that personality in the public schools and colleges of England in compilations specially prepared from, say, Sir William Jones, Horace Hayman Wilson, Max Muller, Goldstücker, Edwin Arnold, R. C. Dutt, Johnson and a host of others, but carefully avoiding such writers as James Mill; from the records of their Indian travels left by visitors like Megasthenes, Fahian, Houen Tshang and many others, and so on. That story should also be related, every now and then, from every pulpit and platform and in the press, in order that every man and woman in England may hear it and admire it and thereby learn to feel that interest in India and that respect and sympathy for her people the want of which has been, for the one hundred and fifty years that England has taken upon herself the guardianship of this country, her sin and shame. A full knowledge of that story should also be made a condition for admission into the Indian Civil Service as well as for admission into every branch of the higher uncovenanted service, Medical, Engineering and the rest. And in introducing this new education, education, that is, which it is the bounden duty of the entire English people, holding India as they do in trust for us from God, and not simply of the handful of Englishmen forming the governing body, to receive, it is prayed

that England's temporal and spiritual power will combine to persuade her merchants and manufacturers, who guide her policy more effectively than her statesmen and among whom are some of her noblest sons, that as they have made their country fabulously rich they can now afford to be kind to indigent India, which is as much their charge, care and concern morally as well as politically as she is of all other Englishmen, collectively and individually, and to give her the help or facility without which it will be almost impossible for her to recover even her elementary industries. I know I am not talking political economy. But in an appeal to India's ruler, guardian and protector on the question of her life and death it would not be right political philosophy to do that. That philosophy authorises me to talk political morality and universal humanity.

It will, I trust, do much to carry these suggestions to the heart of the people of England if I say that it is a thousand pities that necessity should have arisen to persuade them in this way to know us and our country as the best means they can adopt in order to be able to feel for us and do by us as they are bound to as responsible rulers of India. They should have of themselves, every man and every woman in England, (the latter being a more potent factor in English life than the former) from the very day they took our destiny into their hand, made it their most important and beloved task to acquire that knowledge. That they have not done so and show no inclination still to do so, means that they are utterly unmindful of and negligent to the great trust which, according to their own best men, they have received from God. As a people, they know nothing of India—know not, we fear, many of them, whether it is in America or in Africa, care not to know and think it no business of theirs to know whether it is well governed or ill governed, are perfectly sure that they have themselves no duty and

responsibility to India, when she has a special governing body to look after us. It is no wonder, therefore, that they have so long kept their conscience quiet in regard to us—that conscience whose “savage stings,” as we have it on very high authority, they will be unable to bear when they shall hear “through the dark distances the roar and scream of confusion and carnage in India.” If England's duty to India is to be well and fully done, the conscience of her people *as a body* must be roused. It is unto that end that these suggestions for their education and moral persuasion are made.

My last word. The cause or causes of the deep discontent now prevailing in India cannot be fully or correctly ascertained without a careful consideration of a great, I might add, a unique fact in the history of the world. It is that there is no more contented man on the face of the earth than the Hindu. To enable the European to understand or admit this, he needs only to be told that our caste system, which is in his opinion the most effective contrivance ever made to stifle the individual and prevent his worldly advancement, has been always accepted and conformed to by us willingly and without question, and when upset by the followers of such religious revolutionists as Buddha, has been invariably reaccepted and re-established. And the cause of this unique fact in the world's history is another unique fact in that history. It is that in the Hindu religion earthly life has no meaning, purpose or value except as an auxiliary or contributory to spiritual life. And not content with merely giving this advice or deeming only advice sufficient for practical purposes, our ancient teachers and sages made rules for daily observance which cannot be practised without making earthly life entirely subordinate or auxiliary to spiritual life, and without becoming enamoured of the duty and the discipline. This is the secret of the unique contentedness of the Hindu. It has made the Hindu the one object-lesson

in contentment for the entire world. But this historic land of contentment is now full of discontent—a fact, which it is England's duty more than of anybody else to endeavour to understand. For this discontent in this historic land of contentment is her own creation and the responsibility for its continuance and increase is also hers. And as it is the Indian's duty to explain it to her in the light in which he views it, I place these pages before her as my humble help to her in her study of this grave question.

I have mentioned some of the things which we consider to be England's shortcomings in her administration of India. That there are other shortcomings, there can be no question. But it does not fall within my purpose to mention all. Nor is it necessary to do that. The point of greatest importance in this connection is that there should be a change of England's attitude towards us. For with that change all shortcomings will be bound to disappear. It is this:—

The educated Hindu who derives so much of his knowledge and his political inspiration from English literature, certainly dislikes political subjection as degrading and dishonourable. But I can solemnly assure England that he does not for that reason desire to subvert or to be rid of her rule. And more than this. Where political subjection is a necessity, as it undoubtedly is with him, he considers it an honour and a privilege to be under political subjection to the countrymen of Shakspeare, Shelley, Tennyson and Wordsworth; of Locke, Berkely, Hume and Spencer; of Newton, Darwin and Faraday; of Pym, Hampden, Milton, Burke, Bright and Fawcett; of Howard, Clarkson and Wilberforce. And he fervently prays every Englishman, whether of the governing body or not, to make it a point of enabling him to see and feel that it is such, for he is unfortunately not yet made to see and feel in that way. He also prays that, in dealing with the Hindus, all Englishmen will make it a point never to forget that they

are dealing with the countrymen of Vyas, Valmiki, Kalidas and Bhababhuti—of Kapil, Kanád and Patanjali—of Buddha, Chaitanya and Sankarácháryya—of Janak and Yudhisthir—of Dayánanda, Bhaskaránanda, Vivekánanda and Ramkrishna Paramhamsa. If Englishmen do only these two things, it will not be necessary to ask them to do any other. For these two things will make every wrong, every inattention, every insult, every incivility to India impossible. And it is only by these two things and not by means of any other—Indians in the India Council, Advisory Council of Notables, crowded legislatures, or anything of that kind and species conceivable now or conceivable hereafter—that England's administration of India can be made to conduce to her own glory and to the happiness and prosperity of her great dependency.

These things done and the Hindu character considered, there can remain no doubt that England's government of this country will become the easiest and most successful of foreign governments in the world. By their practice of the most spiritual creed and subjection to the most spiritualised social system in the world, the Hindus, as a people, are the gentlest of men, and ferocity is not only no part of their nature but is their abhorrence. As a people, they have been trained from the earliest human times to learn and love to be human, to hate brutality and to regard the use of physical force as shameful and inglorious. It is either because Englishmen do not know this or because they lack the moral courage which can exist only in a perfectly guiltless mind that they fancy themselves seated on a volcano in this country and think and talk of their sword as the weapon with which they hold India and shall hold it to the end of time, forgetting that the only sword which lives for ever is not the sword that is made of Steel but the sword that is made of Love, such sword, that is, as was used by Buddha, Jesus Christ, Chaitanya and others of their transcendent race. If, therefore, in addi-

tion to this, England learns to love her Indian subjects, she will at once find every fear expelled from her mind and feel tempted to rule them in the trustful spirit the want of which has so long introduced only difficulties and complications in her administration. This is one thing.

There is another. Discontent, as stated above, has certainly made its appearance in this historic land of contentment and among our historically contented people. But the effect of a historic discipline like ours cannot easily disappear, and is not, as a matter of fact, entirely lost. Thoughtful students of the Bengal press ought to know that, even among those who have begun to feel discontent, little kind words spoken to us and small acts of kindness done to us by Englishmen, official or non-official, produce far greater delight and much quicker satisfaction than they would among any other people in the world. And this, I presume, may be said of the other Indian provinces too. The Hindus are, in fact, a people far easier to please, satisfy, conciliate or capture than anybody else on earth. It is England's singular good fortune—good fortune not known to any other ruling or imperial country in the world—that she has such a people as the Hindus for her subjects and in her Empire. That she is not popular with such a people and such a people do not love her even after 150 years of her rule should, therefore, be for all her sons cause for very serious reflection and the most anxious self-searching.

There is yet another thing. The Hindu has one of the most grateful hearts in the world. We do not forget those Englishmen, official or non-official, who mean well to us or give us anything of value, whether it is given with a benevolent motive or not. Hare, Bethune, Duff, Ewart, Richardson, Jones, Halleur, Sutcliffe, Sanders, Grapel, Lobb,² Thwaytes, Clint, Cowell, Atkinson, Woodrow, Croft, Tawney, Eliot—of these and many more like these, some have long since left this world and some have left India. But we remember them still and talk of them every day with the

same zest as we did when they were among us. We still celebrate the anniversary of the death of David Hare and we had till very lately a literary society in Calcutta named after Drinkwater Bethune. There are thousands of homes in Bengal (and I presume in other Indian provinces too) in which English names—names of Government officers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, merchants, merchant's managers and so on—are still like household words, pronounced every day with feelings of unabated gratitude and reverence. My father, who died in 1872, commanded his children not to forget a name which is therefore still in our mouth. It is the name of an Englishman, Mr. Dick, a partner in one of the earliest mercantile firms in Calcutta in which my father was book-keeper in his youth. We often name our favourite institutions not after our own great men, much as we revere them, but after those Englishmen whose memory we love or respect. One of our oldest book-shops in Calcutta is called the Canning Library, an excellent printing press in Calcutta is called the Hare Press, another excellent printing press is called the Metcalfe Press, a third excellent press, that in which these pages are printed, is called the Cotton Press. We love to give our schools, colleges and libraries all over Bengal such names as Ripon and Cotton. As Viceroy of India, Lord Ripon gave us local self-government which was not unsubstantial like our present local self-government, and for this one boon and one boon only and for the few sweet and respectful words he spoke to and regarding us, we have enshrined him in our heart in a manner which is unexampled in the annals of the British Government in India, and we preserve him in our mind with feelings of love and adoration which neither stone nor canvas can inspire or awaken*. Self-praise is bad. But there has

* "And let them (the English) above all not depend on such political reforms and concessions as do no good to the people at large but only benefit the selfish few who are far from feeling grateful for the boon." Mr. R. P. Kirkaria in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1907, p. 479.

arisen an unpleasant necessity for it in the fact that we are stigmatised in the English press, in the Anglo-Indian press, by many Englishmen, official and non-official, and even by non-Hindu writers in the Indian press, as an ungrateful people who acknowledge not the boons which are conferred on them by their English rulers.

I should very much like to think that this charge of black ingratitude is preferred against us in pure ignorance of the Hindu character, but I regret to find it preferred in a spirit and style which makes such a supposition impossible. And as the charge seems accepted by members of our governing body, the men who make it are not England's friends but enemies, who seek to turn her away from the line of action which alone can enable her to effect a fusion of ruler and ruled which the world shall behold with wonder and admiration.

**IS THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
RESPONSIBLE TO ANYONE,
AND, IF SO, TO WHOM ?**

A SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE
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IS THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESPONSIBLE TO ANYONE, AND, IF SO, TO WHOM?

Mr. BONNERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need make no apology to you for introducing to your notice and asking your consideration of the subject which has been selected for the meeting this evening. That subject is, as you are aware, "Is the Government of India responsible to anyone?" and, I will add, "if so, to whom?" Not only is the subject important in itself, but it has, or rather it ought to have, a very peculiar importance for the people of Great Britain, as India for weal or woe is bound up with Great Britain, and there is hardly a household in this country that has not some connexion with India. Many of the services in India are recruited from this country. Some relation or friend or friend's friend is either actually serving in that country, or has returned home after serving there. Again, money belonging to the people of England is invested in India, and many of them carry on mercantile trading and other businesses there, so that it is not too much to say that everybody here is more or less connected with that country. (Hear, hear.) There is one preliminary point to which I wish to direct your attention before proceeding with our subject, and that is the axiomatic truth that the Government of a country must be responsible to either the people of that country, or at any rate to somebody who has the supreme command over that country, to be a successful Government. Whatever may be the case with the Autocrat of all the Russias, whether he be responsible to his people or not, in this country it has been accepted from probably very ancient times that no government is fit to be placed over the people which does not owe responsibility to the people. (Hear, hear.) Bearing this in mind, let me call your attention, as shortly as I can, to the constitution of the Government of India. You are aware, no doubt, that the supreme ruler of India is nominally her Majesty the Queen, while really it is the Secretary of State for India. Next to him in importance comes the Governor-General of India, who with his Council has the oversight of all the subordinate governments in India, and is responsible to the Secretary of State for what takes place in that country. The subordinate governments that are engaged in looking after the affairs of India may be said to be six—you have the Governorships of Bombay and Madras, and the Lieut.-Governorships

of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Burma. In addition to these, but not of quite so much importance, are the Chief Commissionerships of the Central Provinces and of Assam. It is quite clear that the subordinate Governments in India are all responsible to the Governor-General in Council, and he in his turn is, as I have said, responsible to the Secretary of State. It is unnecessary for me to go into the internal government of India so far as the subordinate Governorships and Commissionerships are concerned. There are various divisions in the Presidencies and Provinces which are ruled by officials, who are responsible to the heads of the subordinate Governments. The question we are concerned with is not the responsibility which these officials owe, but the responsibility, if any, that the supreme Government of India owes. In the time of the East India Company, as you probably are aware, the method of government was this:—The Governor-General initiated measures upon the recommendation of the different subordinate governments for the government of their respective provinces. Those measures were subject to approval or disapproval by the Court of Directors of the East India Company; if that body approved, then the Court of Proprietors had to give its sanction or otherwise, and finally the approval had to be obtained of the Board of Control, which was connected with the Ministry of the day. Thus there were three safeguards with reference to any policy adopted in those days for the government of the country, viz., first that of the Court of Directors, then that of the Court of Proprietors, and finally the Board of Control, and any of those bodies could disapprove of any measures put forward by the Governor-General. And I must say that in those days, reading the reports of the proceedings before the Court of Directors, the Court of Proprietors, and the Board of Control, it is impossible to come to the conclusion that the affairs of India were not considered from the point of view of the good of the Indian people (Hear, hear.) However much the East India Company may have erred in their desire to get as much money out of India as possible, the people of India were well looked after and their interests were considered solely with the view of their being properly governed. (Hear, hear.) At any rate this was the case when the East India Company, under Acts of Parliament, ceased to be a trading company and became really a governing, or in other words an Imperial company. After the Mutiny of 1857-8 the Company were abolished, and we have in their place not the threefold control over the Government of India, of which I have spoken, but the single control of the Secretary of State and his Council. Except in certain matters in which he is bound to obtain the consent of his Council, the Secretary of State is supreme and can overrule his Council when he likes.

The Secretary of State for India is under the present constitution the supreme Government of that country. To whom is he responsible? Certainly—and when I say certainly I mean avowedly—not to the people of the country. Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, than whom there was no more sympathetic Governor-General of India in recent times, said on one occasion: “In doing the best we can for the people of India, we are bound by our consciences and not by theirs.” This shows clearly and distinctly that the responsibility for

the government of India was not to the people of India. And it was only the other day that Sir Antony P. MacDonnell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who is about to return to India, said in answer to the toast of his health, at a dinner which was given to him by his old friends at the Hotel Métropole — "To be a successful administrator in India it was absolutely necessary to observe two great principles—the first was to firmly uphold law and order, and the next was to maintain a kind and sympathetic attitude towards Native feeling and Native wishes." I want you particularly to note that the second principle is only to *maintain* a kind and sympathetic attitude towards Native feeling and wishes, and that it is not to be swayed by Native feeling and wishes—that is to say that the administration is not to be carried on in accordance with anything the Natives may say, but it is to be governed, as Sir John Lawrence put it, "by our consciences and not by theirs." This is not only avowed in words, but it is rigidly adhered to in practice in India. You may be aware that the Governor-General of India has two councils—the Executive and the Legislative. To the former no Native has ever been admitted—that is a territory which is closed by iron doors to the Natives of India. To the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India as well as to those of the different subordinate governments the natives of India are admitted, but they are only allowed the privilege of talking and submitting questions which may or may not be put and answered at the discretion of the ruler of the Province or of the Governor-General. In these Councils the budgets of the different presidencies, and in the Governor-General's Legislative Council the Budget for the whole of India, are submitted to the members, who are allowed to criticise them, but have no power whatever to propose resolutions disapproving of any particular item in them. Members can merely speak on the budgets, and adverse criticisms on them are answered by the financial and other members of the Governor-General's Council. And I may here add for your information that these criticisms of the budgets are mere beating the air, for according to the rules laid down for the conduct of business, the junior member has to speak first, and so on in gradation. The Native members are generally the junior members; like all additional members they hold the position for only two years at a time, and if re-appointed they have to go back to the end of the seat. (Laughter.) The result is that the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council have the last word, and of course men trained in the Indian services, who know full well how to carry the gallery with them, find it easy to make out that the Native member criticising the budget is a nincompoop, and that his words ought not to be attended to. Never has there been a debate in the Council of the Governor-General of India or in any of the legislative councils of the subordinate governments where any criticism by Native members has received even sympathetic treatment. ("Shame.") As for the Secretary of State, he has never admitted a Native gentleman into his Council, his knowledge of the people is infinitesimal, and I think I am not wrong in saying he cares less for them. It follows that the Government of India owes no responsibility to the people of India. Matters would not be so very bad if

they owed some responsibility to somebody else who might be in a position to bring them to their right senses if they should happen to go wrong. There is such a body. That body is the House of Commons, and through that House the British public. But unfortunately the responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament exists only on paper. Yes, there is, on paper, a very good constitution for the Government of India, so far as their responsibility to Parliament is concerned. Debates may be raised in Parliament on Indian questions, and as the result of these debates the Secretary of State may be set right where he has gone wrong. But what happens in practice? What is the real state of things as opposed to the state of things on paper? Let us consider this from the point of view of the Indian Budget that must be presented to the Houses of Parliament under the Acts which deal with the Government of India. I will read to you from a book by Sir Courtenay Ilbert on the Government of India, in which he sets forth the wording of the statutes which provide :—

“(1) The Secretary of State in Council must within the first fourteen days during which Parliament is sitting next after the first day of May in every year lay before both Houses of Parliament :—
1st, An account for the financial year preceding that last completed of the annual produce of the revenues of British India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, and each of the several provinces, and of all the annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad for the purposes of the Government of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof.

“(2) The latest estimates of the same for the last financial year.

“(3) The amount of the debts chargeable on the revenues of India, with the rates of interest they respectively carry and the annual amount of the interest.

“(4) An account of the State effects and credit in each province and in England or elsewhere applicable to the purposes of the Government of India according to the latest advices which have been received thereof.

“(5) A list of the establishment of the Secretary of State in Council and the salaries and allowances payable in respect thereof.

“If any new or increased salary or pension of £50 a year or upwards has been granted or created within any year in respect of the said establishment, the particulars thereof must be specially stated and explained at the foot of the account for that year.

“The account must be accompanied by statements prepared from the detached reports from each province in British India in such form as best exhibits the moral and material progress and condition of British India in each of the said provinces.”

Now, that is what the Secretary of State has to do. He has within the first 15 days of May to submit to the British Parliament a statement of Indian Accounts. But what is done in practice? So far from the accounts of the Government of India being presented to Parliament within the first fifteen days of May, they are never presented until about two days before the prorogation—about the 6th or 7th of August in each year. And at the time they are presented and

when the Secretary of State makes his Financial Statement to the House of Commons most of the members have departed, and most of those who remain only do so because it is necessary that there should be forty members present to make a quorum. They do not remain in order to consider the accounts of India. In this connexion may I relate to you an experience I had some years ago in the House of Commons on what is called the Indian Budget night. I went there expecting to see a good many members present taking an active interest, not merely in the accounts, but also in the welfare of the people of India. When Sir John Gorst, who was at that time Under-Secretary, rose to make his statement, the House contained about thirty members, while, when my friend the late Mr. Bradlaugh spoke, his fame brought in perhaps about twenty more. Then Sir Roper Lethbridge got up to speak. He had been in Government service in India, and had been rewarded with a knighthood of one of the Indian Orders for the good work he had done there. Yet while he was speaking there were only two members in the House—the Chairman of Committees and Sir Roper himself. But supposing that the whole of the members of the House were to be present while the Indian Budget is debated, what power have they over it? The House has no power to object to or to cancel one single item of the expenditure that has been incurred by the Government of India. All it does is to pass a resolution in a stereotyped fashion. I will give you the text of the last resolution passed:—

“Resolved—That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the total revenue of India for the year ending March 31, 1897, was Rx. 94,129,741; that the total expenditure in India and in England charged against the revenue was Rx. 95,834,763; that there was an excess of expenditure over revenue of Rx. 1,705,022; and that the capital outlay on railways and irrigation works not charged against revenue was Rx. 4,984,422.”

That is the sort of resolution which the House of Commons passes every year in connexion with the accounts of India. It means simply that the accounts which have been presented show certain results; but there is not one word of criticism as to whether the accounts are correct, or as to whether the expenditure has been properly incurred, or as to the policy which has been pursued by the Government of India. In fact the House of Commons has no control over the accounts of India in the slightest degree. Now let me come to the debates of which I have spoken. Has anybody ever heard of the Secretary of State for India being defeated on any question connected with that country in either House of Parliament? No! He is infallible as regards Parliament. And why? Because members have never taken sufficient interest in the good government of India to induce them to look carefully into the policy of the Government and to arrive at an impartial opinion as to whether or not it had done its duty towards the people. Of course the great incentive to members of the House of Commons to do anything comes from the constituencies. If there is any subject in which the constituencies take a great deal of interest, members are moved to action by those whom they represent, with sometimes the result that the

Government of the day is discredited. But where is there any interest in the constituencies with regard to India? Unless there is an upheaval such as occurred in 1857-58, in which English lives were lost, the constituencies are perfectly content to leave India in the hands of those irresponsible persons who now have control to do precisely as they like with her. One reason for the prevalence of this state of feeling in the constituencies appears to me to be this. There is a general belief on the part of the English people that they have to pay money out of their pockets for the Government of India—that they have to pay taxes for the preservation of the connexion between England and India; and they think that if they interfere at all with the action of the Government of India they may have perhaps to pay more. Never was there a greater delusion in the mind of anybody. So far from having paid one single sixpence for the government of India, the English people have derived the largest possible benefits from India. Not one single sixpence has England ever spent towards the acquisition of India or towards her maintenance. As we say in our country, there are certain kinds of fish which you can fry in their own oil. The position of the Government of India is exactly described by that. You have got India at the expense of India, and you have never had to pay a single sixpence out of your pockets for it. Would you believe it, that even that vast palace which the Secretary of State possesses in England—the India Office—was built entirely with money that came from India and derived from the taxes paid by the people of India? The salaries of the Secretary of State for India, of his councillors, and his clerks, and even of the office charwoman are paid out of the revenues received from and collected in India. And again, a vast amount of money for the training of young soldiers who are sent for a time to India is paid out of the revenues of that country. I repeat that at no time, and under no circumstances, have the people of this country contributed one single sixpence towards the acquisition or the maintenance of India. But this delusion on their part that they are taxed for the preservation of the connexion with India has been, I am sorry to say, to a very considerable extent at the bottom of the indifference which the people of this country have displayed towards India. (Hear.)

Having shown to you that the Government of India owes no responsibility to the people of India and that it does not in point of fact and practice owe any responsibility to the people of this country, I think I am right in answering the question, Is the Government of India responsible to anybody? emphatically in the negative. The truth is plain that the Government of India is an irresponsible body. I think I should be within the mark in saying that this irresponsibility has been productive of the most disastrous results to India. What are these results? First and foremost, of late years we have had perpetual wars beyond the North-West frontier of India. Nobody I have spoken to in this country, whether in the public service or out of it, approves of these frontier wars, or of the so-called "scientific" frontier which Lord Beaconsfield wanted to fix as a shield against Russia. So far as India is concerned, everybody is opposed to it except a small clique of military men who somehow manage to

get at the ear of the Governor-General for the time being. The Governor-General in these matters is astute enough in the first instance to obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State for what he is going to do, and the moment he has got the sanction away go the troops to find out this "scientific" frontier. In this research for a "scientific" frontier we get some very hard knocks and many valuable lives are lost. But what is that to the military clique? Many of them do not themselves go to the front. They do not get knocked on the head; but after this triumphant success of our arms all the decorations, except the V.C., which can only be won on the field of battle—all the other decorations—the K.C.S.I.'s and the G.C.S.I.'s come flying like leaves in the autumn on their heads. (Laughter.) Of course that is their great consideration—to get hold of the Governor-General and make him a convert to the "scientific" frontier policy. The amount of money that is wasted on these wars is enormous, and you would scarcely believe me were I to mention the amount. But you can easily imagine that you cannot have, as you did last year, a regular army of 60,000 men, with all the arms of precision, engaged in fighting with people who are fond of guerilla warfare without having to spend a very large amount of money. What is the result? The result is that taxation in India has gone up to a point which is almost unbearable, while the money thus obtained passes, as Sir Charles Aitchison in his short life of Sir John Lawrence says, "through the sieve of the military department." Every domestic reform is put in the back-ground. If you say that money is needed for the Education Department in order to give proper education to the people, the answer is, "There is no money." If you want sanitary reform in order to keep the plague out of the Indian boundaries the answer is the same. If famine is to be battled with, well, you must raise a subscription in Great Britain—there is no money in the Indian exchequer for the purpose of lifting the people out of their difficulties. There is no money for anything of that kind; but there is money for these frontier wars. ("Shame.") I venture to think that if the Government of India had been responsible to anybody these frontier wars would never have been undertaken, and the old policy of Sir John Lawrence of remaining within our boundaries and taking care of our own provinces from those boundaries would be adhered to. (Cheers) You never hear a responsible politician say that these frontier wars are necessary. All that is said is that they are forced upon us. You have on your frontiers wild tribes, and close to them you have soldiers and officers dying of *ennui* because they have nothing to do. Suddenly a cry is raised of a raid on the part of these frontier tribes; it is declared that it must be checked and punished; in doing that your troops go about ten miles forward and establish themselves there until another raid calls for a further advance. ("Shame.") There is no limit to your going forward, and as I have said, an enormous part of the revenues of India is spent on these wars. The money goes through the sieve, as Sir Charles Aitchison says, of the military department. (Hear, hear.) Whatever the people of India may be I take it that they are not fools—(hear, and laughter)—and they resent this policy. (Cheers) They know that of themselves they are perfectly powerless, they cannot do

anything, but they grunt and are dissatisfied and will not pay that divine honour to their rulers which they think is their due. They are consequently deemed seditious. The Government do not for a moment consider that it is a reflection upon their own wisdom and policy for the people, after a century of English rule, to be seditious, if they really are so. They merely think that because the people grunt and grumble they are seditious and must be repressed. I will tell you what sedition means to the Government of India. It means that you must not speak disparagingly of them: if you have any criticism to offer, it must be one of pure and unadulterated laudation. (Laughter.) You have no right to say that they are not archangels; that they are not invested and endowed with all the greatest qualities of the best statesmen ever produced in any country. (Laughter.) If you dare to suggest that, then you are seditious, and ought to be punished. They forget that trust begets trust, and that if you treat a person with distrust he is sure to return the compliment by treating you with distrust. When the government of India was in the hands of the East India Company we never heard of these seditious speakers or writers, because at the time we had somebody in England who was able to take a just view of these subjects. At the present moment we have nobody to do it. The officials in India are, as I have said, astute enough to get the sanction of the Secretary of State for what they intend to do, and having got that sanction they go on their way regardless of the feelings and opinions of the people who, when they appeal to the Secretary of State, get a slap on the cheek because he says that the measures which have been taken by the Government are perfectly fair, just, and proper, and he upholds that Government in everything. Yet these measures which he describes as perfectly fair, just, and proper, are the very ones to which in their inception he had pledged himself without having heard one word about them from the point of view of the people. There has not been, I am sorry to say, any Secretary of State for India—with two honourable exceptions—who has ever been strong enough to confess that the policy which had been sanctioned was not for the best in every way. The two exceptions were Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Viscount Halifax (a Liberal), and Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards the Earl of Iddesleigh (a Conservative). With these two exceptions we have never had a Secretary of State strong enough to confess that what he had sanctioned was wrong and must be remedied. We have had weak men who, having once sanctioned a particular policy, have adhered to that policy, have become partisans of it, and have defended it through thick and thin. Aye, they have successfully defended it, too, because, as you know, the Secretary of State is a member of the Administration of the day—a member of the Cabinet and has a majority behind his back in the House of Commons. He is able to say to those who complain, "The House of Commons approves of what I have done; I am triumphantly vindicated. What are you grumbling about? You ought not to grumble, and if you do you are seditious."

That brings me to the repressive legislation which, as I say, owing to this want of responsibility on the part of the Indian Government, has recently been passed in India. As a matter of fact the Sedition Bill which was passed into law was drafted in this country. What I am

about to say upon this matter is taken from the Blue-books. The Bill was drafted under the orders of the Secretary of State; the draft was approved by him, and it was sent out to India to be passed into law. The Governor-General of India meekly objected to it; he said in effect, as I understand him, that the existing law of the country was perfectly good and safe, and that there was no necessity to revise it at all, particularly as two High Courts in India had given an interpretation which the Government of India considered was sufficient for all practical purposes. However the Secretary of State—Lord George Hamilton—insisted that his draft Bill should be passed, and it was passed accordingly, with some slight modifications. Thus far the Blue-book. Now there was no one in the country among the non-official Europeans who did not object to this Bill, while the whole of the Native population from the most orthodox to the most heterodox, from the most Conservative to the most Radical, objected to it. On their behalf representations were made to the House of Commons; questions were put to the Secretary of State, and what do you think Lord George Hamilton did? On February 17 last, in reply to Sir William Wedderburn, he stated that if the new measures were passed into law the power of allowing or disallowing them was vested in the Crown, and that he was in no sense disposed to shirk responsibility for any advice which he might give to her Majesty on the subject. On the same evening, replying to Mr. Herbert Roberts's amendment to the address, Lord George Hamilton deprecated discussion at that period because, as he said, the measures were then under the consideration of the Legislative Council, and it would be improper to influence and perhaps prejudice the result. He added that when the opinions expressed in the Legislative Council came to the India Office, if it was desired that they should be published he would at once publish them, and that that would form "a legitimate and proper opportunity for discussing the matter." Similarly, a week later, on February 24, he stated, in reply to Mr. Pickersgill, that if the Viceroy gave his assent to the new law it would "still be within the power of the Crown to disallow either or both measures." Now what to a candid mind would be the impression conveyed by Lord George Hamilton's language as used in the House of Commons? Would it not be this, that the noble lord would consider the question on its merits and come to an impartial conclusion with regard to it? We in India certainly took this view of the Secretary of State's language. Having heard what is contained in the Blue-books, and comparing it with what Lord George Hamilton said to the House of Commons, what conclusion can you come to? We Indians are an Eastern people, supposed to be uncivilised, and to my Eastern uncivilised mind the only language by which Lord George Hamilton's conduct, as I have shown it, can be characterised is that it was an organised hypocrisy from beginning to end. (Cheers.) He is the man who forces the Government of India to go on with this Bill and to pass it at any hazard, notwithstanding the objections raised to it not only by the people of India but by the bulk of the Anglo-Indian community. The Government of India objected to it, but Lord G. Hamilton forced it through, and then he conveyed to the world the

impression that he was about to consider the Bill on its merits, and that an opportunity for useful discussion in Parliament would subsequently arise. The effect of his statements was to put the House of Commons off its guard, and as to the statement that the House would have a later opportunity of discussing the matter, he took no steps to provide such an opportunity, so that the matter did not come on until two days before the Prorogation. Then Mr. Herbert Roberts brought forward a resolution about the Seditious Bill, and Lord George Hamilton had the hardihood to say that the only people who objected to the Bill were certain disaffected people of the so-called educated classes, but that the bulk of the population and the leading men of the country had taken no objection to the measure at all! I may say that if Lord George Hamilton had kept himself well-informed of what takes place in India he would have known that that was contrary to the facts. (Hear.) Of course the people do not like this sort of thing, and they express their opinions somewhat warmly perhaps. The expression of that opinion is put down as sedition. But the fact remains that you now have repressive laws with regard to sedition such as to produce what at the present time I do not hesitate to say amounts to a reign of terror in India both on the part of those who speak in public and on the part of those who write in the newspaper press. ("Shante.") Indeed, if what I am now saying to you could be construed by any means as sedition, I could be prosecuted under this law when I go back to India, and put in gaol. But, luckily, I am not a seditious person. I am as anxious for the stability of British rule in India as, let us say, Lord George Hamilton himself, and I do not think I have said anything which even he could torture into sedition under his very elastic law. Take another instance, which shows the evil arising from irresponsibility on the part of the Government of India. You may have heard that shortly after that most lamentable event—lamentable from every point of view—(hear, hear)—the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerat at Poona, the Government of Bombay caused two gentlemen named Nattu—two brothers—to be arrested under an obsolete statute and put into gaol. They remained in prison for nearly nine months without trial, and at last, after a great deal of entreaty on the part of various influential men in this country, they have been allowed to leave the gaol. But they are on parole, and are not able to move about without the sanction of the Government of Bombay. Now Lord George Hamilton, on the subject of these Brothers Nattu, made statements in the House of Commons to which I shall have to draw your attention later on. For my present purpose let me tell you that a man was subsequently arrested, tried, condemned to death on his own confession, and executed in due course of law for the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerat. He declared that he had no particular animosity against them, but that they had said something with which he did not agree, and he consequently took the law into his own hands. Nobody put him up to it, and he did what he did entirely of his own bat. It is important to note that the judge who tried him subsequently made a speech in public in which he avowed publicly that having considered the evidence against this man with the

utmost care, he was perfectly satisfied that there was nobody at his back, and he only and alone was responsible for these murders. But what did Lord George Hamilton say? He said: "In Poona unfortunately there is a clique of some of the descendants of those who, at the commencement of this century, controlled a considerable portion of India. They have ever been hostile to British rule, and they have never lost any opportunity of stirring up discontent and disaffection against the authorities. They promptly availed themselves of this occasion, and by gross and wilful distortion of the acts of the officers of the search party employed at Poona, they contrived to produce the feeling which resulted in the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. Both these officers were done to death by the spread of wilful and malicious falsehoods." To say the least of it, it was exceedingly improper for the Secretary of State to say that in Poona "there was a clique of some of the descendants of those who at the commencement of this century controlled a considerable portion of India." He was of course referring to the brothers Nату, and when I tell you as a historical fact that the grandfather of these brothers was the principal adviser and the principal supporter of the English when they made war upon the Peshwa, with the result that Poona was obtained for this country, that for his good deeds the Government of the East India Company made him large grants, and that their interests are entirely bound up with the permanence of British rule in India, you can understand how much truth there is in this statement on the part of Lord George Hamilton. So far from being disaffected to the Government of India, so far from attempting to stir up disturbance in the country, these two brothers, and particularly the elder one, had done all in their power to help the Government in everything and to make them popular with the people. And in connexion with the plague regulations the elder brother had been the foremost to tell them what to do and to bring to the notice of the Government defaults on the part of the officers employed to carry out the regulations. Lord George Hamilton must have been misled—it is to be hoped at least as a matter of charity that he was—otherwise the only conclusion one can arrive at is that he deliberately said things which were in fact untrue for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the House of Commons. I have here another extract from a speech which he delivered on August 5, 1897. He said: "A certain knot of persons in Poona set themselves to malign Mr. Rand and his coadjutors. The murders were perpetrated, and they were cold-blooded murders carefully thought out and deliberately planned. They were not the deeds of a fanatic smarting under the sense of some supposed wrong—under a belief, for example, that some outrage had been done to his family. Everybody, he thought, would admit that the persons who committed these crimes ought to be brought to justice. He believed that if anyone of the members from Ireland who had spoken had been in the position of the Governor of Bombay he would have acted in the same way, and would have relegated the British constitution to the place to which it properly belonged—(laughter)—he meant to that House." What is the meaning of that?

That these murders had been deliberately planned and carried out ; whereas we know as a matter of fact that they were not only not deliberately planned and carried out, but that they were the act of a fanatic who had some supposed grievance against these two officers whose lives he took. What are you to say of a Secretary of State who speaks in this way in the House of Commons ? At the moment there is nobody in a position to contradict him, so the assent of the House is given to his statement, and the cause of India is jeopardised and almost ruined. When the true facts come out it is too late to take to task the men who have made these statements. I say again that the only reason why the noble lord was able to make this statement in the House of Commons was because he traded upon the ignorance of the members of the House. He knew he was responsible to nobody and that he had a majority at his back which would support him to any length he might wish to go. Therefore as I have said there has flowed from the irresponsibility of the Government of India consequences of a very disastrous character to the people of India. If those who know anything of the facts connected with the Government of India come forward before the British public they are received in a way not very flattering to them. You have some kind of *arrière pensée* in your mind that these men must be talking something which cannot be the truth. Surely, you say, our public men are not so bad as this. Surely Lord George Hamilton, the son of a duke, and the member for the Ealing division of Middlesex in the House of Commons, and the Secretary of State for India, could not have been guilty of the charges brought against him ? To a certain extent that would be right, because it is almost inconceivable that a man in such a high position should be guilty of these things. But what I have told you to-night, so far as the facts are concerned, has been taken from official Blue-books and Parliamentary speeches, and even he would not have ventured to publish these things if he were not perfectly sure that the public mind is a forgetful mind, and that statements made to-day are forgotten in a very short time, and that nobody would take the trouble to compare his statements in the House of Commons with the facts as contained in the Blue-book, and to take him to task for the discrepancy. The people of Acton and Ealing, I suppose, know nothing whatever of India, like most Englishmen they dearly love a lord—(laughter)—and they are very proud of having the younger son of a duke to represent them in the House of Commons. But if Lord George had to seek election to the House of Commons or to any of the Legislative Councils of India at the hands of the people of India, I am satisfied he would not get a proposer or seconder unless indeed he held in his hand a large batch of honours for distribution. Then perchance he might find fifteen or twenty rich men willing to support him. He would not, however, get a single vote from the general public to return him either to the House of Commons or to the local Legislative Assemblies.

Now I must close. The subject is one very near to my heart, and I could go on talking about the wrongs of India to an extent which I am certain you would not approve of. (Laughter) But what is the remedy for this state of things ? There must be some

remedy. (Hear, hear.) I am not like my friend Mr. Dutt—one of those who take a very hopeful view of affairs relating to India. His solution for all these difficulties which I have brought before you is to make the Government of India responsible to the people of India. That would be an admirable remedy, but I am afraid it is one which even the youngest present amongst us to-night will not live to see applied. To call for that would be merely crying in the wilderness, and as practical politicians we must look for other means of securing a remedy. One means which I think may be of great service to us is to make the Secretary of State merely the arbitrator between the people of India and the Government of India. (Hear, hear.) Let him not be induced to give his assent to any measure until that measure has been actually passed and both sides of the question are before him. Let him be an impartial judge and not a partisan. (Cheers.) Many good things I think would result from that. But the great thing that is necessary for the good government of India is that the indifference—I had almost said the criminal indifference—that the people of England display in regard to the government of India should be got rid of. (Cheers.) Let them take a little more interest in the nearly 300,000,000 of human beings who are their fellow-subjects; let them concern themselves even to a very slight extent with the welfare of those millions, and then I am perfectly satisfied that the aspect of affairs will change. I do not accuse you, ladies and gentlemen, or the people of Great Britain generally, with want of heart as regards the Indian people. I believe that you feel for them and that you are satisfied when they are happy and contented; I believe too you are sorry when famine or pestilence or any other calamity overtakes them. (Hear, hear.) But you do not give effect to what is in your heart. I pray you to do so, for if you do, you will have the blessings of three hundred millions of human beings upon your heads. (Loud cheers.)

ENGLAND'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

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ENGLAND'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

There is just now very much more discontent in India than is ordinarily seen, and many are asking, why. I think that a consideration of this specific question is hardly possible without an enquiry first made into Indian discontent as a permanent feature of Indian life under the English Government. That Government has not, so far, been successful in the most important sense of the word. Government, according to our idea of it, consists of two parts or branches, *Sásan* and *Pálan*. *Sásan* consists in establishing peace, preventing or putting down disorder and disturbance, punishing crime, and so on ; and in this part, which is concerned with the groundwork, so to say, or material side of an administration, the English Government in India has been a remarkable success, much greater success, indeed, than any other Government would or could in all probability have been, England's genius for organisation in this branch of Government, together with the magnitude of the resource needed for such work, being, as we think, unrivalled by any other country in Europe, perhaps, in the world. In this respect, therefore, there can be no question that India could not get a better master than England. But we are sorry we are unable to speak with anything like that admiration and enthusiasm regarding the other part of our Government's work, *Pálan*, which is concerned with what may not inaptly be styled its superstructure or spiritual side. If what we mean by *Pálan* has to be explained fully and accurately and at the same time in the fewest words possible, I think I should say that *Pálan* is maintaining a subject people in the style and spirit in which one maintains one's own family. *Pálan* is, there-

fore, higher work and requires higher qualities and capacities than *Sávan*, chief among them being fatherly care, motherly affection and the parental spirit of self-sacrifice. Of this higher part of her work we are obliged to say that England has not, as yet, done it at all like its lower part. There are many reasons for this, some of which are not known or are very imperfectly known to her, because, being a foreigner with foreign modes of thought and feeling, she does not know where to find them. It is, indeed, not quite easy for her, with her peculiar character and mental constitution, to understand or enter into the heart and soul of an Eastern people like us—a thing, which, with those words of that superhuman Englishman, General Gordon, before her, which were quoted with the fullest approbation by Mr. Morley in his second budget speech—"To govern men there is but one way and it is the eternal truth: Get into their skins, try to realise their feelings, that is the true secret of Government"—she is bound to admit as indispensable to the success of her administration of this country. Our skins penetrated and our feelings realised, England will see the beauty and necessity of changing her manner in relation to us and the style and spirit of her Indian administration. It is, therefore, in the earnest hope of rendering her such little help unto that end as is in my power that I place these pages before her, telling her what we are and what she should be unto us. If this be considered as an act of presumption in an insignificant person, my only excuse for committing it is my belief that it is the duty of every friend and loyal subject of a foreign government to tell it what no one else can tell—a belief, in which I am confirmed, as nothing else could confirm me, by the words recently written to me by a revered English friend of mine—"The wearers of the shoe know best where it pinches; and it is for them to point out where the English Government, with all its material success, fails on the spiritual side."

MATERIAL CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

The Labourer.

The official opinion of the material condition of India under English rule is that it is one of unprecedented prosperity. There are visible all over India at the present time many things which were not seen in this country in any previous regime, Hindu or Musulman, and which certainly mean great material activity and consequent material prosperity. Long railway lines, long steamer lines, long telegraph lines, docks, warehouses, jetties, wharves, steam cranes, funnels, rivers and ports and harbours crammed with shipping, mills and factories with tall smoking chimneys, coal-fields, gold-fields, tea-gardens—these things and such things, wherever existing, certainly mean material activity and advancement, and must bear that meaning also in India of to-day where they are now seen in such profusion, making the whole country look as it never looked before—a busy and blessed land of industry and wealth. Travellers from Europe and America, accordingly, are often heard to speak of the effects of English rule upon the material condition of the Indian people in terms of unstinted praise, and many English officials in India, who know present Indian economics better than such casual visitors, make quite a gleeful use of their testimony. We know, however, what the present outward appearance of India means. It is an appearance created almost entirely by English money or capital, and the material prosperity which it undoubtedly indicates is the material prosperity not of India but of England. Of the two parts of industry, Capital and Labour, the former gets all the profit, however large, the latter gets only wages and salaries which are nowhere large, and in India, in particular, are very small.

But however small, the new wages are better than the old wages, and are, so far, not to be trifled with. Mere better wages, however, do not constitute what is ordinarily meant by the material prosperity of a country. And in estimating the material value of the new form of labour, one should not also omit to take note of its social and moral side, which is not always quite safe or agreeable. Mills and factories and mines require gang labour, the labour of large crowds of men, women and children from the lowest classes of society, spending many hours every day away from home and healthy neighbourly influence, and enjoying ample opportunities of mixing with each other in the freest and most unlicensed manner. Such labour, therefore, may produce social vices and tend to convert those in the lowest strata of Hindu society, hitherto kept sober, sensible, steady, orderly and God-fearing under the all-pervading influence of the incomparable social and religious polity built up by the Brahman, into a disorderly mass, apt to be led away by the passion or idea of the moment, easily worked upon by agents of mischief, and not knowing what it is to be accountable to God or man. While admitting, therefore, that some material advantage has come to the lowest among us in the shape of better wages under English capitalists, I am constrained to say that, with the idea of human life and its purpose which has been ours for countless ages, we Hindus regard any material gain as a social misfortune which may be attended with the loss of inestimable social and moral virtues in classes of the population who are sadly wanting in them almost everywhere, and the want of which in such classes, as the history of modern European industry so clearly shews, makes them a source of social and even political danger. Already such wage-winners have given us warnings of the dangerous form into which they may develop in this country by becoming what in England is called the *mob*, that terrible element of social, moral

and political lawlessness which is the disgrace of modern human society and civilisation and the formation of which was absolutely prevented and precluded by the spiritualised social polity of the Hindus. Such warnings we received only the other day in the *looting* of the bazars in Serampore, Titagur and Khardaha, all within a few miles of Calcutta, by large gangs of factory coolies infuriated by the rise of the price of rice to Rs. 8 per maund. It is India's old experience that high price or scarcity of food increases only petty theft, it is her new experience, her experience under English rule, that it may lead to wholesale pillage of the most daring kind. The economic improvement which has a tendency to encourage disorder in this way, whatever its present pecuniary value, is positively injurious and degrading in *our eyes*. However good for the *animal* man, it is very bad for the *human* man, whom it drags down from the level below which, as we learn from modern Europe, dwells only the beast and no human being

The better wages of the Indian labourer under the English rule are not therefore things of which we can be glad or which England may, *in our opinion*, regard as one of her achievements in India. And we feel all the more anxious and alarmed on this account, because there will certainly be no remedy for the evil thus introduced from the West into the East, so long as the form or system of industry of which it is the inevitable result is not modified or abandoned in Europe -- an event, which if it comes to pass at all, will come to pass so long hereafter that the evil will probably have by that time become one of our greatest social dangers and a cause of serious anxiety and trouble to *our rulers*. I may say in passing, however, that it is an event which is bound to come to pass in Europe, whose present civilisation contains features and elements which will sooner or later make its reconstruction a grave necessity, as a stray writer here or a stray writer

there, in England itself, already seems to say by condemning the tremendous machinism of the age.

The Cultivator.

I am sorry I cannot give a better account of the Indian cultivator under the English rule. He is a notoriously indebted man for whom Agricultural Loans Acts have to be passed, Credit Co-operative Societies have to be established, *takavi* advances have to be provided for in almost every budget, and large remissions of revenue have to be granted almost every year. He has not much acquaintance with a full meal and he often lives in such dangerous proximity to the point of starvation that the failure of a single harvest is generally found enough to drive him down to it. It is true that where he grows jute, he gets very much more money than he got at any former time, and growers of rice and wheat also get somewhat more, though much less than the grower of jute, in consequence of European merchants taking away enormous quantities of these things every year. But this is really not such a striking or solid improvement in the condition of the cultivator as official witnesses or superficial observers seem to think. A friend of mine writes to me from the interior of the Burdwan District:—"Almost all cultivators have to borrow money from the *Mahajan* (money lender). Cultivators have not to borrow only in those places where the land is very fertile, irrigation is easy, drought and inundation are infrequent, the quantity of land is small, but the number of cultivators is large. Otherwise, borrowing is the general rule." And there are good reasons that it must be so. The cultivator is certainly getting higher prices for the produce of his fields, but he has to buy all his own necessaries at higher prices; and this means no trifling subtraction from the additional money that now comes to his hand. There are now also placed before him temptations of

which there was little or nothing in pre-British times, such as the law court and the cheap seductive luxury which Mammon-worshipping Europe so heedlessly brings here to ruin the poor Indian in more ways than one. I shall here state once for all that we are now witnessing a curious phenomenon—a phenomenon, not witnessed under any other rule that India has seen. It is that whenever England does any thing in consequence of which there is influx of money among us, it also does certain other things which compel its efflux from us. There is, therefore, we are sorry and alarmed to see, hardly an Indian, especially on the Bengal side, whom English rule gives more money without at the same time devising means for squeezing some of it out of him. In the matter of money, in fact, under the English rule, efflux is simultaneous with influx, depletion with repletion. And the practice is carried out with such consummate skill that not even the cooly, of whom it may be more truly said than of any other person that he earns his humble meal by the sweat of his brow, and, wonder of wonders, not even the beggar in the street are allowed to remain unaffected by it. A blind old Musalman beggar sits for alms every morning in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. He has no one whom he can call his own. He never gets more than 7 or 8 pice any day; often gets only 4 or 5 pice; some day only 2 or 3 pice; some day not even one pice. But I have seen the *Cha-garam-wala* (street vendor of warm tea), perhaps the latest invention made to squeeze money out of the very poorest under Lord Curzon's magnanimous advice to the wealthy tea-planter and his agents, come to him with his temptation which I found him unable to resist, giving him a pice for a cup. I have explained to him that a pice worth of *muri* (fried rice) would do him better service than a small cup of highly diluted milk containing a few grains of a not very harmless weed. He is thankful to me

and I have not seen the *cha-garam-wala* near him any more. The *cha-garam-wala* has become indispensable to the cooly who flings down to him pice after pice every day. And *Cabmen's Shelters*, stocked with tea and with costlier and more alluring things than tea—soda-water, lemonade, gingerade, &c.,—are despoiling drivers of hackney carriages, mostly Musulmans, under the auspices of the Calcutta Corporation. Indeed, England is placing temptation before every man and woman and child, at least on the Bengal side of India—and I ask her whether this is, according to Christian's Scriptures, God's work, and whether Lord Curzon spoke the right word when first coming out as Viceroy of India :—" The spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal " !

The additional money that English rule gives to the grower of jute, wheat or paddy cannot, for this reason, settle in his hand so as to make a permanent or substantial improvement of his condition ; and that is why, as my Burdwan friend writes, " he has still to borrow money for marriage and *sradh* and house-building and to borrow very much more (in the shape of paddy) for his food." It is not that he never has money in his hand or large stocks of paddy in his granary ; but when he has either or both, he does not, like his ancestor in his situation, spend it, as my Burdwan friend says, in pious acts like Pujas, popular readings from sacred books by *kathaks*, temple consecration and the like, but in litigation. He, the hardworking man—the type of gentleness, meekness and quietness, who feared nothing so much as the law court—is now in love with it, regarding it as his pleasantest resort on earth. More money or more grain is making him haughty, and as Government, perhaps from a beneficent motive, takes very good care to make his access to the law court easier every day, he is becoming heedless, thoughtless, quarrelsome, vindictive and revengeful—all that man, high or low, should

not be, nor can be without imperilling the best social and spiritual interests of humanity.

But the thing that is doing him and his country most mischief is the cheap alluring finery that England and other countries of Europe are placing before him in such variety and profusion, thereby compelling him to acquire a taste for fine living and foppishness, which will, in all probability, make him, one day, unfit for a calling which demands above all else the sternest simplicity of life and the utmost hardihood of character. The wide prevalence of luxurious habits among the higher classes, commonly called *Bhadralok*, is also infecting them like a vicious example that cannot be resisted. A friend writes to me from the interior of the 24-Parganas district:—"When the cultivators have money in hand, they buy fine *belati dhutis* and *saris* with nice borders; use umbrellas worth Re. 1 or Rs. 1-4, holding them, fearful to think, over their heads when ploughing; many of them wear shoes worth Rs. 2 or 3, sprung shoes being especially liked; there is hardly a cultivator now who does not buy *alwans*, wrappers, woollen comforters, &c. in the cold season. I have seen many boys of cultivators, only 7 or 8 years old, to smoke cigarettes."

District and Divisional officers in Bengal point to the Bengal peasant's shoes, shirts, Guernsey frocks, *belati* umbrellas, *belati* broadcloths, *belati* wrappers, as evidences of a state of material comfort and advancement which was unknown to him before the establishment of English rule. This is certainly true; but neither district nor divisional officers nor other Englishmen look or wish to look beneath the surface where the worst features of the Babu—foppishness and love of finery—have already begun to be visible. Some years ago, at the house of a friend in Chinsura, where the great Puja was going on, I saw a *chaukidar*, who was also a cultivator, in coarse *dhuti* and *chadar* and wearing a pair of silver *balds* or

bangles which, in the arms of a watchman, mean very meritorious service. There was with him a boy of about 20, in shoes, shirts, fine dhuti and chadar. I asked him who that boy was. Mournfully he said—' He is my son, but he is not like me or my forefathers. He has become a Babu. He dislikes such work as I do. I know not how it will fare with him.' Many Englishmen think that nice shoes, shirts, umbrellas, wrappers, &c. are required by everybody for protection against the weather, and they may attribute my disapproval of these things to want of sympathy with a lowcaste man. I strongly protest that it is not so, that true sympathy with the poor peasant of Bengal is wanting not in me but in them. A good thing becomes a bad thing if it is used with a bad motive or intention. And there is no doubt whatever that our poor peasant uses nice shirts, shoes, &c. not as absolute necessities, for there are coarser, cheaper and more durable things that can serve that purpose very much better, but as fineries. And his wife and daughter, too, so long his simple, unsophisticated help-mates, have, I tremble to think, begun to turn up their nose at the thick coarse and almost immortal *Panchidhuti* which they got their village weaver to make for them for a trifle with home-spun yarn, and must have in lieu of it the fine, frail, showy and costlier fabric which Manchester brings to their door to dazzle their eye and undermine their mind. Yes, their mind is so much undermined that they have not only discarded their old ornaments of silver and brass, but they must have some ornaments, at least, made of gold. As my Burdwan friend says :— " There is want of food, there is debt, still there must be some gold in the house." Debt and insufficient food are dreadful things enough, but gold ornaments in juxtaposition with debt and insufficient food mean also a mind that has begun to be dangerously disposed. The fact is, the cheap showy luxury with which England and other countries of Europe are furi-

ously filling India is poisoning every man among us from the prince to the peasant—from the prince to the peasant, not in a figurative but in a strictly literal sense—making the body feeble and the mind feebler everywhere, reducing both physical and mental stamina in most people, disabling or unfitting many to follow, however partially, the ideal of life prescribed in our Shastras for high and low, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, man and woman, and demanding the exercise of the virtues of rigid simplicity, patient suffering, willing self-abnegation, joyous self-sacrifice and pious devotion to the service of God and his entire creation, animated or inanimate. We are all becoming fibreless and ease-loving; and our cultivator, the maker of our country's food, is no exception. Driving the plough with the umbrella over his head means that he is beginning to lose the hardiness of his forefathers who did not mind the hottest sun. Take another fact. I was one day coming from Diamond Harbour in a third class railway carriage. At the Baripur Station a low-class elderly Musalman, with a basket in his arms, entered into the carriage. I made him sit near me and began to talk with him. He was a cultivator living in a village near Baripur and he was coming to his daughter in the adjacent village of Rajpur to give her the fruits and kitchen vegetables in his basket. On my remarking that he looked strong enough not to mind the 5 or 6 miles' walk between his village and Rajpur, he said—'Yes, Mahasay, it is only a few miles' walk, but it is no walk and only a few pice by rail.' He went down at the Sonarpur Station, making me a revelation of a serious bodily malady and a still more serious mental malady as the result of the wholesale emasculation that cheap European luxury and cheap modes of English travelling are effecting in the country. A Hindu king, with the Brahman for his counsellor, would have, at this time, enjoined the strictest enforcement of the Shastric interdiction of such luxury; and if England had felt

more for her Indian subjects than with her phenomenal rage for trading she feels for her own merchants and manufacturers, she would not have found free trade or fair trade or any trade whatever standing in the way of the imposition of a prohibitive duty on its import into our country. There are human interests far higher and more vital than can be served or allowed to be dominated by economic science, a science, which has not yet acquired a moral basis in Europe. In matters moral and social, England is making a mess of India, because with all her moral capacity and intellectual greatness she has contracted an inordinate love for success in trade as the best and surest sign of national prosperity. She makes that love dominate her heart and thereby prevent or contract that imperial height and breadth of mind which should be the first qualification of one who would rule other men for their own true and lasting welfare. India, however, longs to see, because she is perfectly entitled to see, the high, unselfish, kingly heart which alone befits England's great guardianship of this continental land, and earnestly hopes that her lawful and legitimate longing will be satisfied.

The Artisan.

This man—no inconsiderable portion of our population, doing the most useful work generally in the homely style that suits a religious race—the wonder and admiration of the world, in all ages, always in comfortable circumstances, often enjoying affluence, never unoccupied—is now almost extinct; and his extinction, as history says and all the world sees, is England's ruthless work. England has killed our indigenous industries in order to make of our country a great market for her own merchants and manufacturers. Our blacksmith, brazier, oilman, sugar-maker, many practisers of handicraft, in fact, not excepting even the poor maker of our children's toys, are suffering more or less severely, and

our weaver is in acute misery. England cannot say, as she is sometimes heard to say, that Manchester cloth being cheaper than our hand-loom cloth, she has done us great good by ousting the latter. We paid, indeed, in some cases, more money for the latter, than we pay for the former. But all that we paid for the latter remained in our country and with our countrymen, whereas almost all that we pay for the former goes out of our country for good and remains with the foreigner. By destroying our own industries, which gave us everything of every quality that we wanted, and gave it so as not to press hard upon any one's means or resources, England has incurred a fearful responsibility to God and humanity. And it does not speak well for her that she does not feel that she has incurred such responsibility. It is no wonder, therefore, that she feels no agonising remorse for the work of devastation which she has done by killing our industries and is so seriously aggravating by filling our country with the things of her own making and manufacture which we were never unhappy for not having and which are, by their seductive appearance, easily breeding in us habits of fine and luxurious living that are wrecking our minds, enfeebling us in body, squeezing out of us much of the money that she herself gives us, and driving large numbers among us even into debt. We ask her whether we are wrong in our belief that, if she had realised this grave responsibility and felt this remorse she could have known any rest or peace of mind until she had taken the promptest and most effective means to restore to us our mangled arts or to enable us to learn art on her own method, no matter at what cost. She does, indeed, talk of our technical education. But she talks of it so fitfully and languidly that we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that she talks of it from her heart. Some years ago, when the subject of technical education was engaging the attention of the Bengal Educational Department, an English gentleman

with one of the openest minds we have seen among men of his race, then residing in England, wrote to one of my friends —“Do they really mean it?” We are afraid England does not really mean it, at least to the extent she should. Or that so-called Indian enthusiast, that Englishman who never tires of calling himself one of the warmest lovers of India and her people, would not, on the 20th February 1901, while discussing Victoria memorial schemes at the Dalhousie Institute, talk of technical education as ‘in many ways’ ‘the need of the future in India’ and not, as we think, India’s most pressing immediate need. This has also been most clearly and convincingly demonstrated by England’s attitude of hostility to the *Swadeshi* movement. We have heard Englishmen express sympathy with that movement. It is an expression of sympathy which is certainly in some cases sincere. But we are sorry we cannot help saying that it is not so in many cases. We have heard that some Bengali officers of Government have had to take some punishment or other for betraying *Swadeshi* proclivities or for having even relations possessed of such proclivities. Here, in India, most Anglo Indian journals have only taunt and jest and banter and sarcasm for the *Swadeshi* movement and its preachers, and quote with malignant glee all trade figures that seem to them to prove its futility and failure. There, in England, anxious enquiries were some time ago made in Parliament to know if England’s export of piece goods to India had suffered any check. England was, I doubt not, very glad to hear that it had not; and I beg to be pardoned for saying that, even as regards Mr. Morley, there was no indication in his reply that he would have been glad or pleased if he could have said that it had.

If England had really a heart for India, such heart, that is, as a kingly country ought to have for the poor, injured, demolished people under her sway, and if it had been true, as Lord Curzon said at the dinner given to him by his Etonian friends

in England when first coming out to India, that England 'thinks much of the welfare of India and but little of its wealth' and that England's mission in India 'is one of obligation and not of profit,' all England—official and non-official, aristocratic and democratic, manufacturing and commercial, spiritual and temporal—would have felt sorry and the remorse in her heart made keener, instead of feeling relieved to hear that our *Swadeshi* has failed to touch her pocket. Government does, indeed, recommend *swadeshi* now and then. But that is only such small *swadeshi* as is not expected to touch the pocket of the English manufacturer. Seeing all this, we beg to be excused if we say that England is forcing on us the alarming conviction that she holds India in her own interest and not in ours, though her statesmen and administrators are asserting in season and out of season that it is not so. We have now very little hope that our own arts will ever revive, and that England will allow our *Swadeshi* movement, against which she is just now carrying on a vigorous campaign, to succeed. We have, we are sorry to say, many a time found her forgetting all considerations of kingly generosity and setting in motion against us her tremendous executive and legislative machinery when any thing done by us in the way of art or manufacture has appeared to her merchants and manufacturers not quite favourable to their interest. The *swadeshi* movement, I fear, is doomed; and it is not, I think, permitted to us to cherish the hope that our artisan will breathe and look up again.

The Middleclass Man.

I knew this man as he was till about 60 years or more ago. He was not a wealthy man, but he was a man of full means, almost always independent, sometimes only taking service under zamindar or trader or in the law court. His *gold* or granary, which was always well stocked, supplied all his wants and did not allow corroding care and anxiety for the needs

of the flesh to come anywhere near him and make upon his mind or body its unerring and unmistakable mark. Above all, he was almost always free from *Rin* or Debt, and he could, therefore, afford to be cheerful, lively, jovial, hale and hearty and not morose, mirthless, careworn, dejected and decrepit like his present descendant. He knew no worldly ambition worth the name and therefore no disappointment, disgrace, degradation or deterioration such as is falling to the lot of those who are taking his place. He had his aspirations, but they were mostly of the pious, unselfish or spiritual kind, so unlike those of his present representative of the so called cultured or educated type. He delighted to feed the low-caste poor of his village, to support female relations whom loss of guardians had rendered helpless, to maintain *Sadabratas* and *Atithisalas* for religious mendicants and wayfarers requiring food and shelter, to dig tanks to give drinking water to whole villages, to plant trees for the relief of sunburnt travellers. His ancestral home was the sanctuary to which he was passionately attached, which was his dearest and most glorious place on earth, which he could never leave without feeling severe mental pang, and where it was a point of honour with him as well as his life's most important work to maintain intact the social and religious traditions of his family by continuing and, if possible, by amplifying the social and religious celebrations started by his ancestors. Hearing readings after nightfall from his sacred books—the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Durgabhakti Tarangini, the Kalibilas, &c.,—to which were invited the low-caste men of his village—the husbandman, the blacksmith, the potter, the mason, even the *Bagdi*—with whom he was in very close touch, was almost an institution with him. About his own dwelling house, he was rather indifferent, not minding if it was humble and lowly, generally preferring to make it such, caring only to make it commodious. But about his

Chandimandap and *Mandir* (temple) and *Takurbari*, he was all ambition and enthusiasm. He devoted the best part of his resources to these and engaged the best artists to give them the inimitable style and finish which is now perhaps hard to reproduce and specimens of which may still be seen, though not in many places, in the far interior of Bengal.

His present descendant is a very different person. The old rural economy being disturbed in wide tracts of country by the disorganising influence of English education and the desolating effect of malarial fever, his living has become precarious and his income small and uncertain, and high prices keep his two ends so far apart from each other that between them are often found bad and insufficient food, semi-starvation, occasional fasts, decrepit dwellings, scanty clothing and indebtedness with all its dangers and embarrassments. It is a most alarming and melancholy fact that many *bhadralok*, as Anglo-Indians are wont to call our middleclass men, cannot buy milk for their infants and keep them upon sago, arrowroot and barley water !

There are certainly those in far better circumstances than the ordinary middeclass man. Amongst doctors and lawyers, who come from the middle class, some once made fortunes, but only a few do so now, the rest struggling hard and living from hand to mouth. Service, private as well as public, gives employment to many ; but the great majority of these—clerks in public and private offices, law-court and zamindari amla, schoolmasters, &c—generally receive pittances and are in the hardest straits in these days of abnormally high prices ; and only a few, such as Munsiffs, Subordinate Judges, Deputy Magistrates, have decent incomes, and that generally after many years of service, so that, after defraying the present high cost of living, high cost of education, high cost of marriages, high cost of everything, in fact, that is indispensable, a member of these higher grades of the uncovenanted service, when retir-

ing, seldom finds his entire saving, as some ex-Subjudges have told me, worth more than Rs 150 a month in Government security or house property. And these men, the most favoured among us, form only a minute fraction of the immense mass whom the new order of things has so seriously disturbed and unsettled. It should also be noted that among all such men, that is to say, among those engaged or seeking employment in service, those who are really middle class men or *bhadralok* find their position one of greater difficulty than it would have been if the destruction of our indigenous arts by England had not driven a whole army of men of the artisan castes to compete with them in what had been so long their legitimate and almost exclusive field of employment.

Add to all this the ruinous effects of the seductive luxury and finery, unfortunately so cheap at the same time, with which England is filling our poor country and which she is carrying to its every nook and corner. This luxury and finery no one who is secularised by English education and influence—and the secularised man is now a large part of our population—can resist—no, not even the poorest. It is weaning everybody from the old simple and sober line of life, but it has all but overwhelmed the man, the woman and the child of the middle class, thereby making their acute suffering acuter.

As this luxury is sold and carried to all places in the country, it has created some new employment in the shape of trading, shopkeeping, agency work. But all this is of the pettiest kind, and in this too the middle class man or *bhadralok* finds himself in keen competition with the descendant of the old artisan.

In large towns like Calcutta fine ornamented buildings are now springing up every day, which probably give visitors from foreign countries the idea of a thriving middle class in

Bengal That some of these structures are sound investments, there can be no doubt ; but that many of them mean debt or encumbrance which is seldom repaid or removed, we who live in the heart of Bengali middle class society very well know. They are the offspring not of pecuniary power but of that demoralising and therefore debilitating love of show and sound which is the creation of circumstances that did not exist in this country at any pre-British period.

That England has no heart for our middle class man any more than she has for our artisan can be proved in various ways. Till very recently vernacular schoolbooks prescribed by Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal were books written and owned by Bengalis and Musalmans—schoolmasters, inspecting officers, Professors, and scholars of established reputation not in the educational service—all middle class men, to whom the sale of these books brought some welcome alleviation of the difficulty under which they, as a body, perpetually labour. The Educational Department, in fact, poorest as it is of all departments of the administration, has not much to give to Indians in the shape of salary or in the shape of profit from the sale of schoolbooks. It was therefore only fair to poor Indian writers of vernacular books that its small patronage was so long confined to them. But to the English publisher, rolling in wealth, not the smallest thing that glitters is too small. He cast longing eyes upon even the poor patronage of this poor department, and English officials marked that. In 1902, therefore, when, during the Directorship of Sir (then Mr.) Alexander Pedler and the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir John Woodburn, the present scheme for vernacular education, technically called the Kindergarten scheme, was introduced, a plan was adopted, plan never before thought of or deemed necessary, which enabled English publishing firms to enter into competition with poor Bengalis in the making of Bengali schoolbooks, as if there was

in the country a dearth of Bengali scholars able to write good schoolbooks on any subject whatever. I have seen their Bengali science readers, historical readers, geographical readers, alphabetical primers, &c, and I can honestly say, after comparing them with books of the same kind written by Bengali gentlemen, that they are decidedly inferior to the latter. And such they must be, for they are translations from English done for a poor remuneration by men almost innocent of Bengali scholarship. But Bengali authors or publishers are no match for English publishers in competition tactics and with the whole official sympathy on their side, the latter have during these 4 or 5 years enjoyed the best part of the patronage of the official who should be above all others the purest and noblest model of justice, honesty and impartiality, the Director of Public Instruction. If English publishers' Bengali books were even equal to Bengali books by Bengali authors, a Government with a heart for the poor Indian would feel impelled to confine its patronage to the latter and to advise the former to retire from the field. And the case certainly becomes one of gross jobbery in the interest of the opulent English publisher and of utter heartlessness to the poor Indian author if books by the former, decidedly inferior to books by the latter, at least in language and style, receive so much more patronage. As already stated, not the smallest thing that glitters is too small for the Englishman, and he must snatch and Government helps him to snatch something out of even the trifle that falls to the lot of the poor Bengali in even the vernacular section of the Department of Education.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I think I should tell a story, an astonishing story, which clearly means that the interest of Englishmen absorbs the English official mind in a manner which makes us despair for our poor selves. Two years ago an English reader, with the meaningless

name *A Reader for Middle Classes in Bengal*, and written by one Mr. Marsden, a retired member of the Indian Educational Service, was made by Sir Alexander Pedler the text-book in English literature for the Middle English Scholarship Examination all over Bengal before its partition, a very considerable patronage in the gift of the Department of Education, such as it is. The book was written in scandalously bad English and displayed a scandalous ignorance of Indian things and matters. It was severely criticised in the vernacular press and an Indian member of the Bengal Council gave notice of his intention to make an interpellation on the subject. But Government did not probably dare to allow the matter to be brought before the Council and had it disposed of departmentally. An English officer, then on special duty in the Office of the Director of Public Instruction, wrote to the publishers, Messrs. MacMillan & Co., drawing their attention to the criticisms, making other criticisms himself, and giving them distinctly to understand that if the book was not thoroughly revised it would have no chance of being accepted by the Department again. The book has not been revised as directed, no revised edition of it, under the sanction required by rule, of the Central Text-Book Committee, has been brought out, and Mr. Marsden has trifled with the order given to his publishers by only inserting in his old edition a page containing a very few errata under the following note : -

“I am very sorry to observe that owing to the difficulty of correcting the proofs of the first edition of this book which was printed in Calcutta while I was in England, several errata have crept into it. These will be duly corrected in the next edition. Those who use this edition are requested to make the corrections as noted below.

E. MARSDEN.”

But our educational authorities have not minded the insult, they have not pressed their demand for a thoroughly revised edition, and they have again given Messrs. Macmillan & Co. about an equally large patronage by again directing this book, so full of errors and faults, with only a mockery of an errata page and that too not quite correct attached to it, to be read for the middle scholarship examination all over Bengal and Eastern Bengal with the exception of the Burdwan Division ! I beseech England herself to say whether she can fairly blame India's belief that she has a heart only for Englishmen and no heart for the Indian and would take most money herself by setting up an absurd, ungracious, and heartless competition even with the poor middle class Bengali in a field which is not very lucrative in itself and which ought to be left to him and him alone. Enquiries into this department of the educational administration in other Indian provinces will, I am afraid, result in equally deplorable disclosures. And yet Lord Curzon said at the Etonian banquet that England thinks "much of the welfare of India and but little of its wealth" and that her mission in India "is one of obligation and not of profit" and was cheered by some of England's worthiest sons and foremost statesmen for saying this !

HEALTH OF INDIA UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

Malaria

One-half of India, so to say, is now in the hands of Dr. D. Gupta of Calcutta, of malaria mixture fame, the other half in the hands of Dr. Batliwala of Bombay. And behind these two are hosts of people selling numberless mixtures, pills, *páchans*, decoctions, specifics, infallibles, &c., to a countless malaria-stricken population. It was not so 50 or 60 years ago, when none of the districts of Bengal, with 5 or 6 exceptions, knew what malarious fever was, and people enjoyed capital health in the districts west of the river Bhagirathi and in many of the districts east of it, the towns and villages on both banks of what is now called the Hugli river having been like so many sanitariums. For a change in difficult diseases, which were less numerous than at present, we, in the districts around Calcutta, had not to go beyond Burdwan, then one of the healthiest places in Bengal, but now one of malaria's choicest abodes. After Burdwan, Raniganj became our health resort for a few years, after which it became malarious, and we had to give it up. We then repaired to the Sontal Paganas, where we got many good places by pushing ourselves further and further—Sitarampur, Barrakar, Jamtara, Kaimatar, Madhupur, Baidyanath, Simultala—not bad places still, but not so good as before. Bengal malaria was cured in many of these places, but is not always cured now, and has, it is suspected, crept into one or two of them. But Sontalistan does not meet our extreme cases—phthisis and the various sequelæ of malaria, the former now almost an epidemic with us, witness, for instance, the Bengal Government's wide promulgation of a vernacular circular, 8 or 10 years ago, containing such hygienic directions as can be given

to laymen and unlearned people in view of its prevalence, and a fearful indication of decreasing vitality in the country—and we are sending such cases to Waltair in the Madras Presidency and Almora in the Himalayas. Cuttack, once so healthy, is not yet malarious, but is less salubrious, and we have therefore begun to give the sea-coast at Puri clear preference over it. Malaria is fast advancing from Bengal through the North-Western Provinces and has made its appearance even in the land of the stalwart Sikh. It is, indeed, spreading its net throughout India like the railway which seems to be its favourite conveyance in many parts of its journey, the canal, which cripples navigable rivers and full streams of water, being another, but not the only other. Nothing kills so much as this malaria—no, not even cholera, plague and smallpox put together. Indeed, it kills more people in one year than war and carnage and crime jointly killed in one hundred years in pre-British times. It is England's just boast that she has freed India from the dreadful evil of internal warfare; but Lord Curzon was perfectly right when in his reply to the address presented to him by the Jubbulpore Municipality on the 22nd November 1899, he said that "poverty, starvation, disease, and pestilence are more inveterate foes of humanity even than human beings themselves." And among these "inveterate foes of humanity" malarial diseases have become under English rule far more dreadful evils than internal warfare, which is denounced and rightly denounced as the shame of all pre-British administrations in India, after the Musalman conquest, ever was. And they are dreadful not only because they kill so many but also because those whom they do not kill they convert into perpetual sufferers—shattered in health, unable to work, cheerless, spiritless, morose, melancholy, dejected and despondent.

Bad drinking water and jute nuisance.

With the silting up of tanks and rivers, we are drinking extremely impure water almost all over Bengal, and the water we drink and the air we breathe are both contaminated and made insufferably offensive to the nose by the practice of jute-steeping in so many of our districts—a practice, which is spreading at a fearful rate, and which, though daily complained of in the vernacular press, does not excite the anger or indignation of Government, perhaps because it is a necessity to the English trader. To us, it is a most obnoxious practice, aggravating the effects of malaria, affecting our health generally and making residence in our villages painful and nauseating to a degree.

Insufficient Nutrition.

Roughly speaking, we now get less food to eat than we got when the prices of eatables were so much more cheap than at present. Almost all of us had less money in our hands then than we have now, but our kitchens received far larger supplies of the things that support life and promote health. We then got one seer or two pounds of potato for one pice or even less and in no season of the year had we to pay more than two pice for it. Now, in the full height of the potato season, we cannot get a seer at less than 3 or 4 pice in most places and for many months in the year at less than 6 to 12 pice. Thus, one of the most nutritious of our kitchen vegetables has become too expensive for most of us, and I am obliged to record the startling fact that, in most families in ordinary circumstances, no man or woman or child gets one entire potato to eat in a day and everybody has to be content with only 2, 3 or 4 small bits of a middle-sized potato weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. It is the same as regards many of our other vegetables, notably the brinjal, of which I myself, when a child, bought 50 to 60 for a pice in my village *hát*, but of which not

more than 3 or 4 can be now had for a pice anywhere, even in the height of the brinjal season, and often not even one for one pice. Thus, no member of a family of the type just mentioned gets even a sixth or an eighth part of a middle sized brinjal weighing 5 ounces to eat in a day. And, speaking generally, with the great rise in prices which has taken place within the last 30 years or so, we are getting vegetables to eat in extremely small quantities, and our nutrition from this source is becoming poorer and poorer. *Dál* (pulses), for instance, which is so very nutritious, many of us have now to eat so largely diluted with water in order to make up the quantity required in a large family that it is hardly a joke to say that we eat its all but vanished colour and not its substance.

Fish is one of the most nutritious things we eat in Bengal, but its supply has become so small in many parts of the country within the last half a century or so and its price has gone up so high that large numbers of people do not get it or cannot buy it, and of those that do get or buy it, very many may be said to eat it only in name. I have no doubt whatever that, as in the case of vegetables, so in the case of fish, there are lakhs and lakhs of families in ordinary circumstances in Bengal no member of which gets fish to eat morning or evening or gets, on an average, more than half a *chhatak* or one ounce or even less of it to eat in a day. Our children cry and clamour for fish morning and evening in a manner which often brings tears to the eyes of our matrons. Milk and ghee, our two most nutritious articles of food, have become so dear that though the entire country, almost to a man, revelled in them 50 years or so ago, they are now almost beyond the means of three-fourths of our people, the remaining one-fourth too getting them in limited quantities, and no one getting them pure or unadulterated. Large numbers of people in towns as well as in the mufassal cannot, as stated

above, buy milk even for their infants, who therefore live upon sago or barley water sometimes with only one or two spoonfuls of milk mixed therewith, oftener without even that. Fed in this way in infancy, no people can grow up healthy and strong and we are, therefore, as a race, losing health and physique at an alarming rate. It is also no wonder that our infant mortality is so high—a mortality, the most powerful cause of which Government is unable to explain, because it does not know where to find it, and which its apologists, not very conscientiously I fear, are content to attribute to our early marriage—a practice, which has prevailed here for many long ages unattended with such abnormal infant mortality as is now the rule. Where infants, in so many cases, get little or no milk, it would be folly to expect adults and grown up people to get it in quantities required to maintain health in even its lowest standard, not to speak of its improvement or expansion. The fact is that, in families in ordinary circumstances, consisting of 15 or 16 members, possessing a monthly income of say, 50 to 100 rupees, and buying or rather borrowing 5 to 10 or 12 rupees worth of milk in a month, no one—child, adult, man or woman—gets on an average more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 *chhataks* or three or four ounces of the article in a day; and in poorer families, by far the most numerous in the country, the ration is still smaller, and often absolutely *nil*. The case is worse as regards ghee, which every family formerly used more or less in its purest form and in sufficient measure, but which no one now eats pure, many eat noxiously adulterated and most cannot eat at all for its price.

Thus, practically without milk and ghee, our most nutritious food, our health is failing, we are losing physical stamina, we are becoming sickly, our capacity to resist disease in the increasingly insanitary condition of the land we live in is decreasing.

Of rice, the staple food in Bengal, our stock is becoming

shorter and shorter. Foreign merchants take much of it away, thereby raising its price to a point which is too high for the man who grows it as well as for numberless others. The grower of jute is also reducing our stock of rice by encroaching upon our paddy land for the better profit his new produce yields him, and is making rice dearer still. The result is that a large section of our population have to run into debt for full measures of rice, whilst a large section, not getting as much rice as they require, live on short ration, making up the deficit with heaps of in-nutritious and often indigestible herbs. In the wheat-producing districts, mostly in the North-Western Provinces, a similar process is going on. By taking away so much of our wheat England has reduced our stock of the commodity to an extent that makes it impossible for many of those that ate it before to eat it now and made its price too high for the proverbially poor Hindustani and so tempting to the cultivator that he sells off to foreign traders more of it than he ought to, preferring to descend to less nutritious food himself.

Thus it is in-nutrition and therefore sinking health everywhere. A few more rupees may be in circulation in the country under English rule, but our real wealth, which lay in our overflowing stocks of food and in our own excellent and harmless manufactures, is passing away. We are becoming poor in the truest sense of the word, which is not that we are not getting money, (for as a matter of fact, more money passes through our hands now than what passed through before), but that we are getting less and less to eat, losing health, becoming sorer and more sickly and are prevented from supplying all our wants ourselves. True poverty means poverty of food, poverty of health, poverty of work—poverty of health being the most serious of the three. Can England fairly refuse to admit that India is piteously poor under her rule?

Anxiety and Overstrain.

The disturbance of the old village economy and the loss of our industries have made the question of living one of very serious difficulty with us. Service, public or private, cannot provide employment for any but a very small section of the population, and the employment it provides brings in remuneration which is in most cases too small for even urgent wants and requirements. Employment in the shape of petty trade or shopkeeping or order supply or commission agency or other business of that kind is also limited to a very small section of the population and is generally not more remunerative than service in its lower ranks. And those not having fixed or regular employment of any kind are unfortunately the most numerous now-a-days, excepting, of course, the agriculturist. The old state of things in which plenty of every kind kept men in high spirits and filled whole villages with life and hilarity has passed away, giving place to a state of things in which corroding care and anxiety for the first necessities of life is devitalising a whole community, thereby slowly and insidiously undermining their health and making them cheerless and morose and even despondent. Such anxiety we knew not ever before : it depresses and deranges our mind in a manner which dwarfs and deranges our body. For our living, too, we have now to work in a style in which we never worked before. Our hours of work under English rule are very different from our hours of work in all previous regimes. Those old hours of work, viz., mornings and evenings, were hours best suited to our climate and physical constitution and had therefore the sanction of custom and the *Shastras* from the remotest antiquity, the Musalman, with the same climatic and physical necessities as ourselves, keeping them unaltered all through his rule. But unable to adapt himself to our climatic and physical conditions or finding it inconvenient for his purpose in this country to do so, the Englishman is mak-

ing us work, and work very hard, in office all the time, forcing us to take our day's meal long before we should take it and to work when we should not work but enjoy repose—thus compelling us to change our most vital habits and disobey the most peremptory of behests, the behests of Mother-Nature's Climate, in a manner which cannot fail to affect our health. And the effects of this change, I am sorry to say, are already painfully visible in an unprecedentedly wide prevalence of dyspepsia, culminating in a fearfully increasing number of cases in deadly diabetes. I do not, of course, mean to say that this change is singly responsible for these maladies, which are in my opinion, due to the operation of various causes. But there can be no doubt whatever that this change is a very powerful cause. And I may add that most of the other causes, at any rate, such as addiction to luxury and sensual excesses, due to our lamentable secularisation under the influence of English education and to indiscreet missionary denunciation of the Hindu religion, did not exist under any pre-British regime. We have now also to work much harder than before, to work harder, that is, than a man born and living in a tropical country, with his whole nature and external surrounding predisposing him to a life of repose rather than to a life of breathless activity, can work safely or with impunity. This hard work under English rule, so incompatible with our geographical zone and physical and mental constitution, is also devitalising us and seriously affecting our health, especially as it is coupled with a malarial or deteriorating climate and insufficient nutrition. England wants us to accept her own system of high pressure work, which is the outcome of an intensely restless disposition and of a climate very different from ours. Is it not, therefore, England's clear duty, as India's all powerful guardian and protector, to do everything that can be done to prevent, minimise or counteract the untoward effects inevitably growing for us, slowly, it

may be, and insidiously too, but surely, out of this intimate connection between two peoples almost diametrically opposed to each other in nature, habit and disposition and with vastly different surroundings? I have no doubt whatever that she will do this duty in the regal style which will become her in her grandest dependency if she is only told that it is a duty of which she has not yet had full notice given her by others or taken by herself.

The question of its improvement.

This is without doubt the most important and pressing of all questions of internal administration at the present time. Depopulation and decline of health are the most serious evils that can afflict a country, far more serious, indeed, than any other evil, social or political, that can be conceived of or imagined. A country with the best of governments, with the most affectionate or sympathetic of rulers, is the most miserable of countries if disease decimates its population and a congeries of causes conspires to undermine its health. But, unfortunately for us, this is precisely the question which is sadly neglected—neglected by Government, neglected by ourselves.

The question under consideration is a difficult and complicated one, and this is not the place in which it can be fully discussed, nor am I the person fully possessed of the knowledge and other qualifications required for its discussion. I will, therefore, only throw out a few hints in this connection—

(a) The question of insufficient nutrition should engage our own attention more than that of our Government, but it is at the same time a question which cannot be solved by us without the active assistance and co-operation of Government.

Increase of one portion of our food stock—that, namely, which is derived from the vegetable world, such as rice, wheat, pulses, potato and other kitchen vegetables—will demand an

expansion, a development and a re-arrangement of our agriculture, which should be, without doubt, the first and foremost duty of the Zamindar and every landed man. And this duty they should perform in consultation with the Government which will have a grave responsibility of its own in this connection either in the shape of the adoption of measures which will entail a reduction of the export of rice and wheat from India to enable us to eat more of these things at a smaller cost, or, if that export is not reduced, in the shape of the adoption of measures calculated to bring about a material enlargement of the wheat and rice area, or in the shape of the adoption of measures which will lead to a reduction of the export of jute and consequently of the jute area, or in the shape of the adoption of more than one of these measures. Keeping enormous multitudes of India alive or in health is certainly a higher and more imperative duty of a great enlightened and responsible ruler than enabling a few English brewers to draw more wine, a few English manufacturers to make more cloth, a few English swine-keepers to fatten their beasts. As regards the other portion to our food-stock—that, namely, which is derived from the animal world, such as milk, ghee and fish—the Zamindar and the Government are jointly responsible for its decrease and both of them should therefore labour for its augmentation. Provision cannot be made for sufficient pasture land, for treatment of cattle disease, for a stronger and more numerous breed of cattle if Government and the Zamindar do not combine for the purpose; and as the question of the slaughter of cows for food is one which can be dealt with only by Government and may be helped forward by enlightened Musalmans, it is clearly the duty of both of them to attend to it at once. I should ask my Musalman brother to consider in this connection whether, in this tropical country, he will not promote his own interest better by having a cheaper, purer and more plentiful supply of milk and ghee than by

eating beef. As regards fish, Government and the Zamindar are again responsible for its practical disappearance in most parts of Bengal. Silt in rivers and tanks makes them unfit abodes for fish and whilst Government is responsible for the former, the Zamindar, the landed man and the substantial householder are responsible for the latter. They should, therefore, attend to their respective duties at once, Government encouraging them through its Divisional, District and Sub-Divisional officers by means of cordial visits and interviews and advice affectionately given and enthusiastically pressed. Excavation of large silted up rivers will certainly require enormous expenditure of money—crores and crores. But crores and crores we have, as I shall show further on.

Steps ought to be at once taken by Government to prevent insufficient nutrition among a large number of its subjects. They are our schoolmasters, *mohurrirs* and clerks, the majority of whom are so poorly paid that they cannot get enough to eat in quantity or quality. Government now a days fixes their salaries on the commercial principle of demand and supply, and as the supply greatly exceeds the demand their pay is generally fixed very low, being often only a pittance. And as the distress among such men is very acute, Government might make a stricter enforcement of the principle in question with perfect safety. For a clerk or schoolmaster on Rs. 30 a month would have no alternative but to continue to serve if reduced to Rs. 20 a month. It was certainly on this commercial principle that Sir Alexander Pedler, when Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, appraised an Indian Master of Arts at only Rs. 50 a month. But it is a principle which, however fit or appropriate in a commercial establishment, is an extremely unworthy principle to follow in a Government school or office. The merchant, who means money and money only, may not be wrong if he works with the most poorly paid

establishment; but the Sovereign, who should mind the life and health of his subjects first and more than any other thing, cannot act on this principle without practically abdicating his sovereignly position. Our Government ought to fix the salaries of its poor Indian officers and employes, not on the commercial principle of demand and supply as it now does but upon a full, sympathetic and kingly consideration of their wants and privations. It is its first and foremost duty to increase their salaries as a measure which can be adopted at once without any difficulty whatever, in view of the mitigation, however partial, of the grave evil of bad eating and under-eating among a large number of its Indian subjects. I think Government may be fairly asked to raise all salaries of Rs. 100 and under 25 per cent and all salaries exceeding Rs. 100 but not exceeding Rs. 200 20 per cent. If the poor Indian *mohurrir*, clerk or schoolmaster, who cannot buy more than a quarter of a seer or 8 ounces of fish or half a seer or 16 ounces of milk a day, is in this way enabled to buy even one pound of fish or two pounds of milk a day, God's special blessing will descend upon our beloved Edward and the great English nation. The measure will require additional expenditure of money; but it should not, in my humble opinion, lie in the mouth of a Government which found no difficulty whatever in granting an exchange compensation allowance of over 53 lakhs of rupees a year to the highly paid European officers who have to send money home, to say that it is too poor to pay what will be, in comparison, only an additional pittance.

(b) *Overstrain.* English rule has introduced in India a form of labour with which we were perfectly unacquainted and which by its disagreement with our climate and physical constitution is subjecting us to a strain which cannot fail to be prejudicial to our health of mind and health of body, especially as this strain has to be borne in a climate which is

fast deteriorating and with a food supply which is shrinking every year. There is absolutely no hope, however, of the new form of labour giving way to the old or to anything resembling that. Humanity, therefore, requires us and our Government to combine to minimise, as much as possible, the harm which it is doing. What is most necessary for this purpose is a large increase of the food-stock of the country and a cheapening of its price—a matter, which, as already stated, should be the joint concern of Government and the landed classes and which has been too long neglected by both. Another measure may be taken unto this end though it will not be a measure of universal application like the above. It is a measure which should be taken first by Government, in order that it may serve as an example to other employers of labour. It has become Government's policy in these latter days to make its paying departments still more paying and to arrest increase of expenditure by, among other measures, making officer, mohurrir and clerk its whole time servants, mornings and evenings not excepted—a policy, which often results in one man doing the work of more than one man—very serious overwork for the ill-fed Indian with his declining physique. The Englishman, with his flourishing physique and over-full possession of all the needs of the body, may be able to do two or three men's work ; and stiff, unsympathetic and unimaginative as he is, he cannot understand why the Indian should not be able to do the same thing. But he who would rule others than his own kith and kin ought to be the most elastic and flexible of men. And as English rule in India is an accomplished fact, I beseech our Government to try its best to realise to itself the declining physique and extreme poverty of the Indian and afford some relief to its overstrained Indian officers, clerks and others by increasing their number. Overwork is a fatal thing. We hear that overwork has begun to tell upon England's own superb health.

By her keen and frenzied pursuit of money—a pursuit, which has no parallel in the history of man and which leads her to multiply her worldly concerns beyond counting by extending her empire day after day—she has created so much work for herself that it is only natural that her physique should begin to fall. Let England then consider how disastrous her adherence to her over-work policy must be to the poor Indian with his failing health and failing food. We feel that we should fail in our duty to England as our guardian and protector if we did not inform her that overwork has begun to be regarded by us with grave apprehensions for our physical safety. And not only this, but we think that we have the best right in the world to demand of her the needed relief and remedy in an increase of the numerical strength of such of our people as work harder for her than they should and she has the best of reasons in the world to grant our demand, especially when to grant it she will have to spend not her own money but ours.

(c) *Anxiety*. This must remain so long as the measures suggested in (a) and (b) and to be suggested under (d) are not carried out, and also so long as the commercial spirit which now rules our own matrimonial affairs and the spirit of sensual enjoyment which is pervading whole Indian society do not give place to a spirit of sobriety and religiousness—a change, which we alone can accomplish and the accomplishment of which will require earnest and persevering effort on our part probably for centuries.

(d) *Malaria*. This is a gigantic question which will require gigantic efforts for its solution and can be dealt with only by a gigantic Government like the English Government in India ; and all private agency, individual or collective, all corporate agency, municipal or other, will be too small to handle it. But Government has so long sadly neglected this question of questions.

To ascertain the cause of malaria it has appointed only a few committees in a half-hearted manner, as if knowing the cause very well but not willing that we should know that it knows it. Against the opinion almost universally expressed by us that the cause lies very much in the obstruction which railway lines present to the full, free and natural drainage of the country, it has, therefore, nothing to present except a dogmatic No. It is therefore no wonder that most people among us take this No to mean Government's fear to make an admission which would render its adherence to its infatuated policy of indiscriminate railway extension and careless railway construction difficult and an abandonment or material modification of that policy its supreme moral duty and clear political obligation. Nothing but an attitude of indifference like this can account for Government's "masterly inactivity" in the sanitary department of its administration for over half a century. For it has done absolutely nothing during that long period to check malaria and malaria mortality beyond waging a petty, fitful crusade against village vegetation, advising villagers to kill the mosquito race in all their countless tanks, ponds, and pools of water with kerosine oil—advice, which the country has taken in the light of a joke—and supplying quinine to the sufferers, but, strange to say and sad to think, not free of charge even to the poorest among them.

It is hopeful, however, to see that the idea of sub-soil humidity due to obstructed drainage as a cause of malaria—the idea so clearly and forcibly put forward so long ago by the late Raja Digambar Mitter, C. I. E.,—has within recent years taken possession of the mind of Government. This is clear from the passing of the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Act, 1895, under Sir Charles Elliott. It is a pity, however, that it is proposed to carry out the idea by means of a special cess to be levied from zamindars and cultivating raiyats. Poor as he is and already bearing quite a burden of

other imposts, would it not be, we ask England, an act of cruelty to the cultivating raiyat to compel him to pay another heavy tax to obtain some immunity from malaria? It is extremely doubtful moreover whether the drainage of so large an area as that of Bengal can be effected in this way with the promptitude which the very serious situation of the country demands. It is also a question of principle which should not be lost sight of, as it is apt to be and as it often is, whether the life and death of the subject is not the sovereign's own concern and liability, instead of being, as the legislation referred to assumes, a concern and liability that is almost entirely local. It is a universally admitted principle of politics that where the subject is unable by his own endeavour to save his life, it becomes the sovereign's own most imperative duty to save it. It is a principle already recognised and acted upon by our Government in the case of the many charitable dispensaries it has established all over India. It is this principle that makes the lives of his subjects during famine the sovereign's own special charge, and famine expenditure his own obligation and not an obligation limited to the distressed area or locality. And it is difficult to understand why or how this principle cannot apply where the subject is unable by his own endeavour to save his life under malarial conditions absolutely beyond his control and of the widest possible prevalence. It is wrong morality and wrong political philosophy to prevent death from famine in one way and death from malaria in another. Life and death being man's first fundamentals, whatever imperils the one or the other in a manner which places them beyond the control of the individual, becomes the most imperative and legitimate concern of the sovereign himself. Bengal should be drained not with money raised by local cesses but with money from the imperial exchequer. The Sanitary Drainage Act does not contemplate the excavation of the beds of dead or dying rivers.

But these too will have to be excavated if the country is to be freed from malaria, and the equally essential improvement depending upon a plentiful supply of good drinking water is to be secured. The execution of these gigantic works and their up-keep will require crores and crores of money. But crores and crores, as I have stated above, we have. I will now show, how.

(1) There can be no doubt whatever that India is fully entitled to be relieved of at least one-half of her military expenditure. It is true that India wants England; but it is perhaps truer that England wants India. As Lord Curzon said to us in his University speech in Calcutta on the 10th February 1902:—"You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you." Yes, without India England's impotence will become such as to amount to her effacement from the world. She will lose all her wealth, power, prestige, dignity, activity and influence. She will become a fifth rate country, obscure, unknown, unhonoured. It is clear, therefore, that India is England's most vital concern, more vital concern, to be sure, than is England India's. A large army and great defensive works to ensure India against foreign invasion are therefore needed in the interest more of England than of India. Within India, England's political position is so strong, I might say, so overpowering, and the entire population, disarmed as they are, are so completely at her mercy that any serious troubles, demanding military operations worth the name, are almost impossible; and even if such troubles arise, frontier defences will not be needed for their suppression. It will, therefore, be nothing more than the barest justice for England to pay at least one-half, if not more than one-half, of the ordinary military expenditure of India. In his great budget speech (1906) Mr. Morley expressed his "very shrewd suspicion" that the partition of the expenditure and cost of military operations between

India and England was "not in all respects equitable." I am not quite sure, but I hope that the suspicion thus expressed by Mr. Morley extends also to the ordinary military expenditure of India. If England pays even one-half of that expenditure from her own exchequer, as she ought to, several crores of rupees will remain in our own treasury every year, available for the execution of the gigantic sanitary works all over India and especially in Bengal which have been already too long delayed and which ought not to be delayed a moment longer.

(2) In the same speech, Mr. Morley also said—"That India is a poor country I do not deny ; that the system of Government is costly I know ; that it is extravagant I suspect." Yes, everybody has been all along saying that European officers in India are paid much higher salaries than are paid to public servants anywhere else in the world, are paid, in fact, on an extravagant scale. Should not and cannot that scale be lowered, at least out of pity for the 33 millions of people who are pinched in their most essential matters for want of money ? A slight lowering of that scale can cause no real difficulty or inconvenience to the recipients of these extravagant salaries ; and even if it did, should it not be imperial England's clearest duty, with her responsibilities to the people of India, which are of imperial height and dimensions, to make a little sacrifice of her superabundance of the creature comforts of life in order that the lot of her poor Indian subjects may be bettered in however small a measure ? During the century and a half she is ruling India, England has made no sacrifice in the interest of her Indian subjects. She has of course shed much of her own blood and sacrificed the lives of many of her brave sons in the conquest of our country ; but that was sacrifice made and suffered in her own interest and not in ours. May we not therefore ask her to make what, in Hindu opinion, would be the very trifling sacrifice of a small percentage of the enormous salaries she pays to her country-

men in India? It is our bounden duty as loyal subjects of England, anxious and willing to co-operate with her in her administration of our country, to tell her what she does not perhaps know or appreciate as we know and appreciate it, namely, that we, Hindus, have an idea of kingly sacrifice of which there is no parallel anywhere else in the world. We have got that idea from our national bard Valmiki, in whose immortal poem, the *Ramayan*, the ideal king Ram, though fully convinced of the purity of his consort Sita during her enforced residence in the capital of the Rakshasa King Ravan, sent her into exile because the tongue of scandal was over heard by his trusted spy in the streets of Ayodhay. Do not judge this ideal of kingly sacrifice by the tough, prosaic and business-world standard of European ethics. The highest Hindu morality, like the highest Hindu philosophy, is nothing if not transcendental. There is also a touch of the romantic in it, derived from the essentially romantic character of the East as distinguished from the West. Prosaic Europe may deride it as a touch of the foolish or quixotic, but England, bound to rule India for India's welfare, cannot deride it with safety to herself and her incomparable charge. She, at any rate, must take it as a hard fact, as one of the eternal entities of the Eastern world, which will not bear to be wiped off or trifled with as not understandable or inconvenient. It is therefore England's imperative duty, if she is to make her Indian rule successful in its *palana* or most important portion, to try her utmost to realise in her mind, as much as she can, this transcendental Hindu ideal of kingly duty and kingly sacrifice. If she can do this, she will see that my proposal for the sacrifice of a small percentage of the enormous salaries her countrymen receive in India, is not a childish or a ridiculous proposal, but a proposal of the truest practical utility to her and conducive, if adopted, to the moral elevation of her rule, of a kind without which imperial-

ism is a term of mere technical material import and not, as it should be, a term denoting a morality of imperial height and grandeur. Judged by the Hindu ideal of kingly sacrifice, England will not rise in the estimation of the Hindu unless and until she makes some such sacrifice as I propose. By becoming the ruler of the Hindu people England has created for herself a difficulty which did not present itself to any other ruling or imperial nation in the history of the world, and it is to us a matter of the deepest concern that this is a difficulty which England should realise and overcome. It is therefore incumbent upon her to make a titanic effort for the purpose. If she only thinks, as a thinker like her ought to think, that she, India's self-constituted guardian, is healthy and wealthy, while India, her acknowledged ward, is poor, is in excruciating bodily agony over large tracts of country and is in a state of vanishing vitality throughout, she will feel irresistibly impelled to reduce all European salaries above Rs. 500, say 5 per cent., and all European salaries above Rs. 2,000, say 10 per cent., and then her claim to be acknowledged and honoured as a truly imperial country will be established and our exchequer will have some more money to spare for the purpose of saving our lives and enabling our country's vitality to rise again.

(3) The conversion of British India from a Kingdom into an Empire has not been, I fear, for the real good of either England or India. An Emperor, according to popular notions, is a grander thing than a King and a grander out-fit is therefore considered necessary for an Empire than for a Kingdom ; and a grander out-fit means greater expenditure of money. I can give only one illustration in this place. We are latterly seeing our Government bent upon adorning our large cities with imposing and ornamented public buildings which cost more than the plain, unimposing and more tasteful structures which satisfied it in the days of British India's kingship. The new style of architecture is, I believe, thought to be a

necessity and requirement of India as an Empire. India as an Empire is, therefore, bad for England whom it is demoralising and bad for India whose money it is wasting for purposes of increased pomp and pageantry. Architectural grandeur as a fitting emblem and expression of an Empire, we, Hindus, do not understand. We had our own architectural grandeur, but we had it almost exclusively in the temples of our gods and goddesses. The best and truest emblem and expression of a great Empire, in Hindu opinion, is moral grandeur.* An Indian High Court, sitting and dispensing justice without fear or favour and in a spirit of uncompromising independence in a plain and unostentatious building like that which the old Sudder Dewanny Adalat and, after it, the High Court of Calcutta in its Appellate Jurisdiction occupied near Belvedere, would be a truer and grander because more elevated expression of India as an Empire than a less dignified, less trusted and less respected tribunal sitting and dispensing justice in an imposing structure of Gothic style and massiveness like that to the west of the Viceregal palace in Calcutta. A great inside with a plain, homely, undecorated outside is an unspeakably great thing; it is moral grandeur of the highest type. After visiting the tols of Nadia some years ago, a savant from Europe, whose name I have forgotten, spoke of them in terms of inexpressible admiration because he found them located in lowly huts in which the highest and deepest

* External grandeur of any kind, not excepting even a great State pageant like Lord Curzon's Coronation Durbar, makes no impression on the mind of the spiritually trained Hindu nor, I am afraid, on the Musalman mind still full of the proud memory of Mogul splendour, that is at all favourable to England. I think I should also add that, to the Musalman, such displays are not only not agreeable but are positively galling. It is only the very lowest among Hindus and Musalmans and men of the mental level of the aborigines who are dazzled and overawed by the spectacles which cost us so much money so often.

learning is taught—taught not for money but for love—by the greatest and most self-sacrificing of teachers. Yes, moral grandeur like that is the grandest grandeur, grandeur which we Hindus love and appreciate more than any other grandeur, grandeur which is the best and truest emblem and expression of an Empire which would prefer to be loved as an Empire of morality and moral power to being feared as an Empire of materialism and material force. Our Government has, however, begun to give England's Empire in India a material form and meaning by displaying its new passion for showy, ornamented edifices which cost us and will go on costing us more money than we, with so many vital wants of ours, pre-eminently our life and health, so long neglected and requiring the promptest attention, ought to be made to spare for such a useless and unworthy purpose. Rage for architectural grandeur is a dangerous thing; it increases by demoralising. Government should subdue it at once, if it would not like that some one, in no remote future, should find reason and occasion to tell it, as Lord Curzon, referring to the great architectural works of the Adil Shah kings of Bijapur, told the Municipal Commissioners of that place on the 10th November 1900—"External splendour often meant internal misery."

SOME PECULIAR FEATURES OF ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA.

The owner of a house in Calcutta¹, provided with connected privies and filtered and unfiltered water connections, gets notices every now and then from the Corporation of Calcutta requiring him to do this or forbidding him to do that. Compliance with these requisitions have to be made with the utmost promptitude, often within 24 hours, and failure to comply means, in the absence of bribery, serious inconveniences like stoppage of water supply. And as plumbers,

masons, carpenters, &c., with the Indian's characteristic and constitutional lethargy, are all dilatory workmen, these requisitions, besides costing money, are often felt to be harassing, disquieting and vexatious. What happens within the limits of a Municipality happens also throughout the British Empire in India. Everywhere in that Empire people get notices, one day, from a Municipality, a District Board or a Local Board requiring them to do something, to undo something, or to refrain from doing something; notices from the income tax office, another day, requiring them to pay their dues before an appointed date on pain of fine, or to contest, if they like, the assessments that have been made of their incomes; demands by the collecting panchayet, this day; certificates from Collectorates, that day, demanding payment of arrears of road cess within an appointed time; summonses from law courts, yet another day, to appear as witnesses on fixed dates however inconvenient; sub-pœnas from the distant Court of Sessions some other day to attend as jurors day after day for an inconveniently indefinite period, on pain of fine; and so on. To the Indian, with his natural and necessary yearning for repose and consequent aversion to frequent trouble, anything that breaks the quiet and even tenor of his daily life and requires him, in addition, to make expenses so often beyond his means, is not only distasteful and disagreeable but positively painful and vexatious. Therefore, as in the Municipality so in the Empire there is a widespread feeling of vexation, of botheration and of unnatural and uncongenial environment. I am not sure whether the Englishman, bound to be restless by the exigencies of his climate and the exigencies of his physical and mental constitution, will be able to understand this. It is a state of things which was unknown in all pre-British regimes, and it is, therefore, in painful conflict or disagreement with the historical and traditional sense and temper of the Indian people.

English rule is found to be, in another way, in similar conflict or disagreement with the historical and traditional sense and temper of the Indian people. Under that rule, the Indian cannot tap a date or a palm tree unobserved; cannot collect firewood in a forest unmolested; cannot row up or down a canal unobstructed; cannot open a shop or start a business, however petty or small, within specified areas, without making it cognisable; cannot, child or adult or old, do a whole category of acts without being punished (under the Police Act V); cannot even send out a cow to graze fearless of the poundkeeper's man; cannot attend a public meeting unwatched; and so on. Restraint here, restraint there, restraint everywhere; restraint for childhood; restraint for youth; restraint for age; restraint for wealth, restraint for poverty; restraint for rank; restraint for no-rank—restraint for every unit of the population, so to say. It is a state of things which was not known in any pre-British regime; and it is, therefore, in painful conflict or disagreement with the historical sense and temper of the Indian people.

I have seen a third feature mentioned in a paper written in Bengali by a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University, a Premchand Roychand scholar and a leading member of the Hindu society of Calcutta. He says:—

“ In the time of the Hindu kings we enjoyed independence in most matters; we are now in a state of the very greatest dependence. We are fettered all over and in every part and day after day we feel the fetters more keenly. Police law, jail law, habitual offenders law, unlawful assemblies law, &c., &c. &c. It is long since the interfering hand has fallen on the Hindu law—recall to mind the *Lex Loci* Law and the Widow Marriage Law. Latterly, domestic matters too are being regulated by law—a sort of interference, which has commenced with the Age of Consent Act.

Have you ever seen the figure of the 'Laokoon' born of the overflowing heart of the Greek sculptor? The huge serpent has bound the mighty man in a hundred coils. The man is straining every nerve to shake off the coils. The monster, now and again, as if without effort, is drawing its coils tighter and tighter. Does this piece of sculpture bear no resemblance to our political condition?"

IS INDIA HAPPY UNDER ENGLISH RULE?

Every reader of the foregoing pages now knows that this is a question which, it pains me to say, cannot be answered in the affirmative. It is, therefore, unnecessary to explain again the many reasons which compel such an answer. I will, therefore, in this place refer again only to one of those reasons, because it has not been fully stated above. That reason is the cruel work which malarial fever has done and is doing in Bengal.

Malaria has changed lakhs of villages into scenes of desolation which any Englishman, caring to know whether India is happy or unhappy under English rule, may see for himself any moment in the company of competent local guides, if he has not seen it already. It is desolation of the most dismal kind. Flourishing villages, full of life and health, full of joy and mirth, and ringing all the year round with sounds of festive merriment, are now hushed in the silence of death and desolation. It is silence that is deepened by the weary wail of the childless mother or the motherless child. It is silence best beloved of beasts and birds of prey. Edifices here and edifices there without a single soul or with only a soul here or only a soul there, which are pictures of silent sorrow, sickness and suffering, fallen into ruins, with the wildest vegetation above, around and within them; mud houses and huts, with their doors and thatches gone and their walls in every stage of ruin; tanks and ponds

covered with thick vegetation and smelling as if like malaria itself; roads and lanes and bye-lanes made almost impassable, by and sometimes even invisible on account of jungle, with hardly a dozen pedestrians in the course of the lighted part of the day, the unlighted part being out of the question; school houses without scholars; pathshalas without pupils; the blacksmith's bellows stirring up no fire; the potter's wheel giving no shape to clay; the oilman's crude, creaking machine standing silent as the grave—this is desolation which the eye cannot bear to look upon, which it cannot behold without a shudder, even in the midday sun.

But infinitely deeper and more deplorable than this external desolation is the mental desolation which malaria causes. There is no counting the number of men, women and children who lose their dearest and indispensables every year. Bengal is plunged in the wildest and most distracting grief. We are at our wit's end what to do, where to go, where to live, how to save the wrecks that malaria makes of our darlings from drifting into the jaws of death. The situation is simply bewildering; the anxiety is overpowering; the embarrassment is immeasurable; the despair is inconceivable. If this is happiness there is no unhappiness anywhere on earth.

We are an essentially homeloving people, but malaria makes hundreds of thousands among us homeless like the Jews. We fly from the houses of our ancestors—those abodes of piety and pleasure with which are associated our dearest, holiest and most glorious memories, as from the dwelling houses of disease and death. I have not dared to visit my own ancestral house for more than 42 years, except for a day or a half-day three or four times in the height of summer during that long period. The sight of my ancestral house in ruins and partly hidden in jungle is heart-rending to me, brings tears to my eyes. And my case is only one out of many

hundred thousands. This enforced severance from ancestral home is a heart's wrench of which those who do not love home as we do and revere and worship ancestors like us can form no idea.

The reader should now recall to mind what has been said above of our characteristic devotion to the sacred duty of maintaining the continuity of the social and religious celebrations of our ancestors. If he does this and can form any idea of what this devotion means, he will not require to be told how very unbearable and agonising it is to many among us, no very inconsiderable number, that they cannot come to the houses and Puja halls or *Chandimandaps* of their ancestors to do by them their solemn and sacred duty of celebrating the social festivities and religious ceremonials started in the remote past and continuing the work of every day charity for which their ancestors, each according to the best of his power, endowed *Atithisálds* and *Sadábratas*.

This is enough to show that malarious Bengal is not only not happy but is in a state of indescribable mental and bodily agony under English rule. And as malaria is spreading throughout India and has commenced to make the healthiest places unhealthy, all India will sooner or later become miserable like Bengal, if measures be not forthwith taken by Government to eradicate the poison wherever it is found and make its further propagation difficult, if not impossible.

HOW TO MAKE INDIA HAPPY ?

The writer of an article, entitled "Racial Antipathy," in an issue of the *Pioneer* newspaper some months ago, says: "No one can suppose that the happiness of India would be attained by throwing open more appointments to Indians, or even by a system of representative Government." Nothing could be truer than this. Appointments under Government, however numerous, are, after all, extremely few considering

the countless millions that are in need of material provision or distressed for livelihood. The country will not also be happy if the majority of the highest appointments in the State are given to Indians. It will be no comfort or consolation, for instance, to the great mass of the ill-conditioned people of India, if all the judgeships in all the High Courts and District Courts, if all the Divisional Commissionerships and so on are filled by Indians. By the happiness of India we should all understand the happiness of the entire Indian people and not the happiness of the 'microscopic minority,' as it is the fashion to call those who are equipped with Western learning or education. In this sense, it will not also conduce in any degree to the happiness of India if the educated Indians get representative government or enlarged legislative councils. Elected Indian members in the Legislative Councils and the exercise by them of the right of interpellation we have already had for so many years, but India is nevertheless as unhappy as ever. The Civil Service Examination in India, reformed legislatures, executive functions separated from the judicial, either, will not make India happy. Police reform, jail reform, office reform, army reform, re-distribution of departments, redistribution of provinces, railway extension, committees, commissions, conferences, &c., which occupy the mind of Government more than anything else, will not also make India happy.

How, then, can India be made happy? The writer in the *Pioneer* has given an answer. It is that the happiness of India "could be brought about, perhaps, by a determined effort on the part of each individual Englishman to forget occasionally the consideration which he is apt to demand as an Englishman, and to meet the Indian on the platform of a common humanity." This is, however, not very clear; and assuming it to be clear, it seems to us, with our knowledge of English hauteur and exclusiveness, very doubtful whether

each individual Englishman will be able "to forget occasionally the consideration which he is apt to demand as an Englishman, and to meet the Indian on the platform of a common humanity." Englishmen would certainly do this and probably more in this direction if they only thought it worth their while, as it is indisputably worth the while of all European peoples, to reconsider their idea of what true patriotism is. For true patriotism consists not, as all Europe apparently likes to think, in shedding blood or sacrificing life for earthly things, when threatened or coveted, which many lower animals too are found to do, but in making one's country not feared by any but loved and revered by all for catholicity of spirit and nobility of conduct. In this sense there is no true patriotism anywhere in Europe. Besides, by his "Indian," the writer does not mean any of those who really constitute the Indian people—the labourer, the cultivator, the artisan, the middle class man, the rural man, in general—and whose happiness, more than that of any other, would be the real happiness of India, but "others highly born, well educated and sensitive to a degree entirely foreign to the English understanding." He expressly keeps out of his view the "bovine agriculturists and degraded domestics" who do not make up "the entire population of India any more than of England," when it is exactly the men whom he would keep out as of little account and no moment whose happiness is the real happiness of India as it should be also of England.

My answer to the question is contained in all that has gone before. India can be made happy only by making the many millions happy who are suffering one way or another in the sense explained above, are being placed on the road that leads to suffering, or are threatened with suffering. For the relief of this widespread and variegated suffering Government has done nothing as yet worth naming, though it was its first duty very long ago to have done it in consultation

with all men of large multifarious knowledge and experience and with the co-operation, willing or enforced, of the zamindars, who, be it said to their shame and to the shame of India, have, so far, done little or nothing in this direction. Instead of doing its duty by the ignorant, illiterate and half-educated millions, Government has, so long, attended only to the few thousand graduates and under-graduates of the Indian Universities, who form only a fringe, hardly visible, of an immeasurable population, apparently thinking it enough for its political purpose or political safety in India to humour these and these alone, because these and these alone can criticise.

CONCLUSION.

It is a conclusion extremely painful to us, people of India, to arrive at, conclusion the very opposite of what we should desire to reach in regard to a great country like England, especially when she happens to be the guardian and protector of a country which is the most ancient in the world and the most wonderful in the history of human civilization, that she governs India in her own interest and not in ours, and that the thing which is uppermost in her mind, in her administration of our country, is India's money, not India's men. If it had been otherwise, our whole military expenditure would not have been made a charge on our own revenue; our European officers would not have been paid on an extravagant scale, nor would their domestic circumstances have received such anxious consideration as is seen, for instance, in the grant of the exchange compensation allowance, when those of ours, so much more complicated and necessitous than theirs, are thought to be beneath notice—an ex-Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, for instance, who declared *Kesur* sufficient food for the famine-stricken, being reported to have considered Rs. 50 a month enough for every Bengali—

cess would not have been added to cess and tax to tax ; the salt-tax would have gone ; our law courts would not have been made ruinously costly ; our Department of Education, to us the most useful and important of departments, would not have been treated in the most niggardly style, instead of being treated, as it should have been and should be, in a style of princely lavishness, and the education of our children would not have been made costlier every ten or twenty years ; our villages would not have remained in full possession of decimating and desolating malaria for upwards of half a century ; our cry for water in the hottest part of the year would not have received the heartless reply that it is the business of the zamindar to take notice of that, the simple, sober, contented Indian would not have been allowed to be ruined in body and mind by cheap seductive luxury from Europe, and so on. To make her administration of India successful in the most important sense of the word, that is to say, in its *pālan* or spiritual branch, radical changes have become indispensable and imperative in its principle and policy. The present self-seeking policy should give place to a policy of self-sacrifice. The policy of practically ignoring the great mass of the people and endeavouring to humour and conciliate only the educated few will have to be altered, without, however, neglecting the latter ; the principle of making the administration practically synonymous with the manipulation and re-manipulation of offices, departments and the services, with the issue of circulars, proclamations, reports and resolutions, with multiplying cesses and taxes, with devising new sources of income almost every other day, and so on, should be curtailed in favour of the principle of making it consist mainly in the adoption, maintenance and furtherance of measures for the real everyday relief and welfare of the great population that dwell in the village.

And is it not to be given to us to cherish the hope that this will be done? It will be England's severe self-condemnation if she says, it is not to be. We are sanguine that with her keen sense of duty, the basis of that sense of justice which is characteristic of the English people more than of any other in Europe, it will be impossible for England to say that. That we have still to appeal to her sense of the duty she owes us as our sovereign, is because she has a failing in common with other European nations in her habit of looking down upon all coloured peoples as inferior to her. We feel and feel very acutely that many Englishmen in this country, not excepting many holders of high offices, hate us as niggers, as low luckless creatures contact with whom is a painful necessity and often even contamination, and who should be and who are, as a matter of fact, shunned, borne down, or brushed aside everywhere and whenever possible. How great this contempt of the Indian was made shockingly clear to us in Barrister Branson's vulgar but thunderingly applauded speech at the ferocious Anglo-Indian meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall against the great Ilbert Bill and the ignoble Concordat which Ripon the Good was obliged to accept. The keenest sense of duty and the strictest sense of justice become, we are afraid, blunted and bedimmed, if they are not actually replaced by conscious or unconscious neglect and perverse prejudice, where the men to be dealt with are held in contempt or tiny esteem and those dealing with them are positive that they belong to a distinct and decidedly higher order of beings with a monopoly of every human excellence. This attitude of the white man towards the non-white has begun to be confessed as unjust by white men themselves. It is a pity, however, that it has begun to be condemned only after seeing the non-white's physical prowess in the last great war in the far East, instead of being protested against at all times as an attitude which

should never have been taken up, being fundamentally and on the plainest principles of morality unworthy of and degrading to human beings and forbidden by God and religious scripture in every land. That it has begun to be condemned, however late and though not for the high and truly human reason, is still matter for congratulation as a slight gain to the cause of humanity. It is gain, however, which cannot be seen in Europe's actual conduct or on any scale probably for centuries to come. India's case, however, is an urgent one and demands urgent treatment. It has become necessary for Englishmen to at once cease to look down upon their Indian subjects and to begin to treat them with respect, sympathy, civility and even affection. As one means of awakening these feelings in their mind I think that it may be of great immediate use and effect to tell such of them as do not know, and they are the most numerous, and remind those who are apt to forget what a people their Hindu subjects are. Well, it is their Hindu subjects whose forefathers were the earliest civilisers of the world, gave the world its first religious books, propounded what is still the highest and deepest spiritual philosophy in the possession of man, created a grand literature, made signal contributions to the most useful branches of human knowledge, and built up a social organisation which is the most enduring because the most spiritualised the world has ever seen and which is destined to endure as long as the race of man ; and who have in their own days produced apostles and incarnations of spiritual love like Chaitanya, religious devotees like Rámprasad Sen and Ram Krishna Paramhansa, representatives of Hindu spirituality like Bhaṣkaránanda Swami, intellectual athletes like the logicians of Nadia, even scientists like Dr. Sarkar, Dr. P. C. Ray and Dr. J. C. Bose, the last having electrified the scientific world by his discoveries in the most scientific of centuries, not to speak of the great men of other parts of modern India ;

and who are carrying off the palm in the highest intellectual contests with the flower of England's youth. Such a people, I dare say, have every right to receive respectful, if not reverential, treatment from whoever may be in political authority over them; and they certainly prove themselves unworthy of sovereignty over such a people who look down upon them as animals inferior to man or hate them as niggers. I think I may also say that, wherever there is high humanity, there ought to be perfect sympathy with such a people—that is, full participation in their joys and sorrows—and where there is political suzerainty in addition, there ought to be every attention paid to their wants and grievances, difficulties and disadvantages. And as their present suzerain is England, the most freedom-loving country in the world, I am sanguine that their political subjection will be regretted by the race that rules them more keenly than by anybody else as a misfortune calling for the largest measure of solace and consolation that can be provided for them in such circumstances. They are, I beg leave to submit, fully entitled to cherish a sense of self-respect not a whit less keen than that of any other people in the world, a pride of a pedigree which is very much longer and more glorious than any other known to anybody else, an estimate of the service rendered by them to the cause of human civilisation in its temporal as well as spiritual form, which, not unjustly or unwarrantably, inspires them with a no very contemptible idea of their importance and dignity as a civilisation-making people. All these their rightful feelings cannot be ignored, wounded or slighted by whoever may be their ruler without making them feel their political subjection in a manner of which no one not in their position and not hurt like them can form an idea. By hurting us in this way England does herself more harm than can be done by a mutiny or a rebellion, as is seen in the condition of Bengal and the attitude of the Bengali people towards

their Government after the partition of their country effected in a manner which was felt by them as an insult deliberately offered to their sense of honour and self-respect. England cannot make a sadder or graver mistake than by forgetting that it is universal human nature, wherever there is dependence or subjection which is felt to be such, to become a little too sensitive (अभिमानौ, *abhimānu*) and therefore much too angry or indignant under insult or ill-treatment—a fact, which creates important obligations for rulers and ruling peoples in relation to the ruled. It is very unfortunate, however, that such obligations are not and have never been thought of by the English Government and the people of England. For it is owing in no small measure to this serious omission that our Government is one of the most unpopular in the world. It would be the truest magnanimity in the eye of the Hindus, if not in the eye of any other people, and not, as so many members of our ruling race seem so positive, an exhibition of weakness tending to destroy Government's prestige, to recognise with alacrity this interesting phase of a noble human failing. The Hindu, with his peculiar culture, has his peculiar way of thinking and feeling in many matters, and those who are ignorant of his peculiarities are not likely to rule him with success or to his satisfaction. In her Government of this strange people England should, therefore, associate with herself in the friendliest and heartiest manner the men of large knowledge, sound thought and deep feeling among them in whatever rank of life existing, instead of confining her choice, as by another fatal mistake she proposes to do, among notables or notabilities. Superior thought, accurate knowledge and sound feeling are seldom found associated with rank or opulence, they having, as all the world knows, their most congenial dwelling in the world of plain, poor, untitled humanity.

No man worthy of that noble designation can withhold

from true worth his respect and, where sympathy is a duty, his sympathy too. England cannot, therefore, endeavour to change her present unsympathetic and disrespectful attitude towards India into an attitude of deep sympathy and profound reverence with greater chance of success than by knowing India's place in the history of the world's thought and civilisation. It is, therefore, her duty to know as much as she can of India's wonderful personality among the nations of the world. And to make this knowledge impressive and useful, she should begin to acquire it very early in life. Every English boy and every English youth should be compelled to read the story of that personality in the public schools and colleges of England in compilations specially prepared from, say, Sir William Jones, Horace Hayman Wilson, Max Muller, Goldstücker, Edwin Arnold, R. C. Dutt, Johnson and a host of others, but carefully avoiding such writers as James Mill; from the records of their Indian travels left by visitors like Megasthenes, Fahian, Houen Thsang and many others, and so on. That story should also be related, every now and then, from every pulpit and platform and in the press, in order that every man and woman in England may hear it and admire it and thereby learn to feel that interest in India and that respect and sympathy for her people the want of which has been, for the one hundred and fifty years that England has taken upon herself the guardianship of this country, her sin and shame. A full knowledge of that story should also be made a condition for admission into the Indian Civil Service as well as for admission into every branch of the higher uncovenanted service, Medical, Engineering and the rest. And in introducing this new education, education, that is, which it is the bounden duty of the entire English people, holding India as they do in trust for us from God, and not simply of the handful of Englishmen forming the governing body, to receive, it is prayed

that England's temporal and spiritual power will combine to persuade her merchants and manufacturers, who guide her policy more effectively than her statesmen and among whom are some of her noblest sons, that as they have made their country fabulously rich they can now afford to be kind to indigent India, which is as much their charge, care and concern morally as well as politically as she is of all other Englishmen, collectively and individually, and to give her the help or facility without which it will be almost impossible for her to recover even her elementary industries. I know I am not talking political economy. But in an appeal to India's ruler, guardian and protector on the question of her life and death it would not be right political philosophy to do that. That philosophy authorises me to talk political morality and universal humanity.

It will, I trust, do much to carry these suggestions to the heart of the people of England if I say that it is a thousand pities that necessity should have arisen to persuade them in this way to know us and our country as the best means they can adopt in order to be able to feel for us and do by us as they are bound to as responsible rulers of India. They should have of themselves, every man and every woman in England, (the latter being a more potent factor in English life than the former) from the very day they took our destiny into their hand, made it their most important and beloved task to acquire that knowledge. That they have not done so and show no inclination still to do so, means that they are utterly unmindful of and negligent to the great trust which, according to their own best men, they have received from God. As a people, they know nothing of India—know not, we fear, many of them, whether it is in America or in Africa, care not to know and think it no business of theirs to know whether it is well governed or ill governed, are perfectly sure that they have themselves no duty and

responsibility to India, when she has a special governing body to look after us. It is no wonder, therefore, that they have so long kept their conscience quiet in regard to us—that conscience whose “savage stings,” as we have it on very high authority, they will be unable to bear when they shall hear “through the dark distances the roar and scream of confusion and carnage in India.” If England’s duty to India is to be well and fully done, the conscience of her people *as a body* must be roused. It is unto that end that these suggestions for their education and moral persuasion are made.

My last word. The cause or causes of the deep discontent now prevailing in India cannot be fully or correctly ascertained without a careful consideration of a great, I might add, a unique fact in the history of the world. It is that there is no more contented man on the face of the earth than the Hindu. To enable the European to understand or admit this, he needs only to be told that our caste system, which is in his opinion the most effective contrivance ever made to stifle the individual and prevent his worldly advancement, has been always accepted and conformed to by us willingly and without question, and when upset by the followers of such religious revolutionists as Buddha, has been invariably reaccepted and re-established. And the cause of this unique fact in the world’s history is another unique fact in that history. It is that in the Hindu religion earthly life has no meaning, purpose or value except as an auxiliary or contributory to spiritual life. And not content with merely giving this advice or deeming only advice sufficient for practical purposes, our ancient teachers and sages made rules for daily observance which cannot be practised without making earthly life entirely subordinate or auxiliary to spiritual life, and without becoming enamoured of the duty and the discipline. This is the secret of the unique contentedness of the Hindu. It has made the Hindu the one object-lesson

in contentment for the entire world. But this historic land of contentment is now full of discontent—a fact, which it is England's duty more than of anybody else to endeavour to understand. For this discontent in this historic land of contentment is her own creation and the responsibility for its continuance and increase is also hers. And as it is the Indian's duty to explain it to her in the light in which he views it, I place these pages before her as my humble help to her in her study of this grave question.

I have mentioned some of the things which we consider to be England's shortcomings in her administration of India. That there are other shortcomings, there can be no question. But it does not fall within my purpose to mention all. Nor is it necessary to do that. The point of greatest importance in this connection is that there should be a change of England's attitude towards us. For with that change all shortcomings will be bound to disappear. It is this:—

The educated Hindu who derives so much of his knowledge and his political inspiration from English literature, certainly dislikes political subjection as degrading and dishonourable. But I can solemnly assure England that he does not for that reason desire to subvert or to be rid of her rule. And more than this. Where political subjection is a necessity, as it undoubtedly is with him, he considers it an honour and a privilege to be under political subjection to the countrymen of Shakspeare, Shelley, Tennyson and Wordsworth; of Locke, Berkely, Hume and Spencer; of Newton, Darwin and Faraday; of Pym, Hampden, Milton, Burke, Bright and Fawcett; of Howard, Clarkson and Wilberforce. And he fervently prays every Englishman, whether of the governing body or not, to make it a point of enabling him to see and feel that it is such, for he is unfortunately not yet made to see and feel in that way. He also prays that, in dealing with the Hindus, all Englishmen will make it a point never to forget that they

are dealing with the countrymen of Vyas, Valmiki, Kalidás and Bhababhuti—of Kapil, Kanád and Patanjali—of Buddha, Chaitanya and Sankarácháryya—of Janak and Yudhisthir—of Dayánanda, Bhaskaránanda, Vivekánanda and Ramkrishna Paramhansa. If Englishmen do only these two things, it will not be necessary to ask them to do any other. For these two things will make every wrong, every inattention, every insult, every incivility to India impossible. And it is only by these two things and not by means of any other—Indians in the India Council, Advisory Council of Notables, crowded legislatures, or anything of that kind and species conceivable now or conceivable hereafter—that England's administration of India can be made to conduce to her own glory and to the happiness and prosperity of her great dependency.

These things done and the Híndu character considered, there can remain no doubt that England's government of this country will become the easiest and most successful of foreign governments in the world. By their practice of the most spiritual creed and subjection to the most spiritualised social system in the world, the Hindus, as a people, are the gentlest of men and ferocity is not only no part of their nature but is their abhorrence. As a people, they have been trained from the earliest human times to learn and love to be human, to hate brutality and to regard the use of physical force as shameful and inglorious. It is either because Englishmen do not know this or because they lack the moral courage which can exist only in a perfectly guiltless mind that they fancy themselves seated on a volcano in this country and think and talk of their sword as the weapon with which they hold India and shall hold it to the end of time, forgetting that the only sword which lives for ever is not the sword that is made of Steel but the sword that is made of Love, such sword, that is, as was used by Buddha, Jesus Christ, Chaitanya and others of their transcendent race. If, therefore, in addi-

tion to this, England learns to love her Indian subjects, she will at once find every fear expelled from her mind and feel tempted to rule them in the trustful spirit the want of which has so long introduced only difficulties and complications in her administration. This is one thing.

There is another. Discontent, as stated above, has certainly made its appearance in this historic land of contentment and among our historically contented people. But the effect of a historic discipline like ours cannot easily disappear, and is not, as a matter of fact, entirely lost. Thoughtful students of the Bengal press ought to know that, even among those who have begun to feel discontent, little kind words spoken to us and small acts of kindness done to us by Englishmen, official or non-official, produce far greater delight and much quicker satisfaction than they would among any other people in the world. And this, I presume, may be said of the other Indian provinces too. The Hindus are, in fact, a people far easier to please, satisfy, conciliate or capture than anybody else on earth. It is England's singular good fortune—good fortune not known to any other ruling or imperial country in the world—that she has such a people as the Hindus for her subjects and in her Empire. That she is not popular with such a people and such a people do not love her even after 150 years of her rule should, therefore, be for all her sons cause for very serious reflection and the most anxious self-searching.

There is yet another thing. The Hindu has one of the most grateful hearts in the world. We do not forget those Englishmen, official or non-official, who mean well to us or give us anything of value, whether it is given with a benevolent motive or not. Hare, Bethune, Duff, Ewart, Richardson, Jones, Halleur, Sutcliffe, Sanders, Grapel, Lobb, Thwaytes, Clint, Cowell, Atkinson, Woodrow, Croft, Tawney, Eliot—of these and many more like these, some have long since left this world and some have left India. But we remember them still and talk of them every day with the

same zest as we did when they were among us. We still celebrate the anniversary of the death of David Hare and we had till very lately a literary society in Calcutta named after Drinkwater Bethune. There are thousands of homes in Bengal (and I presume in other Indian provinces too) in which English names—names of Government officers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, merchants, merchant's managers and so on are still like household words, pronounced every day with feelings of unabated gratitude and reverence. My father, who died in 1872, commanded his children not to forget a name which is therefore still in our mouth. It is the name of an Englishman, Mr. Dick, a partner in one of the earliest mercantile firms in Calcutta in which my father was book-keeper in his youth. We often name our favourite institutions not after our own great men, much as we revere them, but after those Englishmen whose memory we love or respect. One of our oldest book-shops in Calcutta is called the Canning Library, an excellent printing press in Calcutta is called the Hare Press, another excellent printing press is called the Metcalfe Press, a third excellent press, that in which these pages are printed, is called the Cotton Press. We love to give our schools, colleges and libraries all over Bengal such names as Ripon and Cotton. As Viceroy of India, Lord Ripon gave us local self-government which was not unsubstantial like our present local self-government, and for this one boon and one boon only and for the few sweet and respectful words he spoke to and regarding us, we have enshrined him in our heart in a manner which is unexampled in the annals of the British Government in India, and we preserve him in our mind with feelings of love and adoration which neither stone nor canvas can inspire or awaken*. Self-praise is bad. But there has

* "And let them (the English) above all not depend on such political reforms and concessions as do no good to the people at large but only benefit the selfish few who are far from feeling grateful for the boon." Mr. R. P. Kirkaria in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1907, p. 479.

arisen an unpleasant necessity for it in the fact that we are stigmatised in the English press, in the Anglo-Indian press, by many Englishmen, official and non-official, and even by non-Hindu writers in the Indian press, as an ungrateful people who acknowledge not the boons which are conferred on them by their English rulers.

I should very much like to think that this charge of black ingratitude is preferred against us in pure ignorance of the Hindu character ; but I regret to find it preferred in a spirit and style which makes such a supposition impossible. And as the charge seems accepted by members of our governing body, the men who make it are not England's friends but enemies, who seek to turn her away from the line of action which alone can enable her to effect a fusion of ruler and ruled which the world shall behold with wonder and admiration.

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.—No. VI.

THE
INDIA OFFICE COUNCIL

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NOTE
on its History and proposed
Re-organisation.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY THE BRITISH COMMITTEE
OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84 AND 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

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FOREWORD.

THE Government having announced its intention of amending the constitution and methods of the India Office, with special reference to the Council of the Secretary of State, and having invited an expression of public opinion on the subject, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, which are the leading political organisations in India, have passed resolutions recommending increased representation of Indian interests in the *personnel* of the Council, as being the best means of making known Indian requirements, at first hand, to the Secretary of State. A Deputation of recognised Indian leaders, mostly members of the Legislative Councils, has been appointed to proceed to England, in support of these views; and as it is desirable that the British public should be informed of the facts of the case, this Note has been prepared from articles published, by favour of the Editors, in "*India*" (7th November, 1913), "*The Nation*" (14th March, 1914) and "*The New Statesman*" (25th April, 1914). Also copies have been distributed of the Presidential addresses at Kurrachee and Agra. (CONGRESS GREEN BOOK—V.)

W. WEDDERBURN,

Chairman.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE
OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84 and 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

1st May, 1914.

INDIA OFFICE REFORM.

THE COUNCIL OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

On July 31st last Lord Crewe, in the House of Lords, announced his intention, as Secretary of State for India, of introducing reforms in the constitution and methods of his Council at Westminster. He referred to the Parliamentary debates in 1858, when it was settled that the full responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament should remain intact, and that the Council should be purely advisory, devoting its time to matters of policy and questions of first-class interest. These constitutional arrangements are to stand fast. But he declared that in practice the methods of conducting business at the India Office were "intolerably cumbrous and dilatory": legislation would be necessary in order to carry out the required reforms; he would bring in a Bill for this purpose in the coming session; and he would "welcome any criticism or any fresh ideas that might be brought forward."

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

All who wish well to India must feel grateful to Lord Crewe for thus giving to the Indian public an opportunity of placing before him, and before Parliament, their views regarding the constitution and methods of the India Office in London, which is the ultimate seat of power. The Secretary of State in Council occupies the place of the Great Mogul, as the arbiter of Indian destinies; and, whatever his political creed, he has, on the whole, been regarded in India as a friend. But this feeling does not at all extend to his statutory councillors, who represent official influences; who have habitually resisted all enquiry into grievances; and who are regarded as the most formidable opponents to Indian aspirations. So hostile is the feeling in India that there has been a constant cry that the Council in its present

form should be abolished altogether. But Lord Crewe has stated that abolition is not contemplated. What, therefore, the friends of India have now to do, is to make full use of the opportunity offered to them, and show how the Council, instead of working mischief, may be made the instrument of great benefit to India and to this country. We have first to consider what is the genesis of the Council as now constituted.

EARLY HISTORY.—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1600 TO 1783.

Originally an association of merchant adventurers, trading under the protection of charters granted by the British Crown, the East India Company acquired dominion over a territory greater in extent and more thickly populated than all the possessions of the British Crown put together. From being traders they became despotic rulers; and grievous complaints came to England as to the mode in which this rule was exercised by their servants in India. On account of these complaints two Parliamentary Committees, the one secret, the other open, were appointed in 1781 to investigate the whole condition of British India, as well as the affairs of the Company, which were then in a bankrupt condition. These Committees made elaborate reports, seventeen in number, all condemnatory of the Company's government, and disclosing transactions of great cruelty and oppression on the part of the high officials in India; and upon these reports the House of Commons passed resolutions for the immediate dismissal of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice of Bengal. The secret influence of the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street was very great, and they fought hard to preserve their patronage and power, and to screen their servants in India. But the facts proved were too serious to be put aside; and accordingly the Company was placed upon its trial. Thus in 1783 the situation was as follows (vide "History of England under George III," by the Right Honourable W. Massey):—

The company lay under accusation of having cruelly and scandalously abused the privileges of rulers. Their principal servants had been inculpated of gross malversation by a unanimous

resolution of the House of Commons; and the Company had nevertheless upheld their officers in spite of the opinion of Parliament and of the Ministers of the Crown. The administration of justice had been so notoriously and scandalously abused that the Chief Judge had been dismissed, in spite of the Company, by the authority of the King's Government. Nor had the Company purchased material prosperity by the open violation of the principles on which civil government, nay, society itself, is based. Plunder and extortion had only relieved their immediate and temporary exigencies. The ordinary resources of India were unequal to satisfy the greedy adventurers who were spread over the land, and to maintain the military force which was necessary to support an arbitrary and iniquitous Government. The Company therefore came before Parliament as delinquents who had grossly abused their trust, and as bankrupts unable to perform their engagements.

EDMUND BURKE. FOX'S INDIA BILL. PITT'S INDIA ACT,
1783 AND 1784.

Such being the condition of affairs, India formed the most prominent topic in the King's speech in opening the autumnal Session of 1783; and a few days later Mr. Fox introduced his Bill to suspend the powers of the Company, and to bring the affairs of India under constitutional control. His plan was to erect a great Department of State which should be charged with the direction of the whole administration of India, all the political authority of the Company being transferred to seven Commissioners nominated in the first instance in the Act of Parliament, and afterwards to be appointed by the Crown. It was in support of this Bill, of which he was the reputed author, that Edmund Burke made his memorable speech on December 1, 1783. The two great facts with which Parliament had to deal were, the oppressions of the Company's servants in India, and the entire failure of the Court of Directors in England to check these iniquities.. So far from controlling the officials in India, the Directors were on terms of intimate alliance with the offenders, supporting them during their career in India, and afterwards screening them from punishment when they retired to England to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. And the reason of this was not far to seek. For the East India Company being a joint-stock concern, it was open to anyone to

purchase a share in its management. Under the constitution of the Company the directors were elected by the proprietors of India stock, so that by purchasing the stock the Indian officials and their friends were able to obtain a preponderating influence both in the Court of Proprietors and in the Court of Directors. Nominally the servants of the Company, they thus became its masters. It is easy to see how this arrangement suited the wrong-doers. By plunder and oppression they realised colossal fortunes in India, and invested a portion of this wealth in the purchase of India stock; thus securing the election of their own partisans as Directors of the Company. What chance of redress was there from a Court so constituted? Justice was thus made a mockery. For when complaints of oppression reached England, the hearing was before men who were the nominees and representatives of the delinquents. The object of the Bill was to strike at the very root of these evils, by ousting these unjust judges, and by establishing a real and independent control in England over the Indian Executive. The control was to be a Parliamentary one, and it was to be exercised in a spirit of judicial impartiality.

Unhappily for India, and for England, Mr. Fox's Bill, after passing through the House of Commons in 1784 by a majority of more than two to one in every division, fell to the ground with the fall of the Ministry which originated it; and shortly afterwards Mr. Pitt passed his India Bill, by which the administration was still to be conducted in the name of the Company, the Court of Directors appointing the Governor-General and other officials in India, while the Crown directed the policy through the Board of Control. This uncouth compromise, known as "The Double Control," which continued the essential vices of the old system, was a mere makeshift, and was not designed for a permanent institution. But the force of political circumstances, little connected with Indian interests, prolonged its mischievous existence until the Mutiny of 1857, when the Crown assumed the direct administration under a Secretary of State in Council. And even then the change was one of nomenclature, not of principle. For the independent Parliamentary

control, "exercised in a spirit of judicial impartiality," which formed the central feature of Mr. Burke's scheme, was not revived; and as regards the interests represented, the Council of the Secretary of State for India was little more than the old Court of Directors under a new name. This will be apparent when we remember that Mr. Burke's chief objection to the Directors was that they were the representatives of the Indian bureaucracy, which it was their duty to control. And exactly the same objection may be taken to the India Council, which is regularly recruited from the leading members of the Indian official class. In fact, it may be said that the last state of the control is worse than the first. For, whereas the Court of Directors was filled with the nominees of the dominant Indian officials, the India Council is filled with these officials themselves.

GENESIS OF THE INDIA COUNCIL.—LORD PALMERSTON,
MR. DISRAELI, AND SIR CHARLES WOOD.

1858.

It has been a grievous misfortune for India that the constitution of the supreme authority in England over Indian affairs was framed in 1858, when the Mutiny of 1857 was not yet quelled, when fierce passions had been aroused, and when "trust in the people" of India was at its lowest ebb. In previous legislation regulating the Government of India, there had always been some important change in the direction of progress: in 1813 the commercial monopoly of the East India Company was abolished, and in 1833 rights of equal citizenship were granted to the Indian people. But in 1858 there was no desire to make wider the bounds of freedom. On the contrary, the object was to give added power to the executive. As explained by Lord Palmerston, when introducing the first Government of India Bill, in February, 1858, the one great object was to abolish the "most inconvenient and most cumbrous" Double Control vested in the Company and the Crown, and to create an effective and powerful machinery of government which would secure prompt and united action, and complete the suppression of the Mutiny. No administrative reforms in India were proposed: speaking

for the Government, he said: "We wish to alter things as little as we can consistently with the great object we have in view."

But although, on account of the unfortunate conditions prevailing in India, no popular proposals were actually put forward, still, even then, there evidently was a general desire to give the Secretary of State the best type of advisers, and to constitute the new Council in a way well suited to meet India's more modern requirements. Referring to the debates of 1858, which show the view then held by the great party leaders, we find that the selection of the Council *personnel* was the chief matter for consideration. Lord Palmerston, who introduced Government of India Bill No. 1, after stating that "the proposed Council must be a Council of advice, not a Council of control," proceeded to lay down the principle upon which (to use his own phrase) a sensible man would select his advisers, saying that the Government "would wish to be advised by those most competent to give advice, and so far from choosing those most likely to be subservient and flexible, they would no doubt deem it their duty, as well as their interest, to select those who, by their knowledge, experience, talent, and capacity, were most certain to prove useful assistants in the management of Indian affairs." Similarly, Lord John Russell favoured "everything that can be done to preserve an independent character to the Council." As in mechanics, so in political affairs: where there is no resistance, there is no support. And the same view was taken by Mr. Disraeli, who declared that the two great requisites for the Councilors were independence and knowledge. To these declarations Sir Charles Wood added, as the guiding principle, that "if we are to govern India it must be for the benefit of the natives of that country"; and this predicates yet another qualification—viz., that the Councilors should be men prepared to make the welfare of India their first consideration.

THREE CLASSES OF COUNCILLORS.

It appears, therefore, that, according to the originators of the Council, the essential qualifications for Councilors

are devotion to Indian interests, knowledge of Indian affairs, and independence. Accepting this proposition as reasonable, what, under the circumstances of the present day, are the practical steps to be taken in order to secure the services of persons possessing these qualifications?

There seem to be three classes from which Councillors may advantageously be drawn: (A) leaders of independent Indian public opinion; (B) experienced Anglo-Indian administrators; and (C) men unconnected with Indian administration, who have made their mark in English public life. Let us consider the qualifications of each of these classes.

As regards devotion to Indian interests, it stands to reason that this sentiment will ordinarily exist among the Indians themselves, and that its best exponents will be found among (A), those Indian leaders who are most trusted by the people. Also, as to special knowledge of Indian matters, we may assume that Indians are the persons best acquainted with their own affairs: their knowledge is at first hand; and, as wearers of the administrative shoe, they alone can speak with certainty as to where it pinches. The remaining qualification, that of independence, could be secured in the case of Indians by adopting the plan advocated by Indian reformers, and approved in the Minority Report of Lord Welby's Commission, under which names would be recommended by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India.

The whole-hearted devotion to India which is natural to the patriotic Indian cannot be expected from (B), Anglo-Indian administrators as a class, their professional interests, as a close privileged body, enjoying a monopoly of place and power, being in many ways antagonistic to Indian interests and aspirations. At the same time, it may rightfully be claimed that the best type of British officers, civil and military, have in the past made the welfare of India their first consideration. As regards knowledge of Indian affairs, they are competent as advisers, so far as the official machinery is concerned. But they are foreigners, with an imperfect knowledge of the languages; and, owing to the

excessive amount of desk-work in which they are entangled, they seem in later years to have lost touch with the masses of the people.

By means of Mr. Fox's Bill of 1784, Edmund Burke desired to give the control exercised in England over Indian affairs to (C), a class of trusted public men, with ripe experience in Parliament, in the professions, and in business. The presence of such men, unconnected with the Indian administration, and trained in the wholesome atmosphere of British public life, is essential in the Council, to act as mediators between the independent Indian representatives and the Anglo-Indian nominees, giving the support of their vote to the side which shows the best knowledge of the facts, and which appeals most effectively to accepted principles of justice and fair play.

Looking to practical requirements, it appears that each of these three classes, (A), (B), and (C), should be suitably represented in the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

In an article entitled "British Democracy and India," published in the "Nineteenth Century" (February, 1911), Lord Morley dwelt on the difficulty of the position occupied by the Secretary of State for India, looking to "the enormous weight, complexity, delicacy, and hazards" of our obligations towards India.

The difficulty is twofold, partly (1) permanent and unavoidable, viz., that arising from the magnitude and urgency of the questions to be dealt with; and partly (2) accidental and capable of a remedy, viz., that arising from the disadvantageous position of the Secretary of State, who personally is without Indian experience, and who possesses no machinery enabling him to deal with these questions on judicial lines, and with full knowledge of the facts. As regards (1), it can only be said that the magnitude and urgency of India's claims will doubtless develop by means of the expanded Legislative Councils in India, thus adding

to the burden of the Secretary of State. As regards (2), the first and most important step towards a remedy was taken by Lord Morley when he admitted Indians to the Council of the Secretary of State, thereby making it possible for him to learn the facts and the Indian view, at first hand, from Indians themselves. What is now wanted is to secure the full advantages of this reform, by carrying out the policy to its logical conclusions, and providing that the Indian Councillors shall be duly accredited to represent independent Indian public opinion.

To understand the situation it is necessary to consider (a) the nature of the questions coming before the Secretary of State, and (b) the existing arrangements for dealing with these questions :—

(a) The power of the Executive in India, in matters of administration, is absolute; and no question arises when the exercise of that power gives general satisfaction. The cases that come before the Secretary of State are those in which there is a complaint on behalf of some Indian interest, these cases being of the nature of an appeal to an Appellate Court, against the decision of the high officials in India.

(b) In dealing with these cases the Secretary of State is dependent upon his Advisory Council for information and advice, and the members of that Council cannot be regarded as unbiased, being recruited mainly from the class of high officials from whose decisions the appeals are brought. The points for decision are practically issues between independent Indian opinion and official authority; but in the Council official authority is altogether predominant, while independent Indian opinion is not represented at all. What is now needed is to redress the balance, and place the Secretary of State in a position to hear both sides, with free access to the facts.

THE FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

Owing to the exigencies of party government, the Secretary of State has seldom personal experience of India. How is he to deal successfully with the "enormous weight, com-

plexity, delicacy, and hazards" of the responsibilities he has to undertake? At a distance of 6,000 miles he is directly responsible for the well-being of a population exceeding 250 millions: his task under any circumstances is one of extreme difficulty; without the goodwill and co-operation of the Indian people it is an impossible one. Much that is unwise has been done to alienate the affections of a people naturally docile and law-abiding. But, happily for us in India, the Sibyl's books have not yet been burnt. There is still time to conciliate Indian feeling. A wise and patient people are still willing to co-operate with us in working for peace and progress, and promoting "the safety, honour, and welfare of his Majesty and his Dominions."

INDIAN NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

The two great national organisations which voice Indian sentiment and aspirations are the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. Founded in 1885, the Congress has persistently shown its desire to co-operate with the Government, placing year by year before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State a series of resolutions showing, in loyal and moderate terms, what are the needs and grievances of the people, and how they can best be dealt with in practice. The congress has now been joined in its action by the Moslem League, and these organisations, representing the great communities of India, are working together in harmony for the general good. At the sessions held last Christmas, at Kurrachee and Agra, both assemblies have responded to Lord Crewe's invitation, and submitted their views regarding India Office reform, appointing delegates to proceed to England and place their case before the Secretary of State and Parliament. I would specially ask attention to the reasoned statement on the subject in the address of the Hon. Nawab Syed Mahomed, a Mahomedan nobleman of the highest rank, and member of the Viceroy's Council; who was President of the Congress. Quoting the pronouncement of Mr. Disraeli as Prime Minister, and of Lord Stanley, who was responsible for the Act of 1858, he shows that it was their desire to introduce the representative

element into the composition of the India Council, and they expressed their regret that the unsettled condition of the country (the Mutiny of 1857 was then barely suppressed) did not admit of a representation of the people of India itself. Lord Stanley explained that they were willing to introduce the elective principle "if it were only possible to find a fitting and satisfactory constituency."

A READY-MADE INDIAN CONSTITUENCY.

On this question of a constituency the Hon. Nawab points out that, under the reforms of Lord Morley and Lord Minto, the difficulty of providing an electorate has ceased to exist. The non-official members of the Provincial Councils in India have proved a perfectly satisfactory electorate in each province to return the elected representatives of the people to the Imperial Council; and there is no reason why the Government should not avail themselves of these electorates, as forming a proper constituency for returning members to the India Council in London. Accordingly, the Congress strongly urges on the Secretary of State that the total number of members of the Council should not be less than nine; and that not less than one-third of that Council should consist of Indians chosen by the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils in India.

As regards the most convenient method by which the recommendation from India may be conveyed to the Secretary of State, it has been suggested that each group of elected Legislative Councillors should submit the names which they prefer, thus forming in the aggregate a panel from which the Secretary of State could make a selection with the assurance that he would thus have access to responsible Indian public opinion.

CONCLUSION.

Looking to the special qualifications, as advisers, of experienced Indians, and the importance of the Secretary of State understanding the Indian point of view, it appears that the claim put forward on behalf of India is a very

moderate one. The Indian share in the Council might well extend to one-half. In any case, India expects that the Liberal statesmen of 1914 will not allow themselves to fall behind the Conservative statesmen of 1858 in recognising the need of adequate Indian representation. In perusing the debates of those past times, one is struck by the earnestness with which all parties in the House of Commons showed their interest in the welfare of India, Lord Palmerston declaring that all the improvements claimed by the East India Company had in reality been "the result of pressure on the Indian administration by debates in Parliament and discussions in the public Press." Let us hope that the Parliament and the Press of the new century will show no less zeal in fulfilling their duty towards the people of India.

W. WEDDERBURN.

1st May, 1914.

In the Queen's Name:

A BREACH OF FAITH.

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"The faith of the Government of a great Presidency is not lightly pledged, and that pledge once given should be respected in the spirit as well as in the letter. I can conceive nothing more unfortunate than that an impression should be allowed to prevail in the minds of the people of this country that the Government of India, or any portion of it, is prepared to play fast and loose with a solemn engagement deliberately entered into by any person authorised to represent it or to speak on its behalf,"—THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, *Viceroy and Governor-General of India*, Sept 19th, 1889

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FLEET STREET, E C

1889.

At the request of friends in Western India, I have undertaken to circulate in Great Britain the particulars contained herein respecting what I cannot help feeling is a gross breach of trust, accompanied by a lowering of the British name and authority in India. A British promise has become a thing for contempt. In the name of the Queen-Empress an undertaking was, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty and peril, entered into with certain Government officials in the Presidency of Bombay. A promise once made should be strictly kept, let the cost be what it may. The commercial world knows not such repudiation among those who are still trusted as men of credit, as that of which the Government of India, under orders from Lord Cross, have become responsible, while in private life such conduct would meet with the scornful repudiation of those who could be guilty of it. There are not two standards of morality—one for governments, another for individuals. Yea is yea, and nay is nay, be the word said by whomsoever it may.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, Viceroy of India, has provided me with language which not only justifies, but renders essential, that the appeal contained in this pamphlet should be laid before the British public. Speaking at a meeting of the

Supreme Legislative Council held at Simla in September last, His Excellency said: "The faith of the Government of a great Presidency is not lightly pledged, and that pledge once given should be respected in the spirit as well as in the letter. I can conceive nothing more unfortunate than that an impression should be allowed to prevail in the minds of the people of this country that the Government of India, or any portion of it, is prepared to play fast and loose with a solemn engagement deliberately entered into by any person authorised to represent it, or to speak on its behalf." It is true that, in the same sentence, his Excellency referred to the desirability of keeping this promise only "so far as was possible to do so", and, later in his speech, indulged in special pleading destined to show (but not succeeding in doing so) that the Government of India may "play fast and loose with a solemn engagement". I prefer Lord Lansdowne's plain words to his laboured argument, and, basing myself upon those words, I invite attention to the remarkable expression of Indian public opinion which these pages contain.

My second reason for undertaking this duty is to be found in the fact that the parties who are to be punished have never had a fair trial, or, indeed, any trial in the proper sense of the word. They are condemned on partial statements made for quite another object than that of investigating character, or of ascertaining how much or how little of compulsion there was in the payments made to Mr. Crawford. The Sarvajanic Sabha, the leading

political association in Western India, in a memorial addressed to the Government of India, puts this point with force. It says: "In the evidence of
 " several of the officers who have been dismissed,
 " clear allegations of extortion and oppression were
 " made, but there was no occasion then to prove this
 " point, and it was accordingly not allowed to be
 " pressed. Thus, in several instances, when the
 " witnesses wanted to make statements or produce
 " documents explaining their position and motives,
 " the Commissioners refused to admit them, as
 " irrelevant to the main issue, with regard to Mr.
 " Crawford's guilt, which they had to try. The
 " opinion of the Commissioners, as regards the
 " position and motives of witnesses, is, therefore,
 " obviously based on imperfect information, and
 " as these witnesses were not on their trial before
 " the Commission, it is unfair to condemn them
 " unheard on the authority of such an opinion. If
 " the chief inquiry officer were consulted on the
 " point, he would give evidence within his own
 " knowledge which would go to show that many
 " apparent cases of voluntary payment were really
 " as bad cases of extortion as those which have
 " been classed under the venial head. The native
 " officers concerned are prepared to court an inquiry
 " into their past services, and have challenged refer-
 " ences to their record and the opinion of their
 " superior officers. The Sabha accordingly prays
 " that this matter should not be disposed of on the
 " extra-judicial, as far as the present point is con-
 " cerned, opinion of the Commissioners. The

“inquiries before the Commission were not made with a view to clear up this point, and their report cannot be accepted as evidence to justify Government in taking final action in regard to the disposal of these charges against the witnesses.” As a matter of fact, the parties with whom the promise has been broken have never even been called upon to further explain their conduct, and to clear up, if they could, what the Inquiry Officers considered was incriminating. The haste with which the measure has been hurried through a truncated Council* in the hills, has been characterised by Jedburgh justice. Parties are condemned unheard, sentence is delivered without their being heard in their own defence. The procedure is abhorrent to English ideas of justice, while the haste exhibited is most unseemly. Patient and thorough enquiry would have ensured a saving of time in the long run. Now, it is impossible to discern when and where the mischief caused by the supreme authorities in England will end.

At the present moment the Sikhs of Gujranwalla, replying to a treasonable appeal made to them by the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, are able to say: “The British Government is unequalled for justice among all earthly Governments”. If the wrong described

* By this expression I mean a Council at which the Additional Members (non-official) were not present, and—the meetings being held in Simla—were not expected to be present. From the *Gazette of India* I find when the Bill was introduced there were nine members present, only one being a non-official, the Honourable Bábà Khem Singh, C I E. At the time of writing the report of the final proceedings is not to hand, but there is no reason to suppose that the Council was more fully constituted then than on the previous occasion.

in these pages, wrong for which the India Office in England, and not the Administration in India, is chiefly responsible, remain unredressed, and if British government in India is to be carried on with such flagrant disregard of plighted words and honourable obligations, not the remark of the Sikhs of Gujranwalla will be a fitting description of the British rule of India, but rather will Tennyson's words become true:—

“*Their* honour, rooted in dishonour, stood,
And faith unfaithful kept *them* falsely true.”

To quote Lord Lansdowne again: “*The faith of the Government of a great Presidency is not lightly pledged, and THAT PLEDGE ONCE GIVEN SHOULD BE RESPECTED IN THE SPIRIT AS WELL AS IN THE LETTER.*”

It is, therefore, with the twofold object of (1) securing respect to the pledged word of a representative of the Queen-Empress, and (2) of ensuring that the elementary principles of justice may be followed in respect to the implicated Mamlatdars, an opportunity being given to them of clearing their characters before a competent court of justice, that I send forth the facts and arguments contained in these pages, and bespeak for them the careful consideration of all who are jealous for the good name of Britain and zealous for justice.

WM. DIGBY.

COROMANDEL,
ELM ROAD,
BECKENHAM, KENT:

Nov. 7, 1889.

A BREACH OF FAITH IN THE QUEEN'S NAME.

AN agitation is in progress in India to which public attention in England may usefully be directed. And this not only because the object of the agitation is to arrest an act of injustice, but more especially because the honour of England is vitally at stake. A gross wrong has been done in the Queen's name. A promise made by the Empress of India is regarded as of no account, and it seems to be considered that a breach of faith which involves only her Majesty's Indian subjects may be freely undertaken. There is serious peril in the course adopted.

Last year the Government of Bombay promised immunity from punishment or loss to certain members of the public service suspected of contributing to a system of corruption believed to be widespread in the Presidency. Immunity was promised on one condition only, namely that the truth was spoken. In all other respects it was an unconditional undertaking, to a full and faithful discharge of which the Queen's Government were absolutely pledged. On the strength of it certain Indian officials came

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forward and, before a Commission of Inquiry at Poona, disclosed what they knew, putting in the hands of Government that amazing revelation of scandalous practices which caused the dismissal of Mr. Crawford. Without this information the Government would have been powerless to uproot the existing corruption. At the close of the inquiry the immunity promised was withheld. Witnesses who had made "a clean breast of it" were subjected to departmental punishment. They were suspended or removed from their offices, and a stigma of disgrace attached to them as great as that attaching to the arch offender, whose wrongdoing had affected them and made them victims to a powerful system of corruption.

Such, briefly stated, are the outlines of a transaction with which the Indian mind is at present most deeply exercised. On the face of it, the transaction seems incredible, but on an examination of the facts it will be found to be true. It recalls to mind another transaction, shadier perhaps, but more defensible, considering the time and the environment, namely, the fraud practised on Omichund, the Bengal banker. The duplicity of Clive in covenanting in one treaty to reward Omichund, and in the other ignoring that covenant, has been denounced by the historian as a crime. But there has been no less duplicity in extracting incriminatory evidence from witnesses at the Crawford Inquiry, and afterwards punishing them in violation of the immunity promised. It is this that seems so incredible, yet in the official reports and minutes, and in the legislative action recently

taken, are admissions and results of investigation from which an indictment may be framed against the Government. It will be found that while dismissing a highly-placed official in order to remove a mischievous influence, the Government were themselves setting an example of duplicity infinitely more mischievous. And, so convinced of this are some of the best informed and most loyal of the Indian leaders, that in September last, at Poona,* they addressed an expostulation to the Government. They entreated "that in the interests of the honour and fair fame of British rule, the guarantee given by Government to all persons who gave evidence before the Commission should be respected and maintained in its full integrity."

Without discussing what is implied in this remonstrance, let the circumstances that led up to it be stated with as little circumlocution as may be. With these all residents in India are familiar. Of the Crawford case they have heard probably more than enough. And, were it not that it is necessary to refer to that case and its nauseating recollections, those incidents might have been left undisturbed in the Blue Books. The English public, however, are little likely to have the same intimacy with the subject. From what appears on the surface of things it would seem to the average English reader that there had been misconduct, that a scandalous career had been exposed, and that what was possible to do to destroy its influence had been done. He

* The proceedings at that meeting will be found in pp 1 to 48 of this publication

would see no reason why he should inquire further. There is no doubt that the case has been presented to the English public with much misstatement, and the certainties are that its true bearings have been lost sight of. Yet the authorities at the India Office have not shrunk from inviting judgment in the case in their favour. To this, it is contended, they are not entitled. For two reasons. The first is that for years the Bombay Government practically screened from inquiry, and promoted to high office, an official whose embarrassments, for ten years at least, have been a matter of notoriety. And the second is, that having placed that official in a position in which he could either tempt or extract money from subordinate officials, they are now unjustly punishing those officials, not for any offence committed, but for having been victimised.

Mr. Arthur T. Crawford, C.M.G., the officer whose misconduct has caused all the trouble, entered the Bombay Civil Service thirty-five years ago. Later he was promoted to a high post as Municipal Commissioner of Bombay. He became one of the leading spirits in society. The rage for speculation which possessed Indians and Europeans alike from 1863 to 1865 resulted in widespread financial embarrassment. It is probable that at that time Mr. Crawford began his borrowings. He was in a position of great influence. He maintained an extravagant establishment, and it was noised about in the bazaars that he needed money. A few years later it was known that he was heavily in debt, and in 1873 he entered into an arrangement with his creditors. This

arrangement was sanctioned by the Government of Bombay. So that the authorities knew then precisely what his circumstances were, and how far he had deviated from the regulation of the Service in regard to borrowing money. Moreover, it was an open secret that the Municipal Commissioner recruited his resources by distributing official favours. He was found accessible by contractors. He was mixed up with shady people and associated with transactions he should have set his face against. Although possibly he may have been painted in darker hues than his conduct and his indebtedness warranted, there can be no doubt that he had become unscrupulous, and was insensible to the distinctions which men of honour are careful to draw in the discharge of public duty.

Mr. Crawford's popularity, however, was such that much was forgiven him. His presence was courtly. He was genial, a good diner-out, and a favourite in the Service. He was said to be a man to whom latitude should be allowed: latitude was allowed. It was agreed, after the Governor of the day had sanctioned the official white-washing, that there should be no raking up of discreditable facts. It was understood that Mr. Crawford had turned over a new leaf. It is no agreeable task to point out that he had been turning over new leaves ever since he had entered the Service, and this would be avoided, if Mr. Crawford were alone concerned. But, in order to show that the Government of Bombay at that time were fostering, or if not fostering, at any rate allowing, a pernicious influence

to root itself in and grow in the Service with tropical luxuriance, reference must be made to what Mr. Crawford's conduct exposed him, and to what had been condoned by this representative of the Queen.

Succeeding to the Commissionership of the Southern Division of the Presidency, Mr. Crawford's opportunities increased, and with these his borrowings. Indeed, he appears to have regarded the Division much in the same light as that in which New Spain was regarded by the early discoverers. It was there to be drained. For scarcely any other purpose than to provide for his demands did it exist. At any rate he enlarged the scale of his operations. He now had authorised agents to raise loans. As the chief of a great Division he had a small army of functionaries under him. Their promotion depended on what they could provide. Appointments or recommendations to appointments had a marketable value, and this was known in the Poona and Belgaum bazaars. Indeed the traffic in offices high and low—offices to which magisterial powers were attached, responsible appointments connected with the administration of justice, with the collection of the revenue, and the department of public works—became so notorious that it was denounced in the Indian press. Mr. Crawford's influence, however, was at that time all powerful, and a retraction and an apology were wrung from an Indian editor. This was in 1884. Three years later the editor returned to the charge. "Under the rule of the Moguls", he said, "when a man was appointed a Subha, he rode to the place of

his appointment on horseback, with his face turned towards the tail of the animal, and the object in so doing was to see if anybody was coming after him for the same place. In short, under the Mogul offices were obtained according to the *nazzàna* paid. When a man had obtained an order appointing him a Subha after tendering the necessary *nazzàna*, another would pay a higher *nazzàna* and obtain an order for the same post and arrive at the place of appointment just after the first man had reached it."

This satirical observation was directed against Mr. Crawford and the system of corruption it was believed he had established. In the following year the attacks were renewed with even less disguise. No retractation, however, was demanded, no apology was asked for. This is worth noting as probably the first indication that the Commissioner could no longer rely on the support of the Bombay Government. Yet, in 1883, when the Government came to Mr. Crawford's rescue, when they insisted upon the publication of an apology by the editor of the *Poona Vaibhah*, it was as notorious as it was six years later that a network of corruption existed in the Division. No inquiry, however, was ordered, and, in consequence, it was believed by the people that the Commissioner's practices were connived at by the Government and that it would be ruinous to seek to expose him, while to fail to fall in with the arrangements which had become notorious was to become a marked man and out of favour.

Need it be said that Mr. Crawford turned this state of things to profitable account? He borrowed

money right and left. His agents were constantly at work negotiating loans. The negotiations, however, were all one-sided. If money could be got without pressure there was no pressure; if not, the necessary pressure was applied. Changes were constantly being made in the staff. Those who could pay and did pay were retained. Those who could pay but would not, were removed. The highest bidder, irrespective of character or qualification, was always successful. Corruption flourished in the six years between 1883 and 1889. No account can be given of all the forced loans of these years. It was stated at the Inquiry in Bombay that Mr. Crawford's borrowings amounted to Rs. 1,50,000, or say £11,000 roughly speaking, but this is likely to be far short of the actual sum. It is doubted whether Mr. Crawford could himself tell what his full indebtedness was. He had entered into another arrangement with his creditors in 1884, or rather with those of his creditors who were known. This arrangement reduced his pay and allowances to about £50 a month, the pay of an assistant in a mercantile house.

Obviously on this sum it was impossible for him to keep up his expensive establishment. It was known moreover that he was remitting money to Europe through the French Bank. Indeed, it was suspected that he was making provision elsewhere in anticipation of dismissal. Yet so powerful were the influences exerted by Mr. Crawford, with such impunity had he carried on his practices that it was only when he fled in a paltry disguise and was arrested that his borrowing powers were brought to

an end. A secret inquiry had been held shortly before at which much that is now known was disclosed, but the mischief had long been done, and so many people were involved in the charges of corruption flying about that it was soon evident it would be hopeless to get at the bottom of the mischief unless the accomplice witnesses could be induced to come forward. And, manifestly, it would seem to them the height of folly to step forward with a confession that they had contributed to corruption. It is true that the money with which they had bought office or promotion was their own. It is important that this should be kept in mind. For there is a wide difference in the offence of persons who use their own funds for the purposes of advancement, and the offence of persons who, to procure their own advancement, use the funds of other people. But it is easily understandable that the officials concerned should shrink from disclosing what their relations had been with Mr. Crawford unless they were assured that their evidence would not be used against them.

Let it, for the purpose of illustration, be said that an Indian official had been appointed by Mr. Crawford to a magisterial office. And, further, that he had lent the Commissioner a sum of money as the consideration for the latter's good offices. On the face of it it would appear that the Commissioner had been bribed, but, what if the Commissioner had said that there would be no promotion for the applicant, that he would be a man marked out for dismissal, or at any rate that others would be advanced before

him unless he provided a certain sum of money as a loan? What if this were said, and the applicant found the money, would his conduct be without justification? Clearly not. There is an absence of corrupt motive. The applicant is offered Hobson's choice. The wrong-doing is in cornering him, in intimidating him, in extorting money from him. "A sense of the inevitable necessity of buying favours", says Sir Raymond West, "caused many to come forward with money who were quite free from corrupt inclinations." When loans were obtained by King John from the Jews by a threat to extract their teeth, it would have been as reasonable to say the Jews were corrupt as it is to say that in lending Mr. Crawford money to ensure themselves against dismissal or to prevent their promotion being blocked, the Bombay magistrates were guilty of bribery. No doubt it would have been better if they had kept their money in their pockets and denounced Mr. Crawford. But, what would have happened to them? They would have been dismissed. They would have been forced to apologise and retract their denunciations. The screw would have been turned on them with relentless force, as it was turned by the Government on the Editor of the *Poona Vaibah*, and all their satisfaction would have been that they had made martyrs of themselves, and had nothing to show for their martyrdom.

The fact should not be lost sight of that the Commissioner of a Division in India is, within his Division, an absolute autocrat. It is true that he is

officially a subordinate of the Presidency Government, but it is through his eyes that the Governor sees what is going on. His decisions are upheld, his recommendations adopted, his appointments approved. So long as the Commissioner goes through the forms, he is practically the irresponsible Sovereign of the Division. Mr. J. A. Baines, of the Bombay Civil Service, who assisted the Inspector-General of Police in his investigations, says, in a Memorandum published in the Crawford Blue Book (par 7; p. 292):—

“It may seem inexplicable that the whole body of an intelligent and powerful class of revenue officials should fall victims, as described above, to the extortion of a single official, however influential he may be, but to those who realise the relative position of a Commissioner and a Mamlatdar in the Bombay system the possibility of the moral collapse is not the least incredible. After a candidate for a mamlat has qualified, first by satisfactory service in a subordinate revenue post, and then according to the departmental higher standard, his future lies almost entirely in the hand of the Commissioner. In case of general inefficiency or of misconduct, notably in magisterial work, the Collector necessarily will report to the Commissioner, but the latter is at liberty to either act upon or to disregard the suggestion made, and if he thinks there is any bias on the part of the Collector, can simply remove the man reported against to another district, and give him another chance under fresh supervision. It has been indicated above how promotion can be awarded on arbitrary considerations by the Commissioner, who is under no obligation to pay heed to any report made about a Mamlatdar by the Collector. It is usual, again, for the ranks of Deputy Collector to be recruited from amongst the most deserving or promising of the Mamlatdars, and the selection is invariably left to the discretion of the Commissioner, who acts as referee to the Private Secretary to the Governor on the subject. *Thus the whole career of a Revenue officer, from head harkun upwards, that is, from a salary of*

Rs. 40 to that of Rs. 800 or over, can be made or marred by the Commissioner alone, without risk of interference from either a Collector or from Government."

This was Mr. Crawford's position in the Southern Division. And he was upheld in it, notwithstanding the notoriety of his practices, by Sir James Fergusson's Government. It was not, indeed, until the Government of Lord Reay, scandalized that a great official was openly talked of as corrupt, determined to see on what foundation the charges rested, that Mr. Crawford's delinquencies were resolutely faced.

It was one thing, however, to determine in Council to investigate, and another thing to procure evidence. The bazaars were ringing with the Crawford scandals. It was known that, like a plague, corruption had spread throughout the Services. The Revenue and Police departments, the Magistracy, all were affected. As soon as it was declared that an Inquiry would be held, the principals and abettors combined to defeat its object. At each of the preliminary stages opposition was raised, witnesses were got at and their mouths closed. A vast conspiracy branching out through every district in the Division was formed. It was agreed that at all hazards the persons implicated must be shielded, and so complete were the ramifications of the conspiracy that the police found it literally impossible to get evidence such as they required.

Being brought practically to a standstill by open hostility and secret intrigue the police authorities reported that unless an indemnity were given to

witnesses the inquiry would have to be abandoned. Realising the difficulties of the position, the Government of Lord Reay authorised the Inspector-General of Police to issue an undertaking in the following terms:—

“Mr. Ommanney is empowered to promise immunity from prosecution to any person giving evidence, and in cases of payments for promotion or to obtain or avoid transfer, may guarantee immunity from official departmental punishment or loss, subject to the stipulation that the evidence given is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.”

It will be seen that the only stipulation in this guarantee is that the person to whom it is given speaks the truth. It may be as well to note also that the person holding it is promised immunity “(1) from prosecution, should anything arise from his evidence which would be provocative;” and (2) he is guaranteed “immunity from official or departmental punishment or loss.” What would be a reasonable interpretation to put upon this guarantee as a whole? Is it not that witnesses giving evidence under it are entitled to be put, after the inquiry closed, in precisely the same place as regards security, as that in which they were before they opened their lips. This at any rate appears to have been the construction put upon it by the witnesses themselves, by their friends, and by the public generally in India. It seems the only construction possible to reasonably put upon it. Accordingly the witnesses came forward, and their evidence unquestionably broke the neck of the conspiracy, the Government were delivered from a most embarrassing position, and the principal

offender—indeed, the promoter of the whole iniquitous system which had corrupted the Division, was dismissed the service.

What, if the immunity had not been promised? No evidence disclosing the source and channels of corruption would have been forthcoming. It is difficult enough in such a matter to get English witnesses to go into the box. It is at least equally hard to get Indian witnesses. It is harder still, and not unreasonably, to get persons involved (whether with or without their will) in discreditable transactions, to stand a searching examination. That Indians were produced, able to defeat the object of the conspiracy, and who did so by freely confessing what had been their part in the scandalous transactions of Crawford is the one redeeming feature of the inquiry.* Let it be remembered that they gave evidence for no unworthy consideration. They might fairly enough have said that they knew nothing. Or, that immunity from prosecution and punishment was not enough.

* Sir Raymond West in his Minute, para. 99, p 154, Crawford Blue Book, says "PUBLIC MORALITY IS, IN FACT, UNDER A GREAT OBLIGATION TO THESE MEN, WHO, IN THE FACE OF OBLOQUY, PERSONAL DANGER, AND HUMILIATION, HAVE AIDED IN UNVEILING A NEFARIOUS AND DESTRUCTIVE SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION." Mr Ommanney, in his Notes, remarks of one of the witnesses, Mr. Pendse (para 11, p 254). "In taking a prominent part in this inquiry Mr. Pendse has exhibited the highest sort of courage—a courage that is uncommon in his class. He had no fear that he himself would become involved in the quagmire of corruption which he was to assist in exposing. But he knew that he should see many a friend struggling there, and hear the reproaches and even curses of sufferers and bystanders directed against himself. Still he entered on his duty with cool purpose and deliberate thought, uttering no word of vindictiveness, exhibiting no spite against any person or class of persons. The secret of his influence, which is the secret of such success as has attended this inquiry, lies in Mr Pendse's personal integrity, honesty of purpose, and courage."

They might have demanded a large sum of money, and it is difficult to see how it could have been withheld. If it had been withheld the seething corruption would have spread beyond all power of dealing with it. Mr. Crawford would have still been in power at Poona bringing shame on the English name. The judges, the revenue collectors, the covenanted and the uncovenanted servants and officers of all grades and castes would have been in a frightful state of demoralisation. No Indian would have dared to remonstrate. Not half enough has been said in appreciation of the courage shown by the so-called accomplice witnesses. This expression, by the way, is a most misleading label. They were the victims, not the accomplices, of Crawford. They had been wholly in his power. They had been left in his power by the Government. In short they had absolutely no protection against the influences which the Commissioner might choose to exert.

It may, of course, be said that it was their duty to step forward and disclose what they knew, and that, moreover, they were guaranteed against loss or injury. But full though the guarantee appears to be, it falls far short of a provision such as Englishmen in the same circumstances would have required. The witness's family would probably regard him as a lunatic to place himself, without some large consideration, in the hands of Government. "For what", they would ask, "are you doing this"? Were he able to say that it would quicken his promotion in the service, or that he would be com-

pensated in some way on a generous scale, they might perhaps acquiesce, but it would seem to them the height of folly to stand forward, to be reproached and denounced by Crawford's friends, and to receive no reward from the Government. This was, no doubt, the view of the case taken by the officers affected and their friends before the inquiry opened. What was their view of it after the inquiry had closed? When a number of the witnesses holding Government appointments were suspended in violation of the immunity deliberately and solemnly promised to them, what would their relatives and friends have thought of their action? If this be considered carefully it will be found that the witnesses who gave evidence, resisting entreaty and pressure, seeking no reward, asking only that they be protected against prosecution and loss, behaved with exemplary courage. It is true that they escaped from Crawford's toils, but it is unfair to lay stress on this. What has to be considered is, not what the witnesses escaped from, but what India and the honour and the good name of England and the service of the Queen-Empress have been spared by the exposure of the corruption which prevailed in the Southern Division.

So far, however, from appreciating the services of the witnesses, so far, in fact, from doing them justice, the Government of Bombay, under pressure from the India Office, at the earliest possible moment subjected them to indignity, with permanent punishment to follow. This was by the direction of the Secretary of State, Lord Cross. The Govern-

ment of Lord Reay were opposed to this course, and Sir Raymond West, in a Minute of much power and convincing force, in which the facts of a complicated inquiry are marshalled with uncommon skill, points out that the witnesses were entitled to the full benefit of the engagement which the Government had entered into with them. Sir Raymond West's remarks are most significant. The passage to be cited is a long one, but it so admirably describes the position that it is deserving of careful study. The passages specially relied upon are indicated by italics and otherwise. Sir Raymond says:—

“A general review of the evidence in this case brings out with startling clearness how a single perverse influence can clog and vitiate the whole working of the Administration throughout a considerable part of the Presidency. The peculiar character of the Brahman officials, astute, timid, ambitious, and yet unenterprising, appears to have allied itself with the energetic and dominating personality of the Commissioner in the establishment of an almost universal moral collapse, in which courage and a high sense of honour having been stifled, corruption was accepted as a factor of the system, as an ordinary and necessary incident of everyday official life. Such sometimes with calamitous consequences. On the present occasion a dumb helplessness seems to have pervaded the official. ‘open secrets’ are known to have existed in India before and class. A sense of the inevitable necessity of buying favours caused many to come forward with money who were quite free from corrupt inclinations. There ought to have been protests, resistance, denunciations; but the system having once grown up—possibly out of a comparatively innocent practice of taking small temporary loans—individuals felt themselves powerless in presence of it, and tried to profit by it so far as they could. There is thus no more than a shade of moral distinction between those who offered to pay and those who consented to pay. Both classes alike acted under a sense of necessity and compulsion, a

state of paralysis of public spirit, discreditable in a high degree to the class, but greatly palliating the weakness of individuals. With this state of feeling Government had to deal as doubt grew to suspicion and suspicion to belief of the wide-spread mischief that prevailed. The same type of native character which had favoured the growth of the evil made it most difficult to procure the definite evidence of specific cases of misconduct on which alone the Government could safely act. Corruption is in its nature a secret offence. Both parties are interested in concealing it. When it takes on the form of extortion by a powerful man, submitted to reluctantly by a mass of weak men, it is of infinite importance that the great and audacious offender should be reached, as from him a demoralising influence continually radiates throughout the whole system of which he is the centre. The subordinates who yield through mere weakness will reform and perhaps grow robust under happier influences. They may be essentially honest and well-meaning, although taking too readily the colour and temperature of the medium in which they are immersed. The Bombay Government took this view of the character of the native officials who had lent or given money as it was alleged to Mr. Crawford. *Without their evidence it would be impossible to arrive at the truth, and they were in many instances offered an indemnity on condition of a full disclosure.* The Commissioners have thought that this indemnity weakened their testimony, and they have in many instances arrived at conclusions which imply a preference of Mr. Crawford's denial to that testimony. It would be wrong to infer the falsehood of the witnesses from this. Some preference of evidence is almost inevitable in every contested case, and here there does not seem to be any good ground for concluding that the witnesses have forfeited their indemnity by wilful falsehood or concealment. In particular instances which may require a more exact inquiry there may have been a failure in frankness, but *the evidence appears generally to have been perfectly sincere. It has agreed remarkably with indisputable material facts. The pledges of the Government to these witnesses must, therefore, be scrupulously fulfilled.* THERE WILL BE NO DANGER TO THE PUBLIC WELFARE ARISING FROM THIS COURSE; THERE WOULD BE INFINITE DANGER AND DISGRACE IN ANY OTHER. PUBLIC MORALITY IS, IN FACT, UNDER A GREAT OBLIGATION TO THESE MEN, WHO, IN THE FACE OF OBLOQUY, PERSONAL DANGER, AND HUMILIATION, HAVE AIDED IN UNVEILING A NEFARIOUS AND

DESTRUCTIVE SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION. That they are affected with the inherent frailties of the native character is undeniable. So, too, would be any native officials by whom it would be possible to replace them, and we cannot govern India without Indian agency. *That they have been peculiarly depraved or unconscientious is on the whole almost the opposite of the truth. There is no ground, therefore, of justice or policy on which they should be made to suffer for the service they have rendered. They have learned much from experience, and there is every reason for maintaining them in the positions they occupy.*"—Para. 99, p. 155, *Crawford Blue Book*.

It was demonstrated beyond doubt that the witnesses had been victimised. It was shown that the money with which they had paid for promotion was their own. They had not, as had been done in the Macclesfield case by the Masters in Chancery, taken trust funds, out of which they had purchased their offices. For, it must again be said, the erring magistrates used simply their own money. Yet the indemnity for disclosures which to the Masters in Chancery in England was discharged in full is denied the Indian witnesses in the Crawford case. It is not enough to say the moral opinion of the nineteenth century is higher than that of the eighteenth. The cases differ in the most essential points, those very points which tell or do not tell of corruption and of innate intention of wrong-doing. Every consideration of justice demands different treatment. It is not too much to say that if the witnesses had been Europeans they would have been treated otherwise. The engagements would scrupulously have been maintained.

It is now stated that the Government of Bombay had no power to guarantee the witnesses from prosecution and punishment. But the Government were

advised that they had power, and whether they had or had not, they promised certain things with enormous advantage to the country. Assuming, however, that the guarantee be technically illegal, it is not beyond the scope of legislation to perfect it. Indeed, a step has already been taken in this direction. A Bill to give effect to the first part of the guarantee has been introduced into the Supreme Legislative Council, but no power is taken to give effect to the second part of the guarantee. What is proposed, shortly put, is this: the witnesses will be protected against prosecutions arising out of evidence given at the Inquiry. This, and, in some cases, a money payment, is all the protection it is proposed to give to certain of the implicated officials. It was, nevertheless, on the faith of a guaranteed immunity from "OFFICIAL OR DEPARTMENTAL PUNISHMENT OR LOSS" that they entered the witness-box. Let the reader examine the terms of the guarantee for himself, and he will see that it offers security against suspension or dismissal, should the evidence disclosed show that any of the rules of the Service had been broken.

No Bill can be satisfactory unless it covers the whole of the guarantee. Indeed, it is astounding that a Bill to provide for this has not been prepared. That no such Bill has been prepared is a violation of good faith, which the great mass of Englishmen surely will condemn. They would probably have protested before this had the facts been honestly put before them. But, as we said at the outset, the case has been presented with much misstatement. It

has consequently been thought that the question was whether magistrates concerned in the Crawford case, and suspended, should be reinstated? But this obviously is not the question. What it is is this: *Whether the bond of the Bombay Government, the word of the Empress of India, is to be dishonoured or not?*

A justification for all that is said in the foregoing pages, on the deplorable effect which these transactions have had in India, may be found in a review of certain circumstances not altogether dissimilar from those in the Crawford case. A Commission of Inquiry, whose powers were simply those of investigation and report, was appointed in each instance. In the one the Commission's opinion was set aside: in the other a like opinion is held to be of unimpeachable value. In the Wilson case, two years ago, Lord Cross overruled the opinion of the Commission (concurrent in by the Local Government) who tried Mr. Wilson of the Bombay Civil Service for a gross attempt against the virtue of an Indian lady of high position, and acquitted him by preferring to act on the opinion formed by the Lord Chancellor by simply reading the papers. In the Crawford case he prefers to act on the opinion of the Commission as against that of the Local Government, because the Commission had the advantage of watching the demeanour of the witnesses, and thereby correctly estimating the value of their evidence! In both cases Indian witnesses are disbelieved, and Anglo-Indian pride triumphs, while an example is set to the Indian populations of how dangerous it is to attack highly-placed

Europeans and give evidence against them. The sequel of the Crawford case goes further, and shows how men may be ruined for their temerity in giving such evidence even on solemn guarantee against all loss. The very populations of the districts, for the purity of whose public service these deluded men are to be sacrificéd, have spoken out at public meetings in favour of their retention in the service in fulfilment of the guarantee. The fact is that every one knows that they gave the blackmail simply because for ten long years the Local Government was deaf to all complaints—confidential and in the public press—and people also know that condonation of the payment of the blackmail under such extraordinary circumstances was absolutely necessary if the gigantic system of corruption set on foot by a Commissioner of two-thirds of the Presidency was to be exposed in the interests of the permanent purity of the Administration. If the guarantee is now to be modified and the men to be ruined, not only all the good effects of the Crawford trial will be completely neutralised, but Lord Cross's policy will teach people a new and most doubtful wisdom—that of giving and taking bribes quietly, and never trusting even to the formal written guarantees publicly announced by a Presidency Government.

With these observations a full report of the proceedings at the first and most important of the many public meetings, with comments from the principal Indian newspapers, is placed in the hands of English public men—whether in Parliament or out of Parliament—and of Editors of newspapers, with

the prayer that the attention which so serious a matter demands may be freely given and the perpetration of a great wrong prevented.

[Since these lines were written the measure referred to above has passed through the Viceroy's Council, at a time when the Council could only sit at Simla, when only one non-official member was present, and in defiance of a most powerful expression of public opinion. The hasty manner in which the Bill was passed at the hot-weather quarters of the Government of India constitutes a most serious scandal in itself, and furnishes one more proof of the essentially unfair and unpopular manner in which Indian legislation is conducted—in India as well as in England. It is to be hoped, on due consideration being shown, the House of Commons will procure a reversal of this legislation, or in some other way do justice to the victims of the plighted word of the viceregent of the Queen-Empress.]

LONDON, *November*, 1889.

From supplements to the *Voice of India* for October, 1889, the following particulars are gathered:

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

First, as regards the public meetings, Poona,¹ Satara, Sholapore, Nasik, Dhulia, and Ahmednagar—that is, all the districts of the Central Division—have already, at large representative and influential public meetings, emphatically declared that it is both impolitic and unjust for Government to break its most solemn pledges, by punishing even a few of the indemnified witnesses, and that the evil of Government breaking its pledges and the belief that such a course will create—viz., that corruption in high quarters may hereafter go undetected, and the Indian witnesses who come forward to expose it will suffer for their “temerity or credulity”—cannot be compared to the temporary evil, if so it be, of retaining a few so-called corrupt Mamlatdars and of others in office. At none of these meetings the tripartite nature of the Government was recognised, the public being of opinion that it is simply an excuse to shirk responsibility. But it is not at district towns alone that such a feeling of indignation prevails. Public meetings have been held at the southernmost places like Kumta and Sirsi (Canara), Karwar, Belgaum, Dharwar, and Bijapore; and also in the taluka towns like Junnar, and Baramati (Poona); Rahuri, Akola, Karjat (Nagar), Jalgaon, Shirpur, Yaval, and Bhusawal (Khandesh); Pandharpore, Madha, and Barsi (Sholapore); Karhad, Vitta, Wai, and Islampur

¹ See full report in later pages of this publication

(Sattara); Yevale, Nandgaon, Malegaum, and Sinnar (Nassik); Thana and Kalyana; Vangurla, Dapoli, and Chiplun (Ratnāgiri); and Bagalkot, in the Bijapore District. The important Gujerat centres, Ahmedabad, Nadiad, and Surat, have also declared their opinion at meetings called and attended by influential members of all classes of the community of each place; and the same course has been followed at Baroda and Kolhapore. The following telegraphic account of one of the latest meetings, sent to the Bombay dailies, will clearly show the feeling of the public on this point :—

“ AHMEDABAD, Sept. 30.

“ At a public meeting held yesterday under the auspices of the Gujarat Sabha, Rao Bahadur Ranchorelal presiding, resolutions were unanimously passed to the effect that the India and Home Governments be informed that the dismissal of the Mamlatdars in the Crawford case had produced public dissatisfaction, and that it was needful for good government that, if necessary, exceptional legislation should be undertaken to enable the Bombay Government to fulfil their promises; that if the guarantee so often solemnly repeated be violated, difficulties would arise in good government and a bad example would be set to native administrations. Rao Bahadur Bechardas emphatically stated that traders kept the word plighted by their agents even when inconvenient, and the British Government would lose credit by a violation of Her Imperial Majesty's representative's promises.”

Similar telegrams have been sent to Government from all the forty and odd different places mentioned above. When the public, amongst whom the Mamlatdars are to serve, take such a view of their offence, and they cannot take any other view, knowing so well the circumstances under which these officers have paid, when the public have given an emphatic expression to their opinion all through the Deccan, the Province most concerned, and even in Canara and Gujerat, it sounds almost pedantic to speak seriously of the public interests suffering at the hands of these Mamlatdars if they are retained in service and to oppose expediency to justice and honour alike.

The public meeting at Kolhapur (30th September) was presided over by the Pant Amatya, Chief of Bavada

(hereditary Regent of that State), who, in his opening speech, remarked that

“the people of Kolhapur had very little to do with Mr. Crawford or with the inquiry. They had the least to do with the individual Mamlatdar witnesses or their unhappy fate. But what they were most intimately connected with, was the promise of the Provincial Government and its breach by the superior authorities. In the interests of all concerned it was very necessary that all possible attempts should be made to bring to the notice of the Government of India, the Secretary of State, and above all the British public, that the least modification of the solemn promise made, repeated, and adhered to by the Government of Bombay, was calculated to do more harm than the retention of any number of the so-called sinning Mamlatdars. The effects of the violation upon the minds of the rulers of Indian States and their subjects would be very serious. It was by the desire of the British nation to keep their word that the objectionable policy of Lord Dalhousie was put an end to. It is the sanctity of pledges that has endeared the British rule to Indian States, and it is the faith that the people have in the words of their rulers that has made the Government so easy.”

The meeting was attended by the Diwan, the Members of the Council and other officers of State, high and low, and by merchants, Inamdars, pleaders, etc., and resolutions were unanimously passed—first, thanking the Government of India for inviting public opinion on the Bill; secondly, appreciating the desire of the Supreme Government to uphold the guarantee, but deprecating the way in which it was proposed to be done; thirdly, declaring that the policy of discrimination was unjust; and, lastly, recording the high sense of admiration felt at the sincerity of Lord Reay and his colleagues. The meeting was exceptionally large and influential, and clearly showed how far-reaching are the effects of a partial cancellation of the guarantee.

The meeting at Baroda, the largest and most important Indian State in the North, was equally important and enthusiastic. Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jashbai and Rao Bahadur Janardan Sakharam Gadgil, judge of the Baroda High Court, were amongst the speakers. Mr. Dinshaw struck a note of discord, but the people were not in accord with it, and he had to give up the attempt. The meeting

then resolved that the pledges of the Local Government ought to be strictly observed by the Supreme Government, and the latter should be informed of the resolution by wire.

Of the provincial towns, meetings have since been held at Honavar (Karwar), Karmala (Sholapore), and Savada (Khandesh), all of which indignantly disapproved the Bill.

PUBLIC PRESS.

But it is not the public of the Deccan or this Presidency alone that has protested against this ill-judged measure. All respectable leading journals throughout India have done the same. They care comparatively little for the few Mamlatdars of Bombay. But, as is rightly observed by the *Hindu* of Madras, the matter possesses wider importance :

“ There are certain great principles underlying the whole affair. As in most questions of this nature, in this also, it is difficult to ignore altogether the colour of race partiality which has been thrown on one of its aspects. There is then the important consideration whether the most solemn and repeated assurances of a Provincial Governor, given under the advice of one of Her Majesty’s sons and one of the ablest and learned Judges of the country and approved by the whole Indian public except a small and interested clique, are to be lightly thrown away. Further, there is the political aspect, the impression on the public mind produced by the weak and unfair action of the Secretary of State and by the sense of the impossibility of exposing in future misdeeds and corruption in high quarters such as ended disastrously to Crawford.”

And it is the consideration of these larger questions that has caused the whole Native press of India to protest against a measure which, as remarked by the same journal, only goes to prove

“ that it is impossible even for the most upright and resolute Governor or Governor-General to expose and punish the misdeeds of any member of the ruling caste against the enormous influence wielded by that caste in England as well as in India.”

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of Bangalore takes the same view of the important general questions involved in this case ;

and, after pointing out that the Mamlatdars were more or less forced into the present position by the connivance of the previous Governments and the solemn pledges of the present Government, and referring to the Lord Macclesfield case, concludes as follows :

“There was no distinction made between one Master and another ; all who gave evidence, although they incriminated themselves, were to suffer no harm, and they suffered none. Here is a precedent for the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to follow, and we fail to see why they should be afraid. Surely they might follow when the British Parliament led the way ; they would be honoured if they were to do so, and where duty calls it ought to be followed. There must be no quibbling, no evasion, no pruning down ; the pledge given to the Mamlatdars must be carried out to the letter. Faith must be kept with men who performed good service at a particular crisis. The Government must do right and fear not.”

The *Hindu Patriot* of Calcutta, speaking of the Poona meeting, is glad “that such public disapproval and condemnation is being forcibly expressed on all sides”. It says :

“To protect one set of Mamlatdars and exclude others from the scope of the guarantee, would be for the Secretary of State to expose the Government of Bombay to the risk of inconsistency and breach of faith, which would be fraught with the greatest political danger. It is the surest way of leading the people to suppose that the solemn pledges of Government are not worth anything. It is true that the deponent Mamlatdars were not as shrewd as the Masters of the Rolls in the Macclesfield case to require the local Government first to pass an Indemnity Act If the Mamlatdars had *insisted* upon such an Act being passed before being called upon to give their evidence or had refused to give any evidence in the case until such an Act was passed, where would the Bombay Government have been ? But they did nothing of the kind. . . . They relied—and relied most implicitly—on the solemn promises of Lord Reay’s Government that the plighted word of Government would be kept with faith, and the world, at least the Indian world, finds that the moral obligation of preserving the integrity of the guarantee does not rest upon the State and that Lord Cross wishes Lord Reay’s Government to do that which would leave upon that Government for ever the indelible stigma of having eaten its own words. Such a policy as this which imperils the good faith of the British Government deserves public condemnation from all who wish well to the British Government.”

The wonder of the whole thing, however, is, as remarked by the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay, that this "parallel and much worse case of the Masters in Chancery"—

"this too, every critic, responsible and irresponsible, official and non-official, who finds a thousand and one faults with the conduct of the Bombay Government, seems somehow religiously to avoid, without even condescending to point out what course the Governor and his Council should have taken. The reason is obvious."

As regards the desire of the Secretary of State to purify the service, the *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta remarks as follows:

"But the question is not if a few corrupt Mamlatdars should be retained in the public service, and the others dismissed. The real question is if a pledge, solemnly given by the Government of Bombay to some of its servants in order to purify the public service, should be maintained or broken. The Government of Bombay is as much the representative of Her Majesty as the Secretary of State himself; in fact, directly more so to Her Majesty's subjects in the Bombay Presidency. The pledge, given then by Lord Reay's Government, is, in fact, a pledge given on behalf of her Majesty. Is this solemn pledge, then, to be lightly broken, and can the Government of India or the Secretary of State compel the Government of Bombay to depart from its obligations? The Secretary of State has said that the pledge was illegal. And yet we see that by a legislative enactment in the Supreme Council, the first half of the guarantee is sought to be legalised. And why not the latter half? Because, forsooth, the Secretary of State would not like to have the rights and liberties of her Majesty's subjects at the mercy of Judges or Magistrates, who have corruptly purchased their offices and powers. But some of these officers will be retained in the public service."

While those that have kept back will be rewarded by their retention in office. The same journal, after approvingly quoting the reference to the Macclesfield case in the *Mahratta* of Poona, observes further that the Government of India and the Secretary of State appear to

"have made up their minds to propitiate the agitators who have attempted so much to discredit Lord Reay. The indemnity is given by Lord Reay's Government. No one can say one word personally against that nobleman. But his enemies wish to discredit his administration, and to make him as unpopular

among the people of India as he is doubtless among Anglo-Indians. The Government of India and the Secretary of State bear evidence, and express their 'admiration for the courage and singleness of purpose with which Lord Reay had acted throughout!' And yet, in the same breath, they proceed to ask him to break his word with those very men, who helped him to purify the administration!"

The *Bengalee* of Calcutta has also a strong leader on the subject, in which, speaking of the evils of breaking faith with the people, it remarks :

"Not all the position or the prestige of the Government of India will serve to protect it against the charge of having broken faith ; and it will be said in every bazaar in the country, perhaps in every household in Western India, that the Government has punished the Mamlatdars because they dared to give evidence against an English civilian. A wise Government must also look to the future. If the promise of indemnity is now partially broken, can the Government ever hope in future to obtain similar evidence under similar conditions? But probably the Government does not care to get rid of future Crawfords. If so, we have nothing to say, and the Government may please itself as to the kind of Bill which it should pass into law."

After thus pointing out that it is the "low estimate of the evils of future possible corruption in high places" that has probably induced Government to follow the course, it proceeds to examine the argument of illegality as follows :

"We are surprised at the statement made that the indemnity granted by the Bombay Government was illegal. Such language would be appropriate in the mouth of the Judge who is called upon to administer the law and not to make it, although Judges do modify and add to the law, according to their ideas of equity and good conscience. But it is absurd for the Supreme Government or for Lord Cross to shelter themselves behind such a lame and perfectly indefensible excuse. The Government may, without any difficulty, legalise the act of the Bombay Government, unless indeed it feels itself precluded from doing so by moral considerations. But the moral considerations point to the opposite direction."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) regrets that the Poona meeting should have been so late, or else it would have been impossible for the Anglo-Indian papers to boast of their superior morality and condemn the natives, and agrees

with the suggestion of the Poona public that the Bill be drawn on the lines of the English statute of 1725.

The *Indian Nation* (Calcutta) entirely approves of the Poona resolutions, and observes that it is immoral to inflict penalty where a pardon has been promised, and that "the trick employed to deceive Omichand was morally not of the same dye as that which might be employed to deceive an honest man". In another issue the same journal condemns the Bill on moral and political grounds, and takes the following view of the so-called corruption of these officers :

"Now it seems to us that to purchase an appointment is, morally, not a corruption of that kind which would necessitate dismissal. If a judicial officer by giving a bribe to a railway guard travels in a first-class carriage though he has only a second-class ticket, he does something morally wrong: he abets corruption. He may be prosecuted and punished under the laws of the country. . . . To be corrupt as a judicial officer, one has to sell justice. . . . If the Mamlatdars in question are to be protected from prosecutions and suits, why should they be dismissed? Dismissal from a judicial office can be the fit and natural result only of judicial corruption. Purchase of an appointment, however wrong in itself, is not judicial corruption any more than the commission of mischief or the causing of hurt would be. If the Mamlatdars in question, so far as they have committed a crime, are to be exempted from prosecution and punishment on the ground of Lord Reay's promise, we do not see why they should be regarded as morally disqualified from holding their judicial office, when not a single instance of judicial corruption has been proved against them."

It is not strange that, when such is the right view of the offence of the Mamlatdars who purchased offices "in a *régime* where purchase was the only accepted method of obtaining them", the *National Guardian*, of Calcutta, should write about these officers in the following terms :

"They were both in duty bound to tell the truth, and because they did so, are they to be treated in two different fashions? One set is to be dismissed with gratuities, an intimation of their having earned the favour of Government, while the other set is to be retained in service and not prosecuted, as if on sufferance. Such is the justice of the British rule! Of course, the object that a great end has been attained is lost sight of. If at a future period persons are required to give evidence in such a case, they

will think twice before committing themselves in the way these witnesses in the Crawford affair have done."

The *Reis and Rayyet*, of Calcutta, in a strong leader, also condemns the Bill. After mentioning the services done by the Legislature to the country, it says :

"But never, in all its vicissitudinous century of history had it such a funeral day as September 19th, 1889. For, never before had it an uglier business in hand than in the matter of the Mamlatdars. . . . A sadder measure was the abolition at one sitting of the Liberty of the Press. . . . This one-eyed, one-sectioned Bill quibbles and whittles away the Government pledges to the Mamlatdars. . . . Under the circumstances, it was a mercy to the body politic and society in general, and almost magnanimous in the Mamlatdars that they came forward to tell the truth about Mr. Crawford, at the expense of their own character and good name for ever. . . . And now the Legislature is prepared to belie the Government."

The *Phaenx*, of Karachi, is satisfied with "the effective and powerful speeches" at the Poona meeting, and in a later issue has thus described the position :

"The immunity promised to the Mamlatdars was not lightly given. Even while the evidence was being collected it was found that there were one or two rather bad cases scarcely deserving of an immunity, but without such a promise no evidence could have been got from them. The Government of India, if not the Secretary of State, knew of all this from the beginning, and yet it was never said that the promise could not be fulfilled. Sir Raymond West pointed to a most remarkable precedent which should have been quite enough to satisfy the conscience of any Government. Lord Cross says Lord Reay was ill-advised in offering an immunity to all witnesses. As a matter of fact Lord Reay was ill-advised in taking up the inquiry at all, because he has found that his superiors will not help him to keep his solemn promise. If Lord Cross had been in Lord Reay's position he could have better appreciated the real difficulty. It is now easy of course to divide the witnesses into two classes and to dismiss one and retain the other. But, if a similar distinction had been made at the time Mr. Ommanney had been collecting evidence would any evidence have been forthcoming? What guarantee was there whether one witness would be classified under one list and another under the other, when all were enveloped by the same atmosphere of corruption?"

It remarks in conclusion that :

“The way in which the Bombay Government have been compelled to forswear themselves, will be a shock to the Government and the people from which neither will recover very soon.”

The *Advocate*, of Lucknow, makes similar observations. It says :

“Government prestige in India, especially when it affects its good faith, has to be preserved at all costs, no matter what hasty and short-sighted politicians of a pronounced anti-Indian type at head-quarters may think or say. Of this, we hope, Government will never lose sight.”

The *Behar Herald*, of Bankipore, agrees with Sir George Campbell in regretting that “a comparatively small matter should have been allowed to overshadow the great question arising from the charges against Mr. Crawford”; and the *Eastern Herald*, of Mhow, Central India, reviewing the Bill, makes the following observations :

“If dismissal with compensation or practically no compensation is the fate of the unfortunate Mamlatdars, we should say they would receive a treatment which is unworthy of the British Government of these advanced days. The public meetings held in different parts of the Bombay Presidency clearly show the public feeling of that part of the country so far as the Native community is concerned. The conduct of the Mamlatdars, however reprehensible morally, was a matter of necessity. Mr. Crawford's position and influence were quite sufficient to deter a man to give evidence against him, and we admire the courage of the doomed Mamlatdars that they could come forward in standing against him. If for their assisting the Government of Bombay they should be rewarded with dismissal, then the people of India will think very little of the future promises of the British Government. We, therefore, hope that our legislators will find their way to change that draft Bill and recast it on the lines of the Statute 11, George I, cap. 2, by which Masters in Chancery were indemnified for graver offences than those the Mamlatdars are alleged to be guilty of.”

Coming to the Bombay Presidency, we find the *Indian Spectator*, which makes no secret of its little sympathy with the Mamlatdars, strongly condemning the action of the Secretary of State and the Government of India “which betrays a sad decadence of the moral fibre”, and calling it

a great political blunder to sacrifice "the promises of the Government of Bombay to those non-English ideas of prestige which predominate certain influential circles". The following remarks in this journal are worthy of note by those who attempt to justify the Bill on the ground of the purity of administration :

" There is one result of a wanton breach of the guarantee afforded by the Government of Bombay, which we should like to bring prominently to notice in this connection. We refer to the mischievous effect such violation will have on the conduct of future inquiries of the kind. Who will come forward to help the Government in tracing the course of other scandals? The district service, all over India, we fear, is not free from suspicion. There are departments which, in the very nature of their working, are open to irregularities. There are subordinate servants in these departments, Natives as well as Europeans, who are believed to live beyond their means, and who, if not actually corrupt, are presumably open to corruption. What help will the Government have in dealing with cases as they may arise, if they now forfeit the confidence of the public? "

The *Indu Prakash* clearly points out the consequences of this breach of faith as far as the educated classes, who by their education have been accustomed to put greater confidence in Government pledges, are concerned. Referring to correspondence on this subject in its columns, it remarks that its correspondent

"shows what shame and humiliation the educated class of natives is filled with, when it sees the fair fame of the British Government so tarnished with the charge of faithlessness. To the old gentry and nobility the educated class serves as an interpreter of the British Government, and proud of the accustomed generosity and justice of that Government, is ready to defend it against ignorant calumnies. Now when the Government has broken its pledged word the educated class has to hide its head in chagrin and mortification. It is an unfortunate fact that Government has by its faithlessness made it impossible for its best friends to support it. . . . With all our sympathy with Lord Reay's Government, we cannot conceal our feeling that in the matter of this indemnity it has not acted with sufficient independence. Lord Reay would have earned undying fame if, with all he has done and suffered, he had resisted the impolitic orders of the Secretary of State, and made himself a martyr to the cause of truth, justice and honour."

The *Native Opinion* is equally strong ; and, pointing to the case of the Masters of the Rolls, is constrained to say

“that since things have taken such a turn the doctrine of colour seems to influence more the responsible authorities in this wretched affair than a sense of responsibility for justice and fair play.”

The *Subhoda Patrika* also writes in the same strain ; and, after pointing out the gross inconsistency of Lord Cross in eulogising and at the same time upsetting in an important particular the action of the Bombay Government, it thus speaks of the expediency of partially cancelling the guarantee, which, according to the Viceroy, is a lesser evil in comparison to maintaining the Mamlatdars in service :

“With all deference, we submit, the reverse would be the sounder maxim to hold : for the inconvenience, if any, of retaining in office the men who have confessed to paying bribes would be temporary—and we have over and over again shown that no harm to justice can come from the fact of their being marked men—while the evil of an immoral act of the Government, of its repudiation of a solemn promise would be permanent.”

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“humble but earnest and solemn protest and has no shadow of a doubt that it carries the country with it in this protest.”

All have noted and condemned the action of the Secretary of State in ordering a cancellation of the guarantee after reaping its full advantage, and that too from the unworthy motive of satisfying the clamour of interested parties. All have again referred to the connivance of the previous Governments, and the necessity under which the pledge was given. It was, to use the words of the *Indian Spectator*, given in perfect good faith,

“in order to reach a huge administrative scandal that had baffled previous efforts to unmask, and which would have baffled the present Executive too, but for the adoption of drastic measures culminating in this complete indemnity. It was a desperate situation that the Government of Bombay had to deal with. . . . Is a guarantee, given under such circumstances of extreme difficulty, to be set aside by a Government, and that an alien Government ? We hear of thieves and gamblers keeping

their word. What will the natives of India think of the mighty British Government breaking their word ?

The *Mahratta*, of Poona, has a strong leader, in which it compares the action of Lord Cross to that of Lord Clive, when, after utilising the services of Omichand, he declared that the "red treaty was a trick". The paper also refers in full to the case of the Masters in Chancery, and firmly believes that both on political and moral grounds Government cannot do better than fully follow the example of Parliament when, in 1725, it indemnified by a Statute (11 Geo. I, cap. 2) the Masters in the Macclesfield case against all the consequences of the Statute of Edward VI. It also points out the futility and impossibility of making any valid discrimination between the various cases, and thinks that Government cannot remove a statutory disability by an Executive resolution. It further remarks that

"some of the mischievous Anglo-Indian papers, on this side, have attempted to throw discredit on the Mamlatdars by pointing out that their evidence was not believed by the Commissioners as against Mr. Crawford, and much tenderness is being shown for the overburdened tax-payer. But these fussy meddlers in law forget that there is a wide gulf between *no evidence* and *false evidence* and that if the evidence of an accomplice or of husband or wife is not *sufficient* in law, nothing but mischievous disingenuity can call it *false*. Again the Commissioners, who by the bye were simple reporting officers and not final judges under the Act, disbelieved the witnesses because they were indemnified, and now it is argued that these witnesses ought to be disindemnified because they were so disbelieved! Mischievous disingenuity can hardly go further. And if this is to guide the counsels of our Government, the British Raj, we may safely say, has fallen on evil days."

The Gujarathi papers take the same view, and, like their Marathi contemporaries, have quoted with approval the views of Lord Herschell, Sir George Campbell, and others. The *Gujarati* says :

"Politically as well as from the point of view of administrative purity the step taken at the instance of Lord Cross is a fatal one. Already the people have begun to declare openly that no Crawford in future need be afraid and that it is no use issuing academic resolutions on the moral education of the

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rising generation when the British Government itself has openly violated its plighted word on the flimsiest of legal grounds in deference to the not very scrupulous strictures of partizan agitators who have hardly the capacity to understand the mischief they are doing by discrediting the word and honour of a Government, situate as ours is, in a country like India."

The *Gujerat Darpan*, of Surat, suggests "that meetings should be held at all places to protest against the orders of the Secretary of State", while the *Gujerat Gazette*, of Ahmedabad, is afraid "that another Lord Clive, not in flesh and blood but in heart, is trying to memorise an event not unlike the type of Omichand". The *Gujerat Mitra*, of Surat, eulogises Lord Herschell for putting the indemnity case before the House of Lords in a clear and lucid manner, and the *Hindustan*, of Ahmedabad, criticises the defects in the existing law which punishes the giver of a bribe under such circumstances. The *Kannada Swarte*, of Bombay, speaking of the decision of the Secretary of State, remarks that

"the decision has already aroused indignation among the people, and we fear indignation meetings will be held in almost all parts of the presidency to show to the Secretary of State how his decision has been received."

And such has been the case, as we have stated above. Of the Poona papers, the *Sudharaka* has an open letter to Lord Reay giving expression to its belief that it was his lordship's duty to "stand or fall with these Mamlatdars", and summarising the consequences of these measures as follows:

"For what does the present step really mean? It means the ruin of the honest and the simple, and the victory of the dishonest and the calculating. It means that the word of the British Government, however solemnly given, is not 'worth the breath in which it is uttered'. It means that this British Government, so much extolled for its uprightness, does not scruple, like the meanest of men, to kick the ladder which helps it up, if only it finds that ladder in a rather inconvenient position. It means a most severe blow to the prestige of this Government, and to the confidence of the people in its high character. It means the rudest shock yet given to the stability of England's empire over this country."

Like the *Jagadadarsha*, of Nagar, it also suggests that if

the Governor and his Councillors and, for the matter of that, their legal advisers, who draw such fat salaries, have acted illegally, it is they who ought to have been recalled rather than the confiding Mamlatdars should have been sacrificed in this way. In a later issue it has made an appeal to the Civil Service of the Presidency to move in the matter and declare their opinion of the so-called corrupt Mamlatdars. The *Kesari*, the *Shiwaji*, and the *Vaibhava*, of Poona, have also written strongly on the subject. The last paper has a bitter article on the question, at the end of which it clearly points out that the consequences of the faithlessness must prove ruinous to the efficiency of the service and the prestige of the British Government. They and many others have also pointed out, as observed by the *Mahratta*, that "the excuse of illegality" in support of the action of Lord Cross, the prime source of legislation in India, "is a discreditable subterfuge"; and all have referred to the Macclesfield case to refute the argument of expediency. The *Arunodaya*, of Thana, considers that by cancelling the guarantee of the Bombay Government Lord Cross has given a "free charter" to all European offenders to misbehave as they like hereafter. The same view is taken by almost all the vernacular papers in this Presidency, and the *Bodhasudhakar* and *Shubhasuchaka* of Satara, the *Suryodaya* of Thana, the *Nasik Vritta*, the *Vrittasara* of Wai, the *Dyanasagar* of Kolhapur, the *Ramadas* of Bijapur, the *Vidushaka* of Karhad, the *Pratoda* of Islampur, the *Satyashodhak* of Ratnagiri, and several others have moralised on the case, and have warned the younger generation never to be carried away by high-sounding sentiments or to place too much faith in the promises of this Government, whether in public or private matters. There are others like the *Maharashtra Mitra* of Satara, the *Vartahar* and the *Telagu Mitra* of Bombay, and the *Jaganmitra* of Ratnagiri, who have not gone to this length, but still they are unanimous in strongly condemning the policy of Government in thus eating its word of honour. The *Vaidarbha* of Akola, Berar, is indignant that Lord Cross should attempt to "crush these poor officers like

worms", and strongly advises them to take legal actions against Government. Like the *Indian Spectator*, it also exposes the sophistry which tries to show that, while the statements of these Mamlatdars cannot be believed as against Mr. Crawford, they go to prove beyond doubt that these officers were themselves corrupt. It argues, and rightly too, that if the witnesses are to be disbelieved they must be wholly disbelieved, and no such distinction as referred to above can be drawn. They can at best be regarded as guilty of perjury, and not of corruption. It says:

"Nothing could be more hypocritical and hollow than the pretences advanced for cancelling the indemnity. Mr. Crawford accepted money and sold offices, then there was a feeling of oppression and helplessness amongst the subordinates and the payment of money for the buying of offices was like handing over one's purse to a burglar at night time as soon as he asks for it. If Mr. Crawford did not sell offices then these men have not done anything. They may have at the worst told a false story. If no offices were given in consequence of payments made how can the payees be said to have got office by payment? But who can convince a person who purposely shuts his eyes. Even in murder cases pardons are given and stuck to. In the last century to bring a corrupt Chancellor to justice pardon was given to the Masters who gave him money, But in the boasted Nineteenth Century, under the most enlightened and just Government guarantees solemnly granted are to be revoked; and for what? To satisfy revenge!"

The *Shuddha Varhadi* (Akola, Berar), the *Vritta-dhara* (Dhar, Central India), the *Noyaya Sudha* (Harda, Central India), the *Dnyana Chakshu* and the *Jagathitechhu* of Poona also condemn strongly this breach of promise. The *Khandesh Vaibhava* and *Chitragupta* of Dhulia, the *Kannadpunch* of Bagalkote, and the *Pramoda Sindhu* of Amaraoti (Berar) also think in the same way, and have urged that "in the interests of justice and fair play the British Parliament or the Government of India is bound to support the action of the Bombay Government".

As against this almost universal expression of public indignation, disapproval, and protest—as evidenced by public meetings all over the Deccan or the Presidency, and the

voice of the Press and the leading public bodies like the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha and the Bombay Presidency Association and the British Indian Association of Calcutta, all of which have submitted well-argued and exhaustive memorials on the question—stand singled out in opposition the *Rast* of Bombay, the *Dyana Prakash* of Poona, and three or four other vernacular papers—a fact which, on the maxim that exceptions prove the rule, makes it more clear than ever that the burst of public indignation is genuine and sincere. In the face of this almost universal disapproval and protest it is needless to say what course Government should pursue. The remarks of the *Indian Nation* of Calcutta in its last issue are appropriate, and may be here quoted in conclusion. It says :

“ We have discussed sufficiently on other occasions the moral aspects of the case. One new point is brought into prominence in the Viceroy’s speech, namely, Is it just or expedient to retain in office men who are sure to have forfeited public confidence? It is perfectly true that it is not just or expedient to retain in office such men. But we take it that the public will know this to be a special case. They will know that the officers in question are retained in consequence of a pledge by the local executive Government, upheld by a legislative enactment of the Viceregal Council. They will know that the men permitted to remain in office, though they bought offices under a corrupt system in which offices could be got only by purchase, have never been known to sell justice, that is, to accept illegal gratification from men seeking justice in their hands. They will further know that if these Mamlatdars exhibited weakness of moral fibre in submitting to purchase office, they exhibited courage in coming forward to offer self-incriminating evidence in the trial of Mr. Crawford, and brought to light facts which would never otherwise have been revealed. The next question is, Is not the Government already in possession of evidence showing how far the Mamlatdars enjoy public confidence? The proceedings of meetings, the leading articles of native newspapers, and other expressions of public opinion, all point to the conclusion that the retention of the Mamlatdars is sought by the public and will not be resented by them. Public confidence in the inviolability of the promises of Government will receive a shock if the pledge is broken even in part and the remote consequences of such a shock will certainly not be wholesome.”

The representations from the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha and the Bombay Presidency Association have been favour-

ably noticed and entirely approved by the Bombay Press. Both have been declared to be very able documents, and the Government of India has been requested to reconsider its position in the light of the facts and arguments given in the two memorials. The British Indian Association, the most influential Political Association of Bengal, has also emphatically declared that the plighted word should not be broken.

Many of the journals, in the other Presidencies, have also discussed the subject during the week. The *Mysore Herald*, of Mysore, referring to the Indemnity Bill and to the latest decision of the Bombay High Court in the Ahmedabad class of cases, points out how dangerous it is to hold that accomplices' evidence is insufficient in every case, and observes :—

“ Such has been the case with the Bombay Mamlatdars, and when once, therefore, it becomes known that the guarantee of a Provincial Government is apt to be set aside by the higher authorities it will be granting, as it were, a premium to corruption inasmuch as it becomes impossible to induce by promises, officials concerned in corruption to bear testimony to their own delinquencies. If the bill is passed it will be in the power of every high officer who has abandoned his conscience, to organise a system of corruption and enrich himself with impunity. In the absence of legal evidence, Government will find that its hands are tied and cannot bring to book even the most notorious bribemonger.”

It concludes its article as follows :

“ If, as the Viceroy said, the Government of India regarded the engagement as not being “in principle abhorrent to our ideas of morality or in practice unfamiliar to our judicial procedure”, what need was there for this partial cancellation of guarantee? Considering the larger interest involved, considering that the present bill, if passed, would be the death-warrant of all future inquiries into bribery, we earnestly hope that the Government will abandon their present position and uphold Lord Reay's promises in their integrity. Nor are they without a precedent.”

The *Vivekavardhini*, of Rajmahundri (Madras), thus states the problem :

“ The problem is this ; shall corruption reign rampant in a country and perennially continue to taint the fount of justice or shall a few men whose avarice or necessities or cowardice

compelled them to offer bribes, be allowed to go without punishment? The law in face of the two evils allows the lesser one to exist in order to stamp out the greater. The bribe-giver is is, according to law, as liable to punishment as the bribe-taker. But practically the former is safe, while the latter is not, for the simple reason that the impunity accorded to the one is not fraught with such serious consequences to justice or purity of administration as protection given to the other. Now it appears to us that an unprejudiced application of this principle to the case of the Bombay Mamlatdars must decide in favour of the whole of the entire guarantee being kept inviolate."

And, pointing out the necessity of the guarantee, it thus concludes :

"The following therefore was and ought to have been the necessary sequence of events; the Indemnity, the evidence of the Mamlatdars, and the removal of Mr. Crawford from the Service which he had disgraced. Well, now the Supreme Government propose to cut down the bridge by which they have got at the enemy of the entire Indian Civil Service. Let them. But let them also never hereafter hope to be able to construct a bridge of the like kind. For they will have virtually declared a perpetual immunity from punishment to European offenders. The Indian people are wise in their generation. They are not idiots or dunces. They will go further. Will they hereafter place trust in any Indemnity whatever? Where the word of a Governor has failed, is it likely that they would trust to the assurance of a Police Inspector, or a Police Superintendent, or a First Class Magistrate?"

The *People's Friend*, of Madras, remarks :

"It is too late to look at the moral side of the question as viewed by Lord Cross. Delinquents or not, the pledge should be kept to the Mamlatdars. It is nonsense to say that the guarantee given by Lord Reay is *illegal*; but the law itself in this country has often no unanimous interpretation from the dispensers of justice."

And, after referring to some details, remarks :

"We hold, irrespective of the question before us, that a promise made by the Government should be fulfilled to the very letter. The Indemnity Bill should not touch the offending Mamlatdars. - The Indian representatives of Her Majesty are bound to keep their pledges, which are solemnly given by them in the interests of justice and under an imperative necessity. It should be considered that the Mamlatdars who gave their evidence had to muster up a deal of moral courage to appear at the

inquiry, in spite of great personal disgrace and humiliation. We regret therefore that the ghost of Lord Clive has reappeared in Lord Cross. The parts each played are alike dishonorable. The "red treaty" trick is familiar to every school-boy and we now have that trick repeated in the Indemnity Bill. Lord Lansdowne is in an awkward position himself, and he has to make the best of it. The partial cancellation of the guarantee, partial as it is, is a violation of a solemn pledge, and it is, in our view, a greater evil than the retention in office of self-incriminated men, under the pledge. Who will trust a Government that breaks its promises? Who will place confidence in the Viceroy and the Governors, if their pledges are to be cancelled by the Secretary of State? We trust that the Government has not fallen on evil days."

The *Advocate*, of Lucknow, thus gives its observations on the Bill:

"Were native feeling as well as the sentiments of the sensible portion of the Anglo-Indian press referred to on the point, they would be found to be unanimous in upholding the action, both as to the energetic steps taken for the purification of the administration and the indemnity offered to secure it, of the Bombay Government. Nothing could have been more explicit as representative opinion than the emphatic verdict of the citizens of Poona in grand public meeting assembled, on the 1st ult., on the merits of the whole question. . . .

"There can be no doubt that the later action of the Government (not of the Bombay Government) as disclosed in the intention of the Bill before the Council, has been dictated by passion and partiality, prejudice and perversity. Whatever it may fancy as the effect of its present policy, there can be no concealing the fact that that policy will have far-reaching results. The impression will irresistibly go abroad that no less a personality than the Governor of one of the Presidencies of India has eaten his plighted word. And, woe to any public inquiry of a similar nature, if it ever in future ended with such satisfactory results as the Crawford inquiry undoubtedly has."

The *Hindu Patriot*, of Calcutta, after remarking that Government breaking its pledges is a greater evil than keeping a few Mamlatdars in service, makes the following observations on the vacillating conduct of Lord Cross:

"The vacillating conduct of Lord Cross in this matter has already been ascribed, rightly or wrongly we cannot undertake to say, to want of a firm grasp of what should be the clear duty of the British Government in regard to this matter. It is said that His Lordship has been more or less open to outside criticism

from interested writers in the Anglo-Indian press, and to the reflection of their views in the organs of public opinion in England. It has, further, been stated that among the advisers of Lord Cross are powerful Anglo-Indians whose opinions the Secretary of State has not had the courage to set aside. It must be remembered that the predecessors of Lord Reay in the Government of Bombay have had some discredit attached to them for not having taken steps to bring Mr. Crawford to book. And it would not surprise us to be told that Sir Richard Temple, the quondam Governor of Bombay, Sir James Fergusson, the successor of Sir Richard in the Governorship of Bombay and now Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Sir James B. Peile, formerly of the Bombay Government and now of the India Office, would not like to be told that their action has been held reprehensible in so far as they abstained from making a thorough enquiry into the matter. If Lord Cross should be considered to have been influenced in the course he has thought fit to adopt by the views of these gentlemen, it would not be a matter for surprise. And over and above these influences, there are the Camerons and the Baumanns, whose criticism in Parliament Lord Cross would find himself unable to withstand. But the most mischievous result of the partial cancellation of the guarantee by the passing of the Indemnity Bill in its present shape would be that it would give rise to an impression that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared even to violate its word in order that the people of India may see how impossible it is to venture or how great a risk they run in undertaking to state frankly and freely anything which is likely to damage the reputation of a highly-placed English official; and that the boast that no such distinction as that of a dominant and subject race shall sway the action of the British Government is all a sham and a delusion. It is of the highest importance that the Government of India and the Secretary of State should do everything in their power to prevent such a notion possessing the minds of the people of India."

The *Hope*, of Calcutta, admitting that on abstract principles it is not desirable to retain these officers in service, says:

"But, while regretting this fact, neither the public nor the Government can shut their eyes to the other fact that it was the promise of unqualified exemption from all punishment that made these corrupt officers stand convicted out of their own mouths. The Government had no power to compel them to acknowledge their guilt, and this being so, the Crawford Commission would have ended in a most deplorable *fiasco*. That would have meant the further continuance of a system of corruption worthy of the worst days of the Mahomedan rule. The

unreserved way in which, moreover, these Mamlatdars bore evidence against themselves must also be taken into consideration in considering the question of the morality of their retention in office. If they had not been sure that the Government would pardon them to the very letter of its promise, they would not surely have thus sought their own degradation and ruin. On the other hand, it may not prove unlikely that the very redemption by the Government of its pledge will produce wholesome influence on the minds of these self-convicted officers in their future conduct in office. But, whatever the result, though one can always hope for the best, it would be unjust, if not anything worse, for the Government to now back out in any way from the promise held out to these Mamlatdars, whatever the enormity of their guilt. They have undoubtedly helped to purge the administration of a woeful state of corruption, and this ought to weigh in a certain degree against the harsh measure which the Government is about to adopt in regard to them. Depriving these men of their appointments will not only weaken the faith of the public in the pledges of the Government, but will serve to shut out the chance of future exposure of deep-seated scandals in the administration."

The *Phoenix*, of Karachi, has again observed :

"The Indemnity Bill will carry a mournful memory with it. It is the axe laid at the root of faith in the solemn promises of the British Government. Never again, at least not for a long time, will any man run any risk on the strength of an assurance from the Government. The pity is that the dishonour is being done in the names of honour and integrity."

The *Gujarati*, of Bombay, thus describes the injustice that is now being done to the Mamlatdars :

"As everyone knows, the whole official atmosphere during Crawford's régime was tainted with gross and widespread corruption, and it requires some supernatural power to discern the character of the forces that were operating at the time upon the mind of the Subordinate Service. Besides, is not Government guilty of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, when some other officers who were shrewd enough to perceive that even this century is not without its Clives and Shivajis, are said to have sealed their lips and are enjoying the fruits of their silence without molestation. Again, it is a principle of English law that no man shall be condemned unheard. The Mamlatdars made certain statements to Mr. Ommanney, some of which only as bore direct on Mr. Crawford's guilt were repeated before the Commission, and now they are to be condemned on the strength of the evidence contained in their own deposition, when even Mr. Ommanney knows that the

prosecution availed themselves of such evidence only as *they* thought relevant. The Mamlatdars never appeared as accused persons, and they had no opportunity of stating their whole case, and it is nothing but a monstrous piece of injustice of which the British Government ought to be heartily ashamed, that it should not have called upon the eight Mamlatdars to show cause why the guarantee should not be partially cancelled in their case, if at all Government chose to violate its word of honour in presence of the whole civilised world, and disgrace itself in the eyes of the people from the lowest peasant to the highest native prince. Every one in this Presidency who has thought about the Crawford episode has got disgusted with the action of the Secretary of State, and we ourselves find it so painful to proceed further that we shall stop here this time."

The *Native Opinion*, of Bombay, takes the same view, and condemns the action of Government in dismissing the Mamlatdars unheard and on the strength of statements before the Commission, where the conduct of the witnesses, not being in issue, was not fully gone into.

The *Gujerat Gazette*, of Ahmedabad, after referring to the prophecy of some of the witnesses who warned Mr. Ommanney that the inquiry would inevitably recoil on the heads of the witnesses, says :

"The violation of the guarantee would literally fulfil this dismal prophecy; and the Secretary of State and the Government of India are undertaking a serious responsibility in bringing about such a result, viz., discrediting the 'just and liberal ideas' of our educated men and confirming the distrust of the old and the ignorant masses."

The *Gujerat Darpan*, of Surat, has the following :

"The views of such an eminent judicial authority as Lord Herschell, the late Lord Chancellor of England, on the Mamlatdar Indemnity question, expressed in the House of Lords, deserve respect. He is thoroughly in favour of the Bombay Government, and quite dead against the action of the Secretary of State. Being present on the spot when the Crawford case was being hotly discussed, and being cognizant of what relations existed between the dismissed Commissioner and his injured subordinates, he had a better *locus standi* than any in the House. He said: 'More harm would be done if a pledge solemnly given by the Government of Bombay were broken than would be done by retaining in office those who had trusted to the pledge.' But Lord Cross has not thought so. He has his hobby, purity of administration, which, by the way let us say, could never have

been made pure if these much abused, maligned, and injured Mamlatdars had not trusted the word of the Government whom he has overruled."

Thus, according to the *Indu Prakash*, of Bombay :

"If ever public opinion, unanimous, and clearly and spontaneously expressed, should influence the counsels of the Government, the Indemnity Bill is a pre-eminently fit and worthy occasion on which the influence ought to be felt and acknowledged. The public meetings which have been held all over the Presidency, which an ill-natured contemporary thinks are due to the wire-pullings of a caucus, but which we believe to be the spontaneous and sincere expression of public opinion, are a well-meant protest against the action contemplated by the Government of India. The native public, and indeed we venture to think, not a small portion of the European public, cannot understand how the Government of India and the Secretary of State do not perceive the utter inconsistency, narrowness and harmful character of their position in admitting the necessity and propriety of the guarantee, and yet repudiating it in its most essential particular."

And, in the words of the same journal, it is to be earnestly hoped :

"Government will yet so extend the scope of the Indemnity Bill that it will be saved from the reproach of faithlessness, which otherwise will be a lasting, ineffaceable blot on the fair fame of the British Government."

The Plighted Word of a British Government.

THE PROCEEDINGS
OF A
PUBLIC + MEETING
OF THE
CITIZENS OF POONA,

Held on the 1st September, 1889,

TO EXPRESS THEIR GRATEFUL THANKS TO THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT FOR
FEARLESSLY CONDUCTING THE CRAWFORD INQUIRY, TO SOLICIT A
SCRUPULOUS OBSERVANCE OF THE GUARANTEE GIVEN TO
WITNESSES AND TO REPUDIATE THE MISREPRE-
SENTATIONS BY INTERESTED PARTIES

RAO BAHADUR K. L. NULKER, C.I.E.,
IN THE CHAIR.

"English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the 'yea, yea' or 'nay, nay' of a British envoy. No fastness, however, strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security, like that enjoyed by the Chief, who passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with British Guarantee"—MACAULAY ON CLIVE.

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FLEET STREET, E.C.

1889.

Proceedings of a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 1st September, 1889.

A PUBLIC meeting of the citizens of Poona was held on 1st September, 1889, under the auspices of the Sarvajanic Sabha, in compliance with the following requisition :—

We, the undersigned citizens of Poona, think it desirable that a public meeting of the leading citizens of this place be convened without delay, to place on record formal resolutions, giving expression to the opinion of the native public repudiating the misrepresentations made by certain ill-informed and interested correspondents and others, in regard to the real bearings of the action taken by Government in the matter of the Crawford inquiry, and protesting against the wholesale attacks against native character generally, in the English and Anglo-Indian press ; and placing before the Governments in India and in England the deliberate views of the native public as to the rectitude and singleness of purpose shown by Government in prosecuting the inquiry to a close, which have inspired the native public with a grateful sense of satisfaction ; and also soliciting that in the interests of the honour and fair fame of British rule, the guarantee given by Government to all persons who gave evidence before the inquiry officers, should be respected and maintained in its full integrity

The requisition was signed by 130 leading gentlemen of the different communities, including Sardars (Noblemen), Inamdars (Landlords), Bankers, Money-lenders, Merchants and Traders, Doctors, Professors of Schools and Colleges, Editors of Newspapers, Lawyers, and Government Officers of high positions.

The following are the names of the signatories :

- Sardar Shri Baba Maharaj, Brahman, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan.
- Sardar Tulaji Rao Raje Saheb, Mahratta, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan
- Sardar Bhivrao Madhavrao Potnis, Parbhu, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan
- Sardar Nawab Ali Mardakhan, Musalman, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan

- Sardar Ganpatrao Vinayak Sanglikar, Brahman, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan
- Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmuk, 1st Class Sardar of Deccan; Pensioned District Joint Judge of Nasik (British district); and sometime member of the Bombay Legislative Council.
- Rao Bahadur Mahadev Govind Ranade, M.A., LL B , C.I.E , Advocate, of Bombay, District Judge under the Deccan Relief Act; was Member of the Finance Committee of India; sometime Member of the Legislative Council of Bombay
- Rao Bahadur Krisnajeo Luxman Nulkar, C I E., Ex-Dewan of Cutch; was Member of the Public Service Commission of India.
- Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M A., Ph D, M R A S, C I E., Professor of Oriental Languages, Deccan Government College.
- Rao Bahadur Narayan B Dandekar, Pensioned Director of Public Instruction of Berars, Hyderabad Assigned Districts
- Sardar Hari Ramchandra Dhamdhare,
Sardar Balvantrao Yeshvant Chandrachud,
Sardar Balvantrao Ramchandra Natu,
Sardar Vithalrao Krishna Gale,
Sardar Trimbakrao N. Rajmachikar,
Sardar Kashinath Nilkanth Khasgivale,
Sardar Chintamanrao Vishvanath Natu,
Sardar Damodar Moreshwar Gole,
Mahamahopadhyaya Ramdixit Apte,
- } First, Second and
} Third Class Sardars
} of Deccan.
- Rao Bahadur Daji Nilkanth Nagarkar, Pensioned Professor of the College of Science, Poona.
- Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide, Pensioned 1st Class Sub-Judge; Chairman of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.
- Rao Bahadur Khanderao C Bedarkar, B.A , LL B., Judge of the Small Causes Court, Poona.
- Rao Bahadur Chintaman Narayan Bhat, B.A. LL.B., 1st Class Sub-Judge.
- Rao Bahadur G. A. Bhat, M.A., L C E., Executive Engineer, P. W. Department.
- Vithal Narayan Pathak, Esq., M.A., Professor of English Literature, Deccan Government College.
- Vaman Shivram Apte, Esq , M A , Principal, Fergusson College, Poona.
- Kasinath Parashram Gadgil, Esq , Barrister-at-Law.
- Rao Bahadur Narayan Bhikaji Joglekar, Pensioned Deputy Collector and Honorary Magistrate, 1st Class.
- Rao Bahadur Wasudev Bapuji Kanitkar, Pensioned Assistant Executive Engineer, P. W Department, and Municipal Commissioner
- Rao Bahadur Hari Raoji Chiplunkar, Landlord; Honorary Magistrate, 1st Class President of Landlords' Association.
- Rao Bahadur Raoji Vithal Punekar, Retired Subha of H. H. the Gaekwar.
- Rao Bahadur Raoji Trumbak Nagarkar, Landlord, and Pensioned Sub-Engineer
- Rao Bahadur Shridhar Gundo, Deputy Collector and 1st Class Magistrate.

Rao Bahadur Narayan Pandurang, Deputy Examiner, Military Accounts.
Dhakji Kasinathji, Esq., J P., Personal Assistant to the Commissary General.

Ganesh Gopal Dixit, Esq , Inamdar.

Govind Mahadev Gadre, Esq., Inamdar and Lawyer.

Keshav Ramchandra Ranade, Esq., Inamdar.

Vishvanath Amrit Tilvankar, Esq , Inamdar and Banker.

Sha Sakharam Mancharam, Banker.

Sha Haribhai Dattaram, Banker.

Sha Nanchand Mulchand, Banker.

Ramlal Nandram Naik, Esq , Landlord

Shridhar Ballal Kelkar, Esq , Banker.

Gangadhar Raghunath Paranjape, Esq., Banker.

Shet Chunilal Baldeo, Banker and Merchant.

Shet Vishundas Bhagwandas, Merchant.

Shet Dalpatram Manchand, Banker and Merchant.

Shet Mulchand Pransukh, Merchant.

Shet Chhaganlal Kasidas, Merchant.

Shet Sakalchand Valabhram, Merchant.

Rao Sahib Daji Shripat Nagpurkar, Landlord, Pensioned Sub-Engineer
Municipal Commissioner.

Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Esq , M A , Professor, Fergusson College.

Shet Ipatram Tarachand, Merchant.

Shet Chhagandas Rajaram, Merchant.

Shet Tulsidas Pransukhram, Merchant,

Narayan Vinayek Chhatre, Esq., B.A., L.M. and S.

Rao Sahib Casinath Govind Natu, Lawyer and Municipal Commissioner.

Shet Lalubhai Virchand, Merchant

Shet Chhotalal Chhagandas, Merchant.

Shet Kewaldas Dewchand, Merchant.

Shet Lalchand Krisnaji, Merchant

Shet Ramchand Bhaichand, Landlord, Banker and Merchant.

Shet Umedram Mayachand, Merchant and Banker.

Shet Sobharam Manikchand, Banker and Merchant.

Shet Jayram Dangee, Merchant.

Ramkrishna Raghoba Murudkar, Esq , Merchant.

Keshw Balal Sathe, Esq , Merchant.

Rao Sahib Hindumal Balmukund, Merchant, Banker, and Municipal
Commissioner.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Esq , B A , Professor, Fergusson College

Rao Sahib Balchandra Trimbak Bapat, Esq , Honorary Magistrate.

Vinayek Ramchandra Patwardhan, Esq , B.A , LL B.

Bahirao Udhao, Esq , Lawyer

Khanderao Narayan, Esq , Lawyer

Vishnu Atmaram Ursekar, Esq , Merchant.

Shet Vallibhai Tayabali, Esq , Merchant.

Shet Adamjee Valibhai, Esq , Merchant.

Shet Mulchand Mayachand, Esq , Merchant.

Naro Sadasiv, Esq , Lawyer.

- Vittal Raghunath, Esq , Lawyer.
Shet Khanjee Bhai Abdul Ali, Esq , Merchant
Shet Rosmali Talayab Ali, Merchant.
Shet Kamrudin Hyder Ali, Esq., Merchant.
Mahadeo Vyankaji Vidhwans, Esq , Pensioned Sub-Engineer
Ramchandra Sandashiy Joglekar, Esq , Pensioned Sub-Engineer.
Rao Sahib Sadashiv Krishna Gore, Lawyer ; Vice-President, Taluka
Local Board.
Krishna Shastri Vajjapoorkar, Esq.
Shridar Shastri Patankar. Esq
Deorao Krishna, Esq , Honorary Magistrate.
Shet Hasanali Jamalali Sahib, Esq , Merchant.
Shet Kasamali Jiwabali, Esq , Merchant
Narayan Krishna Dharap, Esq , B A., Life Member, Deccan Educational
Society
Vaman Keshav Bhat, Esq , Lawyer.
Rao Sahib Raghunath Daji Nagarkar, Lawyer, Landlord, Municipal
Commissioner and Member, District Local Board, Poona.
Rao Sahib Mahadeo Ballal Namjosi, Municipal Commissioner and Jour
nalist
Rao Sahib Vaman Prabhakar Bhawe, Principal, Poona Native Institution,
and Municipal Commissioner
Chintaman Ballal Gharpure, Esq , Banker.
Gopal Vinayek Josi, Esq
Vasudeo Balkrishna Kelkar, Esq , B A , Professor, Fergusson College.
Rao Sahib Nurso Ramchandra Godbole, Municipal Commissioner.
Vishnu Shamjee Ranade, Esq , Sowcar and Landlord.
Damodar Janardan Gokhale, Esq.
Balkrishna Sayanna, Esq , General Merchant
Narayan Babaji Josi, Esq , L C E., Pensioned Assistant Engineer.
Bhikaji Amrit Chobe, Esq., G G.M.C. and Assistant Surgeon.
Bapurao Narayan Natekar, Esq , Lawyer.
Balwant Abaji, Esq., Lawyer.
Vaman Ganesh Ghanekar, Esq , Lawyer.
Chintaman Gangadhar Bhanu, Esq., B A , Professor, Fergusson College.
Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Esq , B A , LL B , Professor, Fergusson College,
and Journalist.
Krishnarao Bapu Mande, Esq , Journalist.
Raoji Shirdhar Gondhalekar, Esq., Printer and Journalist.
Ganesh Krishna Gardé, Esq , L.M. & S.
Narayan Ganesh Amdekar, Esq , Lawyer.
Sayed Yakub, Esq., Persian Teacher, High School, Poona.
Ramchandra Goyind Sapkar, Esq , Printer and Journalist.
Ganesh Hari Sathe, Esq.
Gopal Moreshwar Patwardhan, Esq., Lawyer.
Moreshwar Vasudeo Sathe, Esq., Lawyer.
Vinayek Narayan Apte, Esq , Merchant.
Vaman Mahadeo Lele, Esq.
Ganesh Moreshwar Sohoni, Esq
Krishnarao Purushotam Tilak, Esq

The following Resolutions were adopted at this Meeting.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide, and seconded by Rao Sahib Mahadev Ballal Namjoshi :

1. That this meeting do place on record, on behalf of the native public their emphatic approbation and grateful appreciation of the courageous efforts made by the present Government of Bombay and its officers, amidst unusual difficulties and discouragements, to probe to the bottom and eradicate the widespread corruption—which is traceable directly to the evil genius of a single English officer, who enjoyed the full confidence of Government—and which had been prevailing over two-thirds of the Presidency and remained unheeded for many years.

Proposed by Kashinath Parsharam Gadgil, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and seconded by Professor Bal Gangadher Tilak :

2 That this meeting wishes to record an expression of its opinion that unless the indemnity, solemnly guaranteed to the witnesses, who gave evidence before the inquiry officers in this case, is strictly respected and fulfilled in its integrity, without distinction, the result will be that the public faith in the plighted word of the British Government will be destroyed, and the experiences of this case will hereafter render it absolutely impossible to bring to light any delinquencies and misconduct of European public functionaries—an evil fraught with danger to the future good government of India, compared with which any temporary inconvenience or difficulties, caused by factious opposition to the policy of faithful adherence to solemn promises, must undoubtedly count as a lesser evil; and that in a country like India the possible advantages of meeting out technical justice in deference to abstract principles will be dearly purchased at the sacrifice of the reliance of the people on the good faith and sanctity of Government promises by and to whomsoever given.

Proposed by Professor Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and seconded by Rao Sahib Kashinath Govind Natu :

3. That this meeting wishes to place on record its strong protest against the persistent and factious misrepresentations and perversion of facts by interested writers, whereby public opinion in England is being misled, and that the native public of India grieve to find some of the honourable members of Parliament, to whom India cannot be too grateful for their honest and disinterested efforts to see justice done in this country, allowing themselves to be influenced by such one-sided and incorrect representations.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING.

In response to the invitation issued by the Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha, an Association representing the Deccan, a large concourse of people assembled in the Khabuterkhana grounds, where a large Mandap was specially erected for the occasion. All the different communities of the city, such as Brahmins, Parbhus, Mahrattas, Gujerathis, Marwarees, Mussalmans, Borhas, &c., were numerousy represented, and the attendance was exceptionally large. Punctually at the time appointed for holding the meeting the Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha, read the requisition and called upon the gentlemen assembled to elect a Chairman and proceed with the business of the day. Thereupon the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh proposed that Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Laxuman Nulker, c.i.e., be elected Chairman. The proposition was duly seconded by Rao Bahadur Narayen Bhai Dandekar; and Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Laxuman Nulker took the chair amidst loud cheers. The CHAIRMAN then addressed the meeting to the following effect :—

Gentlemen,—We have met here, this evening, to record certain facts, opinions, and protests, in connection with the different developments of what is known as the Crawford case. Let me remind you at the outset that this meeting was being thought of for a considerable time back, and was finally arranged for some days ago, before the receipt of the latest telegrams from England which speak of dismissals with compensation. This meeting, therefore, is, in no way, the outcome of those telegrams, though they may be fitly discussed in the course of the proceedings. Now, then, as regards the main question before us. I would put it this way: How was it possible for a single European to involve scores, nay perhaps hundreds, of natives in the meshes of his nefarious designs? If we would trace back this strange phenomenon to its original cause or causes, we must glance, however cursorily, over the history and characteristics of the respective countries and their people. We, as an Eastern nation, have, for long centuries, been undergoing

a decadence, until, at last, we became incapable of self-help and fell an easy prey before successive conquerors. Among the duties benevolently undertaken by our present rulers, from the earliest times, were the raising of the inhabitants of India to the higher level of European civilization; and the protection of the weak against the strong and powerful. It is needless to say that India hailed these valuable blessings with unbounded joy. (Cheers.) The full accomplishment of the former object, however, must necessarily be slow and gradual, occupying perhaps centuries. The latter duty—namely, of protecting the weak against the strong—it must be acknowledged with gratitude, has been fully attended to so far at least as the mutual jealousies and struggles between the natives themselves are concerned. Where the interests of the Indian clashed with those belonging to the ruling race, it must be confessed with sorrow, the success of the principle of protection of the weak against the strong has been of a varied character. Among the instances of this uncertainty of success, the occasion which has brought us together this evening, testifies to the truth of this complaint. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I do not for a moment wish to lay the entire blame for this lamentable state of things against what I call the stronger side. No one can know it better, or feel it more keenly than I have always done, that it is due to our own defects of character, want of public spirit, and absence of stubborn self-assertiveness and fearless resistance against tyranny and oppression. But the question I would ask is—Have our rulers taken sufficient precautions to prevent advantage being taken by members of the ruling race of this helplessness of the ruled?

What is the real moral, which the history of this Crawford case teaches the rulers and the ruled? It is this—that it is well-nigh hopeless for the ruled to expect prompt and ready justice against a powerful and influential member of the ruling race; and therefore England cannot too jealously guard against the weak being crushed by the strong when the race jealousy is once roused in the breast of the Anglo-Indian party. Have we received this protection, in the present instance, from the British Parliament, to which we have a right to look as the ultimate tribunal of justice? We have not. The machinations of a

handful of unscrupulous men both here and in England have hitherto succeeded in diverting the attention of the British public from the true issues which are involved in the case. The result is that not only has the weak to go to the wall, but the implicit faith of the natives in the honour and sanctity of solemn promises of the British Government—one of the main pillars of the British power in England—is threatened with annihilation. (Cheers.) What is the true history of this Crawford case? One single Englishman, belonging to one of the most honourable public services the world has ever produced, gets demoralised and sinks down into the abyss of immoralities step by step and year by year, the scandal is openly talked in the native bazaars and in Anglo-Indian circles, the local Government first disbelieves reports, and when these take specific shape in the native press, connives at them and even seeks to suppress the scandal by ready acceptance of an obviously insincere apology from a native Editor. When, at last, a Government, strong in its convictions and sense of duty, takes up the difficult and invidious task, made more difficult by the *laches* of its predecessors, and prosecutes the inquiry energetically, a howl is raised against it both in India and in England, and even some members of Parliament are found to have the temerity to accept readily all the misrepresentations and perversions of facts put forward by interested countrymen of the accused, and all these parties act as if they would vie with each other in thwarting the local Government from doing their difficult duty, instead of thanking that Government for having shown the extraordinary moral courage to bring into light unheard-of iniquities in most unlooked-for quarters, which had been blackening the British name all over the Bombay Presidency. (Cheers.) For this phase of the story again, gentlemen, our own characteristic weakness is partly to blame. Have we not hitherto failed to do our duty to ourselves by placing timely before the British public the true facts and circumstances of the case, as early and as persistently as our enemies have done? Had we not the advantages of a just cause on our side while our adversaries had nothing but abuse and mis-statements to hurl against us? On the other hand, however, it must be

remembered that we had peculiar difficulties to contend against. We had no powerful public organs here, and none in England, to take up our cause in such conflicts, and we allowed ourselves to be misled by our implicit confidence that the local Government would succeed in pleading before the responsible home authorities the cause of justice, and of the purification of the public service from systematic corruption. We never dreamed that the unrighteous agitation of interested parties would win the day by deceiving and inducing the authorities in England to throw over their local representatives while the latter were trying to perform an arduous duty and thereby save the honour and fair name of Englishmen in India which was being dragged through dirt by one of them for many years. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, our present appeal is perhaps too late so far as the Parliamentary opposition is concerned, but it may be permitted to us to hope that the Secretary of State may yet carefully study the case with the light we are trying to throw on it, and may make up his mind to support the Government of Bombay in upholding British honour by fully carrying out its original policy of a thorough clearing and purification of the administration, which had become impossible without the grant of the widest possible indemnity to the witnesses who were to give evidence against the powerful accused. Therefore, better late than never. I will not detain you much longer. But there are one or two points which deserve mention. The question has been put to me by some of the highest officers of Government, why was it that none of the native sufferers, under such a gigantic system of corruption, ever went to their Collector to complain of it? The only reply I could make to such a question was the counter-question: How was it that so many able and talented members of the Civil Service, a veritable *corps de elite* of the Indian Services, who are specially trained in every detail of the administration, who enjoy peculiar facilities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Indian languages, who pass the prime of their lives in the districts in the midst of the native communities, whose inner lives and habits of thought they are expected to know—how was it, I asked, that those gentlemen, with rare opportunities of winning the confidence of the natives,

failed to acquire a sufficient knowledge of what had been daily passing around them? Gentlemen, the reason is not far to seek. There is still, unfortunately, a wide gulf which separates the natives and Europeans in this country, as regards mutual sympathies and confidence in each other. This is to some extent inevitable under present circumstances. Natural timidity and distrust on the one side, and on the other side the pride of race superiority and impatience to tolerate any aspersion against one of their own race cast by anyone belonging to the subject race, must be accepted as among the causes of the silent suffering on the one hand, and the failure to command confidence on the other. I know an instance of a member of the Government losing his temper when a native friend who ordinarily enjoyed his full confidence informed him, in reply to a question, that there were rumours, generally believed in native society, that a certain high officer of the Government was corrupt. I remember a case in which the trial of a European officer for assaulting a native was seriously objected to by the head of his department on the ground that the prestige of Europeans serving in the district would suffer. Such instances are happily few, but they have the effect of deterring natives from informing against Europeans. But, while complaining of these grievances, we must not forget that this same pride of race superiority and indignation at the disgrace brought upon the good name of Englishmen in India by the spread of the Crawford scandal asserted itself for good, and led to the ultimate determination of the Bombay Government and its European officers to insist upon an inquiry being instituted; and as soon as this was known to the natives, they took courage and came forward to assist in the investigation. Thus, while the intense Englishism of our rulers and the consequent silence of the natives were partly answerable for the continuance of the scandal for many years, we have now to thank that same great national character, the vehement self-assertion of Englishmen, for the complete exposure of the system of organised corruption, by means of native assistance which had been hitherto timidly and distrustfully withheld. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I would only detain you to explain one more point, before we begin to con-

sider the resolutions. It has been said that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have the power of revision over the proceedings of the local Government, and Lord Cross has only exercised this power of revision with regard to the indemnity. We all admit such revisionary power. But it ought to be exercised in proper time. Every step taken by the local Government in the Crawford case had been reported to the higher authorities, in due course of business. The Government Resolution formally granting the indemnity on the 28th June, 1888, was part of the weekly reports of proceedings sent to England by each mail. The chief object of these weekly reports is to allow the Secretary of State an opportunity to exercise his revisionary power, if necessary. He could have advised the Bombay Government to withdraw the indemnity by telegram within three weeks of its date, and over two months before the Crawford Commission began its inquiry, and could thereby have avoided the present scandal which is immeasurably more dishonourable to the British reputation for honesty than any possible corruption in the Civil Service. (Cheers.) But such withdrawal would have amounted to a peremptory order to abandon the investigation into the charges against Mr. Crawford, and the Secretary of State did not then accept the responsibility of such an extreme step of interference. And now, after fully reaping the fruits of that indemnity, the Secretary of State, be it said with shame, seeks to practically set aside that indemnity in preference to boldly meeting ignorant and factious opposition in Parliament based on legal fictions and abstract principles. (Applause.) I beg, gentlemen, to apologise for detaining you so long, and now ask Rao Bahadur Vishna Moreshwar Bhide to read the first resolution.

Rao Bahadur VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE proposed:—

That this meeting do place on record, on behalf of the native public, their emphatic approbation and grateful appreciation of the courageous efforts made by the present Government of Bombay and its officers, amidst unusual difficulties and discouragements, to probe to the bottom and eradicate the widespread corruption which is directly traceable to the evil genius of a single English officer, who enjoyed the full confidence of Government, and which had been prevailing over two-thirds of the Presidency, and remained unheeded for many years.

He said :— Mr. President and Gentlemen,— The resolution which I have been asked to propose will, I am fully persuaded, meet with the hearty approval of this large, influential, and representative, meeting. It deals with a subject which occupied our attention during the whole of the last year. The prosecution of Mr. Crawford was a most arduous and difficult task, and the Government of Bombay, therefore, deserve our most sincere thanks for having undertaken it and carrying it through to a successful close. Depict to your mind the position which Mr. Crawford occupied. A Bombay civilian of more than thirty-four years' standing, the most senior officer in service who held the position of a Commissioner of Revenue of a Division—a position inferior only to that of the Governor and his Councillors and the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court at Bombay—charged with corruption and abuse of his trust, was not easily to be removed. He was, as we all know, an officer of very superior talents and abilities, which worked wonders, and he had done great service to the State. He possessed a large and influential circle of friends here, as well as in England, willing and ready to assist him in case of necessity with their might and main. It was such an officer that the Bombay Government had to deal with. To prosecute and bring to justice a person of Mr. Crawford's abilities on charges of reckless, long-continued, and extreme indebtedness, and widely-rumoured corruption; you will, I am sure, all admit, was a task of no common difficulty—a task from which some of the previous Governors shrank back in despair. Such a task was undertaken and, I may say, brought to a successful issue by the present Government amidst much discouragement and factious opposition, and amidst gross misrepresentations of facts and intentions. There were those who thought that the prestige of Government and of the Civil Service was involved in the matter and that it would not do to allow the law its full operation against such an officer. The Government of Bombay did not allow itself to be swayed from its sense of rectitude. It held it to be its supreme duty to allow justice to have its course irrespective of race or creed, and throughout it sought only to do its duty manfully and in the true interest of the British rule and

the happiness of the people. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, you are all aware that Mr. Crawford's influence was so great that though he had to run away from Bombay in 1872, the Government twice interfered in his favour and made arrangements with his creditors for the payment of his enormous debts. The arrangement left him a very small amount of his salary, and as he would not give up his old extravagance he had to go on borrowing at enormous rates of interest from whomsoever he could. This was well-known to Government, yet he was posted to high offices and promoted to the highest post in the service. By the last arrangement, made in 1884, Mr. Crawford was to receive out of his pay only Rs. 600 for his personal monthly expenditure. But what his actual expenses were is a fact well known to all. The style of his living, his bungalow, his garden, horses, carriages, and other sundries too numerous to mention, are well known to us all. Where, then, could the money required to maintain such magnificence come from? The question is answered by the mass of evidence produced before the Commission. But the collection of evidence in cases of corruption, as you all know, is always an extremely difficult task. Twice before attempts at exposure failed; nobody would venture. To attain the object the Government had in view, viz., the purification of the revenue administration, Government, therefore, found it necessary to suspend him from office and grant an indemnity. This action of the Government exposed it to renewed attacks from different quarters. Rumours were spread by interested and misinformed parties, here as well as in England, and the Bombay Government had coolly to withstand the ungenerous and uncharitable imputations made upon them, as their official position prevented them from giving a reply. Finally, even when these tactics failed, Government were charged with having unduly and illegally favoured the Mamltdars by retaining them in service, though their evidence alone made it possible to secure Mr. Crawford's expulsion from the service. We are now met to express our sense of the action which has been forced on the local Government by the higher authorities yielding too weakly to a misinformed public opinion. The Bombay Government thus had and has yet to face these thrice three-fold difficulties;

it has done its duty with unflinching and unprecedented firmness, and that entitles it to our heartfelt gratitude. (Cheers.) I am glad to say, gentlemen, that public opinion in England is gradually undergoing a change as the real facts of Mr. Crawford's case are becoming known. We find that the Secretary of State has recently declared in Parliament that he has full confidence in Lord Reay's Government, and the time, I believe, is not far distant when the immense service which has been rendered to the cause of righteous government will be universally acknowledged. Thanking, therefore, again heartily, Lord Reay and the gentlemen who have courageously assisted him, I beg to propose for your acceptance the proposition I have just read.

RAO SAHIB MAHADEV BAL LAL NAMJOSI, in seconding the resolution, spoke in Marathi to the following effect:—The requisition just read is, as you know, signed by the principal leading gentlemen representing the different communities of this town, and contains the essence of the several important resolutions that will be moved to-day for your acceptance. I think I am justified in saying, therefore, that the resolution which I have the pleasure of seconding has the approval of many gentlemen of light and leading, and that it, therefore, lightens my task considerably that I am not put to the necessity of speaking at any great length in support of this proposition. The Crawford case, gentlemen, will long be remembered by most of us for various reasons. In the first place, so many of our men have become involved therein that it would be no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a community which can claim freedom from the taint. We must and do feel the disgrace which attaches to the scandalous disclosures made in this most unfortunate affair. It would have been all the better for us if such a state of things had not come into existence. But that is now a vain wish, and all that we can do is to take a lesson from past experience and avoid such pitfalls in future. There may be some men among us who, in their heart of hearts, believe that the painful disclosures of the past year ought to have been avoided; that it would have been better to hush up the whole thing. But, gentlemen, I am not

one of this class of thinkers, nor do I believe any other of the hundred and odd gentlemen, who have signed the requisition, is of that mind. We think that the disclosures, however inconvenient they may be to us in the immediate present and future, however humiliating they may be to us, and however regrettable, I think you will all agree with me in holding that ultimately these disclosures must do us incalculable good. I believe and hope that they have taught us and Government a lesson which both of us will not be in a hurry to forget. We ought to learn more self-reliance, we ought to show greater independence, we ought to keep all our faith on high principles of honour and rectitude. (Cheers.) The Government, I hope, has now seen the evil effects of not keeping a strict watch upon its servants, whether European or native. The Government cannot but be impressed with the necessity of keeping touch with the subordinate service, of encouraging its servants to tread the right path, of helping the weak against the strong, of inspiring confidence in its justice and mercy among the public service. These are very valuable lessons, and but for the disclosures which have been made, they could hardly have been brought home to us. And these disclosures are all due to the prompt action taken by the present Government of Bombay in instituting an inquiry as soon as serious allegations were laid before them, due to the perseverance and firmness shown by that Government in carrying the inquiry to the end in spite of difficulties and discouragements which were of an almost overwhelming nature. (Cheers.) The scandal is known to have existed during the last two administrations. Complaints had appeared from time to time in the vernacular press of the Presidency. Some Government officials of high position had remonstrated with the Government in such a way as to enable them to understand how matters stood in one of the divisions, had but Government chosen to take the hint. But, alas! the hints were all thrown away. The complaints in the newspapers only brought down humiliation and discomfiture on the writers themselves. And thus the evil was allowed to spread itself. The canker of corruption had seized upon the very vitals of the public service, and there was fear that before long the system

would have spread to other branches of the administration and rendered the whole nauseous. But we have been preserved from such a state of things by the courage and firmness and high moral resolution of the present Government of Bombay. And we are assembled here to-day to convey to that Government our grateful sense and our just appreciation of the noble services thus rendered by that Government to the cause of the purity of the administration and in checking the growth of corruption before it could make its indelible mark upon the character of the public service of this part of the Presidency. (Cheers.) In discharging the praiseworthy task which the Government had set before itself, it had to contend against various difficulties and discouragements. In the first place, gentlemen, what a trying effort it must have cost Government to take the serious step of suspending a high Government official, who, with all his faults, was the ablest Civil Servant, whose official career had been highly distinguished, whose popularity among the European and native communities was certainly very great. Only a very high and exemplary sense of duty could have induced the Government to bring such serious charges against a public officer, a member of the glorious Civil Service of this country, and to institute a public inquiry into his conduct. The situation was rendered more trying, as the accusers of Mr. Crawford in this case were not his brothers of the Civil Service, but native officials, of high position, no doubt, but compared with that of Mr. Crawford, of but subordinate rank. But the Government of Bombay did not make such a distinction, and in that way, too, has laid us under a deep debt of obligation by showing that they were ready to trust in the word of natives, and thus indirectly vindicating the character of the native community against the false and malicious aspersions cast upon it by some interested parties. (Cheers.) I cannot conclude, gentlemen, without referring to one incident connected with this Crawford inquiry. It is now an open secret that Mr. Crawford's official conduct had formed the subject of inquiry under two preceding Governments. But on both occasions the inquiries ended in smoke. There was not in those times that earnestness, that single-mindedness of purpose, that

regard for the public weal, that respect for native public opinion, and above all that righteous sense of thorough performance of duty, howsoever unpleasant that may be, that have characterized the present Government of Bombay in upholding in this case the cause of justice and purity of administration. (Cheers.) With these few words, gentlemen, I beg to second the proposition moved by my friend Rao Bahadur Bhide.

SARDAR NAWAB ALI MARDAKHAN, an old Mahommedan nobleman of sixty, then rose up amidst loud cheers, and addressed the meeting in a vigorous and earnest speech in Hindustani. He was very well received, seeming to make a deep impression, while at times he was most humorous. He ridiculed the notion that indemnified Mamlatdars could have resisted the oppression and influence of a high officer, whom Government itself shrank from tackling, until Lord Reay, the present Governor Saheb Bahadur, took the matter in hand. He said that so long as the public and the Mamlatdars saw that the Government stood by Mr. Crawford and ignored all complaints made against him, they, the Mamlatdars, as loyal servants of Government, obeyed whatever orders Mr. Crawford gave them and parted with their money. But when it was known that Lord Réay Saheb Bahadur was in earnest for exposing the system of corruption, and asked them to tell the truth under a promise of complete immunity, the Mamlatdars did their duty in an equally loyal manner; and the speaker could not find any fault with them for behaving in that way. It has been the policy of the Sirkar Bahadur to give indemnity at such critical occasions. They did grant such an indemnity¹ to protect their officers and others for what the latter did at the time of the great Mutiny, and they do grant now and then pardon even to great criminals. The case of the Mamlatdars, in the opinion of the speaker, was certainly better than either, as he believed they committed no sin in obeying, as true servants, the wishes of their superior officer. The Nawab Saheb then cautioned the audience against placing implicit confidence in what some of

¹ Her Majesty's Amnesty and the Government of India's Act XXXIV of 1860

the Anglo-Indian journals said, as they were nothing more than so many shops for receiving news from anybody and everybody. He expressed his conviction that Government would never break the pledges given in this instance. For he well knew, by his long experience and his knowledge of the people, that the popularity and the stability of the British power in India rested solely upon the confidence which the people have in the British word of honour. The speaker further observed that it was because the people had faith in the promise of Government they came forward to assist Government in catching the "big tiger", and such a game would be impossible in future if that confidence be once shaken. The old nobleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN then put the proposition to the vote, and it was unanimously carried by acclamation. The Chairman then called upon Mr. Gadgil to propose the second resolution.

MR. KASHINATH PARSHRAM GADGIL then proposed the second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That this meeting wishes to record an expression of its opinion that unless the Indemnity solemnly guaranteed to the witnesses who gave evidence before the inquiry officers in this case is strictly respected and fulfilled in its integrity, without distinction, the result will be that the public faith in the plighted word of the British Government will be destroyed, and it will become hereafter absolutely impossible to bring to light any delinquencies and misconduct of European public functionaries—an evil fraught with danger to the future good government of India, compared with which any temporary inconvenience or difficulties, caused by factious opposition to the policy of faithful adherence to solemn promises, must count as a lesser evil, and that in a country like India the possible advantages of meting out technical justice in deference to abstract principles will be dearly purchased at the sacrifice of the reliance of the people in the good faith and sanctity of Government promises by and to whomsoever given."

He said:—Gentlemen,—Before I formally propose the resolution which has been entrusted to me, I wish to make a few observations regarding the subject of that resolution. Every one knows that Mr. Crawford is gone, that he is no longer a member of the Covenanted Civil Service of this Presidency, that an organised system of corruption and tyranny, of which he was the author and the head, has been destroyed, and that the good name and fair fame of the British Government

have been re-established. It cannot be denied that the credit of achieving such a result is due to the present Government of Bombay; but it is equally indisputable that the Mamlatdars, who materially contributed, by giving evidence, to bring about this result, are entitled to the thanks both of the Government and the public. (Cheers). If they had not given their testimony, and thus at a great personal risk to themselves enabled the Government to put down the systematic corruption, it would have been as powerless as the preceding Governments were. The country owes a debt of gratitude to these Mamlatdars. Now, under what circumstances did they give their testimony? They gave their testimony under the solemn word of the accredited agent of our Sovereign. That word assured them that they would be protected from the penal consequences of their participation in the nefarious deeds of Mr. Crawford; not only that they would be protected from criminal prosecutions, but that word furthermore assured them that they would not suffer in pay, in position, or in their future prospects, if they made full disclosures. Relying on these pledges the Mamlatdars have given evidence before the inquiry officers and before the Commission, not even omitting to testify to their own part in the affair. And what is the consequence? They have incurred an amount of obloquy, disgrace, and relentless attacks of the public and the press in England and in this country. In addition to this, they are to be selected—at all events some of them are to be selected—for punishments, either by degradation, by dismissal, or by deprivation of judicial powers. Is this fair, is this equitable, is this just, is this politic? I ask. I am sure there will only be one answer to this query, and that answer is “No”. (Cheers.) If one turns over any impartially-written history of the progress of the British Empire in the East he will find ample evidence of the fact that British pristine virtues have not played a small part in consolidating British power in India. Faith in an Englishman's word has been so great that if it is once permitted to be shaken, it will lead to very disastrous consequences to the good government of the country. It will destroy all confidence in the word of an Englishman; it might launch Government into possible embarrassment in its other relations and might hold out an

encouragement to other servants of the Crown who might be inclined to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Crawford. It must not be supposed that I insinuate anything derogatory to the public service of the country. On the contrary I have much pleasure in bearing testimony, so far as my opportunities allow me to do so, to the high character and absolute purity of the Civil Service of the country as a whole. But if the plighted word to the Mamlatdars is broken, it will undoubtedly hold out an inducement to others to follow a similar career, with a belief in the absolute security from exposure. From this point of view, to break faith with them is highly impolitic. Is it equitable and just? Mr. Crawford was in charge of the Southern Division. His reputation for corruption while in charge of that Division was as bad as it was while he was in charge of the Central Division. If some officials in the Southern Division have become victims to his system, which he is alleged to have established there, they escape this general condemnation, because they cannot be reached, and because they have not confessed their deeds or misdeeds. The only sin of the Mamlatdars, who are now to be selected for punishment, is that they have made a clean breast of affairs they were concerned in, under the solemn guarantee of the Government. In a country like India, where a system of corruption and extortion was carried on by a man of such ability, energy, and position as Mr. Crawford, whom even the two preceding Governments could not touch, it is no wonder that some educated natives became willing or unwilling victims of that system, when it is borne in mind that in a civilized country like England men of eminence such as the Masters of the Rolls and others could not resist the temptation of purchasing appointments when Lord Macclesfield was Lord High Chancellor of England. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I feel sure that there will not be a single dissentient voice when I say that the indemnity given to the Mamlatdars by the Government should be respected in its full integrity.

Professor BAL GANGADHER TILAK, in seconding the resolution, said: Gentlemen,—Before seconding the proposition now proposed by my learned friend Mr. Gadgil, I request your attention to a few important points essential to a proper understanding of

the case. There is now no question as to the guarantee being given by the Government of Bombay. You may have all read its text in Mr. Ommanney's note. It runs as follows: "Mr. Ommanney is empowered to promise immunity from prosecution to any person giving evidence, and in cases of payments for promotion or to obtain or avoid transfer may guarantee immunity from official or departmental punishment or loss, subject to the stipulation that the evidence given is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth".¹

This was in June, 1888. Five months after, when the Crawford trial was going on, certain interested journals, with the evident intention of discouraging the witnesses, reported that a Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the expediency of retaining the indemnified officers in Government service. Whereupon the Advocate-General, acting upon the instructions of Government, caused it to be publicly known that the report was "utterly devoid of foundation", and there was "no ground whatever for the statement concerning repudiation by Government of Mr. Ommanney's guarantee".² Gentlemen, the question now before us is whether the word of a British Governor so solemnly pledged and re-affirmed through the Advocate-General ought to be carried out in its entirety, or modified, or retracted. It is unnecessary here to see how far the witnesses have fulfilled the condition of the guarantee. On this point no better authority could be adduced than that of the Bombay Government itself. In paragraph 99 of the Minute of Sir Raymond West, concurred in by Lord Reay and his colleagues, the Hon. Member says: "There does not seem to be any ground for concluding that the witnesses have forfeited their indemnity by wilful falsehood or concealment. In particular instances, which may require a more exact enquiry, there may have been a failure in frankness, but the evidence appears generally to have been perfectly sincere. It has agreed remarkably with indisputable material facts. The pledges of the

¹ Crawford Blue Book, p. 252

² *Vide* Report of the Crawford Inquiry, Exhibits for the Defence, Ex. 334-5. P 256

Government to these witnesses must therefore be scrupulously fulfilled. There will be no danger to the public welfare from the course; there would be infinite danger and disgrace in any other."¹ When those who gave the guarantee have declared themselves in this way, I think it is simply a waste of time and energy to dwell any longer upon the deliberate misrepresentations on this point. I shall therefore proceed to the next point. It is alleged that though the guarantee has been given by the Government of Bombay, the Secretary of State or the Government of India, in exercise of their revisionary powers, can modify the same. I do not deny this. But I question if the Secretary of State or the Government of India can so exercise this power as to bring discredit on the British name. No one in the world can claim such authority. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Not even the august Parliament. If it can, therefore, be proved that the guarantee was rightly given, I think it necessarily follows that that guarantee must be maintained in its full integrity. This leads me to the consideration of another point urged by Mr. Justice Jardine in his learned judgment in the Sathe case. The opinion of the learned Judge is expressed as *obiter dictum*, that is, an opinion on a point not directly connected with the question at issue. Lawyers will tell you, gentlemen, that such an opinion carries less weight than a direct judgment. In the opinion of Mr. Justice Jardine a corrupt officer or one purchasing his office is disabled to hold office under Government. For an authority for this opinion we must go back to the reign of Edward VI., that is, so far back as 1552. (Laughter.) The Indian Penal Code says nothing on the point. But the learned Judge has pointed out that the statute of Edward VI. has been extended to India by 49 George III. c. 126, that is, I may tell you, in the year 1809, and that therefore the Mamlatdars in the Crawford case are disqualified to hold any office under Government. The statute has no doubt been extended to India, but I think it is still open to contention if the Mamlatdarships, in India, can, without straining the words, come under the category of offices mentioned in the statute of Edward VI. Granting, how-

¹ Crawford Blue Book, p. 154

ever, that Mr. Justice Jardine's interpretation is correct, the learned Judge, in my humble opinion, has omitted to consider the effect of the guarantee given by Government on the status of the Mamlatdars. But before I point out the effects of this omission, I must refer here to the oft-quoted case of Lord Macclesfield. It was a case of the same nature or perhaps worse than the Crawford scandal; and especially, as far as the indemnity is concerned, it affords an exact parallel to the present case, except that it was never thought of to repudiate the guarantee at the time; nor was it then ever alleged that the indemnity told unfavourably on the credibility of a witness. (Cheers.) Lord Macclesfield was the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in the reign of George I. (1725). This noble Lord had under him several subordinate officers called the Masters of the Rolls, whose duties, I may tell you, were partly ministerial and partly judicial. They were the trustees of the estates of widows, orphans, lunatics, and minors, and the money of the suitors was deposited with them. Thus you will see that part of their duties corresponded with those of the Nazirs of our Civil Courts, the Masters having in addition certain judicial powers. It was these Masterships in Chancery that Lord Macclesfield offered for sale. This corrupt and illegal practice was carried on for some years under the very eyes of the British Parliament, until, like the Crawford scandal, it grew "notorious and public and the persons at the bar well acquainted therewith."¹ Masterships were sold for five or six thousand guineas, or sometimes at a still higher price. You will naturally ask whence the Masters could give such large sums. The Mamlatdars on our side had, in most cases, to seek the assistance of the money-lender. But the Masters had no such difficulty. They helped themselves to the trust-money they held, and many a widow and orphan had to suffer for the avarice of the noble Lord High Chancellor. (Sensation.) The trust-money was invested at interest or given to goldsmiths, and the interest thus accruing together with a part of the principal, went into the pockets of these Masters of the Rolls.

¹ 16 How. St Tr. 802.

Then, too, there were Hanmantraos and Ashtekars to negotiate such bargains. (Laughter.) Price was fixed on every office, and haggling went on precisely in the same fashion as in the bargains struck on behalf of Mr. Crawford. Cottingham and Hiccocks were the agents employed, and all negotiations were carried on through them. It was of course impossible for such a state of things to continue for a long time. The deficits in the accounts exposed the gigantic system of corruption, and the House of Commons took up the matter for inquiry. The noble Lord attempted to throw a veil over his misdeeds by calling the Masters together and instructing them to manipulate accounts. But the attempt failed. And the Commons delegated some of their members to impeach the noble Lord at the bar of the House of Lords. The difficulty of procuring evidence against the Earl was, however, very great—as great—as that experienced by the Government of Bombay at the time the preliminary inquiries were being carried on in the Crawford case. The Masters were the best witnesses; but the statute of Edward VI. had sealed their lips. Nor could they be compelled to say anything that would involve them in criminal proceedings. Under the circumstances the Parliament had to follow the same course which the Government of Bombay did a year ago in granting indemnity to the witnesses. A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons “for indemnifying the Masters in Chancery from the penalties of the Act of the 5th and 6th years of King Edward VI. against buying and selling of offices upon their discovering what consideration, price, or gratuity they paid or agreed to pay for the purchase of or for their admission to their respective offices.”¹ You might think that this Bill must have evoked a good deal of discussion as to the puritanical principles of justice and equity. But I assure you that nothing of the kind was done. The Bill was “immediately read the first and second time and without going through a Committee ordered to be engrossed.”² Two days after it was passed into the Statute 11, Geo. I.,

¹ Cobbet's Parl History, Vol VIII, p 418.

² Cobbet's Parl History, vol. viii, p 419

c. 2. The Act having served its purpose and being intended for a special occasion, soon became obsolete, and was subsequently repealed in 1864. But its passing at one sitting in the House of Commons fully justifies the Government of Bombay in giving the indemnity under similar circumstances. It is all very well to say that corrupt Mamlatdars ought not to be retained in their offices. The rule is well suited for a moral text-book. But when we have to balance conflicting utilities we must be guided by such practical considerations as induced the House of Commons to extend the indemnity to all the Masters in Chancery. A precedent is always regarded in law as a better authority than mere abstract reasoning, and a precedent set deliberately by the House of Commons must carry with it still higher authority. It cannot be said that the Parliament was less careful of the purity of administration or public morals, when it granted the above indemnity, than some of the critics of the Government of Bombay now profess to be. These critics manage to forget the fact that without the guarantee vouchsafed by the Government of Bombay not a scrap of evidence could have been produced, and public morality would have suffered by the great scandal remaining unexposed. (Cheers.) I shall not take up your time by going into the details of the Crawford scandal. You all know that it was an open secret, widely talked of in the public markets. You all know how in 1872 Mr. Crawford, who was then the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, left that city stealthily in a closed vehicle, and started off to England, leaving behind him the Municipal affairs in hopeless confusion, and the Marwarees, his money-lenders, who had obtained writs against him, in great disappointment. When he returned after the expiry of his furlough, for so it was called, the Bombay Government, headed by Sir Philip Wodehouse, refused to admit him into the service unless he satisfied his numerous creditors. Nay, the Government was willing, for several "other reasons",¹ to see him employed, if possible, outside the Presidency. But the arrangement, it appears, could not be made, and to avoid

¹ *Vide* Report of the Crawford Inquiry Exhibits for the Defence Ex. 363, p. 269. The letter from Government to Mr. Crawford.

mischief, Mr. Crawford was posted to one of the smallest districts in the Presidency, after he had consented to an arrangement to satisfy his creditors. He was then transferred to Ratnagiri, his favourite district, as Mr. Baines calls it.¹ From this district he was appointed to the Commissionership of the Southern Division by Sir R. Temple, with the full consciousness that he required to be strictly watched.² The misdeeds of Mr. Crawford in this Division have been fully described in Government Reports and papers. Many a European Officer knew that the corruption was rife in that Division, but the influence of Mr. Crawford and the difficulty of procuring legal evidence was so great, that not one of them raised his voice against him. The late Mr. Watt, C.S., District Judge of Poona, had, it was said, collected some evidence, but his sad death left the matter where it was. Certain reports subsequently found their way into public print once or twice, but they were hushed up by obtaining insincere apologies.³ I believe you also know that the scandal was brought to the notice of Sir James Fergusson by influential European officers, but that nobleman had to give up the attempt of exposure on account of the difficulty of procuring legal evidence. You will thus see that a rampant evil was allowed to live unexposed for so many years, though it was openly talked of, like the Macclesfield scandal, on account of the difficulty of legally bringing the charge home to the offender. Under these circumstances, can there be any doubt that the present Government of Bombay, if it meant to eradicate the evil, could have acted otherwise than it did? There were two courses open before it, either to connive at the gigantic and organised system of corruption, as was done by its predecessors, or to boldly follow the example of Parliament and grant full indemnity to all who would disclose the truth. And who can say that it did not follow the right course? (Cheers.) The indemnity was thus a necessity, and without it, as remarked by the Hon. Sir R. West, it was impossible to arrive at the truth. In the Macclesfield case a Master who was in office before the

¹ Crawford Blue Book, p 286.

² *Vide* the *Bombay Gazette*, July 20th, 1888

³ *Vide* Mr. Ommanney's Note, Crawford's Blue Book, p. 272.

Indemnity Act was passed, and to whom the benefits of the Act could not in consequence be extended, refused to answer in the witness-box questions incriminating himself, and their Lordships held that he was justified in so doing.¹ The same would have been the case with the Mamlatdars without the guarantee, and no Court could have compelled them to incriminate themselves. It is true that the Masters in Chancery insisted upon having a legal Act indemnifying them, while the Mamlatdars were satisfied with the word of the Governor in Council. But once the necessity of an indemnity is admitted, this becomes a secondary question. The Mamlatdars could certainly have obtained a legal indemnity if, like the Masters, they had insisted upon such an enactment in the beginning. That they did not do so was due to their confidence in the word of Government, and it is their confidence in the plighted word of the accredited agent of Her Majesty that is now being abused. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I request you to mark the contrast carefully. The Masters, serving under officers of their own race and religion, did not give evidence until they were legally indemnified; while our Mamlatdars placed implicit confidence in the word of a British Governor, communicated to them through a subordinate officer, and for this act of confidence they are being sacrificed to the good will of interested partisans. Gentlemen, I need not tell you that such an act of confidence would have been impossible a generation ago; and many of the Conservative friends of the young Mamlatdars are already twitting them for casting away their advice. It is the growth of years, and it has taken seventy years of good British rule to beget it. Break faith now, and the prestige of the British rule for veracity will be gone, and hundred more years of good rule would not suffice to restore it. (Cheers.) It may be true that a High Court judge, looking at the question only from the legal point of view, cannot take notice of the guarantee given by the Executive Government, though it would have been fair and graceful on the part of the learned judge to recognise the right of Government to confer the guarantee in

¹ 16 Howell St Tr, p 1130.

such cases, and remark at the same time that for technical purposes steps should be taken to embody it in the Statute Book, as was done in the Macclesfield case. But we cannot allow the same latitude to the Secretary of State, who is bound to support the Government of Bombay. I was, therefore, surprised to find the Under Secretary of State throwing overboard the Government of Bombay, as he did in the recent debate in Parliament on Dr. Cameron's motion. If the Government of Bombay acted rightly in giving the guarantee, if it was necessary to do so in the higher interests of public morality and justice, and if their action was supported by a Parliamentary precedent, I think it is simply ridiculous to complain, and still more so to admit, that the guarantee given was unfortunately wide, or that it was a common practice in India to do so, and that discrimination between cases of extortion and voluntary bribes was necessary. (Cheers.) Not a single Master in Chancery would have given evidence if he knew that there was the slightest chance of the indemnity being subsequently modified. And is it, I ask, honourable to modify the indemnity in the present case when Government and even the Secretary of State have reaped the full advantage of the disclosures called forth by the indemnity? From what I have told you of the conduct of these Masters in Chancery, you may see that the "peccant" Mamlatdars are after all a great deal superior in morals to the former. (Cheers.) The Mamlatdars have at least committed no breach of trust; and if they have paid, they have paid not for purchasing the offices, but to avoid transfers to notoriously unhealthy places—transfers which sometimes proved fatal to life, and to obtain the rights to which they were justly entitled. And if the Masters of the Rolls were retained in office after a full confession of their misdeeds, how much greater reason there is that the guarantee given to the Mamlatdars should be faithfully observed. Recent telegrams from England have announced that the Secretary of State, while praising Lord Reay's Government, has directed them to discriminate between cases of extortion and voluntary bribes. A strange procedure indeed! To eulogise a Government for their intentions and in the same breath to modify their orders. (Cheers.) I cannot again understand how and where

the line of discrimination can be drawn. We all know that the Mamlatdars paid under a sense of helplessness, and in the belief that they could not escape the levy of black-mail, and that there was no way to get their just rights and promotion except through the means they used. Mr. Crawford's influence with Government was known to be extraordinary—so extraordinary that no one, European or Native, dared complain against him. A few did, but they had either to apologise or their complaints were returned by Government for submission through the proper channel, that is, through Mr. Crawford himself. Compromising letters of Mr. Crawford were once sent up to the Private Secretary to the Governor, only to find their way back to Mr. Crawford!¹ while the exposures in public papers were generally stifled by asking the publishers to sign insincere apologies under the penalty of prosecution. It was also believed that Sir James Fergusson's Government found itself unable to cope with the evil. These—and especially as you know the open and fearless way in which Hanmantrao carried on his business under the very eyes of Government—created a general belief that it was impossible to resist Mr. Crawford unless one was prepared to sacrifice all his worldly interests;² and once such a belief was created, the organised system of corruption came to be regarded as the order of the day, known to, but connived at by, successive Governments. It is impossible to lay too much stress upon this aspect of the question; and no one who does not know the position of a native subordinate official in this country can fully realise its importance. Here and there you might find a case of a person voluntarily taking advantage of the prevailing system. But, I ask if we have the means of finding out such cases? Under the orders of the Secretary of State, the Government of Bombay have tried to make such discrimination three times, and with three different results. First, six men were deprived of their magisterial powers; on second thoughts three of these were reinstated, while six new men were added to the list. A short time after ten more were deprived of their promotions, and three more of their

¹ See Mr. Ommanney's Note, Crawford Blue Book, p. 273.

² Crawford Blue Book, p. 126.

magisterial powers. (Laughter.) Under these circumstances I ask you, gentlemen, what guarantee there is that the fourth attempt would be final and satisfactory? I also ask you if it is fair to obtain information in confidence and under a promise of full indemnity and then to discriminate? If you obtain information independently, discriminate by all means. But when you could have obtained nothing without the guarantee, it is unfair to do so. It is said that as the public cannot have any confidence in the magistrates that have purchased their offices, they ought not to be retained in the service. I admit the principle; the statute of Edward VI was passed for the same purpose. But I ask why the Masters in Chancery were then retained in their offices. Surely if the Masters are to be considered as victims of extortion, the argument holds with greater force in the case of the Mamlatdars. I cannot, again, understand how the service can be purified by dismissing a few, when there are many others that are known to have paid, and who are now enjoying the rewards of their silence and distrust in Government. The fact is that we all know under what circumstances the Mamlatdars have paid, and we also know, as remarked by Sir R. West, and recommended by their immediate superiors, that there is no danger from keeping them in service. It will, therefore, be simply unjust to make the discrimination as directed by the Secretary of State. If a Mamlatdar is really corrupt, that is, for instance, if he is in the habit of taking bribes himself, let him be punished for it on independent grounds. But if British honesty is to have any value with the people hereafter, and if British Parliamentary precedents have any weight, no one ought to suffer for giving evidence, incriminating himself, on the strength of the plighted word of the Head of the Administration. (Cheers.) But suppose Government were to make a discrimination, how would Government protect those whose cases would, according to them, fall under extortion? The statute of Edward VI. recognises no such distinction. An Indemnity Act, therefore, is a necessity, and we have but recently been informed that the Government of India is about to bring such a measure before the Council. If such an Act is to be passed for fifteen persons, five more can surely be

included in it. Thus in the interests of the fair name of British justice and honor, and considering the deliberate precedent set by the House of Commons itself under exactly similar circumstances, there is, I think, no honourable course open to Government but to scrupulously fulfil the guarantee so solemnly given and to include in the proposed Indemnity Act all those who have, as remarked by the Hon. Sir R. West, helped the cause of public morality by exposing the widespread system of corruption in the Deccan. (Applause.)

Mr. TILAK here read the following extract from the Macclesfield case to show the exact resemblance that exists between the cases of the Master in Chancery and the Mamlatdar; (the extract is from the deposition of a Master of the Rolls, describing how he negotiated for his office):—

Thomas Bennet:—I was admitted the 1st of June, 1723; and before my admission, and as soon as I had agreed with Mr. Hiccocks my predecessor, I applied to Mr. Cottingham, and desired him, that he would acquaint my Lord Chancellor I had agreed with Mr. Hiccocks to succeed him in his office, and desired him to let me know my Lord Chancellor's thoughts whether he approved of me to succeed Mr. Hiccocks. Soon after that, I believe the next day, or a day after, he met me, and told me he had acquainted my lord with the message I sent; he said my lord expressed himself with a great deal of respect for my father, Mr. Serjeant Bennet, and he was glad of this opportunity to do me a favour and kindness, and he had no objection in the world to me: that was the answer Mr. Cottingham returned; he then mentioned there was a present expected, and he did not doubt but I knew that; I answered I had heard there was, and I was willing to do what was usual; I desired to know what it was that was expected, and what would be expected; he said he would name no sum, and he had the less reason to name a sum to me, because I had a brother a Master, and I was well acquainted with Mr. Godfrey who had recommended me, and I might apply to them, and they would tell me what was proper for me to offer. I told him upon that occasion I would consult my brother and Mr. Godfrey; accordingly I did, and I returned to Mr. Cottingham, and told him I had talked with them about it, and their opinion was a thousand pounds (but I believe I said I would not stand for guineas) was sufficient for me to offer. Upon this Mr. Cottingham shook his head, and said, That won't do, Mr. Bennet; you must be better advised: why, said I, won't that do, I think it is a noble present: says he, a great deal more has been given: says I, I am sure my brother did not give so much, nor Mr. Godfrey; and those persons you advised me to

consult with told me it was sufficient, and I desire you to acquaint my lord with the proposal : says he, I don't care to go with that proposal, you may find somebody else to go: says I, I don't know whom to apply to: says he further, Sure, Mr. Bennet, you won't go to lower the price (these were his very words, at least I am sure that was the meaning of them), I can assure you Mr. Kynaston gave 1,500 guineas. I said that was above three or four years ago, and since that time there have been several occasions of lowering the prices; the fall of stock hath lowered the value of money; and I think I mentioned Dormer's deficiency, and I did not know what the consequence of that might be; and therefore I thought, at this time of day, when stock and everything was fallen, a thousand guineas was more now than 1,500 when Mr. Kynaston gave it. He still insisted he did not care to go with that message. Says I, only acquaint my lord with it, and if my lord insist upon more, I will consider of it: says he, There is no haggling with my lord; if you refuse it, I don't know the consequence; he may resent it so far as not to admit you at all, and you may lose the office. Then I began to consider, and was loth to lose the office, and told him I would give £1,500; he said Mr. Kynaston had given guineas. Then I asked whether it must be in gold? He said, in what you will, so it be guineas. In a day or two after he came and told me that my lord was pleased to accept of me, and he should admit me as soon as opportunity served, and he would give me notice. He accordingly gives me notice about the latter end of May; he told me my lord had fixed a day for my admission, and my father and I went to my brother Bennet's, and took him up by the way, in order to pay our respects to my lord on that occasion. We had not been there long, but there was a message brought to my house, to let me know that my lord was very ill, and I could not be admitted; but I should know in a little time when I should: upon that I saw Mr. Cottingham afterwards, and I asked him how my lord did, and when I should be admitted: says he, I cannot fix the day; but be in readiness, and I shall send for you. Accordingly on the 1st of June, 1723, he sent, and desired me to come immediately, and to come alone, and bring nobody with me, for my lord would swear me in that morning. Accordingly, I went, and the first question Mr. Cottingham asked me was, if I had brought the money? I told him to be sure I should not come without it. He asked what it was in? I told him in Bank bills, two Bank bills, one of £1,000 and the other £575. He took them up, and carried them to my lord: he returned back, and told me my lord was ready to admit me. I was carried upstairs, and then sworn in his bedchamber.¹

The above extract appeared to move and amuse the audience

¹ 16 How. St Tr, pp 863-5

very much and created a deep impression. The speaker remarked that many other extracts of similar nature could be read out from the report of the case, but as it was getting late, he would not take the time of the meeting by reading them. He then formally seconded the proposition moved by the previous speaker.

Mr. RAMACHANDRA KESHAV LIMAYE moved an amendment to the foregoing proposition to the effect that for the words "in its full integrity, without distinction" the words "as far as may be consistent with the interests of public morality and justice" be substituted. In proposing the amendment Mr. Limaye, in a short speech, observed that public morality would be better preserved by distinguishing between the cases of several Mamlatdars than by observing the guarantee without distinction. The amendment was seconded by Mr. NAVALKER.

In putting to vote the amendment just proposed the CHAIRMAN said: "I wish to explain to you, gentlemen, the difference between the amendment and the substantive proposition. The former advises that a distinction be observed in practically allowing the benefit of the indemnity to a certain portion of the witnesses only, and for reasons given the same should now be denied to others, although that indemnity had been promised to all witnesses without any distinction. As to the legal difficulty in getting magisterial cases transferred from one Court to another, I do not think that it need arise as the necessary result of the full observance of the indemnity. It must also be borne in mind that the proposed resolution does not claim for any of the witnesses any specific appointments in the public service. A rigid fulfilment of the guarantee is not inconsistent with the free exercise of the power of Government to utilise the services of its officers in whatever post it chooses, in the interests of the public.

I now first put the amendment to your vote."

This was met with vociferous expressions of "No! No! No!" from all parts of the assembly, there being only three dissentients (in favour of the amendment) the proposer the seconder, and a third. The CHAIRMAN then declared

that the amendment was lost by the whole assembly against three.

The CHAIRMAN then put the substantive resolution to vote, and it was carried with acclamation.

Mr. DAYARAM TARACHAND, Merchant, addressed the audience on the importance of the Government word being kept in its full integrity. The speaker briefly pointed out that a word of honour is as important a factor in commerce as in the administration of a country. He did not understand much of the legal technicalities, but he assured the audience that he and his people knew this much, that if Government would break their word of honour in this respect there would be great fear of their dishonouring their promissory notes.

The CHAIRMAN then asked Professor Gokhale to read the third resolution.

Professor G. K. GOKHALE said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—the proposition that I have to place before you for your acceptance is this:—

“ That this meeting wishes to place on record its strong protest against the persistent and factious misrepresentations and perversion of facts by interested writers, whereby public opinion in England is being misled and that the native public of India grieve to find some of the Honourable Members of Parliament, to whom India cannot be too grateful for their honest and disinterested efforts to see justice done to this country, allowing themselves to be influenced by such one-sided and incorrect representations ”

You can easily understand how very necessary it is for us to place on record an expression of our opinion on this point. The misrepresentations of which we have reason to complain, and more than complain, have been so gross in their nature and have been made with so complete a disregard of all truthfulness and honesty that they have already done much mischief, and will continue to do more, unless we strenuously exert ourselves to expose their true character. Englishmen in England, who have at best very hazy ideas about Indian questions, seem unfortunately to have been even more misinformed than usual with regard to the inception, the scope, and the ultimate result of this Crawford inquiry. Sir, this misrepresentation has been the work mainly, I had almost said exclusively, of a few personal friends of Dr. Crawford in Bombay, a friend of these friends in

Calcutta, and a paper in London, which swallows with remarkable simplicity all the trash which the man in Calcutta sends to it. And the astonishing persistency with which the small band of traducers of Lord Reay has worked has been amply successful. Most hasty and erroneous opinions have been confidently expressed by almost the only public press of England. In deference to these opinions the Secretary of State for India has thought it necessary and proper to interfere, in what, I believe, to be a most unusual manner, with the freedom of action of the Bombay Government, which freedom was absolutely necessary for arriving at as satisfactory a solution as the very complicated nature of this affair admitted, and the result of all this has been that Government has now been landed in a position of almost inextricable difficulty. Well, sir, we all know, and I believe I have said it already, that the head-quarters of this misrepresentation have been in Bombay—I need not say they have been chiefly in the office of the *Times of India*. Sir William Harcourt, in speaking once of the representatives of the Universities, is reported to have said, If you have abuses to defend or good measures to abuse, you may rely on the Universities. And we know we here can say a similar thing of this *Times of India*—that if you have Anglo-Indian misconduct to defend, or natives and their sympathisers to abuse, you may rely on the *Times of India*. This paper has for a long time been proverbial for its hostility to native interests. It delights in the work of misrepresenting, denouncing, or in other ways prejudicing, every movement intended for the political advancement of our people. It loses no opportunity to cast foul aspersions on our character, and in the art of maligning those who sympathise with the growing aspirations of the natives it knows no superior. And it is evident that every one of these motives, joined to the equally powerful one of helping a friend in distress, operated in determining the attitude of this paper towards this inquiry. For here was gross Anglo-Indian misconduct standing in need of a defender. Here was an opportunity for taking sweet revenge on that “unpractical Radical Governor”, as I believe it once called him, for the kindly and sympathetic interest he has uniformly taken in our advancement, and here was also a chance not to be

thrown away for denouncing native morality and for making capital out of the disclosures made to prejudice our political claims. And the nice little story given to the public by the Hon. Mr. Mehta tells us with what a hearty will the paper went to this work of slander and misrepresentation—how even the permanent editor of the paper, on his return from England, stood aghast at the zeal of his *locum tenens* in the unholy cause. No epithet was considered too strong if it was to be applied to the Bombay Government, no term too contemptuous if it was to be used in connection with native morality, and no effort too unscrupulous if it was in any way likely to succeed in misleading public opinion, or increasing the difficulties in the path of the Bombay Government. I intended to give you some samples of the writings of this paper on this case. But there are so many passages claiming to be quoted that it is very difficult indeed to choose from among them, and as I may presume that most of you at least read the writings when they first appeared, I had better not attempt the task. But the mischief done by the *Times of India* by its vituperation was nothing compared with that done by the Calcutta correspondent of the *London Times*. The mendacity and the unscrupulousness of this man have been simply shocking to me, as they must have been to every one of you. Now, it so happens that the *London Times* is the only paper in England that has a permanent correspondent in India, and, consequently, although his hatred of natives and of those who sympathise with them or who expose Anglo-Indian delinquences is notorious, the English public have no other recourse but to depend upon the *Times* for Indian information, and thus the man occupies a position of great, but most undeserved, importance. (The speaker here quoted various telegrams in the *London Times* and said :) You will see how mischievous and misleading these telegrams are. Every fact favourable to the Bombay Government is carefully suppressed. Take, for instance, the Hanmantrao case. The decision of Mr. Vidal in this case furnished an important clue to a right understanding of the whole Crawford affair. And yet not one word was sent about that decision by this correspondent, although at times he has been even so particular as to telegraph

such trash as, for instance, the continuance of Mr. Forrest in a particular place. And now observe the mischief done by these disgraceful misrepresentations, perversions, and suppressions. The London *Times*, which it is the fashion to regard as the most leading paper in England, but which, whether leading or not, is at present certainly the most discredited one there, with pitiable gullibility, if nothing worse, accepted as gospel truth what its Indian Pigott sent to it, and made a most violent attack on the Bombay Government in its issue of the 20th of February. We, who are here, and who have all along been able to clearly see the difficult nature of the task of the Government, and who have all along been convinced that it was doing all that was in its power in the cause of justice and purity of administration can, of course, only laugh at so much display of ignorance and prejudice. But the effect of these misrepresentations on the English public was different. Other papers followed in the wake of the *Times*, and indulged in wild denunciations of the Bombay Government, and, with the exception of the *Scotchman* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, I am not aware of any paper in England—I use the term England in its wider sense—that ventured to put in a good word for Lord Reay. Sir, the impression made by these misrepresentations seems to have been too deep to be effaced even by the publication of papers calculated to throw a flood of light on the nefarious system such as Mr. Ommanney's note, Sir R. West's Minute, and others—papers which, in the opinion of the natives of this country at least, furnish ample justification for the conduct of the Government in every particular. Take, for instance, the debate which took place on the 19th July, in the House of Commons, on Dr. Cameron's motion about the retention of the Mamlatdars. Even Mr. Bradlaugh, than whom the natives of India have no more sincere or disinterested friend, possibly acting on impressions formed from time to time and for want of better information, took an attitude which seemed unfavourable to the Government of Bombay. I am, however, quite sure that if he had been aware of the real nature of this Crawford affair with its many off-shoots, he would have been as warm as Professor Bryce or Sir G. Campbell in eulogising the conduct of the Bombay

Government. Similarly Dr. Cameron—(I will not say anything about Mr. Baumann; for he appears to be a mere tool in the hands of designing persons)—I say even Dr. Cameron, good Radical that he is, would have had nothing but praise for Lord Reay, if he had understood how absolutely necessary it was to promise the indemnities for extirpating á huge system of corruption. But the wrong impression which he seems to have received at the beginning unfortunately led him to draw up an indictment against the Bombay Government in a manner which indicated at least great carelessness. Take, for instance, his reference to the Chowbal case. You will see that Dr. Cameron does not seem to have himself understood a word of what he said. All this shows how successful misrepresentation has been. So far I have endeavoured to deal with the very important question of perversion of facts and the mischief it has done. Before I conclude, I am anxious to say a word about a case which is being at present persistently made against us. Advantage is being taken in certain quarters of the revelations in the Crawford case, and it is being asserted that the natives of this country are men of decidedly low morals. Sir, it is not my purpose to consider here how far Anglo-Indians can twit us on the score of superior morality in general. But, so far as this Crawford inquiry is concerned, it is not for these persons, who are themselves living in glass houses, to throw stones at us. For I, for one, do not think that they have displayed in this affair any very extraordinary standard of morality. Anglo-Indians have themselves declared that for the last ten years and more they were hearing persistent rumours of Mr. Crawford's corruption. Of the so many Assistant Collectors and Collectors, and other European officials that have been in this Presidency during the last ten years, how many will stand forth and declare before God and man that they were unaware of Mr. Crawford's practices? And if these men, who had really to suffer nothing at the hands of Mr. Crawford, were content to leave matters alone, and thus allow corruption to spread before their very eyes, is it impossible, Sir, to understand how so many native officials, not naturally inclined to be corrupt, should have succumbed to the system of terrorism and extortion set up

almost publicly by an officer who could have, if he had pleased, ruined them in a minute? It is, no doubt, sad that they should have fallen. But they were average mortals, and thought more of their families than of a rigid standard of morality. It should also be remembered that it was, after all, a native officer who had the courage to approach Government with a well-formulated indictment, against Mr. Crawford. It should also be borne in mind that if veracity and truthfulness have not ceased to be virtues, the claims of those who are the loudest in denouncing the natives to a superior standard of morality must be rejected. In my opinion it is unwarrantable to draw any general conclusions from this Crawford case. But if, unfortunately, they are to be drawn, let them be drawn in a fair manner, and I am afraid no community will have cause for rejoicing. One word more, Sir, before I sit down. It is very painful that the necessity for such a meeting as this should have arisen. Our English friends should understand that in the interests of India and England alike the Government of this country ought to be carried on with absolute impartiality. They may have won this Empire by force; they may have won it by fraud; but howsoever won—it is not my business, nor will it be of any use, to go into the question here—in order that it should be preserved, its Government ought to be seated on the high pedestal of truth and fair play. Sir, if our English friends will kindly disabuse their minds of all bias against us, if they will take a calm and a dispassionate view of everything, if sentiment will give way to reason, then they will find that in treating the natives of this country with courtesy, consideration, and equality, consists the best safeguard of the British rule. But if, on the other hand, they will be so short-sighted as to think that their interests and ours must always conflict, that every step gained by us is one lost by them, and if in consequence they will raise every opportunity to traduce our nation and even calumniate their own high-souled countrymen—then they will be doing a very grievous harm indeed to their empire over this land. Sir, Lord Reay has suffered much at the hands of these people. But he has presented to us a glorious spectacle of noble courage and a scrupulous sense of duty. He has laboured in the cause of

justice and purity of administration in the midst of calumny and contumely, amid the unscrupulous attacks of open enemies and the dark stabs of false friends, and though he has not till now received any appreciable recognition of his splendid services at the hands of his countrymen, he need not despair of ultimately receiving that reward which is his due. For, Sir, I am confident that history will record its unerring verdict in his Lordship's favour. I am sure that posterity at least will do him justice. It will be said that he personally struggled for removing a foul stain from the brow of England. It will be said that he did this work amid difficulties which might have daunted a stouter man; and, Sir, when all of us who are at present on the scene shall have been added to the great majority, and when the names of the present traducers of his Lordship shall have been forgotten and break no more on the ear of men, his Lordship's memory will be cherished with feelings of deep gratitude and affection, not only by the people of this country, but also by his countrymen in England, for his noble exertion in a sacred cause.

RAO SAHIB KASHINATH GOVIND NATU, in seconding the proposition, said:—"Gentlemen,—In seconding this third proposition, I must confine myself to what the mover of this proposition did. Owing to want of time, he could scarcely say all that he had to say and had to finish before he came to the end. Following this rule I can do no more than simply express my formal approbation of the proposition and resume my seat. But I am prepared to be scolded for trespassing upon your valuable time, and I will not retire until I have said a word or two on the subject. Fear not lest I should inflict a long speech upon you at this late hour. Gentlemen, the destinies of India are in the hands of the English public, and it is of the utmost consequence to see how they shape those destinies. The English people are a straightforward nation. They have a peculiar aptitude for rendering justice to those who lay their grievances before them. What is needed is a plain fair statement of facts. It cannot be denied that India has had a great many grievances, and that some of them may be such as do no great honour to the English nation. But at the same time it must be remembered that the whole blame cannot be

laid at their doors. Have we done all that needs be done? Have we sent our delegates to them to give them a correct idea of how it fares with us? Have we placed sufficient materials in the hands of those who advocate our cause in Parliament? Separated by a distance of thousands of miles of land and water, the English public have but a very hazy notion of what goes on here. They are extremely anxious to know the truth. But what avails their anxiety when nature and designing man conspire as it were to keep England in utter darkness as to the real state of things in India? No sooner does England know as to what India suffers from at the hands of those who are deputed to govern her than she is roused with a becoming indignation and sets right wrongs with the iron hand of justice, even when they are found in the highest tribunals. The British Parliament is a power which is second to none, and is ever prepared to dispense justice. All that we must do is to place facts before the members in a clear and lucid manner. Gentlemen, whether this sweet home of ours is to remain for ever in abject thralldom; whether we, its inmates, are to be branded with ignominy, or whether we are to rise high in the scale of nations and aspire to stand side by side in greatness and goodness with our rulers, necessarily depends upon the sort of character we possess, and the impressions which that character makes upon the English public. The true wishes of the British people in respect to India are very briefly embodied in the poetical lines of the poet Cowper, written many years ago. He asks, "Is India free or do we grind her still?" We cannot, therefore, be too careful to see, firstly, how we act, and secondly, how our actions are reported to our rulers at home. While I have most emphatically depicted before you the general character of the British nation, I should be wanting in accuracy and precision if I did not tell you at the same time that there are some who, sharing more of the Devil's qualities, are always busy in sowing thorns and brambles where only wheat ought to grow. There is a selfish desire in them to appropriate all the goodness to themselves and cast slur upon others merely because their skins are differently coloured and they own a separate nationality. It is their labour of love to spread strife and dissension, whether "doing

or suffering". While the torrent of truth is running along with irresistible impetuosity, it does not allow the sedge of falsehood to obstruct its course, but roots it out and carries it into the endless ocean. But when the current subsides, and when in places it ceases to flow altogether, it is then that the sedge grows rampant. It is then that it becomes capable of doing mischief. It is then that innocence suffers most. England and India, as I have already said, being separated from each other by mountains and oceans, the quantum of truth that travels over such a large area naturally suffers in size and strength, and then the story-tellers who have facilities of communication get the better of innocence and succeed in wearing a cobweb of lies upon the minds of those who happen to be the most important factors in shaping the destinies of this vast empire. Then every one who comes in contact with these men catches the contagion and decries Indian morality and Indian subjects. This is emphatically the case in regard to the subject I am about to allude to presently. You know, gentlemen, the great Crawford case. Being my own countrymen, you had better opportunities of knowing the truth, and you are perfectly well aware of what was what, and yet mark what is taking place in England. Under pretext of Indian news, truth has been most ruthlessly twisted and distorted, and writers, whose solemn duty to the public requires thorough candour on their part, have by wilful misrepresentations successfully tried to mislead public opinion in England. I shall give a few instances. While casting a glance at the Parliamentary debates, we find Chowbal who was only a chitnis (first clerk) transformed into a judge. He was never a judge. He had not the judication of the Bahadur Wadi Deshmukh case in his hands. What at the most he did or must have done is to have read the papers in the case to his official superior, and perhaps expressed an opinion on their merits. Government eventually came to a conclusion which happily coincides with Chowbal's opinion, and yet we are told that he was a judge and practised corruption in delivering his judgment. If our friends in England thus judge non-judges and unjudge judges, it is highly probable they may make anything of anything. Thus by a dint of misrepresentation the chitnis Chowbal

is made judge Chowbal and is put down in the category of *specific cases of corruption*, when this is really a case of *specific misrepresentation*. But, gentlemen, this is not all. We all know in this country that he who can raise a sum without security passes for a man of credit and influence. To require one to furnish security for the performance of a certain promise is on the very face of it a very fair indication of the fact that we have no absolute faith in him. This is just the reason why criminals are bound to furnish security when they bind themselves to perform a promise. In fact, this is the very doctrine upon which the Christian scheme of redemption is based, and yet we are told in reference to Mr. Crawford's case, that because a certain witness got a loan from somebody without security he must have necessarily got it on his personally binding himself to repay the obligation a hundredfold when he will have got his promotion. Gentlemen, as a person that has had some acquaintance with the English mode of reasoning, I am constrained to believe that these conclusions were specifically set apart as a special indent upon common sense, for the purposes of this great Crawford case. Stupid as these conclusions may appear, they are swallowed, husks and all, by the English public. Was misrepresentation, my friends, ever more successful than now? I know I am tiring out your patience. The hour is far advanced, and you must be snapping your fingers at me. But if you are not willing to hear me for want of time, I beseech you, hear me, at least, in the interest of your aggrieved brethren, hear me at least on behalf of your country's cause. One or two things more, and I shall be done. Mark now another specimen of misrepresentation. Logicians will do well in putting this example to illustrate the fallacy of "Pro causa non causa." You all know that the Survey Department was created half a century ago, long before most of these "peccant" Mamlatdars were born. You also know that classers and measurers who are generally in receipt of small salaries frequently fall into the temptation of receiving small sums by way of illegal gratification. This is, however, coeval with the introduction of the department itself, and does not date from the peccancy of the Mamlatdars, and yet men have the audacity to show that this is a result abso-

lutely traceable to the retention of the "peccant" Mamlatdars in the service. So that by a sort of legal-fiction you are asked to believe that the peccancy of the Mamlatdars had a retrospective effect. Gentlemen, I ask you if misrepresentation had ever taken so monstrous a form and could any metaphysical magician call into existence formulas more misleading than these? Gentlemen, again, in almost every newspaper these unfortunate Mamlatdars have been honored with the appellation of "Corrupt Mamlatdars". Where, in the whole mass of evidence, do we find a single instance of any of these Mamlatdars having received a bribe in the official discharge of their duty? It is a misnomer to call them corrupt. As has been ably pointed out by those that spoke before me, these men *volens volens* had to yield to an organized system. Socrates drank poison and preferred death to retracting his principles. Daniel thought it a pleasure to be put into the lion's den rather than swerve from the path of duty, and martyrs have bled most nobly in the cause of religion. But neither Socrates, nor Daniel, nor martyrs represent average human nature. They were superhuman, and no sane man would ever gauge human actions by applying such high tests. The legislature, which is truly a body in whom stores of learning and wisdom rest, never adopts such a criterion to judge of human actions. They punish men for actions which an average man would pronounce as guilty. Viewing the question in this light, can we solemnly state that the Mamlatdars deserve the name of "Corrupt Mamlatdars," because they yielded to a temptation which none but Socrates or Plato could resist? There is another monster of a misrepresentation. A certain burnisher in the Bombay Arsenal was caught in the act of stealing some articles belonging to the arsenal. By a sudden stroke of the pen, this poor burnisher was metamorphosed into a barrister, and making him a Bombay barrister, all manner of attacks were made upon natives for dishonesty and what not. Do you think, gentlemen, that all this is an innocent joke? I shall shortly say how this joke has ended. Gentlemen, I am now soon coming to a close. While the Crawford trial was proceeding, do you remember how certain newspaper writers made themselves

generous and free in using such expressions as "the witness admitted; the witness confessed," and so forth? You are aware what a baneful effect in the minds of distant readers this has produced. As carriers of news from the very place where it originated, they were believed in distant quarters as Gospel truths. And yet what were they in reality? They were—that a witness admitted that he had a house, or a brother! Again in this great factory of misrepresentations, individual opinions were construed to be the judgments of Courts. Justice Jardine made a representation to the Bombay Government as to the validity of retaining the deponents in service. This was an individual protest, but, by a strange process, this was magnified into the judgment of a High Court, and the weight incidental to such judgments was allowed to be allotted to it. I might go on multiplying such instances to any length, but as I have kept you away from your evening meal, and have only supplied you with words rather than bread, I shall now conclude by saying that while such misrepresentations are gaining ground in a quarter which has the power of regulating our destinies, while the English public are ready to listen to us, while it is possible and practicable for us to communicate the correct state of matters through proper channels, and while duty calls upon us to be up and doing, gentlemen, it is our bounden duty to check the tide of these falsehoods and enter an emphatic protest against the actions of those evil-doers who have succeeded in poisoning the ears of the British public, in outwardly eulogizing, but practically calling into question, the administration of Lord Reay, in throwing a general slur upon Indian character, and finally in dismissing the truth tellers with a kick instead of rewarding them with a crown. With these few remarks I beg to resume my seat, and ask you to take thought over it.

The proposition was then put to vote and carried by acclamation.

After these resolutions were adopted a formal resolution was placed before the meeting for acceptance. It was as follows:

"The Chairman of the meeting be authorised to send copies of the proceedings for the information and consideration of the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the Government of Bombay."

The proposition was moved by RAO SAHEB MAHADEV BALLAL NAMJOSHI and seconded by Professor BAL GANGADHER TILAK and carried unanimously.

Dr. RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKER then rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his able conduct in the Chair. The motion was adopted with acclamation, and proceedings terminated, and the meeting dispersed after giving three hearty cheers to Lord Reay.

The proceedings were marked throughout with order, moderation, and great enthusiasm.



LETTER
TO,
SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., M.P.,
MEMBER
OF
THE PARLIAMENTARY INDIAN COMMITTEE,
ON
INDIAN REFORMS.
A
SÉQUEL

TO
A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GEORGE FRANCIS
HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, ON THE FAMINE POLICY
IN INDIA, AND THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO SECURE THE MATERIAL
WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.

BY
JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D.

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. Note.—As this Letter is partly intended for circulation among educated Indians, some remarks are included which would not otherwise be necessary.

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To

SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., M.P.,

SIR,

This Letter is addressed to you as a prominent member of the PARLIAMENTARY INDIAN COMMITTEE. Although India is not directly represented in Parliament, she has a few warm friends who do so *indirectly*. You have long taken a deep interest in the country. I remember meeting you in Bombay more than thirty years ago, when, as a young man, you came out during the cotton famine to inquire about the supply obtainable in India. Since then you have been the staunch "Friend of India." Other members of Parliament, of a similar spirit, might be named.

Years ago Macaulay said that an inquiry into a row at Covent Garden would excite more attention in Parliament than the most important question connected with India. Although the interest in the country is still far too slight, if the Indian Committee can bring forward any well-digested measures, "within the range of practical politics," they will secure the general support of the House. The object of this Letter is to endeavour to commend such to your notice. It is a Sequel to the accompanying "LETTER TO LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, ON THE FAMINE POLICY IN INDIA, AND THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO SECURE THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE."

India not to be made a party question.—This is most desirable. The Committee should be equally willing to support a Liberal or Conservative Government in measures for the benefit of India.

If the "Outs" pose as the friends of India, let the "Ins" take the wind out of their sails by conceding whatever is reasonable.

INCREASING DIFFICULTY OF GOVERNING INDIA.

At best, this is very great. The late Lord Randolph Churchill, addressing a meeting in England, thus stated the aim of English rule in India and the forces it had to encounter:—

"Your rule in India is, as it were, a sheet of oil spread over the surface, and keeping calm and quiet and unruffled by storms an immense and profound ocean of humanity. Underneath your rule are surging up the memories of good dynasties, all the fanaticism of rival creeds, all the baffled aspirations of many nationalities, and it is your most difficult task to give peace, individual security, and general prosperity to 250 millions of people who are affected by these powerful forces, to bind them and

weld them by the influence of your knowledge, your laws, your higher civilization, and in the process of time into one great united people."

Of late years the difficulty of governing India has been considerably increased. Some of the causes of this may be mentioned. They require to be fully known before intelligent action can be taken.

1. Misrepresentations of British Character and Rule.—

Mr. Allan Arthur, Chairman of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, said that the people

"Are being educated by some of the native papers to see nothing good in the present administration of the country, and everything that is bad in the members of the ruling race."*

Sir Henry Fowler lately said in Parliament :—

"It was my duty during the time I was Secretary for India to read the Native newspapers. I can assure the House that I never knew until I read some of these newspapers, what a bad man I was, what a bad Government I represented, and what a bad House this was; and when I say 'bad,' I am using a much milder adjective than was actually employed."

It must be confessed that some Englishmen are largely responsible for this state of things. Messrs. Strachey say that they

"Endeavour honestly and persistently to show that, in consequence of the wickedness or stupidity of our Government, India is in a state bordering on bankruptcy, that its people are becoming poorer and poorer, more and more miserable, more and more exposed to ruin and death by famine; that crushing taxation goes on constantly increasing; that an enormous and ruinous tribute is exacted from India to be spent in England."†

Great mischief was done by pamphlets on "The Spoliation of India" and "India Bleeding to Death." As might be supposed, they found ready echoes in the Indian press. If even Englishmen admitted such things, they must be true. The following are specimens. References might be given; but they are better omitted :—

"There are many good and virtuous English men and women. But we can most truthfully say that the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world."

"English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth. A century of Plunder! And now what has succeeded it? The 'Spoliation of India,' has it ceased? Certainly not. It is going on as vigorously as ever."

"English merchants have come here to turn a penny by fair means or foul. They are perfect masters of envy, intrigue, and malice."

"The enormous growth of foreign trade does not in the least indicate

* *Indian Messenger*, December 5th, 1897.

† *Finances and Public Works of India*, p 11.

growing prosperity in the condition of its people. . . . It simply indicates the indebtedness of India, and her growing material exhaustion."

"The increase in the import of gold and silver as a sign of the growing prosperity of the people is fallacious."

"It is by no means certain that the extension of railways has been an unmixed blessing to India; that it has not carried in its train effects that have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people."

"Our 'beneficent' Government takes to itself no less than 47 per cent of the produce (and) levies innumerable other contributions."

"India sends away 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, and this tribute, for which not a penny is received in return, as it has been said over and over again by competent writers, is one of the chief causes of India's poverty."

When Lord Mayo established an Agricultural Department, a Calcutta journal unveiled his motive: "Yes, new departments must be formed to open up a wider field for the extension of viceregal patronage."

Sir George Campbell sought to encourage athletic exercises among the feeble Bengalis. An Indian journal saw in this a crafty design against the higher education. The students would be so exhausted that when they went home, instead of taking to their books, they would lie down to rest!

Where benefits must be acknowledged, it is attempted to show that they are worthless. The British Government has given protection to property, but it has robbed the people of all they had, so that there is nothing left to protect.

Imitating Irish patriots, they "grind at the hurdy-gurdy of long-dead grievances and long-remedied wrongs."* The protective duty imposed in England on Indian fabrics about a century ago, is brought up again and again.

It may be asked, have the Anglo-Indian journals and Government made no attempts to correct such notions? They are easily disposed of. The journals in question are conducted by editors with "crude notions on economic subjects," and, withal, incorrigibly stupid. They are thus given up in despair:—

"There are empiric financiers who would have us believe that India is growing richer because her export trade is fast growing. With such it is useless to argue, because they fail to understand the true significance of the increased exports."

The attempts of Government or Indian Civilians to explain matters are equally fruitless. They only show

"By what distortion of facts and fallacious logic the boasts of the Indian bureaucracy have to be made to look plausible."

In Bengal, except among an intelligent minority, the journal

* Smiles on *Character*, p. 28.

which brags most of the "ancient glories of India" and panders most to race hatred, is considered the most patriotic. The late Mr. Manomohan Ghose remarked some time ago in Calcutta:—

"He felt a legitimate pride in the ancient civilization of India, but he was bound to say that an undue and exaggerated veneration for the past was doing a great deal of mischief. It was quite sickening to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting that the ancient civilization of India was superior far to that which Europe ever had."

The Indian Mirror, in 1874, thus described the character of the Vernacular Press:—

"Any one who will go through the weekly reports on the Native papers, cannot help thinking that in the current vocabulary of our contemporaries, education means the loss of respect for the Government; public spirit is synonymous with empty bluster; patriotism is hatred of Englishmen, and impartiality is gross abuse."

This disgraceful state of things led Lord Lytton's Government to pass the Vernacular Press Act, but it was repealed in a few years.

Intelligent thoughtful Indians condemn the attacks on European character. A correspondent thus writes to *The Indian Mirror*:—

"It pains me extremely to read some of the articles of the *Amrita Bazar Patrica*. The Editor of that paper, doubtless misguided by false notions of patriotism, has taken into his head of serving his country by heaping censures upon the character of the ruling race of the land. I shall not stop here to enquire into the justness or otherwise of such censures. Suffice it to say that even if they were true, the mode in which they have been expressed shows a spirit of hostility little calculated to reconcile the conquerors with the conquered. Such indiscreet, go-ahead effusions render the breach between the Europeans and the Natives still wider, and make those Englishmen who have really the welfare of India at their hearts think that their sympathy is wasted upon beings who do not possess a spark of gratitude in them."

Such journalists do not see that they are teaching their children a lesson which will be turned against themselves. Mr. Arthur says:—

"In the interests of the youth of India a healthier tone and a more moderate style of criticism might, with advantage, be cultivated by the editors of some native papers, who cannot fail to be, to a certain extent, the leaders of native public opinion."

The respect for parents and superiors, a conspicuous Indian virtue, is in danger of being lost.

The effects of misrepresentations* of English character and rule in India were recently painfully shown by the Bloomsbury

* Among them should be included the misrepresentations of Burke and others. The notice of them, by Sir H. S. Maine, is quoted under the next head.

meeting. The whole proceedings are reported in full in the Letter to Lord George Hamilton, but some quotations may be made.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Chairman, moved a Resolution containing the following indictment:—

“That this Conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom is of opinion that of all the evils and ‘terrible misery’ that India has been suffering for a century and-a-half, and of which the latest developments are the most deplorable famine and plague, arising from ever-increasing poverty. . . and the general insufficiency and inefficiency of the administration—of all these and many other minor evils the main cause is the unrighteous and un-British system of Government which produces an unceasing and ever-increasing bleeding of the country and which is maintained by a political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges unworthy of the British honour and name, and entirely in opposition to the British people and utterly in violation of acts and resolutions of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign. That unless the present unrighteous and un-British system of government is thoroughly reformed into a righteous and truly British system, destruction to India and disaster to the British Empire must be the inevitable result. . . . That, as a necessary immediate instalment of justice, a large proportion, if not the whole of the famine and plague expenditure, and the whole cost of the present unwise frontier war, must be met from the British Exchequer, remembering that England drains from India some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 every year.”

If merely one or two individuals had endorsed the charges of Mr. Naoroji, little significance could be attached to their opinion; but the meeting was a “Conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom,” held under the auspices of the “London Indian Society”—the supposed *élite* of Government Colleges. As the Resolution was “carried unanimously amidst considerable enthusiasm,” it may be inferred that the students regarded it as a faithful representation of the character of the English administration of India and its results. It is true that they were young, but this does not apply to their Chairman, the trusted adviser of the National Congress.

The students began by resenting “the absurd and ignorant cry of the disloyalty of the educated Indians,” and ended by proving it with their own lips, *so far as they are concerned*. Mr. J. N. Roy, one of the speakers, said, “Sedition was fermenting on all sides.” Dr. Mullick, another speaker said:—

“The British Government could not go on long in its present course with impunity. (Cries of ‘Down with it!’ and ‘Order!’) He believed if the people of India brought the generous people of England to a knowledge of the wrongs they had suffered, and the rights of which they had been deprived, the monstrous iniquity would end (Cheers.) Otherwise they might have another America in India, and another Boston Harbour in Bombay. (Loud cheers.) If they were united they might still have a bloodless Rannmede; but it must be obtained at all costs. (Cheers.)”

How all this comports with loyalty, it is difficult to conceive; but it is characteristic of Hindu thought to accept contradictories.

The Bloomsbury proceedings show that an influential section of educated Indians exhibit much the same feelings towards our character and rule as the American Irish. They also derive increased significance from the Press prosecutions of last year, and the manner in which they were received.

The influence on Englishmen is likewise injurious. Honourable men are apt to feel soured against those who hold them up as hypocrites, robbers, and swindlers. Feelings of contempt and antipathy are awakened in others.

The Indian Nation, one of the best of the Indian papers, says that the misrepresentations of English character and rule proceed from "race hatred—not disloyalty." It is alleged also that they "are really counterblasts to what has been said on the other side. The *Englishman* taunts the natives; the native press replies with equal rancour." January 10, 1898.

While great care is necessary on the part of Anglo-Indian journals not to give unnecessary offence, there is a false patriotism which resents all criticism. The feeling is thus described in the *Subodh Patrika*:—

"Patriotism is now taken to mean a blind praise of all that is ours, and a strong denunciation of all that is foreign. It matters not whether a custom is good or bad; it is ours, and we must praise it. A non-Hindu tells us what we should do; it matters not if he is right; he is not a Hindu, and he has no right to tell us what we should do.

"A people ruled by such ideas can never improve, and they are sure to work their own ruin by their own hands."

The policy of some journals is to

"Skin and film the ulcerous place."

The *Indu Prakash* lately blamed the Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade for not keeping silent on the faults of the nation.

No Indian perhaps has done more harm than Mr. DADABHAI NAOROL. He began well. While a professor in the Elphinstone College, Bombay, he was the zealous advocate of female education and other movements for good. He went to England in 1855 as a merchant, and, with the exception of occasional breaks, he has since resided there. When he was chosen member for Finsbury, he told the House that his election was worth the addition of ten thousand men to the Indian army! *The Overland Mail* thus notices the change which came over him when he lost his seat:—

"His is the rage of disappointed mediocrity and conceit. Finsbury found him out and discarded him. At first he was the smooth, oily-tongued advocate of reform, full of professions of loyalty. Now he is the angry sedition-monger, stirring up hatred and pandering to revolutionary passions among an excitable population."

Some of the assertions of Mr. Naoroji are absolutely untrue.

The *Indian Spectator* quotes the following as the opinion expressed by him in England :—

“ The speaker then proceeded to point out what he regarded as the cause of the poverty of India. He cited several authorities upon the subject, and showed it was simply that the employment of a foreign agency caused a large drain to the country, disabling it from saving any capital at all, and rendering it weaker and weaker every day, forcing it to resort to loans for its wants and becoming worse and worse in its economic condition.” Jan. 23, 1887.

So far from India not having saved “ any capital at all,” during the last fifty years she has absorbed gold and silver to the value of 500 crores of rupees, and the amount might have been much larger had it been profitably employed. In addition, she has been enriched by irrigation works, public buildings, &c. Calcutta and Bombay, once mud hamlets, are evidences of British rule.

It is alleged that the country is drained of its wealth by the employment of a foreign agency.

Lord Elgin, at the request of Lord Northbrook, obtained from the Finance Department an approximate estimate of the cost of the Civil Service. “ The total annual cost of the Covenanted Civil Service, including Leave, Pension, and Exchange Compensation Allowance, is about Rx. 2,305,000.”

Suppose that every European in the Civil Service was dismissed and replaced by an Indian on half the salary, the relief in taxation per head would be less than one pie per month!

India requires first class men, and such are not to be obtained on low salaries. The condition of the poor is to be ameliorated, not by “ petty economies,” not by cheap and less efficient officers of Government, but by making the toil of the labourer more remunerative.

Some of Mr. Naoroji's assertions are half-truths, with wrong deductions. Mulhall's Statistical Tables are his grand proof of British misgovernment and rapacity in India. At Cutler's Hall he said :—

“ Whereas the income or production of England was £41, that of France £25, Germany, £18, Austria £16, and even Russia £9 9s. per head per annum, British India produced only £2. The administration of the country was carried on by Englishmen, but the result was that whereas England was capable of producing £41, or taking the United Kingdom £35 per head per annum, India, under the same kind of administration, the same laws, the same security of property, produced only £2 per head.”

The true explanation of the above will be given in the Chapter on Land Settlements. While mentioning similar conditions, he does not state the important differences. On the one side, are active

educated Englishmen, with a good climate ; on the other, ignorant, caste-bound, custom-bound Hindus, with an uncertain rainfall.

The object of the foregoing remarks is to point out the feeling that exists, as a preliminary to suggestions for its removal.

2. **The Influence of the Existing System of Education.**—This is noticed at some length in the Letter to Lord George Hamilton (pp. 5-8). So long as University graduates can obtain suitable employment, the higher education is to be encouraged ; but not when the result is to raise up a number of disappointed, discontented, disloyal candidates for office.

The Harbinger, a Lahore journal, says :—

“It is an open secret that the spread of English education is the cause of discontent among the natives. . . Also the educated natives are increasing day by day ; the womb of universities being inexhaustible for begetting these creatures.” March 9, 1898.

At the last Calcutta Convocation, 251 young lawyers were let loose to find a living by promoting litigation in Bengal, and this at a time when the Bar is confessedly “overcrowded.”

Unless a change is made, the result will be the same as in Russia, thus described in the *Athenæum* :—

“Russia possesses a kind of intellectual proletariat in the persons of a host of university paupers, maintained at the expense of the State and the country. It is from this proletariat, from the failures of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical schools, that Nihilism draws its most determined recruits.” Oct. 14, 1882.

The evil and the remedy were thus stated by Sir Alexander Mackenzie at the annual meeting in March 1898, of the Calcutta Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science :—

“At the outset of Western education in India, it was perhaps sufficient to direct our efforts mainly to training by means of an English curriculum candidates for Government service and the Bar. The time has gone by when that should remain the chief, if not almost the sole aim of our educational systems. It is unfortunately true that the vast majority of our students are pursuing a course of study that does not fit them for benefiting their country in a useful way . . . I want to remedy all this, not by abolishing high education, but by reforming its scope and direction.”

The feeling displayed at the Bloomsbury meeting may be partly accounted for by the University text-books. Sir H. S. Maine says :—

“English classical literature is saturated with party politics. At the beginning of the last century it was mainly Tory ; towards the end of the same century it was mainly Whig. This would have been a less serious fact, if, at the latter epoch, one chief topic of the great writers and rhetoricians, of Burke and Sheridan, of Fox and Francis, had not been India itself. I have no doubt that the view of the Indian Government taken at the end of the century by Englishmen whose works and speeches are

held to be models of English style has had deep affect on the mind of the educated Indian of this day. We are only now beginning to see how excessively inaccurate were their statements of fact and how one-sided were their judgments.”*

3. **The increasing Population.**—It is the common belief of the Hindus that a man who has no son to make offerings for him after death falls into the hell called *put*. According to Manu (ix, 138), the Self-existent called a son *putra*, because he delivers from *put*. The masses therefore marry as a religious duty, irrespective of the means of subsistence.

The following remarks on this subject are abridged from Sir H. S. Maine :—

“India seems likely to experience, more than any society of men, that peculiar trial which follows good government. . . In no country, will there be probably a severer pressure of population on food. India is the only part of the world in which every single male of the population is married as soon as it is possible for him to be married. The superstitions of the vast majority will not allow animals to be bred or killed for food. Nor will the population emigrate

“Such causes of increase in the population and limitation in the supply of food have existed from time immemorial in India. But, till the present century, there were competing causes which impeded their operation. Far the most powerful of these were war, pestilence, and famine. These ancient checks on the growth of the population are losing their maleficent power, and with their disappearance population will fast increase its volume, forcing on the attention of the rulers of India a number of grave problems which have been very imperfectly faced of late years by the economists and statesmen of the West.”†

Every year at present there are two millions more mouths to feed.

The remedies proposed to meet the foregoing state of things will now be stated. They contain nothing new, but what is wanted is the impulse necessary to have them adopted. Few agencies can do more in this direction than the Parliamentary Indian Committee.

MEASURES SUGGESTED AND PRINCIPLES TO BE FOLLOWED.

1. ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES AS DISTINCT DEPARTMENTS.

The Indian Government is a compound of enlightened liberality, worthy of a great empire, and of a “penny wise and pound foolish” economy. The Trigonometrical and Geological Surveys, the

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I, pp. 507, 508.

† *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I, pp. 518—521.

Irrigation Works, the greatest in the world, illustrate the former ; its treatment of Agriculture, the latter.

Sir H. S. Cunningham says, " On the whole it is probable that 90 per cent of the rural and 80 per cent of the total population of the country is closely connected with the land."* Land revenue also forms the backbone of Indian finance. Taking these two important considerations into account, one would have expected that agriculture would occupy one of the foremost places in the Government Departments. Instead of that, it is one of the most subordinate, and the treatment it has, at times, received is almost incredible. The following is an illustration.

Five years ago Dr. Leather, an Agricultural Chemist, was sent out to India. When his engagement terminated, to save about £ 1000 a year, his appointment was abolished, after he had acquired the experience which rendered him doubly useful. Happily he is not lost to India, for Sir A. Macdonnell secured him for the North-West Provinces.

The writer endeavoured to obtain information on what may be called the Agricultural " constants ;" *e. g.*, the average produce per acre of " dry" and " wet" lands, the percentage of the Government tax ; but found that the best authorities differed.

Sir W. W. Hunter, formerly Director-General of Statistics, said in 1881 :—

" It has been my duty to find out precisely what amount of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India ; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body."†

Instead of having competent men able to give their undivided attention to the work, attempts are made to get information through Divisional Officers and Tahsildars, overburdened with their own duties. The Madras Administration Report for 1896-97 says :—

" The results of the experiments conducted during the year by the Divisional Officers and Tahsildars were as far as ever from furnishing trustworthy data from which an average yield per acre could be calculated, or the correctness of the settlement estimates of outturn could be gauged." p. 61.

In Madras the same officer is " Commissioner of Revenue Settlement and Director of Land Records and Agriculture." It is impossible for the last to receive sufficient attention, while it also requires a special training.

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 8.

† *England's Work in India*, p. 93.

Men of ability and experience are wanted entirely devoted to Agriculture and Manufactures. We have in England Presidents of the Boards of Trade and Agriculture, and most enlightened Governments have corresponding officers. Much more are they needed in India.

The Hon. F. A. Nicholson has given special attention to Indian Agriculture. During the Budget Debate he thus showed how it had been "STARVED" by the Indian Government:—

"I turn now, and very briefly, to the last point on which I desire to touch, viz., the provision in the Budget for direct action upon agriculture. My Lord, when we look at the Financial Statement and see that the famine has cost Government alone more than 14 crores, when we remember that this famine is only one of several which have confounded the finance of the country and diverted vast streams of funds from much needed improvements, when we take stock of the wreckage, the loss in health and wealth of the people connected by the loss sustained by Government, I think we are justified when considering this Statement, in asking ourselves whether nothing can be done by Government to lessen the chances or the intensity of such recurrent misfortune. My answer to that question, my Lord, is that, wholly apart from the general action of a civilised and civilising Government, much can be done by specific and positive action upon the agriculture and stability of the ryot through Departments of Agriculture. In this connection I mean by a Department of Agriculture a Department dealing completely with the second of the three classes of duties mentioned by the Government of India in 1881, viz., "the general improvement of Indian agriculture with the view of increasing the food supply and general resources of the people." I do not mean the Departments in their record and statistical branch, or in their work in organising famine relief, but I mean their duties in examining the local conditions and limitations of agricultural practice, in research and experiment in the fields, and in experimental farms, in examining and dealing with disease in crops and cattle, in fostering better farm practice; in encouraging popular agricultural education, in assisting the spread of associated rural credit.

"Now I venture to call to the recollection of the Council the opinion of His Excellency the late Lord Mayo when announcing in 1870 his intention of forming an Imperial Department of Agriculture. I am not able to give his very words, but he declared that Indian agriculture was in a primitive and backward condition; that it could not be doubted that when Western science was brought to bear upon it, the results would be as great as in Europe, and that the work performed by the Agricultural Societies in Europe must be done in India by the Government or not at all. The Famine Commission of 1880 followed suit, and since that time we have had numerous Conferences, Committees, Reports, and Resolutions all adopting similar views. I venture to follow this strong body of opinion, and to assert that an efficient Department of Agriculture in each province well and continuously supplied with funds to work out to a continuous policy of research experiment, instruction and assistance, and that not for a year or two but for generations to come, is an absolute necessity for Agricultural improve-

ment, and, further, that agricultural improvement is, in India, the only sound basis of financial and economic stability. As a Tamil proverb has it, 'the ryot's goad is the ruler's sceptre.'

"Now I may be told that departments for Agriculture do exist in every province, that it is their fault if nothing has been done, and that there is no obstacle to their starting on any line of enquiry that they please. Well assuming—what I do not altogether admit—that this is so, still there are sound answers to it.

"But the only one which I would give here is that the Departments on their purely agricultural side have been starved; it is only throwing money away to spend a few thousands here and there and now and then; liberal continuous supplies of funds are necessary if the Departments are to be more than a mere *nominis umbra*; it is the financial difficulty that is a main obstacle to progress; as lately pleaded by a Provincial Government. Money of course will not do everything, but without it we can do nothing.

"It is difficult to disentangle from the accounts the sums spent on or available for Agriculture proper as defined above. In the yellow book for 1896-97 about 102 lakhs are shown against Land Records and Agriculture, but this large sum was evidently spent almost entirely on Land Records, since 97 lakhs are shown as District charges, as we know that this means merely the cost of the village Accountants and Inspecting Staff who have nothing to do with Agriculture proper but only with accounts and statistics: much of the remainder went in salaries and miscellaneous charges of the Land Record officers. If we add together the cost of two or three Agricultural Colleges shown under Education, a certain moderated proportion of the salary of Land Record officers, such small portion of the expenditure on the Civil Veterinary Department as affects cattle as distinct from horses, which have practically nothing to do with Agriculture, and the sum of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs shown in the accounts under "Experimental cultivation," we shall probably account for the whole amount spent in India on Agriculture proper.

"I think that the Council will agree with me that the provision in the Budget for Agriculture is wholly insufficient, and that the needs in this respect of a vast agricultural Empire demand far larger funds.

"Now, my Lord, it may very rightly be thrown as a duty on the Provincial Governments to provide for and to enter in their Budgets sufficient funds for the due and efficient working of efficient Agricultural Departments. But I conceive that there should be some very clear indication by the Imperial Government that increased and strenuous effort after agricultural development as distinguished from statistical and record work is the immediate and urgent order of the day I think that there should now be a clear pronouncement that strenuous and immediate effort in the work of a Department of Agriculture as defined above is as much and as urgent a part of the internal policy of Government in view to prevent or mitigate famine as the provision against invasion is part of its external policy. And since the Provinces plead lack of funds, and since the supply of funds is the best proof of a belief in the importance

of a policy, I trust that a portion of the expected surplus may be formally devoted to Agriculture, and that for many years to come due provision for that Department may be inserted in every Budget".

These are the words of an experienced member of the Legislative Council of India, spoken within hearing of the Supreme Government. No longer can the excuse be offered for the apathy shown towards what so intimately concerns the welfare of the poor dumb millions of India, "Behold, we knew it not."

In England the two Presidents mentioned above have places in the Cabinet. This is also very desirable in India. The Viceroy should have at headquarters men at hand to support and advocate the sanction of measures designed to promote the welfare of the people. The military element would then not be so preponderating as at present.

As explained in the Letter to Lord George Hamilton, these appointments would only be preliminary to the organization of Departments and carrying out Agricultural and Industrial Surveys. (See pp. 15—30.)

II. EXAMINATION OF THE FAMINE POLICY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

When the writer, in a letter to the Secretary of the recent Famine Commission, expressed a hope that it might be useful in preventing future famines, he was told that such an inquiry was beyond the scope of the Commission.

The *supply* of food has been increased by irrigation works, and railways afford facilities for its *distribution*; but, as mentioned in the Letter to Lord George Hamilton, the past policy of Government may be *mainly* described as

A gigantic effort to FEED Paupers.

From a certain standpoint the policy has been successful. During the famine of 1876-77, it is estimated that 5 millions perished and that the birth rate was reduced by 2 millions, making a total of 7 millions. During the last famine the loss of life has been comparatively small; but there is this difference. The former loss of life removed, so far, the pressure on the soil; by its preservation, future burdens will be proportionately increased.

The past policy has been largely the old unintelligent charity of simply giving alms to beggars. Millions upon millions were spent last year on famine relief, while the expenditure of £1,000 on an Agricultural Chemist was denied. The remark of the dying Swedish Chancellor sometimes suggests itself: "Learn, my son, with how little wisdom the world is governed!"

The true famine policy should be

A gigantic effort to PREVENT Pauperism.

The sum of 150 lakhs of rupees is set apart for Famine Relief. Part of it undoubtedly must be reserved "to save life," as at present; but the Parliamentary Committee are invited to consider whether a considerable proportion might not be devoted to the prevention of pauperism. The Famine Commission Report suggests that the expenditure on Agriculture and Manufactures might be "fairly chargeable against the Special Famine Surplus." Improved Agriculture is the right hand to fight against famine and developed Manufactures the left.

Railways.—The expenditure on Railways is very large, amounting annually to three or four millions. Though very useful in their place, they do not *increase* the supply of food like improved Agriculture. The chief lines have already been provided, and other needs should not be sacrificed on their account.

The policy of Government has been very one-sided. To use an expression of Mr. Nicholson, "the more you gridiron a country with railways," the more is it necessary to provide them with traffic to make them remunerative. Agriculture, which could best do this, has been "starved." The attention of the Parliamentary Committee is earnestly invited to this point.

III. GOVERNMENT THE RYOT'S BANKER.

"Money-lenders are obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."—*Sir John Strachey.*

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one...The money-lender has taken the place of Government."—*Sir E. C. Buck.*

Of all classes of the Indian population, the ryots, their families, and labourers, have the strongest claims to our sympathy. As already mentioned, they are estimated to include 80 per cent. of the entire population, or about 230 millions out of 287 millions. Mr. Crooke thus eloquently describes their condition:—

"There is, perhaps, no more pathetic situation in the whole range of human history than to watch these dull, patient masses stumbling in their traditional way along a path which can lead only to suffering, most of them careless of the future, marrying and giving in marriage, fresh generations ever encroaching on the narrow margin which separates them from destitution. Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be."^{*}

By attempting to deal with Orientals of the 14th century as if they were Westerners of the 19th century, we have caused among these many millions an untold amount of poverty and wretchedness.

* *North-Western Provinces of India*, pp. 173, 174.

Debt the Normal Condition of India.—About 80 years ago, Carey wrote:—

“There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers, and to entail misery where there is every preparation for the enjoyment of happiness.

“Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the people of India is the *universal tendency to borrow* which pervades the country. This disposition to borrow is not confined to one province, to one town, or to one class of individuals. It pervades the whole country with all the inveteracy of a second nature. The country is separated into two classes, the borrower and the usurer.”

“An independent husbandman, free from debt, and looking forward with delight to the whole of his little crop as his own, is almost a phenomenon in the country. Most of them, through the wretched system which now prevails among them, are in debt perhaps for the seed they sow, are supplied with food by their creditors during all the labors of the field, and look forward to the end of the harvest for the payment of a debt, to which at least forty per cent. is added, and which through the way in which it is exacted, is often increased to fifty per cent.”

Getting into debt has been common in India from the earliest times. The Rig Veda contains the following prayer:—

“9. Discharge, Varuna, the debts (contracted) by my progenitors, and those now (contracted) by me; and may I not, royal Varuna, be dependent (on the debt contracted) by another.”

In the Atharva Veda, Agni is asked to assist the suppliant to get rid of debt “contracted without intention of repayment!” (vi. 119).

State Advances.—Both Hindu and Muhammadan Governments knew the weakness of the people, and dealt with them accordingly. Mr. Harington, c. s., thus states the case:—

“State advances to cultivators were a feature of the revenue system introduced in 1582 A.D. by Akbar’s great minister of finance, Raja Todar Mal. The revenue officer of those days, when the true business of a collector seem to have been understood a good deal better than it is now, was instructed ‘to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman. . . he must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money; and receive payment at distant and convenient periods. . . Let him, learn the character of every husbandman, and be the immediate protector of that class of subjects.’ Gladwin’s *Ain Akbari*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 44, p. 378.

“Todar Mal’s system was ‘only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah,’ who ‘was intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India—a knowledge without which no ruler of that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects,’ (Cowell’s *Elphinstone*, p. 541, and Erskine’s *India under Babar and Humain*, II. p. 442). Shir Shah’s system, again, was based upon ‘the old rent-roll of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol’ (Lodi) (Thomas’ *Pathan Kings*,

p. 437). It is therefore probable that from a much earlier period than that of Todar Mal's reforms, state advances had formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system. This probability is greatly increased by the fact that one of the highest and earliest exponents of the Muhammadan law Abu-Ynsuf (born A.D. 731) prescribes such advances."

Some additional quotations are made to the same effect. Such advances were called TAKAVI (corruptly Tuckavy). Wilson says: that it comes from a word meaning "gives strength or assisting." The system was at first continued by the British Government. Mr. Harington says:

"In 1767, two years after Clive had obtained from the Company the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, we find the first British Government of Bengal already recognizing the necessity of carrying on the native system of advances."*

Wilson, in his Glossary, gives the following references: "Ben. Reg. ii. xiv. 1793; Mad. Reg. xxvii. 1802 i. 1803,"

Mr. Harington says:—

"I have been unable to find any satisfactory record of the reasons which led to the discontinuance of the *Takavi* system. Probably the chief causes were the growth of the Company's indebtedness, and the increasing difficulty of providing the annual remittance to England; the disorganization produced by the exactions of the early revenue assessments; the want of effective supervision; and after the Charter of 1813 had relaxed the Company's commercial monopoly, the competition of advances by private capitalists."†

Mr. Maclean, in his Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, curtly says:—

"Advances, called tucavy, used to be made to Government ryots for mere cultivation expenses, but the system was found open to abuse and has now been given up" Vol. I. p. 140.

In the early years of the century when subordinates were uneducated and badly paid, abuses might be expected; but the conditions are now changed.

Effects of the Stoppage of Advances.—The Cawnpore Settlement Report says:—

"The Government was to the community what the heart is to the body. The sudden stoppage of what must have been to the agricultural body corporate its life-blood, while the system of periodical bleeding was continued, had the same effect which similar treatment would have upon the human frame. The members of the community, whether of the first or second degree, have been driven to procure sustenance from another and external source, and the money-lender has taken the place of Government."‡

* Calcutta Review, Vol. 76, p. 169 † Ibid, Vol. 76. pp 173. ‡ Ibid, Vol. 76. p. 172.

The foregoing statements are confirmed by the high authority of Sir E. C. Buck. (See heading of chapter.)

Mr. Harington remarks:—

“It is deplorable to trace, in these extracts, the suppression of a valuable indigenous institution, because abuses in its working were allowed to grow up. *Delirant reges; plectuntur Achivi* The ryot pays for the fatuity of his rulers.” p. 173.

Mr. A. O. Hume says:—

“Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces, the evil is all-absorbing, a whole generation of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the webs of the usurers.” *

Speaking of India generally, Sir William Hunter says:—

“It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum still prevails.”

Such a rate, it has been remarked, “would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country.”

The money-lenders vary. Marwaris are notorious for their hard-heartedness and rapacity. The evil is not so great when the money-lender belongs to the place, and especially if he is himself a ryot.

Well-to-do ryots can obtain loans on good security at comparatively reasonable rates: it is the very poor who suffer most. They not only pay higher interest, but their crops are taken over by the money-lender at his own valuation.

Mr. Nicholson says:—

“For grain loans the universal rule, when the loan is between ryot and ryot, is an addition of 25 per cent to the amount borrowed. But when the advance is made by a merchant, broker, or other middleman, the rate may be anything, especially when repayment is made or calculated in rupees.” †

Proposals to remedy this state of things will next be considered.

Agricultural Banks.—The Madras Government “by General Order, 15th March, 1892, placed Mr. Frederick Augustus Nicholson on special duty for the purpose of enquiring into the possibility of introducing into this Presidency a system of Agricultural or other Land Banks.”

The first volume of Mr. Nicholson's Report was published in 1895 and the second in 1897. The difficulties connected with the inquiry are stated in the Preface to the first volume:—

“Until 1894, there was, practically, no English work even on the one

* *Agricultural Reform*, p. 62.

† *Report on Land and Agricultural Banks*, vol. I. p. 18.

subject of Popular banks, while the sources of detailed information are, even now, only in foreign languages; and it is believed that there is no existing work in English on the Land and Savings banks systems, or upon the credit systems and indebtedness of the landed proprietor, of the European continent." p. v.

Mr. Nicholson's able Report contains a mass of information on the subject; but perhaps the chief impression left upon the mind is the difficulty of carrying out his proposals.

Mr. Nicholson gives a Draft Bill occupying 46 folio pages (Vol. I. pp. 325-371). Any person who reads its provisions will agree with what its author says in the volume containing it:—

"It is beyond the power of any brain however fertile, of any man however fully informed, to conceive in advance a method, *confectus ad unguem*, of banking for the people, least of all in a country where the conditions are so novel, the banking idea so absolutely unknown, as in this country. Success can only arise from the long-continued, practical efforts of zealous men, who while informed in the details of every method yet tried, can yet live among the people, vivify them with their own spirit and intelligence, energize them with some of their own enthusiasm, and with them, work out in actual fact, even though on the humblest lines, the system or systems of the future." p. 32.

The same remark is virtually repeated in [the Preface to the second volume:—

"Still, it is not pretended that Village Banks or Co-operative Societies could at once be a success; on the contrary, one great feature in Volume I. is the suggestion of difficulty in initiation as shown by European history; it is only long-continued, energetic, public and private effort, that can bring about success." (p. vi)

Mr. Nicholson's own admissions settle the question. "The banking idea is absolutely unknown in this country;" "One great feature in Vol. I., is the suggestion of difficulty in initiation as shown by European history"; "success can only arise for the long-continued practical efforts of zealous men, &c."

Instead of attempting to introduce an exotic, whose growth is not very old or vigorous in its own habitat, would it not be better to revive the cultivation of a plant which flourished for thousands of years all over India, and which still prospers in certain parts of the country?

Proposed Return to the Old System.—The Uganda Mission is one of the most remarkable in modern times. Bishop Tucker, at the head of it, says in his charge:—

"Were I asked to give an opinion as to what, in my estimation, has most hindered the development and independence of Native Churches, I should unhesitatingly answer, 'That deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to anglicize every thing with which it comes in contact.'"

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February, 1893, p. 99.

Sir John Strachey has pointed out how this has affected Indian education ; but it does not cease there. Some of our greatest mistakes have been caused by our well-intentioned but ill-devised schemes to benefit the people. It may be humiliating to our Anglo-Saxon pride to retrace our steps where necessary, but it is the best thing we can do.

The immediate proposal is to return to the old system, under both Muhammadan and Hindu rule, for Government to be the ryot's banker.

This system is still in force in parts of North India. Mr. Harington gives the following example :—

“ Very few people have any idea of the amount of work, of the very kind under consideration, that is done by the Opium officers, or at how low a cost it is done and done well. Take the district (Rae Bareli) which I have already chosen as a typical one. It is one of the largest opium producing districts in Upper India. During the last season (Spring of 1882), its outturn was 5164 maunds of opium. This excellent result was obtained by the distribution in August, September, February, and March, of advances amounting in all to Rs. 1,83,330 to 42,655 cultivators, headed by 1557 representatives (*lambardars*) and residing in 1405 different villages. The agency by which these advances were distributed, and all the heavy work accomplished of persuading landlords and tenants to extend their opium cultivation, of measuring the areas sown, of repressing illicit cultivation, of weighing, testing, classifying, packing and despatching the opium produced; of disbursing to the 42,635 cultivators its price, amounting to Rs. 8,45,085 in addition to the amount of the advances,—consisted of one European officer on Rs. 250 (the very efficient Assistant sub-deputy opium agent, Mr. J. E. Hand); two *gomashtas* on Rs. 80 and Rs. 50; two *muhirris* Rs. 16.; three on Rs. 12; two on Rs. 10; 5 *zillahdars* on Rs. 7, seven on Rs. 6; 22 on Rs. 5; 8 *Barkandazes* and one *Orderly* on Rs. 5.

“ The salaries amounted to Rs. 8,280 in the year. Travelling allowances (Rs. 1,430), stationery for *gomashtas* (Rs. 72), measurement charges (Rs. 309) and miscellaneous expenses (Rs. 659), making a total of Rs. 10,840,” (six per cent on the advances).*

Mr. Harington quotes the testimony of Mr. T. W. Holderness, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 4th March, 1882 :—

“ The magnitude of the transactions of the Opium Department is shown by the fact, that the sum advanced annually aggregates two hundred lakhs, or two millions sterling....*In ordinary years advances for opium growing are recovered with hardly any loss, and the system may be regarded as the most successful and effective one by which, in India, the State comes to the aid of the agriculturist.*” pp. 178, 179.

* *Calcutta Review*, pp. 177, 179.

Indigo planters in North India act on the same system. Mr. Hume quotes the following:—

“A gentleman, many years a planter in a district of which the writer had charge for a decade, remarked, to him speaking of cultivators:— *Deal with them wisely and fairly and there is no difficulty. I give out large advances every year. I have never had a suit in any court with any ryot, and I have never lost any money worth speaking of.*” p. 180.

Advances in calamitous Seasons.—Mr. Harington says:—

“The system, then, of Government advances to the Indian ryot to facilitate production, is of considerable antiquity, is familiar both to the people and to the State, and is resorted to, to this day, whenever exceptional calamity attacks the agricultural classes. I urge that the chronic depression of these classes imperatively demands that this help should be given, not as the exception, but as the rule.” p. 175.

Land Improvement Loans Act and Agriculturists' Loans.—The former, Act 19 of 1883, and the latter, Act 12 of 1884, are steps in this direction. The advances in the Madras Presidency, as given in the Administration Report for 1896-97, show that their operations have been very limited. The sum of Rs. 1,74,118 was advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act, and Rs. 9,160 under the Agriculturists' Loans Act. p. 18.

There are two main reasons for this limitation. Mr. Nicholson combats “the amiable delusion” that the “ryots thirst for cheap capital in order to pour it upon the soil.” He says:—

“The Indian ryot is not more heedful or eager for agricultural development than his European confrère, and direct land and agricultural improvement is the last thing for which credit is sought in Europe.” Vol. I. p. 16.

Loans, “very generally, are for maintenance and cultivation expenses.” “In many villages the bulk of the small ryots anticipate their crops, borrowing grain for seed and maintenance in the cultivation season, and repaying the advance out of the crop at harvest.*

The Loans therefore cannot be widely useful so long as the objects for which they are “very generally” wanted are excluded.

But there are other reasons for the few applications, which are thus summarized by Sir H. S. Cunningham:—

“The causes of the failure of the system has been considered by the Famine Commissioners, and according to them, is to be explained by various defects in the existing organization, by the obstacles created by inefficient native officials, to whom such grants give extra trouble; by the delays, expense and troublesome formalities accompanying the grant, by the charge of interest, the small number of years over which the

* Mr. Nicholson's Report, Vol. I. p. 18.

repayments are spread, the early date at which they commence, and the rigid rules as to punctual repayment.”*

Sir H. S. Cunningham adds :—

“The remedy for which this state of things appears to call is the creation of a department whose especial business it should be to supervise and assist the agricultural and industrial development of the country.” p. 240.

The *Madras Mail*, (April 2) reviewing Mr. Nicholson's speech, makes the same recommendation :—

“As we have often urged on more than one occasion, if State-aided agricultural loans and agricultural credit are to be developed satisfactorily, they must be placed under a special department or organization, preferably, a branch of the Settlement, Agriculture and Land Records Department. The present ill-defined system, or, rather want of system, is as unsound in its working as it is unpopular with the ryots.”

Suggested Arrangements.—It has been mentioned that the opium advances alone amount to about two crores a year. If they are extended as proposed, the sums handled annually will, in course of time, amount to tens of crores of rupees. Great caution is therefore necessary in framing Rules.

Mr. Nicholson has collected some very valuable information. Loans at low rates are not all that is wanted. Their effect might only be to increase the indebtedness of the ryots. Checks are necessary against this as well as inducements to thrift.

Sir James Westland said in his speech that Mr. Nicholson “was pre-eminently qualified to advise Government.” He should be requested by the Supreme Government to draw up a simple scheme for the restoration of the old system, guarding against its abuses, and giving all needful details.

A careful enquiry should first be made into the working of the Land Improvement Loans Act and Agriculturists' Loans Act to see what causes have interfered with their usefulness. The system of advances for opium cultivation should also be considered. What is wanted is a consolidated Act, including former provisions, but adding advances for cultivation expenses, the whole to be managed by a Special Agency.

At first it might be tried only in a few selected districts, and gradually extended, with modifications, if necessary.

The measure ought to be self-supporting—the interest charged meeting all costs.

With regard to the amount of interest Mr Hume says; “The agriculturist can well afford to pay nine per cent. for any money he wants. It is to him what money at three per cent would be to the farmer at home.” But probably six per cent. would be sufficient.

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 239.

For reasons stated above, AGRICULTURAL BANKS, on the requisite scale, are impracticable. On the other hand, Government can secure their advantages, while at the same time it can provide the requisite funds and an efficient organization.

Todar Mal's Ideal of a Collector.—Our principal revenue officers are called "*Collectors*." There is a danger, lest to gain the reputation of being a "crack Collector," the people should be squeezed. This should be discouraged by Government, and the "ideal" of Akbar's great minister should rather be held up for imitation.

IV. RELIEF OF CONGESTED DISTRICTS BY EMIGRATION.

Government has already Emigration Agents to protect labourers in tea districts and emigrants to colonies. Though useful in their place, the relief thus afforded is totally inadequate. Emigration is required on a far larger scale.

The remark of Sir William Hunter is often quoted that in India, "40 millions go through life on insufficient food." This is laid at the door of the British Government; while his explanation is ignored. He says:—

"Such writers tell you that the people of India are very poor, therefore they conclude the Government is to blame. I also tell you that the people of India are very poor, because the population has increased at such a rate as to outstrip, in some parts, the food-producing powers of the land."*

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India."†

France is a fertile country, but the population is only about 180 to the square mile. There are districts in India with 800 to the square mile. As Sir William Hunter remarks:—

"If we allow four persons to each peasant family, we find 24 millions of human beings struggling to live off the produce of 15 millions acres, just over half an acre apiece. The Indian soil cannot support that struggle."‡

The remedy is plain. Sir William Hunter says:—

"Natives must equalize the pressure on the soil by distributing themselves more equally over the country. There is plenty of fertile land in India still awaiting the plough. The Indian husbandman must learn to mobilize himself, and to migrate from the overcrowded provinces to the underpeopled ones."‡

Assam, with 50,000 square miles, has only 5½ millions of inhabitants; Bengal has 71 millions of inhabitants, while Burma, as

* *England's Work in India*, p. 4. † *Ibid.*, p. 62. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

large, has less than 8 millions. There are also scattered uncultivated, but cultivable, tracts in other provinces.

From ignorant fear and want of energy, the great bulk of the people are unwilling to leave their own province. The dislike to it would be largely obviated if a number of families could be induced to go together. Difficulties about marriage would thus be settled.

An officer of experience and ability should be placed on special duty to collect details about congested districts and waste land available for settlements. A separate Department is even necessary. Some measure of this kind is urgently required.

Full detailed information of the land available should be published both in English and the Vernacular, and widely circulated. Noblemen, like the Maharajah of Durbhangah and other Zemindars, might get colonies led out from congested portions of their lands.

Very favourable terms ought at first to be allowed to the emigrants.

V. INDIAN TAXATION.

India's Friends and Foes.—It has been the sad lot of India during her long career to have had false guides. Sir H. S. Maine, in a Convocation Address, described some of the results as "false morality, false history, false philosophy, and false physics." At present she is suffering from "false political economy." Its advocates are not her secret enemies, but her sincere friends. Through mistaken knowledge, they advocate for her "saving," what would be her "ruin."

An attempt will be made to explain this, and to show the course which should be followed.

Increasing Taxation necessary for the well-being of the People.—Sir William Hunter thus points out the difficulties of an Indian Finance Minister:—

"The truth is that we have suddenly applied our own English ideas of what a good Government should do, to an Asiatic country, where the people pay not one-tenth per head of the English rate of taxation. It is easy to govern efficiently at a cost of forty shillings per head as in England; but the problem in India is how to attain the same standard of efficiency at a cost of 3s. 8d. ahead. This is the sum in proportion which one finance minister after another is called to work out. Every year the Indian finance minister has to provide for more schools, more police, more courts, more hospitals, more roads, more railways, more canals. In short every year he has to spend more money in bringing up the Indian administration to the English standard of efficiency. The money is well spent, but it has to be found."*

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 116, 117.

No true friend of India can be satisfied with her present condition. Only about 5 millions out of 287 millions are under instruction. The labours of the ryot must be rendered more and more productive. Other improvements are also necessary. To secure these an increasing revenue will be necessary so long as the Empire exists under enlightened management; but the people will be so much richer that the taxation will be less felt to be oppressive. The present 3*s.* 8*d.* will, after some centuries, approximate to the present 40*s.* of Great Britain.

Principles of Indian Taxation.—If a nation will pay willingly a heavy tax and object strongly to a lighter one, only a learned fool would advocate the latter because, on abstract principles, it is to be preferred.

Towards the close of 1859, the finances of India were in such a state that the late Mr. James Wilson was sent out, with very extensive powers, to apply a remedy. He proposed three new taxes, an Income Tax, a License Tax, and a Tobacco Tax. At the same time the Import Duties were to be largely reduced, which made his scheme popular with English merchants.

Sir Charles Trevelyan was then Governor of Madras. He knew the imperious character of the Finance Minister. A private representation would have been useless; so he published his Minute. He thus explains the feelings of the people of India with regard to taxation:—

“All people are, of course, averse to taxes; but the native feeling in reference to the imposition of new taxes is different in kind from this, and is not so destitute of reason as may at first sight appear. The Natives of this country have always lived under despotic governments, and in the absence of any better means of placing a limit upon the exactions of their rulers, they have been accustomed to take their stand upon long established practice, which they regard as we do our hereditary privileges. Hence it has always been observed that while they are extremely patient under established grievances, they are always disposed to meet new impositions by active or passive resistance.”

Tobacco yields a large revenue in England, and it might seem to Mr. Wilson a fit subject for taxation in India; but it was a *new* tax, and liable to other objections. It was therefore never imposed. Sir Charles Trevelyan's remarks on Indian taxation deserve to be carefully pondered. An increasing revenue is absolutely necessary if the country is to improve: how should it be raised?

The two principal sources of revenue to which the people have been accustomed are the *land tax* and duty on *salt*. The former is considered under “Land Settlements”; some remarks will now be offered on the latter.

Salt Tax.—Salt was considered, even from ancient time, so important that it was employed proverbially. A soldier was expected to be faithful to his "salt." Exclusive of railway receipts, salt is the most productive tax next to land revenue, amounting to nearly nine crores a year. Its incidence was estimated by the Famine Commission at 5 annas per head, a year, or 5 pies ($=\frac{1}{2}d.$) a month. This is the only *imperative* tax upon a landless labourer. As Sir H. S. Cunningham remarks, "He is no doubt a very poor man, but his poverty can scarcely be said to be grievously enhanced by the exactions of the State."^{*}

In the interests of the poor, it has been suggested that the Salt Tax should be largely reduced. The objection to this is that in attempting to relieve the poor, the income would be lost from the much larger proportion that can afford to pay. How would the sacrifice of four or five crores of revenue be made good? The outcry does not come from the people themselves, but from western theorists.

In 1896, an able-bodied agricultural labourer in the Madras Presidency earned, on an average, Rs. 5-15 per month.† If the tax were reduced one-half, the saving would be only 2½ pies per month—about a farthing, while 4½ crores would be lost to the country to be employed for the good of the people. The amelioration of the labourer's lot must come from another quarter.

Government *must have money*. It cannot be supported by taxes on *luxuries*—for the people, as a rule, do not use them. *Necessaries* must therefore be taxed. An *indirect* tax, like that on salt, an article purchased in small quantities, and a tax to which the people have been accustomed from time immemorial, ought not to be given up. The probable continued decline in the opium revenue is an additional argument for not tampering with the salt tax.

India to be benefited by wise Expenditure, and not by ill-judged Economy.—Suppose a very large ill-managed estate fell into our hands, which yielded only one-third of the income which could be drawn from it by skilful management. Would it be wise to allow it to remain in its present condition rather than incur some outlay on its improvement? A still worse course would be to reduce the expenditure by employing less efficient agents on lower salaries.

Mr. A. O. Hume says:—

"It is one of these incomprehensible instances of determined national blindness of which history records too many similar examples, but it is a fact that landlords of an estate, let on comparatively short leases, with a gross rental of seventeen millions,‡ with the full knowledge

^{*} *British India and its Rulers*, p. 149.

† *Prices and Wages in India*, 14th Issue p. 304.

‡ I exclude about 4½ millions, the revenue derived from permanently settled and quit-rent estates.

that the great mass of our land is yielding less than two-thirds of what it should and would if properly cultivated, we absolutely in practice refuse to take one single material step towards remedying this lamentable waste of our property.”*

After the disgraceful revelation through Mr. Nicholson of the present state of things, it is to be hoped that a wiser policy will be adopted, alike beneficial to the revenue and to the interests of the poor patient ryots.

Sudden Increase in Taxation to be avoided.—The people are wanting in foresight, and live from hand to mouth. The ryots would feel more an increase of 8 per cent. in the land-tax if it were levied at once than 10 per cent. spread over five years, while the latter would yield considerably more in the long run.

The Afridi rising was stimulated by increasing at once the price of salt fourfold.

VI. LAND SETTLEMENTS.

Importance.—The Land Revenue is the sheet anchor of Indian finance. Its settlement affects, more or less directly, the entire population.

Erroneous Popular Ideas.—In no respect, perhaps, has the action of the British Government been more misrepresented than in the land question, while the panacea recommended would do more than anything else to perpetuate injustice and continue the present degraded condition of India. These ideas will be noticed in detail.*

SUPPOSED INCREASE IN LAND TAXATION.

The quotation from an Indian journal already given is supposed to represent the amount of the Land-Tax:—

“Our ‘beneficent’ Government takes to itself no less than 47 per cent. of the produce (and) levies innumerable other contributions.”

The idea is that Government takes 47 per cent. of the *gross produce*. There is some excuse for this misconception. The rate under Hindu and Muhammedan Government was to take half the entire produce. In fixing the tax the English Government went upon another principle. The following directions were given:—

“The produce of the land must at least be sufficient to feed and clothe the labourer and his family, and to replace the cattle and agricultural implements as they become worn out; and besides this, a surplus must remain for the payment of the assessment imposed by the State.”

* *Agricultural Reform*, pp. 35, 36.

The British Government may take 47 per cent. of the remainder, after making the above deductions, but this is very different from 47 per cent. of the gross produce. Its amount will hereafter be shown.

Another idea is that the assessments are made increasingly heavy.

Mr. R. C. Dutt makes the following assertion with reference to cotton and jute cultivation :—

“The profit remains in the country, with the cultivators when the State demand from the soil has been permanently limited; but over the larger portion of India the recurring settlements, securing a steady increase in the State demand, sweep away the increased profits to the imperial exchequer, and leave the tillers of the soil no better off than before.”*

This represents the popular opinion on the subject, although one would have expected that an old Indian Civilian would have been better informed.

So far as shown by the best statistics at present available, the facts are as follows :—

After the great famine during 1877-78, a Commission was appointed to travel over India to collect facts and make suggestions for the future. One of the members was Sir H. S. Cunningham, who afterwards published a book, called *British Rule in India*. Todar Mull's assessment of 33 per cent. was considered reasonable. Sir H. S. Cunningham shows that the English assessment is less than one-fourth of that fixed by Todar Mull.

“The real amount of the land revenue is shown in the following table framed on the best available estimate of the outturn :—

	Land Revenue. Rs.	Percentage on estimated gross value of crops.
Punjab	1,910,000	... 5.6
N. W. Provinces and Oudh	5,565,000	... 7.8
Bengal	4,050,000	... 3.9
Central Provinces	600,000	... 3.8
Berar	525,000	... 4.6
Bombay	2,970,000	... 7.6
Madras	3,160,000	... 6.3

“An idea has prevailed that the land revenue is a heavier burthen at present than it was forty years ago. A more careful examination, however, has shown that the increase from £12,480,000 in 1840 to £22,830,000 in 1879 is owing partly to the addition of 36 millions of people or 25 per cent. and 242,000 miles of territory, with a land revenue of more than 6 millions, partly to an increase of 50 to 100 per cent. in the area of cultivation, partly to the increase to the price of agricultural produce, and is no instance to the enlargement of the share claimed by Government in the profits of the soil. In Madras, for instance, the area assessed has increased from 9½ millions of acres in

* *England and India*, p. 136.

1850 to 20 millions in 1875-6, and though the land revenue is a million sterling higher, its incidence per acre is reduced by 3 as. on dry land and Rs. 2½ on irrigated land, as the following Table shows :—

	Assessed Area.		Land Revenue.		Average Rate of Assessment per Acre.	
	Acres.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	On Dry Land.	On Irrigated Land.	Rs. A. P.
1852—3 ...	9,780,000 ...	2,502,000 ...	1 3 11		7 0 11	
1875—6 ...	20,621,000 ...	3,426,000 ...	1 0 11		4 8 11	

“Similarly in Bombay, the assessed area has increased from 12½ millions of acres in 1856 to 20½ millions in 1875-6, and an increase of ¾ millions in the land-revenue has resulted notwithstanding an average reduction of 3 as. per acre in the assessment.”*

The volume from which the foregoing quotations have been made is strongly recommended to the notice of the members of the Parliamentary Committee. Its author had unequalled opportunities for gaining information, and the book shows his deep and intelligent interest in the welfare of the people. The suggestions in this letter are, in many cases, the same.

The statements of Sir H. S. Cunningham were recently confirmed by Sir James Westland in his reply on the Budget Debate :—

“The first head is that of land revenue, the most important head in our accounts. The land revenue has, of course, increased during 20 years. If it had not increased it would have been a sign of the most miserable mal-administration on the part of the Government. I do not intend to enter upon the question of the proceedings of Settlements Officers or to indicate my disagreement with those Hon’ble Members who think that a Settlement Officer is let loose upon the country purely for the purpose of plundering it. Two years ago I had to refer to the same subject in answer to one Hon’ble Member. I pointed out from actual records, quoting from official documents, that every renewed settlement meant the appropriation for Government of a less and less share of assets of the land. The consequence is that every rupee by which our land revenue is increased indicates a larger proportion still left in the hands of the people. I do not intend to go over this Province by Province, but I happen to have seen the figures for Burma. They passed through my hands the other day, and I shall quote them as a very fair example of what is meant by an increase of land revenue. Burma is a Province where the land revenue has increased more than it has in any other Province. The land revenue in 1881-82 was 65 lakhs of rupees. In 1896-97 it was 116 lakhs of rupees, nearly twice as much; but let us go back to the subjects upon which it was assessed. The land revenue in Burma is a direct assessment upon cultivated land. The cultivated land in 1881-82 upon which it was assessed was 3,449,000 acres. The land upon which the year 1896-97 was assessed is 6,780,000 acres. If Hon’ble Members will make a calculation upon these figures they will see that whereas in 1881-82 the land revenue was an assessment of 19 of rupees upon each acre in 1896-97 it is an assessment of only 17 rupees. So true is it that an increase of the assessment of land

* *British Rule in India*, pp. 140, 141.

revenue is a decrease of the burden upon the land. Moreover, a calculation which was made at the time and which I may say was not made for my purposes in the least but was made in the Revenue and Agricultural Department in the course of a discussion regarding settlement which was going on there, and it happened to pass through my hands, and I laid hold of it for the present purpose. According to these calculations the average price for the last two years of rice in Lower Burma has been such that the present land revenue is only equal to 8 per cent. of it. The meaning of that is that for every Rs. 8 of land revenue increase which have come into the pockets of Government there have been Rs. 92 of increase which have gone into the pockets of the cultivators. I think that any statement that the land revenue burdens have been increased during these 20 years is entirely put out of Court by the figures which I have quoted."

The proposals under this head will be mentioned at the close of this chapter.

During the twenty years, 1870-71 and 1890-91, the Land Revenue increased only 14 per cent.*—less than one per cent. a year. This is another proof of the slight increase in the incidence of the tax, even if there was no increase in the area cultivated.

Much has been said of the increase in the Land Tax in the Central Provinces. This is because the first assessment was exceptionally low. The rates in three heavily assessed and three lightly assessed districts in the Central Provinces and Madras Presidency compare as follows:—

	I.			II.			III.											
	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.									
C. Provinces.	0	11	1	0	11	2	0	9	10	0	4	0	0	3	11	0	2	9
Madras.	3	12	1	2	13	7	2	13	0	0	14	3	0	11	8	0	11	2

Justice demanded that the rates should be more equalised.

PROPOSED PERMANENT LAND SETTLEMENT.

This is the popular panacea for all the ills of India. Mr. R. C. Dutt, Professor of Indian History in a London College, says:—

"A permanent limitation of the State demand from the soil would be the saving of India."‡

At the Amraoti Congress, a Resolution in favour of a Permanent Land Settlement was passed, supported by the opinions of Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro, and Lord Canning.

Still more recently the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu, the Madras Member in the Viceroy's Council, said during the Budget Debate:—

"This need can be satisfied only by adopting a permanent settlement of land revenue instead of the temporary system now obtaining, which

* Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III p. 378.

† Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India*. Vol. III. p. 72

‡ *England and India*, p. 134.

enables the Government to increase its demands from time to time and thus absorb what margin the ryot might have created for himself. This is a reform, which, Mr. ANANDA CHARLU pointed out, soon after her Majesty's assumption of the Government of this country, 'statesmen of both parties in England agreed to be the only one calculated to bring competence and contentment before long, and lead in its wake to prosperity all round.' No question is more important to the material prosperity of the Indian people than this question of permanent settlement, which is the only remedy for the frightful and growing poverty of the people, while other remedies contemplated by the Government are mere palliatives or not even such."

Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India* is the latest and most complete work on the subject. Although the Permanent Settlement question is regarded by Indian authorities as "dead and buried," since it is brought up from time to time, a chapter is devoted to it, which is quoted below:—

THE MODERN QUESTION OF A GENERAL PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

Before I pass on to some other matters of importance connected with land-revenue administration, I feel that it is almost unavoidable to give some further detail regarding the proposal to assess the land-revenues of provinces once for all. Probably there are now very few persons of Indian experience who are likely to entertain any such proposition with favour; and for official purposes the question is dead and buried. But from time to time such questions recondescend; and dressed up in showy and plausible arguments they are made use of to the bewilderment of persons to whom the facts of the case are not familiar. I believe that a few pages devoted to the actual history of the question during the last twenty years and to a plain statement of some of the leading considerations on the merits of the discussions will not be without their use, nor wholly devoid of interest especially to the non-official reader.

1. *Official History of the Question.*

This question arose for the second time with reference to the Settlements of the North-Western Provinces.

When the thirty years' settlements made under the Regulations of 1822 and 1833 began to fall in, the country was still suffering from the effects of the disorder produced by the Mutiny, and by the famine and cholera of 1860. Under such gloomy circumstances the districts came up to be resettled for a new term. The report on the famine of 1860-61 by Colonel Baird Smith struck the key-note of *praising* the moderate assessments of the past settlements, and treating them as an instalment of a gift which would be completed by making the moderate assessment *permanent*. The light assessment had enabled people to bear up against the famine of the last year better than they had done in the famine of 1837-38; and it was urged that if the assessment was made, not for thirty years but for ever, it would achieve still greater success. This report received, at the time, a good deal of commendation. There is, however, no sufficient reasons to assume that the permanence of a

settlement has anything whatever to do either with the improvement of the land or the happiness of the people. And there are other considerations which the Report ignored. But the pendulum of general and official opinion swings in a long course from side to side in these revenue administrative questions—permanency, tenant right, and so forth; and at that period it was again on the descent towards the permanent settlement side. It also happened that in 1861, attention had been attracted to the unexploited *waste lands* of India. Forest conservancy had not then come under the public notice, and even if it had the area of waste available for cultivation was large. Lord Canning, then Governor-General, wrote a minute on the subject; and it was argued that if the lands were sold free of any revenue demand, it would encourage their occupation and draw capital to this source of expected profit.

And naturally, from the question of occupying waste lands free of revenue charge, the Governor-General's remarks passed to the possible advantages of a general *redemption* of the land revenue on estates already occupied. The redemption was to be effected by paying up in one sum the prospective value of the revenue demand. On this, the Board of Revenue in the North-West Provinces advocated a *permanent settlement* (for, of course, the revenue must be permanently assessed before it could be redeemed.) The Secretary of State, however, 1862, rejected the policy of a redemption of land-revenue, but said he would listen to proposals for a permanent settlement.

It needs no lengthened explanation to understand that so long as a district is not fully cultivated, and there is any serious prospect of alteration in its economic position, an assessment hastily made permanent must be one after regretted. The form the problem took in 1862 was—What are the conditions, which must be fulfilled *seriatim* before a district can be fit for a final revision of assessment, so that there need be no further changes? At first it was assumed that when a careful revision of the existing (and then expiring) rates had been effected, and when no considerable increase of cultivation in future was probable, a permanent assessment might be practicable.

In 1864 the terms were formulated by the Government of India (and were modified at home in 1865). The condition was laid down that eighty per cent. of the culturable area should have been brought under cultivation, and then that the rate of permanent assessment need not be as low as fifty per cent. of the net assets (the rate at which the revenue demand had previously been fixed by the ordinary Settlement rules). But this was not satisfactory; and in 1867 another condition was added, regarding the probability of canal irrigation being extended to the lands in the next twenty years. This, of course, largely alters the rate of produce and the value of the land.

Then, it seems, officers were set to work to find out what districts or parts of districts could be permanently settled under these conditions. But in 1869 some cases came up (in the course of the inquiry) in which it was demonstrated that—although the conditions were satisfied—there would be a great prospective loss to Government by making the assessment permanent. Accordingly a third condition was recommended. The Government of India, in concurring, went so far as to say, what practically availed to this, that a permanent Settlement should be

deferred so long as the land continued to improve in value by any causes which were not the direct result of the occupant's own efforts.

It does not seem to have occurred to the supporters of the idea of a Permanent Settlement that it would be possible to secure all or nearly all the advantages, whatever they are, without the disadvantages of fixing a limit which—no matter what new combinations the future may produce—can never be altered. Still less did it seem to them necessary to be very cautious (in India) when we prophesy what *will* be the results in the future of any given proposal. For instance, let us refer to the difficulty which arises when a cash assessment is fixed for ever, and a fall in the value of money occurs. The reader of the present day will peruse with something like amazement the remark in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1862, that the 'fall in the value of money was not of sufficient moment to influence the judgment of Her Majesty's Government to any material extent.' Prices were unlikely to rise greatly; even if they should rise, the Government of India might easily find sources of income other than the land."

But to continue; the practical outcome of the discussion at the time was (as I have said) that a searching inquiry into the condition of districts, was to be made to see really what districts were in a condition that would satisfy the requirements of the case. Before this was completed, the very difficulty which Sir Charles Wood treated so lightly, actually overtook us;—the increasing depreciation of silver had begun severely to embarrass the Indian Government; and the financial position afforded unmistakable proof of the danger of attaching permanency to a money assessment. For a time the subject dropped, but in 1882, it finally came up in connection with the Resolution which the Government of India issued on the subject of reform in the procedure of settlements. The key-note of this was, the possibility of securing the advantages derivable from a permanent Settlement, without abandoning the unquestioned claim of Government to share in the increase resulting from improvements made by itself, and from a general rise in prices.

As far as a question of permanent settlement (pure and simple) is concerned the Government of India despatch elicited from the Secretary of State a reply* which, after admitting the difficulty of finding other sources of revenue, noticing the change that had come over the financial position, and acknowledging that the anticipations of benefit from the permanent settlement in Bengal had not been realised, concluded.*—

"I concur with your Excellency's Government that the policy laid down in 1862 should now be formally abandoned."

And in writing to the North-Western Provinces Government the Government of India said.

"It is sufficient for present purposes to announce that Her Majesty's Secretary of State has now definitely agreed with the Government of India in rejecting the policy of a Permanent Settlement pure and simple." p. 345.

(2). General reflections on the Principle of Permanence.

It is no part of this work, intended for practical purposes to enter into discussion of principles. I desire to give the results rather than

* Despatch No. 24, dated 25th March 1863.

the details of controversies. At the same time in a matter like this, which has so often been misrepresented, I may be pardoned for adding a few remarks. It would be difficult in a thorough and unprejudiced inquiry what went beyond mere phrases to discover any real argument for a Permanent Settlement—I mean an argument in which the perpetuity of the assessment is the essential point—except the *one* that all future costs of re-settlement and all harrassment to the people would be avoided all other arguments (as far as they are not merely prophetic of imagined results) *may it once be admitted*, only they are equally true of any settlement for which a fair term of duration is provided. And as regards the one argument which is real, the benefit is surely far outweighed by the admitted sacrifice of revenue, when it is remembered that the process of re-settlement *can*, by judicious arrangements, be so carried out as to be very slightly, if at all, vexatious, and the cost reduced to a minimum.

As regards the 'prophetic argument'—the hoped-for creation of a prosperous middle class, the improvement of the land and the growth of other sources of State income, expected from the permanent assessment, the experience (under most favourable conditions) in Bengal and Benares, shows that as a fact, though the assessment *has become very light*, nothing of the kind has happened. As regards the greater encouragement to agriculture and to the expenditure of capital in irrigation and other landlords' improvements, as a matter of fact, in no single province or district has a permanent settlement been known to have any such effect.

In the first place it may be asked (with one of the Collectors in the North-Western Provinces)—as to improvements made by landlords, where, as a rule, are they? Generally there are made at the expense of the cultivating tenants—at any rate in the end. And certainly when landlords do make improvements, little difference can be detected between permanently settled and other estates. Here and there a landlord makes improvements because he is an enlightened man, but it depends on the *man*—not on the supposed security.

Mr. J. R. Reid, Secretary to the Government North-Western Provinces, giving his personal experience, wrote in 1873 :—

"According to theory one should find estates like these (permanently settled) in the most flourishing condition, with all manner of improvements introduced, and landlords well to do and most liberal to their tenants. But, in fact, in riding through these villages, and through the *paryanas* generally, you would not detect anything in the appearance of the people, land, in the number of wells and other means of irrigation, the kind and look of the crops, the size of the houses, the air and condition of the people and cattle, to make you suspect that the (permanently settled) landowners enjoy a different tenure from their neighbours of similar caste and condition on temporarily settled estates. There is as much capital laid out and industry bestowed on the land in the one set of estate as in the other."

I could multiply testimony to the same effect; but the fact does not really admit of dispute.

This matter of improvements is connected directly with another question, which is not usually noticed by the advocates of a permanent Settlement. Does any landholder really believe in or realize *permanency*? For example will any one sincerely contend that, looking at all the ups

and downs of history, a Zamindar in 1793 *realized* that the Government would last for ever, or even for a long period of years? Would not a promise of fixity for thirty or twenty years even then seemed to him a period longer than he could count on? And at the present day, do the mass of unlettered but hard-working petty land-owners ever think of anything so remote as fifty years hence, still less realize the idea of permanence, and act upon it?

But even if it were otherwise, what possible right has one Government to bind (and seriously embarrass) its successors for all time? The effect of a Permanent Settlement is practically this, that the Government of the day selects a certain class of estates or a special province and says, 'You shall never be called on to bear more than a certain share of the public burdens, no matter what your neighbours pay.' Of course, I am aware that other, and especially indirect, taxes may be imposed, but practically, in Bengal, for instance, what are they? It is a fair estimate to make that at present for no conceivable reason the class of Bengal landlords is contributing (proportionately) to the public expenditure less than one-third of what any one *else* pays.

On the whole, therefore, it is impossible not to conclude that in theory, as binding future Governments and excepting certain classes from part of the burthen of taxation and not applied universally, the declaration of a permanently fixed land tax is inadmissible. Further that in practice, a general unchangeable assessment has no advantages which are not equally to be secured by a *moderate assessment* for a fairly long term of years. What that term should be, depends on a variety of considerations, local as well as of principle; and though a certain concurrence of practice has resulted in thirty years or twenty years as an usual period, Government has wisely refused by either legislative enactment or otherwise, to stereotype any rule. The circumstances of the Central Provinces have only recently demonstrated that periods from twelve to twenty years for the New Settlements will be practically the best.

As to imaginary or anticipated encouragements and advantages to agriculture, it is idle to refer to them in the face of nearly a century's experience of what *has* happened in provinces where the experiment has been tried, and tried under very favourable circumstances. It certainly is high time that this 'policy' should now be regarded as 'formally abandoned.'*

HISTORY OF PRICES.

At page 7 there is a quotation from Mr. Naoroji contrasting the average earnings of £2 in India with £35 in England, as a proof of the incapacity and rapacity of the British Administration. This is an example of the ignorant and unfair criticism so common. This, however, is to be expected. As the *Edinburgh Review* remarks:—

"Nor will the best intentions and the highest administrative

* Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol I. pp. 340-349.

principles in India save a government from incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny." Jan. 1884, p. 24.

There are three obstacles to Indians arriving at a knowledge of the true state of things :—

1. *False ideas of the "good old times."*—Such prevail all the world over.

2. *The absence of the historical faculty.*—The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit, says, "The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. From the very earliest ages down to the present time, the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence."

Not only have the Hindus no history ; but, as Sir H. S. Maine says, Native thought and literature is "elaborately inaccurate ; it is supremely and deliberately careless of all precision in magnitude, number, and time." Time is measured by millions of years ; space by millions of miles ; if a battle has to be described, nothing is thought of it unless millions of soldiers, horses, and elephants are brought into the field.

3. *False patriotism.*—This has already been noticed.

"A man convinced against his will,
Is of the same opinion still."

Professor R. C. Dutt and other advocates of a Permanent Settlement are strongly recommended to read carefully *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* by Thorold Rogers. Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* is very valuable to any man who has sufficient brains to draw the right conclusions.

An attempt will now be made to explain matters, although the arguments will probably be dismissed by the Indian Press as only those of an "empiric financier, with a "few crude economic notions."

General Principle.—The value of an article depends very largely upon its abundance or scarcity. If rubies and diamonds were as plentiful as common pebbles, they would not be of any more value. All know that grain falls in price after a good harvest, and rises when the reverse is the case.

Six centuries ago the quantity of gold and silver in possession of the people was very much smaller than at present. America, with its vast supply of the precious metals, had not then been discovered. Of late years it has been still more increased by rich gold fields in Australia, New Zealand, &c., and by improved mining apparatus.

Mulhall's *Dictionary* gives the rate of wages in England and the

prices of oxen and sheep, according to weight in silver, as follows at different periods :—

Year.	Labourer.			Ox.			Sheep.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1400	1	8	0	2	2	0	0	4	0
1450	1	10	0						
1500	1	11	0	2	0	0	0	4	0
1550	1	15	0						
1600	1	15	0	5	6	0	0	8	0
1650	2	12	0						
1700	4	4	0	8	10	0	0	19	0
1750	5	5	0						
1800	12	12	0	14	0	0	1	5	0
1850	20	0	0						
1880	30	0	0						

The present value of money in India represents the scale in England in the 15th century, before the immense produce of the American mines of the precious metals raised the standard. According to Mulhall, an English labourer in 1500 A.D. earned £1 11s. a year, or about Rs. 1½ per month—less than the present Indian average.

During the 15th century in England, the wages of the artizan were generally and throughout the year about 6*d.* (4 As.) a day. Those of the agricultural labourer were about 4*d.* The carpenter received 6*d.* (p. 327)* “Very often the labourer is fed. In this case the cost of maintenance is put down at from 6*d.* to 8*d.* a week.” (p. 328)* In 1562 the average price of labour was 9½*d.* per day. (p. 354). In 1651 artizans had 16*d.* a day; ordinary labourers, 13*d.* (p. 392). At present the wages of artizans vary from 3*s.* to 7*s.* a day, while an agricultural labourer gets about 2*s.*

It would be a great mistake to suppose that agricultural labourers in England with 2*s.* a day are six times better off than when they received 4*d.* The very different cost of living has to be taken into account. In the 15th century it was only 6*d.* to 8*d.* a week; it is now more than that a day.

The change which took place in England has been going on, and will go on increasingly, in India. The tendency of free communication is to equalize prices. While the commerce with England was limited to a few small ships a year, the influence was

* See *Centuries of Work and Wages.*

slight; now there are fleets of large steamers constantly plying. Incomes will rise in India as they did in England.

During the present century the money rate of wages in India has probably doubled. The *currency* of a country is a good test of its comparative wealth. Under former rule in India, cowries were largely used as money. In Bengal 3000 were reckoned equal to a rupee. At the beginning of the century it was said of poor Bengalis, "They think in cowries." Tincowry, 'three cowries,' is a common name in Bengal. Up till 1820 the revenue of Sylhet, then a district of Eastern Bengal, was paid in cowries, of which 70 crores had annually to be sent to Dacca. The people must be much richer than before to use copper instead of cowries.

The Government of India now publishes very valuable Tables of *Prices and Wages in India*. In the 14th issue the prices of food do not go farther back than 1861. In that year, the average retail price of rice in Bengal was about 29 seers, each of 80 tolas, for a rupee. In 1896 the average was 13½ seers, (pp. 4, 5).

But wages have also increased. In the Government Returns, they do not generally go farther back than 1873. The only exception is the "Monthly pay of Postal Runners and Postmen from 1855 to 1896." Taking Bengal as an example, they rose from Rs. 3-10-0 in 1855, to Rs. 5-8-0 in 1896.*

On a moderate estimate, by the year 2000 A.D., the present prices of food and wages, will have more than doubled, representing England in the year 1700 A.D. And this increase may be expected to continue.

RESULTS OF A PERMANENT LAND SETTLEMENT.

Mr. R. C. Dutt thinks that a Permanent Land Settlement would be "the saving of India." The experiment has been partially tried: has it been a blessing?

A distinguished European Political Economist described the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis as

"One of the most unfortunate, but best intentioned, schemes that ever ruined a country."

Mr. A. O. Hume, a competent and unexceptionable authority, characterises it as a "STUPENDOUS ERROR." Its effects are thus described:—

"Time has rolled on; a roadless wilderness has been traversed in all directions by railways and roads; under our protecting rule a vast internal and foreign commerce has been developed, prices of agricultural produce have risen, new and extremely remunerative staples have been introduced, and vast tracts of waste have come under the plough; but our demand remains the same as it was seventy years ago, and is probably

* *Prices and Wages in India*, pp. 318, 319.

four and five millions less than it would have been at the present moment had our predecessors contented themselves in Bengal, as elsewhere, with fixing the demand for periods of twenty or thirty years.

"These extra millions would have made the administration easy. We should never have heard of license and income taxes, hateful to the country, however equitable in theory; famine expenditure would not, as now, have involved proximate insolvency, and nine-tenths of the fiscal measures of the last fifteen years in every section and grade of the community, would have been unnecessary.

"Had the country gained by it, we might derive some consolation in looking back on this stupendous error. But the result has been only to create a multitude of absentee landlords and rent-charge holders, and to leave the masses, except in particular localities, worse off and more miserable than those of any other part of the Empire."*

The ryots in Bengal pay several crores a year to Zemindars which in other provinces would have gone to Government. Sir H. S. Cunningham thus points out the injustice of this:—

"The richest province of India has been, to a large extent, defended, administered, educated, supplied with roads, barracks, hospitals, railways and canals, and relieved in famine, at the expense of the rest of the community. Ryots have been toiling in Madras and starving in the Deccan, in order that gentlemen, like the Rajahs of Durbhanga and Burdwan may enjoy incomes of several hundred thousand pounds a year free from the rude contact of the tax collector's hand."†

PRESENT PRINCIPLES OF RE-ASSESSMENT OR REVISION OF LAND-REVENUE.

As there is much misconception about these, they are quoted in full.

The final orders on the subject are given in a Despatch of the Secretary of State (No. 4, Revenue of 8th January, 1885). Mr. Baden-Powell says:—

"I may now sum up both the discussions which I have been describing and the general subject of the *latest rules for the simplification of the procedure in the re-settlements*, by giving the actual principles sanctioned;—

- (1) The Permanent Settlement idea is formally abandoned;
- (2) The State shall still retain its claim to share in the unearned increment of the value of land to which there is a tendency in a progressive country;
- (3) That a general and permanent rise in the prices of produce is one of the principal indications and measures of this increment;
- (4) That it is nevertheless desirable to modify the existing system of revision of the temporary settlements of land-revenue with a view of rendering it less arbitrary, uncertain, and troublesome to the people;

* *Agricultural Reform in India*, pp. 4, 5.

† *British India and its Rulers*, pp. 168, 169.

(5) That the modification shall be effected at least on the following particulars:—

(a) Repetition of field operations (survey, valuation, minute inquiry into assets and the like) which are considered to be inquisitorial and harassing to the people, should be, as far as possible, dispensed with;

(b) Enhancement should be based mainly on considerations of general increase in the value of land;

(c) The assessment will not be revised merely with a view to equalizing its incidence with that of the assessment of other estates;

(d) Improvements made by the land-holders themselves should not be taken into account in revising assessments; but improvements made at the cost of the state should be taken into account, and also to some extent, increase of cultivation.*

"THE UNEARNED INCREMENT."

This may be illustrated by an example.

It has been mentioned that in 1861 the average retail price of rice in Bengal was 29 seers for a rupee. If a ryot's farm yielded 2000 seers, the crop, at retail rates, would be worth about Rs. 69½. Suppose the ryot made no effort at improving his farm, and that the crop in 1896 was the same number of seers. In the latter year, at 13½ seers to the rupee, the crop would be worth Rs. 148. The "unearned increment" would be Rs. 79. If, however, the ryot by digging a well had increased his crop one-half, this increment would be of a different kind, and would be an "earned," instead of an "unearned increment."

WHY GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECEIVE A SHARE OF THE "UNEARNED INCREMENT."

Government is often considered as something apart from the people, and what goes to it is subtracted from the common good. On the contrary, Government represents the whole body of the people, and the real question is, Whether some classes, should be benefited at the expense of the general community? Part of the "Unearned Increment" should go to Government for the following reasons:—

1. In not a few cases the "increment" is due to the construction of roads, railways, &c. provided by Government.—The *Reis and Rayyet* mentions the case of Gidhore. It was a wild tract of country, paying only a nominal revenue; Government opened a railway through it, and "it is now one of the best properties in Bengal."

2. Justice to non-ryots demands it.—A righteous Government should deal equitably with all its subjects. Under a

* *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, pp. 364, 365.

Permanent Settlement, the percentage of taxation borne by ryots would be constantly diminishing, while that paid by non-ryots would be constantly increasing. Non-ryots would pay the ryots twice as much for their rice as they used to do, while their income tax would, at the same time, be becoming heavier.

3. It is desirable for the welfare of the ryots themselves.— A “permanent settlement,” at the present rates, would be to them “permanent ignorance and poverty:” it would perpetuate their present miserable condition.

The aim, as far as practicable, should be to assimilate the condition of the ryots to that of English farmers. In the first place, they should be provided with schools. Who should pay for them? The ryots? or should they be provided at the expense of non-ryots? The sanitary condition of villages should be improved. There should be a well-equipped Agricultural Department to show the ryots how gradually to treble the produce of their fields. These and many other improvements are necessary. To such purposes a portion of the “unearned increment” might well be allotted.

DIVISION OF THE “UNEARNED INCREMENT.”

This must depend at the rate at which the country is to advance. Say that ten per cent of the increase goes to Government to provide schools, &c., and ninety per cent remains with the ryots.

EVILS OF A PERMANENT LAND SETTLEMENT.

The first step which ought to be taken by the advocates of a permanent settlement is *permanently to settle the value of the rupee*. It has been shown that in England in the 15th century a labourer earned only 3s. a year, while now he earns £ 30. Suppose that in England a land tax had been the chief source of revenue, and that it had been permanently settled in the 15th century. It is evident that the land revenue would have dwindled to a twentieth part in comparison with other rates, and the Government could not have been carried on except by the imposition of other taxes.

Within forty years, the intrinsic value of the rupee has fallen from two shillings to ten pence, and how much lower it will fall no one can tell. With this uncertainty, it would be very unwise in Government to fix a rate which could not be altered under any circumstances.

As stated by Baden-Powell, Government should not favour one class at the expense of others. Ryots form the great bulk of the community. They should bear a fair share of the expenses of the state as well as non-ryots. As already mentioned, it would be very unjust for the taxation of the former to become less and less, receiving, at the same time, more from their crops, while non-ryots

had to pay more and more for their food, with an increasing income tax in addition. But happily the Permanent Settlement has been "formally abandoned" by Government.

PARLIAMENTARY RETURN.

There may be individual cases where Settlement Officers, with a view to their promotion or in the supposed interests of Government, have over-assessed on re-settlement; but the slight increase of the land tax on the whole seems to show that such cases are exceptional. From the increase in the price of grain, it is probable that the incidence of the land tax was never so light as at present. As this, however, is disputed, the Parliamentary Indian Committee might move for a Return somewhat like the following:

1. The number of acres taxed, with the amount of the assessment during each year since Her Majesty's assumption of the direct Government of India.

2. The percentage which the tax bears to the value of the *gross produce*.

3. The rules in force for re-assessment.

4. The times at which the land revenue is collected.

5. Whether sufficient consideration is shown in delaying the collection of revenue during bad seasons.

6. The numbers of ryots ejected for non-payment of revenue.

Correct returns of the above nature would do much to settle controversies, and would serve as a guide to intelligent legislation.

VII. RENEWED APPLICATION FOR A PARLIAMENTARY GRANT.

A few months ago it was the general impression that England ought, and was willing, to give a grant to India to aid her amid her dire calamities. Even ministerial statements encouraged this hope.

Mr. Nicholson's Exposure.—The situation was changed through the strong opposition of Sir James Westland, the Indian Minister of Finance, who presented a roseate budget, contending that such a grant was both unnecessary and impolitic. But the statements made by the Hon. F. A. Nicholson during the debate have immensely strengthened the grounds for a grant, and application for it may be renewed with every prospect of success.

Mr. Nicholson, an experienced officer, was placed in 1892 on special duty by the Madras Government to inquire as to what could be done to relieve the indebtedness of the ryots. The two

measures recommended by him in Council were the improvement of agriculture and the establishment of agricultural banks to afford advances on terms which would be reasonable and encourage thrift. The revelation which he made was most astounding. His remarks are quoted in full (see pp. 11-13) only a summary will here be given, and, to make it clearer to home readers, lakhs will be changed into tens of rupees.

The Budget expenditure for the year on Land Records and Agriculture, according to Mr. Nicholson, was as follows :—

Land Records	...	...	...	Rx. 970,000
Agriculture	...	...	...	„ 50,000
				—————
				Rx. 1,020,000

With a Land Revenue of 26 millions, drawn from an agricultural population of 176 millions, Government spent Rx. 50,000 on the improvement of agriculture! Even this sum appears to have been considered too large, for during the year the appointment of Agricultural Chemist was abolished.

Inhumanity is not the explanation of this small expenditure on Agriculture; for the same Government spent during the last two years 14 millions on the relief of the famine-stricken. It probably arose from not fully understanding what the expenditure of Rx. 1,020,000 really denoted.

But Mr. Nicholson's statement elicited no more from the Finance Minister than a compliment to himself as the best adviser on the subject. In reply he said :—

“I listened with very great interest to the remarks of the Hon. Mr. Nicholson upon a subject upon which he is pre-eminently qualified to advise the Government, viz., agricultural banks and agricultural advances. I sincerely hope that the result of his investigation on this subject will be such as to ensure some progress in the direction he indicates, but upon the general subject all that I can say I am afraid is this, that it is one of the very many things that it is extremely desirable that we should do, but which from want of funds we cannot do.”

The equilibrium in the Finance Minister's budget has been partly obtained by the sacrifice of agriculture and the ryots, and he is apparently willing that this should go on for another year. The smoke of five million pyres must ascend to heaven as a holocaust before the Finance Minister will take any steps to benefit the survivors. Even then, he makes no pledge—rather the reverse. He consigns the proposals of Mr. Nicholson to the *limbo* of “extremely desirable” but impracticable schemes.

Some reasons will now be given why a grant should be asked, and the manner in which it is proposed to be spent will be explained.

I. ARGUMENTS FOR A GRANT.

1. **Policy.**—Sir John Strachey is quoted by the Finance Minister as an authority on the inexpediency of India accepting aid from England. One reply to this is that the British Government in 1885 did make a grant of five millions towards the expense of the Afghan war, Sir John Strachey's arguments notwithstanding. It is held that requiring the Government of India to meet all expenses will make it take more pains to count the cost beforehand. This applies to England as well as India. The Secretary of State for India, may sanction war "with a light heart" (financially) if India has to bear the entire cost. If, however, England has to bear part of the expense and a vote in Parliament has to be faced, both the Secretary for India and his colleagues will be more careful about giving their approval.

2. **Justice.**—The following guarantee was given by the Government of India Act of 1858:—

"Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions."

"The Government of India say:—"We consider nothing but the most extraordinary case of necessity would justify the application of the revenues of India to defray the cost of a military operation carried on beyond the frontiers of India without the consent of both Houses of Parliament." "The expenditure charged by England should be limited . . . by statesmanlike and broad appreciation of the conditions of the two countries."*

A few months ago it was the general expectation of both political parties that such a grant would be given. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer held out the hope.

There is at least *primâ facie* ground for the contention that the recent war was beyond the frontier. In the map of the Indian Empire prefixed to Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, the Afridis are beyond the red line. Strictly speaking, perhaps, the scene of operations may be described as a border-land, neither within nor without our Empire.

A Finance Minister may be expected to look at things from his own point of view; but there are far higher considerations. In a money dispute between a rich man and a poor man, the former should rather pay more than his due than leave the latter to suppose that he was unjustly dealt with.

It is of the utmost importance that the people of India should not suspect us of any desire to repudiate our engagements.

* Quoted during the Budget Debate by the Hon. R. M. Sayani.

Some officials may not "care a brass farthing" what is said about them individually, but the Government of India cannot take this view.

3. **Humanity.**—The masses of India are miserably poor, and by the very excellence of our rule we are increasing the pressure on the soil. If we had let them perish by millions in famines, and be decimated by disease, the struggle would not have been so severe. As already mentioned, every year there are two millions more mouths to feed. W. R. Robertson, Esq., in a paper read before the Society of Arts, says:—

"A primitive system of husbandry, which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population, when there was plenty of good land available, no longer suffices, now that the demand for human food has become so great, and such a large area of poor soil has to be tilled."

Sir W. W. Hunter justly remarks:—

"The principle of *laissez faire* can, in fact, be safely applied only to self-governing nations. The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pitiless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people increasing the food supply to meet their wants."*

The munificent contributions of the people of England for famine relief have been gratefully acknowledged by India; but there is undoubtedly an impression abroad that the Government is becoming hard and unsympathetic. It is very desirable to produce the opposite feeling which would be aided by a grant. As the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis said in Council:—

"India has had such an exceptional and unhappy year that no reasonable being, I think, would have objected to a voluntary contribution from England at this crisis—a contribution which would have been just on abstract principles and would have produced the happiest of results politically. Great Britain is as conspicuously rich as India is notoriously poor, and a grant from England would have been a graceful mark of sympathy at this time of acute strain and distress."

The Frontier war will cost about four millions of tens of rupees. England, during the last two years, had a surplus of seven millions; and another surplus is expected. A request might be made for a grant of two millions sterling.

II. OBJECTS TO WHICH THE GRANT SHOULD BE APPLIED.

It is important that these should be clearly understood, for the willingness to make the grant will depend largely upon the value attached to them.

Speaking generally, it is for the benefit of the ryots and poor in India. There is the more reason for a Home Grant, because

* *England's Work in India*, p 130.

it was a Secretary of State for India that ruined one of most hopeful efforts to ameliorate the condition of the ryots.

Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General of India who ever farmed for a livelihood. "Many a day," he used to say, "have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beasts." He felt that improved agriculture was the greatest need for the "material" progress of India, and drew up a most comprehensive and well-devised scheme for the agricultural development of the country.

The Secretary of State ruled that *Revenue*, not *Agriculture*, should be the main object of the new Department. Lord Mayo placed it under an officer on account of his knowledge of Agriculture. The Secretary of State directed that the next head was to be chosen for his knowledge of *Revenue*, and not of *Agricultural matters*.*

And what is the present state of things? Last year, in spite of the strong recommendation of the Famine Commission that Agriculture should receive more attention, the comparative expenditure on Land Records and Agriculture was as follows:—

Land Records (Revenue)	...	...	Rx. 970,000
Agriculture	...	...	" 50,000

In addition, the Finance Minister did not hold out any hope of an increased vote for Agriculture this year. It is the more necessary therefore to obtain help from other quarters.

The following measures are suggested:

1. **The Organization of an Agricultural Department with no other duties.**—"Land Settlement, Land Records, and Agriculture," should no longer be combined.

The Director-General should be a member of the Viceroy's Council. Each Province should have its Provincial Director.

The first duty would be a careful Agricultural Survey of the country to see what was good in Native methods, and what improvements might be introduced. Former attempts largely failed from the want of this preliminary inquiry.

2. **The similar Organization of a Department of Manufactures and Commerce.**

The Director-General should be a man of the stamp of Lord Playfair.

The first step should be the Industrial Survey recommended by Dr. Forbes Watson. Here Dr. George Watt, C. I. E., Reporter on Economic Products, and author of a valuable Dictionary on the subject, could render valuable assistance.

Technical Colleges, Industrial and Commercial Schools should afterwards receive attention.

The Famine Commission recommended the development of manufactures to relieve the pressure on the land. The Letter to Lord George Hamilton shows that there are also important political considerations urging the same course.

3. **The establishment of a Special Department for Advances to ryots, as under Hindu and Muhammadan Governments.**—By judicious rules drawn up by Mr. Nicholson, the ryots might be freed from the meshes of the money-lenders, while an effort was made to promote habits of thrift.

The experiment should first be tried in a few selected districts.

4. **The Organization of an Emigration Department.**—Its duty should be to ascertain where waste lands are available, and afford guidance to settlers.

The sum of two millions would enable a good commencement to be made at once, and before it was expended it is to be hoped that the regular revenue would enable the work to be continued.

The Parliamentary Committee might draw up a statement on the subject, copies of which might be sent to every member of the two Houses and to the leading journals. If the proposal were brought fairly before the British public, there is every probability that the grant would meet with public approval. Although it was negatived once, our laws are not like those of the Medes and Persians. Besides, the manner in which agriculture was "starved" by the Government of India, was not then known.

Progress must be slow. Mr. A. O. Hume says :—

"No magic transformation can be looked for. With the most careful selections, the utmost energy and good will on the part of all concerned, three or four years must elapse before, with an organisation such is proposed, the men will have really settled down to their work, and perhaps as many more before all the most important problems, first demanding solution, will have been clearly marked out. Even then it may be only slowly that with silent fingers Science will unpick the knots, and if as, without being in any degree sanguine, we may fairly expect, after twenty years' work, and after spending four or five millions, the main obstacles have been overcome, a thorough reform effected in the agriculture of particular localities, and the people as a whole awakened to what can be and has been done in this way, we shall have made the best investment that ever landed proprietor did."*

FUTURE MAINTENANCE OF THE NEW DEPARTMENTS.

This is proposed by a redistribution, in some cases, of the present expenditure.

Support of the Agricultural Department.—It has been shown that the Famine policy of Government has been "to save life

* *Agricultural Reform*, p 38.

instead of seeking to *prevent pauperism*. One-third of the Famine Fund might be legitimately devoted to the support of the Agricultural Department.

Support of Technical Education.—This might very well be provided for by a share of the large sum devoted every year to the extension of railways. This is a question deserving the serious consideration of the Parliamentary Committee.

Advance Department.—This should meet its own charges, although a growing working capital will be required.

The income from the above sources will not be necessary for two or three years, by which time, according to Sir James Westland, the finances will be in a flourishing condition.

VIII. REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE ESSENTIAL TO THE WELL-BEING OF INDIA.

For a number of years military influence has been predominant in the Government of India. The "Russian scare" has been largely employed to secure a "Scientific frontier" and to increase the army beyond Indian requirements. The results cannot be said to be very satisfactory. The late frontier war cost about four millions, besides the loss of many valuable lives, while, perhaps, Colonel Warburton did as much as Sir William Lockhart to secure the surrender of the rifles.

It is to be hoped that the "forward policy" has been "scotched," if not "killed," at least for the present. Lord Roberts did not meet at all meet with a cordial response when he expounded his plans, in the House of Lords.

The 31st Statistical Abstract shows that during the three years ending in 1895-96, the total Revenue, exclusive of Railway Receipts, and the Military Charges were as follows, in tens of Rupees :—

	1893-4	1894-5	1895-6
Revenue ...	70,268,241	73,943,269	76,510,978
Military Expenditure	23,578,571	24,313,958	25,499,506

It will be seen that the Military expenditure absorbs about 30 per cent.* of the Revenue.

It is granted that India should bear the military charges necessary for her own defence; The "Russian scare" is now removed to the Far East. With the clouds in that direction, it may be wise to maintain a reserve force in India, a sort of half-way house, but the expense should be met from Home funds.

* This is the estimate of Mr. Stephen Jacob, Welby Commission, First Report, p. xxvi.

The first step is to ascertain definitely the number of European troops required in India for her own purposes. This cannot be decided by military men alone. Every general thinks that he must have a large army. Indian Governors and frontier officers should also be represented. The Secretary of State or the Government of India could best institute such an enquiry; but failing them, the Parliamentary Indian Committee might move in the matter.

For India's own requirements an army of 50,000 Europeans would probably be ample. By means of the electric telegraph and railways, troops can be moved quickly where they are wanted. We suffered so much during the Mutiny because men had to be sent to the front in batches by relays of bullock carts. Fifty thousand Europeans are now equal to a hundred thousand, or even one hundred and fifty thousand, in former times. There is also a large semi-military police.

There is now a wave of Jingoism passing over England, and John Bull thinks it necessary to "stiffen his battalions." Let him do so, provided the military expenditure of India is not beyond her own needs.

The excessive military charges have been a long standing complaint. In 1881 Sir H. S. Cunningham wrote:—

"Strenuous endeavours should be made to reduce military expenditure; reductions to the amount of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling have been reported by the Army Commission to be compatible, under improved arrangements with increased efficiency; the £970,000 entered in the Home Charges for 'effective' and the £1,936,000 entered under 'non-effective' military services to be especially scrutinised."*

The British nation, properly informed, is willing to pay whatever is justly due, and would scorn to throw upon a poor country like India any part of its legitimate expenses. The fault lies at the door of the War Office. It is proverbial that other people's money is spent freely. The War Office has the reputation of being ingenious in devices to ease its own budget by throwing expenses on India. There have been a few shady transactions in former days between England and India. Sir William Hunter has thought it necessary to give the following caution:—

"I hope that this country will realise once and for all the poverty of the people from whom the Indian revenues are raised. When we have clearly recognised this, we shall see that the smallest act of financial sharp-dealing with India is an act not only of iniquity but of cruelty and meanness, and one which carries with it lasting reproach."†

"If the British nation had realised the poverty of India, it would have refrained from several acts which now form standing reproaches against England in the native press. Fortunately for the national honour,

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 300.

† *England's Work in India*, pp. 55, 56.

the list of our injustices to India, although sufficiently painful to all who wish to see this country discharge its great duties in a noble spirit, is not a very long one. But under pressure of party exigencies and class interests in England, that list may at any moment be added to." *

The War Office is now presided over by the Marquess of Lansdowne, a former Viceroy, who knows the condition of India and may be supposed to retain an interest in her welfare. The present time is, therefore, favourable for a full consideration of the question.

The two Alternatives.—Additional taxation, at present, is out of the question. Either the European army must be considerably reduced, or the great bulk of the people of India must remain uneducated as at present.

The population of British India may be roughly taken at 230 millions. According to the 31st Statistical Abstract (p 193) the grand total of students on March 31st 1896, was 4,320, 926,—about one in 53 of the population. It is evident therefore that the vast majority of the people, under British rule, live and die in ignorance like untold generations of their forefathers. How long is this to continue?

Importance of educating the Ryots.—This is essential to their well-being. Mr. Robertson, formerly connected with the Madras Agricultural Department, expressed the opinion that developing the intelligence of the ryot lies at the root of all improvement. Indeed, as a former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal said :—

“ While the mass of the people remain in their present state of ignorance and debasement, all laws and all systems must be comparatively useless and vain ”

The value of the education given to ryots will depend upon its character. The remark was made years ago, “ Our present system of education tends to give the native youth a taste for a town, rather than a country life,” . . . “ the very thing which ought not to be done.”

A series of elementary text-books should be prepared, suitable for Primary Schools in rural districts.

Natural phenomena, as wind, rain, lightning ; the formation of soil ; the growth and structure of plants, would be excellent subjects for lessons. The prevailing defects in Indian agriculture might be pointed out, with the advantages of an opposite course.

Cattle manure, as is well-known, is almost universally used as fuel. This is excused by some as a necessity. Even if the ashes were utilised, which, as a rule, they are not, the liquid manure is entirely lost. Mr. Robertson says that if each ryot were to plant a few fuel trees in his holding, he would obtain a supply of firewood

* *England's Work in India*, p. 55.

sufficient for the wants of his household, besides improving the climate and affording shelter to stock.

Another reform in this direction is still more important. Mr. Robertson thus describes the present state of things in villages :—

“As nearly the whole of the grain produced on the unirrigated land is consumed by the people of the country, the night-soil should suffice for manuring the greater part of the grain-producing land; but, instead of being used as manure, human excrements are allowed to pollute the neighbourhood of every village; near some it is impossible to camp, the effluvia is so abominable. The excreta-saturated soil, after every fall of rain, gives off pestilential miasma, and poisons the air; while, not unfrequently, after rain the drainage-water off the land flows into the village tank, upon which the whole of the villagers have to depend for drinking water.”*

It may be objected that there is no hope of any change. Mr. A. O. Hume is more sanguine. He says :

“The Chinese system, ... by the help of combined tact and authority, kindness, patience, and gentle pressure, *could* even now be introduced, in two or three years, into *any* small well-supervised tract, and thence spread gradually over the entire empire.”

“Undoubtedly the introduction of this system which, while largely benefiting agriculture, would perhaps do more than any other conceivable measure to restrict the ravages of cholera, should never be lost sight of. Its importance cannot be over-rated.”†

The TWO ALTERNATIVES have thus been stated. Unless the masses of the population of India are to be remain in their present state of ignorance and degradation, the military expenditure must be greatly reduced, either by the withdrawal of troops or by the excess expenditure being met by the Home Treasury. Education is not the only department that suffers from the military expenditure. The Provincial Governments are harried every quinquennium to meet it, and every branch is more or less crippled.

IX. NEED OF CORRECT INFORMATION.

This is required both by Government and people.

John Bull in India, at least during the present century, may at times have displayed bovine stupidity, but his intentions have been good. In the worst of his mistakes, he had the supposed interests of India at heart. There is some excuse for the poor man getting muddled. When Norman Macleod visited India, after receiving from one Anglo-Indian an apparently satisfactory explanation of some problem, the next he met said that it was all wrong!

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, May 14, 1880.

† *Agricultural Reform*, pp. 45, 46.

So far as the writer has been able to form an opinion, the Government revenue is neither excessive, nor, except perhaps in special cases, levied oppressively. The chief complaint is about the distribution of the expenditure. Some important branches, like agriculture, have been "starved," while others have been comparatively "gorged." This may be partly accounted for by the Indian system of accounts. They may be intelligible to an expert, but with their "Budget Estimate" and "Revised Estimate," "Increases and Decreases" without the totals; they are confusing to an ordinary reader.*

One reason why Agriculture was so "starved" probably was that the unequal division of the grant was not realised till it was pointed out by Mr. Nicholson. It is to be hoped that when the next budget is drawn up, its dole will be increased.

But if Government needs to be enlightened on some points, much more do its critics. The feeling exhibited at the Bloomsbury meeting was very largely due to misrepresentations of the English character and Government.

Assertions, outrageously false, have been made; e.g., that "India sends 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, for which not a penny is received in return."

Although the statements of Mr. R. C. Dutt are not so wild as those of Mr. Naoroji, some of them are unfair and, misleading to the general reader. He says:—

"The annual revenue (of India) in 1857 *i.e.*, after Dalhousie's last annexations, was Rx. 32,000,000; the annual revenue now, including railway receipts, is over Rx. 90,000,000; in other words, the revenue obtained from the country has nearly trebled in forty years."†

It is true that the inclusion of "railway receipts" is mentioned; but upon those who do not know their amount, a wrong impression is left. In 1893-4, when the total revenue was Rx. 90,565,214, Railway receipts amounted to Rx. 20,296,973. According to the statistics available, the population in Dalhousie's time did not exceed 150 millions; in 1891 it amounted to 221 millions. Instead of the revenue having "nearly trebled" during forty years it has little more than *doubled*.

Mr. Dutt's plan for the "saving of India," the Permanent Settlement, has already been examined.

The two chief agencies for the spread of correct information will now be noticed.

* At the Welby Commission Lord Cromer admitted that "the Indian account are very difficult to understand." Report, Vol. I. p. xxiii.

† *England and India*, p. 142.

EDUCATION.

The Bloomsbury students illustrate the remark of Sir Monier Williams :—

“After much labour we rulers of India turn out what we call an educated native. Whereupon he turns round upon us, and, instead of thanking us for the trouble we have taken in his behalf, revenges himself upon us for the injury we have inflicted on his character by applying the imperfect education he has received to the injury of his teachers.”

Sir Monier Williams thus explains the cause :—

“Yet it cannot be said that we make higher education consist in the mere imparting of information, and nothing more. We really effect a mighty transformation, in the character of our pupils. We teach a native to believe in himself. We deprecate his not desiring to be better than his fathers. We bid him beware of merging his personality in his caste. We imbue him with an intense consciousness of individual existence. We put him up with an overweening opinion of his own sufficiency. We inflate him with a sublime sense of his own importance as a distinct unit in the body politic. We reveal to him the meaning of ‘I am,’ ‘I can,’ ‘I will,’ ‘I shall,’ and ‘I know,’ without inculcating any lesson of ‘I ought,’ and ‘I ought not,’ without implanting any sense of responsibility to and dependence on an Eternal, Almighty, and All-wise Being for life, for strength, and for knowledge—without, in short, imparting real self-knowledge, or teaching true self-mastery, or instilling high principles and high motives. Such a system carries with it its own nemesis.”*

This is confirmed by Dr. Martin, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal. He says in his last Report :—

“The more one thinks of the present situation, the more one feels impressed with the truth of the conclusion that the policy of religious neutrality has been carried too far; that the present system of Godless training has been more destructive than constructive in its effects. It is sad that while the bare materialism and freethinking of the West have dispelled a mass of ignorance and superstition, they have at the same time created a feeling of scepticism and a spirit of utter irreverence which is sapping the very foundation of the moral side of a student's character. It is for this reason that some sort of religious instruction has been advocated, not, of course, of a sectarian character, but on the line of universal truths, with the cardinal idea of a Supreme Being controlling and regulating all our thoughts and actions.”†

This is a matter of such prime importance that it requires separate treatment. Other points will therefore be noticed.

Value of Education.—Education is one of the most powerful factors that can be employed to influence a people. This is well expressed in the German educational aphorism, “Whatever you

* *Modern India and the Indians*. 3rd Ed. pp. 314-315.

† Quoted in *Madras Mail*, Jan. 11, 1898.

would put into the life of a nation, put into its Schools." By a well-devised course of instruction, it is practicable, in some measure, to mould the character of a nation. The process, it is true, will be slow, but it will tell in the end.

In education the personal example of the teacher and his oral instruction are of chief importance. It will never be in a satisfactory condition till teachers are well trained, intelligent, and animated by a sincere desire to benefit their pupils. To raise up such men must be a long and costly process, if they are ever to be secured.

Meanwhile much might be done by a well devised course of instruction. The value of school-books may be over-estimated, but they may also be unduly depreciated. Dr. Duff expressed the following opinion:—

"Give me,' says one, 'the songs of a country and I will let any one else make the laws of it.' 'Give me,' says another, 'the school books of a country, and I will let any one else make both its laws and its songs.'"

The question what books should be used in schools deserves special attention in India. An intelligent teacher, if compelled to use inferior class-books, will make up largely for their deficiencies by oral instruction. In India, however, except in a few cases, as Mr. Hodgson Pratt observes: "The book is everything, for the masters cannot supply what it fails to give." But even with regard to the best teachers, it is desirable that oral instruction should be supplemented by the printed page.

Prevailing Defect of Indian Education.—The remark of Bishop Tucker may again be quoted, as it applies still more to this subject: "That deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to anglicise everything with which it comes in contact."

In not a few cases Home "Readers" are used in India. Thus the pupils are deprived of many of the lessons which it is most desirable to impress upon them. The tendency to run into debt, the insane expenditure at marriages, the neglect of female education, the cruel treatment of widows, the wrongs of the low castes, &c., are crying evils, not one of which is alluded to in books published in England; but which can be exposed in books prepared specially for India.

This has again and again been condemned. Years ago the Education Commission remarked:—

"Adapted or unadapted, the books that are most suitable, because conveying the most familiar ideas, to English children, are most unsuitable to natives of India. Though often compelled to read about such things, the Indian learner knows nothing of hedge-rows, and birds-nesting, hay-making, being naughty, and standing in a corner." p. 346.

Recently the defect has been noticed in quarters deserving attention. Lord George Hamilton said in his budget speech:—

“Is it impossible so to alter the current and tendency of the education we give, so to associate it with objects of a practical and technical character, by which India’s latent resources might be developed, her industries multiplied, and her productive powers extended?”

Sir John Strachey says of Indian Schools and Colleges:—

“These institutions give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens.”

The Times says in an editorial:—

“There has been more zeal than wisdom, more eagerness to imitate English models than to give the education really needed by the Natives.” (August 31st 1897).

The above remarks apply, more or less, to the whole educational system of India, from the Universities downwards.

Macaulay, in his Essay on Bacon, says that the ancient philosophy “disdained to be useful.” “It could not condescend to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings.” The peculiarity of Bacon’s philosophy is thus described:—

“What, then, was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, ‘fruit.’ It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. It was ‘the relief of man’s estate.’”

Macaulay’s remark about the ancient philosophy, applies largely to the Indian University courses of study. From the serene heights of literature, the authorities seem not to have given a thought to the multitude below, often sore pressed in the battle of life: “the relief of man’s estate” does not appear to have been an object of consideration.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, when Inspector of Schools, Bengal, wrote as follows:—

“I would ask why should Greeshbunder Chuckerbutty be expected to know ‘what circumstances enabled Shakespere, to exhibit an accurate knowledge of Greek Mythology,’ or, in what respects the Dramatic compositions, called ‘Mysteries,’ differ from those called ‘Moralities,’ and other facts of a like nature? On the other hand, it is of a very great importance that he should see clearly the danger of living with an open sewer running under the lower floor of his house or the cruelty of marrying his children at an immature age.”

Sir H. S. Cunningham says of Hygiene:—

“Some acquaintance with the art of living in health ought to form

a necessary part of every educational curriculum. The subject might surely form one branch among the many which the Universities recognise as worthy their notice. Such knowledge would, one is inclined to think, be as practically valuable to a young Hindu as the refinements of European literature or the hazy depth of metaphysics, to which he is now introduced by his instructors."

Not long ago the proposal was formally brought before the Calcutta University that Hygiene should form a compulsory subject in the University Matriculation Examination, and *negatived*.

With the plague threatening to devastate India and the people dead against the only measures by which it can be stamped out, not a single Indian University recognises Hygiene.

The Indian Press shows the need of instruction in Political Economy. Graduates become editors without any systematic study of the subject. Some of their crude ideas have been noticed, e. g. that "railways are one of principal causes of the impoverishment of the Indian people;" that "the increase in the commerce of India is only a proof of its deepening poverty." False conclusions are drawn from a smattering of statistics. Their readers, equally ignorant, accept their fallacies, especially if they seem to prove the incapacity of the British Government.

It is true that the Indian Universities include Political Economy as an optional or compulsory subject in the higher examinations; but this is not enough. It is not taken up by the great majority of students, and the course is not sufficiently adapted to India. It should be *Indian Political Economy*, not so much dealing with theoretical questions, as aiming at the "relief of man's estate."

The Athenæum, in reviewing Nicholson's *Principles of Political Economy*, says:—

"The schools and chairs appear to be engaged in a perpetual logical exercitation, while the great body of mankind—labourers, merchants, statesmen—pass unheeding by or look on only in contempt. There never has yet been seen or known the political economy that a man of average common sense would give two pence for." March 12, 1898.

Some instruction in the subject should be given in Matriculation classes; but it should also be included in one of the higher examinations.

Two attempts have recently been made to give pupils in Secondary schools some ideas of the British Government of India. One is *The Indian Citizen*, by Mr. Lee Warner, published by Macmillan and Co. It is good, on the whole, as far as it goes, but it is too meagre. The other, *The Indian Empire Reader*, published by the Christian Literature Society for India, goes to the other extreme. An injudicious attempt was made to combine a school book and a book for general readers. The first edition is now issued as "*The Indian Empire: A Handbook of Information for*

Indian Citizens." As a school book it needs revision. In course of time satisfactory text-books will be provided.

Technical Education.—This should be developed. Some progress has been made. In one of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's latest speeches, he says :—

"I have been able so to extend the Sibpore Engineering College as to make it a school where civil engineering, mining engineering, mechanical engineering, and electrical engineering can be, and are being, thoroughly taught to over 300 students. I had the pleasure of taking the Viceroy over it a few days back, and it was quite refreshing to see high caste Bengali lads sweating like Vulcans at the forges and the lathes."

Agricultural Education.—The very great importance of this has already been noticed.

THE PRINTING PRESS.

This agency should be employed as well as education. It is desirable to issue a series of popular papers, giving a correct account of the present administration of India, both pointing out defects and acknowledging excellencies. The *Christian Literature Society for India* has made some attempts in this direction. One of the latest is *The Indian Empire*, already noticed. The compiler will be glad if any suggestions for its improvement.

The Society has issued a Series of "Pice Papers on Indian Reform," sold at a price equivalent to a farthing each. Among them are following :—

CAUSES OF INDIAN POVERTY.

INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

SUPPOSED AND REAL CAUSES OF DISEASE.

PATRIOTISM : FALSE AND TRUE.

WHAT HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DONE FOR INDIA ?

MANAGEMENT OF INFANTS.

DEBT, AND HOW TO GET OUT OF IT.

THE PURDAH ; OR THE SECLUSION OF INDIAN WOMEN.

EARLY MARRIAGE ; ITS EVILS AND SUGGESTED REFORMS.

DUTY TO A WIFE.

INDIAN WIDOWS, AND WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR THEM.

THE ADVANTAGES OF FEMALE EDUCATION.

CHARITY : FALSE AND TRUE.

THE TWO WATCHWORDS—CUSTOM AND PROGRESS.

THE VALUE OF PURE WATER.

IMPORTANCE OF CLEANLINESS.

HOW TO HAVE HEALTHY CHILDREN.

HOW TO BRING UP CHILDREN.

HOW TO TAKE CARE OF THE SICK.

FEVERS : THEIR CAUSES, TREATMENT AND PREVENTION.

CHOLERA AND BOWEL COMPLAINTS.

Twenty thousand copies were printed, for free distribution all over India, of a Paper on the PLAGUE, showing the need of isolation, and the advantages of Dr. Haffkine's inoculation.

Among larger publications the following may be mentioned :—

SANITARY REFORM IN INDIA,

DEBT AND THE RIGHT USE OF MONEY.

IS INDIA BECOMING POORER OR RICHER ?

THE WOMEN OF INDIA AND WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THEM.

PURITY REFORM.

TEMPERANCE REFORM. 8vo.

A Series of "*Papers on India*" has been commenced. The two earliest issued are

1. THUGGEE AND DACOITY.

2. HUMAN SACRIFICE, SUTTEE, AND FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

It is proposed to publish papers on LAND SETTLEMENTS, RAILWAYS, INDIAN COMMERCE, &c. An effort will be made to render the NATIONAL CONGRESS more generally useful. Professor Darmesteter says :—

"The politicians of India are like those of other countries; the supreme object of politics is not reform, but only a place in the budget. ... Now India asks for an Indian parliament, for admission into the higher ranks of the Civil Service, for all such reforms as interest a small clique or a small body of the *élite*, call it by any name you like."*

All political partizanship will be avoided, nor will difficult problems, like the currency, be taken up. Suggestions are invited from Members of the Parliamentary Indian Committee and others interested in India.

The Society has Depôts in the principal cities of India, affording facilities for circulation. Catalogues of its Publications are forwarded post-free to applicants. In England they can be obtained from the Office of the Society, 7 Adam Street, Strand, London. Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras, will send Catalogues to any address in India or England.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Undue Expectations.—The British Government is by some expected to perform impossibilities. If there is famine in India, if the people are underfed, this is laid at its door. So long as a people violate economic laws, so long must they suffer the consequences. Sir H. S. Cunningham has the following just remarks :—

"I do not believe that it lies within the scope of statesmanship to achieve that a population of between 200 and 300 millions, situated as

* Preface to *Letters on India*.

are the people of India, shall exist without a vast amount of suffering, or that any panacea can be discovered for the maladies which are certain to beset it. The remedy must be found, as in the case of other ills, in knowledge, patience, and skill.*

After referring to irrigation works, railways, hospitals, police, &c., he adds :

“ Behind all these projects of improvement, however, there looms the more serious and difficult question as to the future of the vast aggregate of humanity, yearly becoming vaster and vaster from the improvements which we introduce.

“ The process with which we are confronted, is the transition of a race from a comparatively primitive stage, in which agriculture provides sustenance and occupation of an uniform character for a scanty population, simple and sparse, with but few wants, into another phase of existence in which a much denser population, with many more and less easily satisfied wants, is supported by means of a great variety of occupations and complicated relations amongst themselves and toward foreign countries—from the England, in fact, of the 14th century to the England of to-day.”†

Higher Influences Needed.—While a compact Parliamentary Indian Brigade, acting solely with a view to the welfare of India, may be able to secure the measures advocated in this letter, it is admitted that of themselves they will be insufficient. The folly of expecting beneficent changes in society, except as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, is well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer :—

“ Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other, so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial state-action, without any detrimental re-action. He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct.”

Mr. A. O. Hume, says in a letter to Mr. B. M. Malabari :—

“ Nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all those other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status.”

“ Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds *pari passu* (with an equal pace) with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove vain.”

* *British Rule in India*, p. 4.

† *Ibid*, p. 5.

The burning words of Kingsley are true :—

“Foremost among them stands a law which I must insist on, boldly and perpetually, a law which man has been trying in all ages, as now, to deny, or at least to ignore; though he might have seen it if he had willed, working steadily in all times and nations. And that is—that as the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, strength and honour, as the fruit of unrighteousness is poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame. It is an ancient doctrine and yet one ever young. The Hebrew prophets preached it long ago, in words which are fulfilling themselves around us every day, and which no new discoveries of science will abrogate, because they express the great root-law, which disobeyed, science itself cannot get a hearing.”*

India's greatest need is a purer faith. This is necessary even to carry out social reforms. The Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade says :—

“Mere considerations of expediency or economical calculations of gains or losses can never move a community to undertake and carry through social reforms, especially with a community like ours, so spell-bound by custom and authority. Our people feel, and feel earnestly, that some of our social customs are fraught with evil; but as this evil is of a temporal character, they think that it does not justify a breach of commands divine, for such breach involves a higher penalty. The truth is, the orthodox society has lost its power of life, it can initiate no reform nor sympathise with it.”

“Our deliberate conviction has grown upon us with every effort that it is only a religious revival that can furnish sufficient moral strength to work out the complex social problems which demand our attention... Only a religious revival, a revival not of forms, but of sincere earnestness which constitutes true religion, can effect the desired end.”†

Let all who can do their utmost in the above direction.

Of all false patriotism that is the worst which seeks by sophistry to defend erroneous beliefs, because they are national. It promotes hypocrisy and disregard of truth among its advocates, while it is a grievous wrong to their ignorant countrymen, tending to perpetuate the reign of error and superstition. The remark of Sir Madhava Row should always be remembered :

“What is not **TRUE** is not **PATRIOTIC**.”

Appeal to the Government of India.—The Home Grant, practically offered, was rejected on account of the strong opposition of the Finance Minister, who regarded it as unnecessary and impolitic. The case has been considerably altered by what took place at the Budget Debate. The opinions expressed by some of the Indian members show that they consider such a grant demanded by *justice*—a feeling not to be treated lightly. Again there was the astounding fact brought out by Mr. Nicholson that

* Limits of Exact Science applied to History.

† Letter to Mr. Malabari.

the Budget expenditure on Agriculture was only Rs. 50,000; and that no additional grant could be expected.

Under these circumstances it seems the bounden duty of the Government of India to apply for a grant to meet immediate outlay, and to provide for its continuance by a re-distribution of expenditure in future budgets.

Such a course would be the best in every respect. There is no doubt that a request like the above would be readily granted by the Home Government. It would only be a very slight and tardy reparation for the grievous wrong inflicted on India by ruining the Agricultural Department inaugurated by Lord Mayo.

Appeal to Educated Indians.—Do not look mainly to Government measures for the good of your country. There is far more to be done in other directions. As Johnson says:

“How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find.”

India suffers far more from her own injurious customs than from *British misgovernment*. Sir Madhava Row was successively Prime Minister of Travancore, Indore, and Baroda: what does he say?

“The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community! !”

Let educated Indians listen to the [words of men whom they respect:

Carlyle:—

“Think of living! Thy life, wert thou the pitifullest of all the sons of the earth, is no idle dream, but a solemn reality. It is thine own; it is all that thou hast to confront eternity with. *Work, then, like a star, unhastening, yet unending.*”

J. S. Mill:—

“One of the commonest types of character among us is that of a man all whose ambition is self-regarding; who has no higher purpose in life than to enrich or raise in the world himself and his family; who never dreams of making the good of his fellow-creatures or of his country an habitual object.”

“It is worth training them to feel, not only actual wrong or actual meanness, but the absence of noble aims and endeavours, as not merely blamable, but also degrading;—the poorness and insignificance of human life if it is to be all spent in making things comfortable for ourselves and our kin, and raising ourselves and them a step or two on the social ladder.”

"Fix your eyes upon the ultimate end from which those studies take their chief value—that of making you more effective combatants in the great fight which never ceases to rage between Good and Evil, and more equal to coping with the ever new problems which the changing course of human nature and human society present to be resolved."

"There is not one of us who may not so qualify himself so to improve the average amount of opportunities, as to leave his fellow-creatures some little the better for the use he has known how to make of his intellect."

"You are to be a part of the public who are to welcome, encourage and help forward the future intellectual benefactors of humanity; and you are, if possible, to furnish your contingent to the number of those benefactors. Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem, in moments of despondency, the lack of time and opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them, and what we achieve depend less on the amount of time we possess, than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hope and resource of your country in the coming generation."*

In benevolent effort, as in other things, a division of labour is sometimes the best. Let each person select the field most suitable to his talents and circumstances, while there is a cordial recognition of other departments.

APPEAL TO THE PARLIAMENTARY INDIAN COMMITTEE.

In the foregoing remarks an attempt has been made to review some features of British rule in India. It is cheerfully acknowledged that it has conferred many great blessings on the country; but some of these demand increased effort. Population is increasing at the rate of two millions a year, necessitating an increased food supply.

The principal points in the foregoing Letter may be briefly recapitulated.

Permanent Land Settlement.—This, for reasons given, may be regarded as "dead and buried."

"The Unearned Increment."—It has been shown that an increasing revenue is essential to the welfare of the country, and that the land revenue is its best source. Government, by its Tables of *Prices and Wages*, is taking steps to secure that this increment is levied intelligently and justly.

Parliamentary Return on Land Settlements.—It is held that the land-tax does not exceed 8 per cent. on the gross produce, and is much less in many cases. To remove any doubts, it is suggested that a Parliamentary Return dealing with the principal points should be obtained. See page 41.

* *St. Andrew's Address.*

Salt Tax.—This is defended, and any tampering with it deprecated.

Simultaneous Examinations for the Civil Service in England and India.—A few remarks may be offered on this point which has not yet been noticed. A well-meant, but mischievous, snatch vote recommending it was passed in a very thin House. "It probably forms the chief peg on which Mr. D. Naoroji hung his monstrous charge at the Bloomsbury meeting of "Political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges; the violation of acts and resolutions of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign." Government has acted wisely in requiring examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service to be passed in England. The other system would produce a rapid change in the personnel of officers which would be most injurious. Mere bookworms, expert at cramming, would secure many appointments. A kind of process of "natural selection" takes place under the present system. Successful competition in England is some proof of energy and enterprise. *The Indian Empire* (pp. 112—115) contains a statement of the case. Solely with a view to the welfare of the people of India, any change is deprecated. It is best that they should enter the service only in gradually increasing numbers.

The chief reforms you are urged to promote are the following:

1. **The Establishment of a Separate Agricultural Department.**—The Government of India will be disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world if the present state of things with regard to agriculture is allowed to continue. With a land revenue of 26 millions and four-fifths of the population depending on agriculture for their support, only Bx. 50,000 a year is allowed for its improvement. Even that sum is said to be partly thrown away by "spending a few thousands here and there and now and then." The Committee should endeavour to see that it is no longer "starved."

2. **The Establishment of a Separate Department for Manufactures and Commerce.**—Under this is included a well-devised system of Technical Education. Its necessity is shown at some length in the Letter to Lord George Hamilton (pp. 21-26). It is needed to relieve the pressure on the land, and to afford an outlet to educated youth.

3. **A Return to the old system of Advances to Ryots to free them from the oppression of money-lenders.**—It is held that this is preferable to Agricultural Banks. Mr. Nicholson's Report shows the difficulties connected with the latter.

4. **The Relief of Congested Districts by Emigration.**

5. **Mass Education on a large scale.**

The five measures above mentioned are not mere 'fads,' but

must be allowed by all to be "extremely desirable." It may be asked, How is the expenditure to be met without fresh taxation?

1. **By a Home Grant of two Millions.**—It is believed that this would be willingly voted by Parliament if the facts were placed before the House. A commencement might thus be made at once, and the work would be maintained till the next source was available.

2. **By a Redistribution of Expenditure.**

The *Agricultural Department* might be maintained by a third of the Famine Fund. It is better to prevent pauperism than merely to feed paupers.

The *Department of Manufactures* might receive a share of the allotment now devoted to "gridironing" the country with railways.

The *Advance Department* should be self-supporting, but might be aided at first from the Famine Fund.

Mass Education on a large scale can be secured only by a reduction in the military expenditure. There are so many vested interests concerned, that this will be the hardest task before the Committee. But it should never be forgotten. The friends of India should never rest till its people are educated. It is true that this can only be gradually accomplished, but the rate of progress will depend upon its being constantly kept in view.

Closing Words.—With me the sands of life have almost run : within a few months, if life be granted, I shall enter upon my eightieth year. It is my encouragement that India never had more or warmer friends than at present. Amid the din of party politics, her interests are not forgotten by you and others like-minded. Your efforts in the cause of Temperance are also highly appreciated. May you be wisely guided, and may an increasing blessing attend your efforts to benefit one-fifth of the human race!

Yours faithfully,

JOHN MURDOCH.

MADRAS, April, 23, 1898.

BRITISH RULE
AND
OUR FRIEND "INDIA."

BY
A HOME RULER IN INDIA.

British Rule and Our Friend "India."

BY

A HOME RULER IN INDIA.

"But what avail the plough or soil,
Or land, or life, if freedom fails?"

So said Mr. Charles Adams lately before the American Historical Association while criticising British Government in India, and so say we.

To all those who have carefully studied the History of India from the pre-Buddhistic period down to the second Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, and pondered how the people of this country have fallen from the high estimation in which they were once held by the nations of the world, how their unrivalled manufacturing skill once attracted their unstinted admiration, and how their wares drew customers from all parts of the world, and how their arts and industries have now been practically ruined; how their various productions were once carried to distant countries including England, in ships built and manned by the people of this country, and how the external and internal carrying trade of the country has now been snatched out of their hands; how the careers in their own country were once open to all and how they are shut against them now; to all those who have carefully studied what India was before the advent of the English, it is as plain as daylight that the real remedy to prevent their further demoralisation and decay, and to revive their former greatness lies in obtaining Home Rule for India on the lines laid down by Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma and the band of men working with him. The Ideal of Home Rule or National Autonomy, in the words of *New India*, a paper published in Calcutta on quite independent lines, is spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Western knowledge, Western ideas, and even Western methods of working are permeating from cities to towns and from towns to villages. These have been causing healthy unrest everywhere. The last quarter of a century has witnessed a political upheaval in India, unknown to previous generations. Under Hindu and Mahomedan rule people in general trusted their rulers notwithstanding great drawbacks in their methods of administration, and were content to leave the functions of Government to them. They followed the same policy until lately when the more intelligent of the people began to question and criticise the aims and objects of the Government, and they are now satisfied that behind the show of justice and protestations of goodwill towards the people, there is meanness and perfidy unparalleled in the annals of the world. The people are beginning to realize how cities like London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and a host of others, attained their present industrial, commercial, and above all, political greatness, at the expense of a number of Indian Cities like Moorshidabad, which in 1757, according to Clive, was as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there were individuals in the former possessing infinitely greater property than in the latter. People are beginning to realise how the manufactures of England were encouraged by the Rulers of India after the battle of Plassey, at the expense of those of India, and how the Indian manufacturers were within the course of about half a century almost annihilated. People are beginning to realize how a part of the enormous fortunes carried away from India by the East India Company and its servants is now sent back as loans; how Indians have been paying interest and compound interest on monies which were at one time their own, and how the ever-recurring drain of 40 millions of pounds and more every year has come into being. People are beginning to realise how this once fertile land has been impoverished, and how famine and pestilence have made India their almost exclusive and permanent home. People are beginning to realize how the flower of the country are excluded from every post of power and position, how their mental faculties are dwarfed, and their bodies half fed,

and how the moisture that should go to fertilize the soil of India, goes out to fertilize foreign lands. In fact, they are beginning to realize that "the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger" (Macaulay).

These being the circumstances in which India stands at present, how to achieve Home Rule is the one question that henceforth shall pre-eminently engage the attention of all patriotic Indians. Those Englishmen who are our real friends shall help us in achieving this end. The *Indian Sociologist*, in its issue of August last, correctly represents the innermost feelings of those whose goal is Home Rule in saying that "Friends who fall short of this ideal are, in our opinion, more dangerous to India's real interests than its professed enemies."

There are a few Anglo-Indians who concede that the present system of British rule in what is called the "Brightest jewel in the British Crown," is neither so beneficent nor so popular in India as is represented to be the case by a large majority of Englishmen who have been connected with her in some form or another. And yet the remedies they suggest to bring about a better state of things are no remedies at all. Some of them advocate the enlargement of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative councils and the admission of a few more Indians into the higher ranks of Government service, while others advocate the revival of village communities and parliamentary inquiry into the condition of typical villages. Most of them are prepared to go so far and no further. They want Indians to be satisfied with a little patchwork here and a little patchwork there. They do not wish to touch nor do they want us to touch the fabric of administration, which must remain where it has been ever since the days of the East India Company.

There was a time when the Indians thought that the carrying out of some such reforms would again bring to them those halcyon days of old of which they are constantly dreaming. But the Indians of the present generation think altogether differently. They cannot conceive how a few men more or a few men less in the Legislative Councils or in the Imperial Service can so alter the state of things as would

bring enough bread to the one hundred millions of men who hardly know what it is to have one full meal a day from one end of the year to the other. They cannot conceive that the addition of a few more men to the Legislative Councils or the Imperial Service from the children of the soil can stop the enormous drain that has been so steadily going on since the advent of British rule down to the present day, when there is hardly any working capital left in the country. Such being the case India expects every friend to help her in removing all those causes which have brought her down to the state of chronic destitution and abject slavery, from the pinnacle of glory once all her own. These friends must either go the whole way with Indians or not go with them at all.

Of all the so-called friends of this country in England, the greatest defaulter is *India*, a weekly paper published in London at the enormous cost of about £3,000 a year to Indians. It has all along its career taken upon itself the task of interpreting to the British Public, the aspirations and sentiments of the educated classes, and has posed as the well-wisher of the starving millions. Casual readers of the paper have been deluded into the belief that it is rendering great services to India and in this belief have been contributing, from year to year, their mite in keeping it up. Let us see how it has belied the aspirations and sentiments of the educated classes and its own professions of goodwill towards the down-trodden millions. For this purpose we will refer to a few of its latest productions only.

At page 51 of the issue of 4th August last, it says:—"The bureaucrats may, and often do, govern badly; but, in any case, their task is a fairly big, complicated, and hard task, and it behoves those that aspire to take an oar to make sure that they have the strength and the skill to row."

The above is thoroughly English. Dr. Rhys Davids once remarked that "we English people disagree in almost everything, except one thing, and that is in thinking that there is nothing in the world like an Englishman. An Englishman has faith in himself only, often unwarranted by the circumstances of the case. He makes himself and others

believe that the inhabitants of Hindustan are more happy and contented under his rule, and that they cannot desire anything better in their own interest than the continuance of his rule. Facts and figures to the contrary, he refuses to be convinced that he is not such an infallible being as he imagines himself to be, and that the people of India consider him to be a worse despot than the very worst despot India ever had in any previous age. It is not likely that so long as the people of Hindustan "will not make him uneasy," in the words of Mr. Michael Davitt, he will see his mistake.

The writer of the above note in *India* is no exception to the remark made by Dr. Rhys Davids, otherwise he would not have contended that "it behoves those that aspire to take an oar to make sure that they have the strength and the skill to row." Surely the writer ought to have known that there were some bright incidents in the historical records of India before the advent of British Rule, that could vie with similar incidents in the historical records of any other country in the world. India has surely produced generals, statesmen, and legislators, as good and great as any of their contemporaries in the countries of the West. If one fails to lay his hands to-day on such great men as the country once produced, whose fault is that? Having excluded Indians, with the help of a quarter of a million of soldiers and sepoy, from every post of power and position where they could have demonstrated "the strength and the skill to row," it does not lie in the mouth of an Englishman, much less in the mouth of a supposed friend of India to pass such an uncharitable criticism against them. The trend of British Policy all throughout has been not to allow an Indian to handle the oar for fear he might show "the strength and the skill to row." This policy has been laid down in important state documents a century old, and has been followed to the bitter end down to this day. In the first decade of the century just over, during the governorship of Madras by Lord William Bentinck, Mr. William Thackeray, a member of the Board of Revenue, clearly enunciated what was to be the state policy towards England's Indian subjects. Amongst other things he says:—

"It is very proper that in England, a good share of the

produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the Service and defence of the State, or, in other words, that great part of the rent should go to an opulent nobility and gentry, who are to serve their country in Parliament, in the army, and navy, in the departments of science and liberal professions. The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it;—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest. The nature of things, the past experience of all governments, renders it unnecessary to enlarge on the subject. We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want the industrious husbandmen. . . . Considered politically, therefore, the general distribution of land, among a number of small proprietors, who cannot easily combine against Government, is an object of importance.”

It is rather a long quotation, but it is necessary that Indians should clearly understand the policy that was then laid down, that has been so remorselessly followed during the last hundred years, and that was reiterated last year by Lord Curzon in his speech on the public service in this country, in spite of the Act of 1833, the Proclamation of 1858, and subsequent promises. Instead of committing these to memory and repeating them here, there, and everywhere, as Indians generally do, they might more profitably commit the above quotation to memory for their future guidance.

Mr. Thackeray was really no friend of the people of this country, and yet he did not make such a sweeping assertion as to say that Indians were incapable of making good Generals, Statesmen, and Legislators. But our friend, the writer of the above notes, has grave doubts as to whether Indians “have the strength and the skill to row.” He may well chuckle over the idea that it was a masterstroke on the part of his countrymen to have relegated Indians to the position of mere “hewers of wood and drawers of

water," and yet the fact remains that the country which, in the words of the late Professor Max Muller, has most deeply pondered on the great problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention of Plato and Kant, that a country that could teach Englishmen to make their inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, is not likely to fail, as it has not failed before, to produce men who could steer the ship of State as well as any Englishmen in the hour of her need. The writer ought to know that Indians have been excluded from all posts of power and position, not because they are incapable of discharging the duties thereof satisfactorily, but because "the preservation of our dominion in this country requires that all the higher offices, civil and military, should be filled with Europeans" Let the writer in *India* preach to his countrymen to take off the Interdict against the Indians, "thus far shalt thou go and no further," and he will be face to face with men who will be found equal to the task of steering the biggest ship the world has ever known. Even as it is, it is plain to all but those who are blind that the country is still rich in men who are equal if not superior to the class of men who come out to India, and whom Burke rightly called "the Birds of prey and of passage." It is this class of men whose rule the writer is covertly defending all along. On reading the paragraph "the Bureaucrats may, and often do, govern badly, but, in any case, their task is a fairly big, complicated, and hard task" one naturally asks himself "has *India* been converted into an organ of the Indian Bureaucrats?" One could easily understand a paper like the London *Times*, for instance, writing the above, but coming from a paper whose writer, we believe, is drawing a pretty big slice out of the three thousand pounds supplied by Indians, it is rather ungrateful if not unnatural. The rule of these bureaucrats has already been condemned by every impartial observer, not to speak of the feelings of those who are directly affected by it. Even some high-minded Englishmen and a few conscientious Anglo-Indians have condemned it. The destruction of national character and national spirit, the ruination of all arts and industries, the crushing taxation,

the drawing of millions of money and all the consequent evils of the policy hitherto pursued in dealing with India, have been justly attributed to the selfish rule of these Bureaucrats. If all that can be said against the rule of these Bureaucrats were put together it would fill volumes. We will here quote the opinion of only one of them in condemnation thereof. Mr. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, as far back as 1837, said:—

“But the halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few. . . . The grinding extortion of the English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled.

“The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. . . . Had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted, and very different results would have followed. . . . We may thank ourselves for having made their feelings towards us what they are.” Since then, absolutely nothing has been done to ameliorate the condition of the people. The drain has been greater and greater every year. On the contrary, all sorts of repressive and reactionary measures have been placed upon the Statute Book to keep them down, and our friend the writer has been trying to justify the continuance of the present state of things. Our prayer with regard to these so-called friends, is, “May God save us from our friends.”

Proceeding further the writer says: “By the way, we must suggest that Mr. Shyamaji’s calculation ‘that every man, woman, and child in this country takes one pound from the Natives of India, and that the Natives of India give them forty millions of pounds, for nothing,’ needs revision and re-statement, or else justification.”

The writer of the above sentence cannot really be serious in disputing a statement which has been iterated and re-

iterated all these years by men who have made a life-long study of the question, and who are considered authorities on the subject. Abundant proofs to verify the same have been placed before those who care to read them. One has only to take up a volume or two of *India*, and he is sure to find similar statements repeated on and off in its pages. It passes one's comprehension to know what the writer is driving at, in challenging such an underestimate of the drain of wealth from India to England from year to year. The writer must know that the drain of forty millions of pounds is only a recurring drain from year to year and does not take into account the indirect drain as a consequence of the thousands of millions that have already left the country, in one shape or another, never to return. On this question our standard authority is Mr. William Digby's "Prosperous British India." If the writer has any sympathy with the people of this country, it would do him good to refer to it. Mr. Digby has put together the annual drawings by England from India from the beginning of the nineteenth to the end of that century, and has worked out that in the course of only one hundred years, the total drain from India to England cannot be less than six thousand millions of pounds—a colossal figure indeed. At pages 230-231, he says:—

"The foregoing figures, enormously large as they are, do not represent anything like the real state of things. Even as they are presented, they are too big to be grasped by the mind . . . As I say, this statement is only a part, a very small part, of the story. The real meaning of the 'drain' in so far as India is concerned, is barely half adequately allowed for, even though the net borrowings are included. After very carefully considering the whole circumstances, I have determined, in this work at least, not to go farther with my investigations as to the extent of the 'drain.' Once one has got to six thousand millions sterling, the doubling or the trebling of that sum tells nothing to the average British citizen, who is jealous for the good name of Britain as an overlord responsible for the welfare of subject nations." Calculating simple interest on the above six thousand millions alone at the rate of say only 4 per cent, we arrive at a

gigantic sum of £240,000,000 a year. This figure distributed over the present population of England gives to every man, woman, and child, £6 per head per annum, over and above the £1 mentioned by Mr. Shyamaji. If this huge amount that filtered out of the country by various channels, and fructified other lands, had remained in the country, the condition of the people would have been quite different to what one sees at the present time.

The six thousand millions, which really do not represent the total loss to India during the nineteenth century, is over and above what was taken away from the country in the eighteenth century. If what is generally known as Bengal Plunder that followed the battle of Plassey, had remained in the country, it would have by this time fructified into another six thousand millions of pounds. In fact, if all that has gone out of the country could be put together, and interest calculated thereon at 4 per cent. only, the drain in money alone would be simply incalculable. The only wonder is, that India has been able to stand such a cruel devastation as this.

In the face of these figures, how ridiculous it is on the part of the writer of the above note to challenge Mr. Shyamaji to justify his calculation.

The writer cannot be so ignorant as not to know that the the drain has been going on for so many years, and that £1 per head per annum is much below the real drain from India. What the writer is really trying to do is to throw dust in the eyes of those credulous people who take all their politics from the paper *India*. This is another instance of the Bias of Patriotism referred to in the August number of the *Indian Sociologist*, and Indians must make a note of it. They must now widen their horizon, and seek out their friends from altogether different channels.

To show how utterly indifferent the writer is even to the most vital interests of three hundred millions of human beings as against the interests of a mere handful of his countrymen, we shall add one more quotation from *India*. In its very next issue, the writer having hunted out from the *Manchester Guardian* a few extracts from a letter of Professor Goldwin Smith, of Toronto, offers his criticism thereon, which really

amounts to adding insult to injury to the whole population of this country. One of his extracts is: "Not by the descent of phantom armies from Himalayan passes, but by the certain and inexorable decree of nature, British Empire in India is doomed some day to come to an end. British children cannot be reared in India. The occupation and government of a country by a race incapable of acclimatisation will not last for ever."

Now, it does not require a prophet to say that the occupation and the government of a country by a race whose children cannot be reared on the soil, cannot last for ever. But such a prophecy, if it may be so called, cannot go down the throat of our friend. He cannot reconcile himself to the inevitable doom, and hence he says:—

"Still, they have lasted a good while in spite of these adverse conditions, and it may be well doubted whether there are discernible tangible grounds for supposing that constant relays of fresh blood may not prove an adequate substitute for acclimatisation. So far, the argument of doom does not carry conviction."

So to all intents and purposes he wants us to be satisfied with "constant relays of fresh blood" that England can spare for India to rule over us. He is one of those Englishmen who believe that it is right Divine of the Anglo-Saxon race to rule over India, if not over the whole world. What this "constant relays of fresh blood" means has been very ably put in his book on "Asia and Europe," by Meredith Townsend, who is by no means a friend of Indians.

"It follows that even in the minute official world, and the minute garrison, nothing is permanent. The Viceroy rules for five years, and departs. The Councillor advises for five years, and departs. The General commands for five years, and departs. The official serves thirty years, probably in ten separate counties, and departs. There is not in India one ruling man whom two generations of Indians have known as ruling man. Of all that in Europe comes of continuousness, heredity, accumulated personal experience, or the wisdom of old age, there is in India not one trace, nor can there ever be. Imagine if in Europe no sovereign or premier or commander-

in-chief lived for six years! Yet these men, thus shifting, thus changing, do the whole work of legislating, governing, and administering, all that is done in the whole of Europe by all the sovereigns, all the statesmen, all the Parliaments, all the judges, revenue boards, prefects, magistrates, tax-gatherers and police officers. They are the "Empire," "and there is no other."

"Continuousness, heredity, accumulated personal experience, and wisdom of old age," are recognised as essential factors for the good government of every country in the world, to which India ought not to be an exception. But ever since British rule has been consolidated in this country—a country as big as the whole of Europe, Russia excepted—the whole of the work done in Europe by all the sovereigns, all the statesmen, all the Parliaments, all the judges, all the Revenue Boards, etc., has been carried on by "constant relays of fresh blood" from England. Every impartial observer of British rule in India, has declared it a failure in all its branches on account of this very policy. To every friend of India such a total exclusion of the people of the soil from all real share in the Government of their country, as it is under British rule, looks quite unnatural, but not so to our old "friend" the writer of the above criticism.

It must be conceded at once that the "constant relays of fresh blood" have no permanent stake in the country. They have so far adopted as their maxim, "How to Benefit England most at the expense of India." Every act of theirs bespeaks the tendency of shopkeepers. A system of rule that makes the interest of three hundred millions of men subservient to the interest of a few foreigners cannot in the very nature of things remain a permanent institution. John Stuart Mill very rightly said:—

"The Government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants."

Has not India been worked as a human cattle farm all

along these 150 years of British rule? Every class and every community have suffered enough from the rule of "constant relays of fresh blood." Their acts of spoliation and destruction are too numerous to be mentioned in a paper like this. We may, however, draw the attention of the writer of the above notes to a few recent ones such as excise duty on Indian made piece goods, compensation allowance, the currency policy act, etc.—acts placed on the Statute Book since *India* came into existence. This is not the place to criticise them, but we cannot refrain from making just a passing allusion to one of them which no Government having the slightest feeling for the interests of the governed would have placed on the Statute Book. A Government that could reduce the value of the property of its subjects to almost 60 per cent., and could cause a further annual loss of £7,500,000 a year to them, by one stroke of the pen, is indeed a mighty Government. This is what the "constant relays of fresh blood" have done in India by passing their Currency Act from the dizzy heights of Simla, the effects of which, according to Mr. Cecil Balfour Phipson, the author of "The Science of Civilisation; or, the Principles of Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Prosperity," are "to rob depositors, to oppress cultivators, intensifying the burden of their ever imminent scarcities, to hamper merchants; and all this for a completely fallacious saving on remittances." A Government that had the least sympathy for the interests of the governed would have afforded them a chance to convert their silver holdings into coined money, but the mighty Indian Government, in the words of the same author, "stole a march upon its confiding depositors, and treated them as enemies to be plundered instead of as subjects to be protected. Can it be wondered at if this same class, as the nature of this trick is brought home to them, regard the Government in their turn as an enemy to be distrusted, instead of a protector to be relied upon?"

We have almost done with our "friend." Before closing we may be allowed to ask the writer, in the words of Mr. William Digby, as to what he would say "If in the England he adorns the Russian had been supreme for 150 years, and in all that time not a single Englishman had been allowed to

enter the Cabinet, that no popular representation existed, that no Englishman, even if he were in the public service, however great his merits, could rise to the high positions for which his fellows were eligible, that the material condition of his countrymen was year by year growing worse while their intellectual manhood was denied, avenues for expansion, that famines became more frequent, that in Oxfordshire in 1901 the population through famines and other ills was only half what it ought to be—in such case would he have agreed with the writer of *England*, a paper published in St. Petersburg at an annual expense of £3,000 to his countrymen, himself (the writer) drawing a big slice therefrom, who declared that “constant relays of fresh blood may prove an adequate substitute for acclimatisation.”

To this his answer naturally will be: “Oh, Britons never shall be slaves.” Our answer to him as to “the constant relays of fresh blood” is: “Indians have awakened to the sense of wrong done to them by his countrymen in every path of life, and they do not mean to remain the slaves of England longer than they can possibly help.”

That is our ideal now. If the writer cannot help us in this ideal, we know that we can stop our patronage to the paper, and that is what we are all bound to do, unless it comes round to our way of thinking.

“Let us all be up and doing,
 With a heart for any fate;
 Still achieving, still pursuing—
 Learn to labour and to wait.”

British India Committee :

EUROPEANS & NATIVES
IN INDIA

BY

ALFRED HAGGARD, Esq.

RETIRED BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

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EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN INDIA.

ON the assumption of the direct control of British India by the Crown, a proclamation was read aloud, translated into every language of the country, at every station in India, on November 1, 1858, and in the proclamation were these words:—"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

This was a direct promise to throw open to the natives of India all offices. It was solemnly and deliberately made on an occasion of momentous character; it was recognized as a just and suitable undertaking to make at a time when conciliation was so necessary, and when it was obvious that, if British rule was to continue in India, it must be based somewhat further on the affection and the assistance of the natives of India. The personal government instituted by the Company had crumbled away throughout the North-west, where it had been most completely organized. That government was one of energetic European officials imposing alien rule on an unsympathetic population, who took advantage of a military insurrection to shake it off, until again conquered by armies from the Punjab and from the sea. So completely was the system of personal government by Europeans felt to have failed, that prominent among the pledges made by the Crown

2 *EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN INDIA.*

to the people of India was one to throw open offices to British subjects of whatever race and creed. It may be thought that this pledge has been fulfilled. But a quarter of a century has now passed by, and still throughout British India, with very few exceptions, almost every post of emolument, profit, and dignity is held by Europeans. To the natives are relegated the inferior offices—these, indeed, they universally fill. The posts of grave responsibility are practically confined to Europeans. Something, however, was done from the very first for the natives. Appointments in the Civil Service were thrown open to competition by examination. A few natives, hardly forming one per cent. upon the numbers in the service at one time, have succeeded in obtaining appointments. But the examinations were in England, and any native who succeeded in passing was denationalized in great measure by his journey to England and his residence there. His caste was gone, and much of his influence with it. The numbers of natives appointed to the Civil Service in this manner might be counted on the fingers. Practically only members of the Civil Service can obtain any of the higher civil appointments in India, except a few military men whose connections with those in high place enable them to obtain a footing in the official hierarchy. It is not easy to make people in England understand what are the duties of the Civil Service. But let it be supposed that England, Ireland, and Scotland were governed by a Governor-General in London—say, by a Turk, with a council of Turks, and Turks for heads of departments, and a Turkish High Court of Justice, issuing orders to Turkish prefects for each county—to a Turkish commissioner at York, a Turkish judge at Norwich, a Turkish magistrate at Belfast, or a Turkish engineer at Aberdeen; no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman being employed, not only in the higher executive and judicial offices, but in offices connected with local administration—let this be imagined, and an accurate picture of Indian administration will be obtained. All India is held in the iron grasp of Europeans. All natives

are excluded from any important part in the administration. District magistrates, district judges, secretaries to Government, are rarely or never natives of the country. There exists a government absolutely of natives by Europeans. I extremely doubt if such an extraordinary spectacle has ever been seen in the world before. My experience tells me nothing of it, though perhaps Spanish administration in America might form a precedent that few would care to quote. Roman administration was more liberal. The Mahomedan rulers of India did not disdain Hindu administrators. The Norman conquerors of England left to the English their indigenous courts. But Englishmen for many years past have reserved for themselves the exclusive control of the administration of India, and have proclaimed to the world that the only people who are unfit to exercise any power in India are the natives themselves. Some might see in such an organization as this a strong proof that rule by the English is not eminently satisfactory, if no native can be entrusted with power.

This state of things was to have been brought to an end by the Queen's proclamation, and by the institution of selection by competition. A few natives were admitted by competition to the charmed circle of the covenanted Civil Service. Hopes were rising high that before long officialism would be thoroughly leavened by an admixture of native blood amongst its members. At last young India was to find a career and a voice—young India invigorated with the free spirit of the West, and enriched by Western learning, was to preside in courts of justice and fully execute the decrees of Government. Soon this dream ended. After calling for opinions from India as to the best mode of selection for the Indian Civil Service, with especial reference to the age of the candidates, and after finding that the great bulk of opinion was favourable to the existing system, and that the preponderance was strongly averse to any reduction of age, Lord Salisbury, who was then Secretary of State for India, though no complaint had been made by the Indian Government, and without any strong

reason for the change, reduced the age of admission to the service by two years, and thereby rendered it perfectly impossible for native Indian parents to send home their children at so early an age, to undergo the perils of London life and the risks of success in a competitive examination. Thus entry to the covenanted Civil Service was closed to natives through the door of competition. Still a means of admission remained. It was possible, under a particular statute, for the Government to appoint natives to posts held by members of the Civil Service. Some appointments have been made in accordance with the statute. But not from among the class, unless I am wrongly informed, who would probably have been successful in open competition, and who are so plainspoken in the press, but from among members of families having traditionary relations with Indian administration. Such appointments as these are mere drops in the ocean. They satisfy neither the European members of the Civil Service, to whom the gentlemen appointed appear interlopers, nor the Europeanized natives, nor the bulk of the people at large.

The existing system of administration is suited only to the rule of foreigners. The magistrate-collector, supreme executive officer in his district, is invested with immense powers. Being a European, implicit confidence can be placed in him, that those powers will be exercised for the maintenance of British rule. The district judge, moreover, is a foreigner who is appointed to carry out a highly artificial and foreign scheme of jurisprudence. It may, for definite reasons of State, be necessary to place such great powers in European hands. But those same reasons of State might forbid wise legislators to confide them to hands in which less implicit confidence can be placed. It is much to be doubted whether the natives at large will prefer to see fellow-countrymen exclusively in the despotic position recognized as suitable for Europeans. There are many who think that the powers are too great even for European officers to wield, who are perfectly independent of local and family influences. But most people would, I think,

doubt whether it would be well permanently to administer India through a service of native civilians, constituted as the service now is. The first consideration of Indian administrators must be the good of the people of India, and the preservation of law and order. The continuance of British rule is, so far forward as practical politicians can see, thus identified with the benefit of the people at large, and to ensure this, the ultimate source of power must be in Europeans. Some district officers may be natives, with great advantage, but it would be as absurd to give over the *whole* control of the country to natives, as it would be to officer the British army with Sikhs and Ghoorkas.

One reason why it is impossible to abolish European administration in India, is the constant influx of British capital to India. Tea, indigo, jute, opium, oil-seeds, wheat, rice, and a score of other staples of Indian agriculture, are grown for the European markets, and are paid for by European capitalists. The sums invested in Indian trade would represent a fabulous sum if stated. The whole inland trade of the country, on its waterways, its railways, and its roads, is controlled by the European markets; and it is inconceivable that any European ruler of the country would knowingly sacrifice the control now possessed by England; and thereby prejudice the peace and welfare of the country. At the same time, it is equally important, in order to ensure peace and welfare, to render British capital safe, and to secure fully British interests (to say nothing of the happiness of the people at large), that justice and equity should reign, that pledges made should be kept, and that persons, whether natives or others, once admitted to the administration should be fully trusted. Let it be known that, as the Brahmin enjoys no advantage before the law which may not be enjoyed by a person of the lowest caste, so, as between European and native officers of equal rank, no invidious distinctions shall prevail, and that the native admitted where it has seemed necessary to a post hitherto occupied by a European, shall,

unless good cause exist to the contrary, be invested with similar powers to those the European officer would have wielded.

We have thus come to the point which has roused such warm controversy in India and at home—namely, the merits of the Bill lately introduced in the Legislative Council by Mr. Ilbert, for conferring on native civilians the privilege of trying Europeans on criminal charges, for investing selected natives with the powers over Europeans which English civilians may now be invested with. It is perhaps a good thing that, from time to time, the veil should be lifted, and that one should be able to recognize the relations of the dark races and the white. On the European side is a haughty, insolent contempt, mingled with some fear and sense of insecurity; and these feelings, whenever met by resistance, break out into the fiercest wrath, and express themselves in savage and cruel action. On the Indian side there is the inevitable dissatisfaction with foreign rule, which will never disappear altogether, but may increase as general intelligence and a spirit of nationality arises, unless we can by good administration win the sympathy of natives. Their sentiments and those of the European may not yet amount to hatred of each other; they are not yet sufficiently active, but they might easily become such, if excited by injustice, by oppressive taxation, or by long-continued misgovernment of any kind. Such passionate outpourings as those sent home by the *Times* correspondent when Mr. Ilbert's Bill was first introduced, as the fierce and bitter speeches in Calcutta, as the elation of the native Indian press, go a long way to clear our minds of all cant, so that we recognize the relation of England to the subject races of India to be one of conqueror and of conquered. Blame has been cast upon the Marquis of Ripon's Government for awaking angry feelings, long dormant between Europeans and natives, by its ill-timed legislation, and for rendering nugatory the peaceful efforts of the last quarter of a century. Is it not now plain, however, to those who fancy that the natives hail the beardless boy-

civilian as a saviour, as the angel of justice, and rejoice in the happy circumstance which has brought the Briton to their shore, and inaugurated a new, a more golden age—is it not now plain to them that the natives have never done anything of the sort? If the necessarily constrained relations of the white and the dark races do not emerge plain from the mist of controversy on this topic, we must indeed be blind with self-satisfaction and complacency, and be staggering on to a dreadful doom. And again, another fact seems to come out clearly, that our work in India, as at present conducted, is not agreeable altogether to India itself; that the relation of the English Government to the subject races is not, as yet, satisfactory to them. There are Englishmen in India, and there have been hundreds before them, who have devoted every beat of their heart, every thought of their mind, every atom of energy in their body, to the improvement of the country, according to the lights that have been given them, and in conformity with the wishes of a Government that most truly strives to be equal-handed and paternal. Nowhere have these efforts been more earnest and continued than in the Presidency towns, and no class has gained more advantage from them than the highly educated youth of India, whose minds have been enlightened with the civilization of the West, and to whom all Occidental refinements of life have been open. But notwithstanding such self-devoting labours, and notwithstanding the advantages thus liberally bestowed on young India, it is young India who is now most bitter against his European instructor; it is young India who, unless properly handled, may ultimately use the European innovations of railroads, newspapers, the post, and the telegraph, to awaken an active disaffection, that his humbler brethren in the jungle, or in the rice-swamp, as yet hardly know how to feel.

Still, it is absolutely necessary for a Government to face the facts of its position; it must not look too far ahead, but must provide from day to day for the various circumstances as they arise. The Government of the day is carried on

mainly by the covenanted Civil Service, through which the greater part of the Indian peninsula is despotically, paternally, and, as I fully believe, in many respects, admirably ruled. What that splendid Service has done history tells in some measure. But none can know of the labours and privations which its members undergo, in almost complete solitude, far removed from all expression of satisfaction, but the still small voice of conscience, severed from home-ties, the cheering love of a wife, the sweet solicitude for children, while for most civilians the only possible ending to their labours is a lonely Indian grave or a most moderate competence at home. To that noble Service, to its dignities, emoluments, and labours, rightly or wrongly, a few natives have been admitted, having qualified either intellectually by examination or as being of respectable Indian families. It is manifestly impossible to exclude them from a single privilege which their brethren may enjoy, without inflicting a slur upon them as individuals, and without incurring the charge of breach of faith. The trial of Europeans on criminal charges is an incident of the position of a district executive officer and of a district judge. To refuse it to one officer and to grant it to another of similar rank, would be extremely inconvenient, and would be derogatory to the position of the officer deprived of the jurisdiction. To allow that officer, to exercise the jurisdiction in Calcutta, as may actually be the case, but to declare him unequal to the duty at Hooghly, some twenty or thirty miles distant, is anomalous. And though there are people who seem to think that it is no valid objection to an arrangement that it is anomalous, there are others who see no merit in anomalies as such. Anomalies which are part and parcel of a system, necessary to its existence, and representing certain useful traditions, may have some claims to consideration. But an anomaly must be judged on its merits, and if, as is now urged, it distinctly interferes with regular administration, introduces distinctions which had better be left out of consideration, and works injury rather than good, then that anomaly stands con-

demned. In fact, the burden of proof lies on those who maintain that such an anomaly as that European-British subjects of her Majesty should only be triable by European magistrates or judges is defensible. One ground on which the anomaly is defended is, that it is alleged that native judges or magistrates would be unfair and partial. In the first place, this is a pure assumption. There are at the present moment but nine officers in all India on whom the jurisdiction could be conferred, and I do not know that there is any reason to suppose that any one of these gentlemen would exercise his powers unfairly, even though it were intended to confer the powers on all of them. It is unfortunately the case that all native magistrates could not be entrusted with the powers. But it is also the case that all native magistrates are not entrusted with full powers over *their own countrymen*. It takes a long time for a native magistrate to prove his capacity and high character, before he is entrusted with the full powers of a magistrate. Differences of character will always exist, and it is necessary to rely upon the good sense of a watchful Government to select officers carefully for important work. Again, it is not every European magistrate who is invested with the powers of a justice of the peace which give him jurisdiction over Europeans. Tried officers only have been selected for the duty during the ten years that European subjects of her Majesty have been under the jurisdiction of Europeans, other than members of the High Courts. It is but a very short time since it was practically held that no European other than a judge of the High Court could be considered sufficiently impartial or fair to try a European! But it has been found that this suspicion of British magistrates was most unreasonable. Power over Europeans has been granted them without the least injury to the administration, or to the liberties of Europeans. Nay, more, who can deny that the extension of jurisdiction which was made by the Criminal Procedure Act of 1872 has been most advantageous to the public at large? Previous to that Act, the European in the

Mofussil was in a most independent position. He could be tried by none but the High Court in the Presidency town, however trifling the charge; and thus the chances were, that unless he actually killed or murdered some one, he got off altogether, and could defy the authority of the neighbouring magistrate. When he found that he was as liable to be summoned to the magistrate's court for an assault or a trespass as any one of his own servants, he became conscious that the law was nearer to him than it was formerly, and he speedily learned to act accordingly. The Mearea case, in which a European was convicted, I believe of assault, and sentenced by a district magistrate to imprisonment, definitely informed Europeans in the Mofussil that their days of independence of the law were gone for ever. If, however, native civilians being now employed, they were denied such a jurisdiction, a reversion would be made to the evil traditions of the time anterior to 1872. The only cause for this reversion would be that native magistrates would be unfair and partial. That native magistrates or judges would be unfair on Europeans, I think quite as probable as that Europeans would be unfair on natives. There is as much human nature in one class of men as in the other. I believe myself that the fear of this unfairness or partiality is an exaggerated fear. The native magistrate in any case in which Europeans were involved would be very careful indeed to behave in a judicial manner. All eyes would be upon him. He would be likely to be partial only in cases in which powerful people were interested, and in such cases the European would be well able to use all the many resources of the law to defend himself. Independent of the power of hearing appeals, superior courts in India have a power of sending for the record of a case at any time, and of transferring the case to another magistrate. No native district magistrate or judge is likely to be employed in those districts where the Europeans are massed together, and the probability of evil being done is therefore extremely small. In those districts where there are very few scattered Europeans, and

where, perhaps, there might be sent in the future a native district magistrate or judge, it is my conviction that it would be far better to run the risk (which I think a very improbable risk) of such alleged partiality, rather than that some isolated and solitary European, vested with all the prestige of his race by an ignorant peasantry, should fancy himself outside the pale of the law and superior to the Government official himself.

Another argument that is raised in favour of the continuance of the anomaly, is that already there is anomaly in the law. The European is liable to much less punishment for an offence than any native would be. This is no doubt the case, but it shows how very much less the danger would be than is alleged by the opponents of the Bill. To judge from their heated harangues, it might be fancied that every European was to be liable to be brought before every native magistrate, and sentenced to interminable periods of imprisonment, if not death itself, on any false charge. But many existing privileges of the European are retained. When tried by a District Court he can receive a maximum of one year's imprisonment, or by a magistrate, a maximum of three months' imprisonment. He can appeal in all cases. He has a right to a mixed jury, and all privileges of Habeas Corpus are retained. There is no intention of interfering with these privileges. All that is intended is to somewhat reduce the existing anomaly by providing that he may be triable occasionally by a native magistrate or judge. That anomalies are not completely removed is no reason why they should not be partially so.

It is argued, again, that there is no country in the world where personal privileges and exemptions are more recognized than in India. For instance, that Mahomedan married women cannot be required to give evidence in open court; that great numbers of persons are exempted from attendance in court, and that therefore the exclusive privilege of Europeans might very fairly be retained. Now, leaving aside all considerations as to the desirability of approaching to equality

as nearly as possible, it is obvious that the exemption of Europeans from appearance before the ordinary tribunals is an exemption of an altogether different quality from that which is granted to natives in the cases quoted, Let a Mahommedan married woman be charged with a crime, she would never be exempted from appearance in court, nor could she claim to be tried by a Mahommedan magistrate or judge. Similarly, a Maharájah may be exempted from appearance before a civil court, but he will be assuredly placed in the dock if charged with a murder. The trifling exemptions alluded to are exemptions purely in conformity with certain definite customs of the country; they vanish before the solemnity of a criminal charge. But the exemption claimed from all jurisdiction of natives for Europeans has no analogy with these. It would be analogous with a law providing that Brahmins should only be tried by Brahmins, and unless there are grave political reasons to recommend such an extraordinary immunity, it is my opinion it ought to cease to exist. So far from British India being a country the law of which recognizes inequalities, it may be safely said that *with the exception of the exclusive privileges of Europeans there*, there is absolute equality before the law. Native customs no doubt greatly favour inequalities. But the law, and the whole tendency of civil administration, is to discourage them.

Nor does the allegation that in foreign countries, such as China, Japan, Turkey, and Egypt, special tribunals exist for the trial of Englishmen, and that accordingly they might very well be left to exist in India, apply to the case of India. China and Japan, Turkey and Egypt are governed by different codes of law from those prevailing in England. Not only is the procedure different in their courts from the English procedure, but I believe that the punishments inflicted differ in very many respects from those which the customs of Christian countries permit. Naturally, therefore, a separate tribunal is claimed where possible. Again, the administration of China, Japan, Turkey, and, for the present, even Egypt, is

not an English administration. British subjects might be imperfectly protected, if left altogether to the rigour of the criminal laws of those countries. It is right, therefore, for this reason, to claim in foreign countries of this class, a separate tribunal as the only method of ensuring the performance of justice. In a country like France, or Russia, or Spain, where the Administration can be trusted to do justice, on the whole, even though foreign, no special tribunals exist for Englishmen. In the event of injustice, the British Minister interferes. In India, however, the laws are English laws, the procedure is essentially English; the magistrate or judge, even when a native, will be a proficient English scholar; the Government he serves, from whom all his hopes of promotion are derived, is an absolutely English Government, always under the influence of a powerful English bar, and English press, and English parliamentary criticism. Any special tribunal, therefore, is entirely unnecessary for Europeans in India, however it may be in China or in Turkey. They are safe beneath the shelter of British rule.

Many have urged that it were useless to introduce such a measure if it were to have only the limited effect described of giving powers over Europeans to only one or two native civilians. It would, I believe, be necessary, even for so limited a number of officers, to introduce the law, for without it they could not exercise the jurisdiction, and considerable administrative confusion would ensue. These gentlemen have a distinct claim to jurisdiction on every moral ground. It would be more injurious to break faith with them than to admit Europeans to their jurisdiction.

*“La fede unqua non deve esser corrotta
O data a un solo, o data insieme a mille.
Senza giurare, o segno altro piu espresso,
Bastu una volta che s'abbia promesso.”**

If the small scope of the measure rendered it useless to

* “Faith should never be broken,
Whether pledged to one or to a thousand together.
Without on oath or any express sign,
It is sufficient that a promise once be made.”

introduce it, surely, it renders the agitation against the Act equally futile. Surely, if but few are to be invested with such powers, it is culpable to attempt to excite the army against the laws that the Government introduce, and it is equally improper to suggest that the volunteers should resign *en masse* at the mere prospect of some European or Eurasian being brought before a native magistrate, in the event of his breaking the peace in a remote district of Bengal. The feelings, no doubt, of the English community should be respected in legislation. Still it is hardly to be expected that the wishes of that community are to prevail absolutely over the rights of the natives in matters greatly affecting the latter, whenever Europeans lose their heads in one of the panics that occasionally seize the timid and luxurious dwellers in the Presidency towns. Most people who have read the history of the Mutiny, know what the feeling of the inhabitants of Calcutta was at that time, and how it needed the whole moral strength of Lord Canning to resist the urgent, the frantic appeals made to him to indulge in most violent reprisals, which would have exasperated many natives who still were loyal. But it is not the English community alone who are against the Act; there is also the Eurasian community, persons who are not of pure European blood, and who have been born and bred in the country; these also are against the Act. It threatens a vaunted personal immunity which they have long enjoyed, and confidently relied upon as an inextinguishable right, raising them into a caste above the natives, and identifying them with the official hierarchy from England. Another lesson might be learned from the passion with which the proposed measure, although of such a limited character, has been met. If it is unnecessary to pass a law which affects so few, why is such vehemence shown against it? Does not the excitement show that some such law is urgently needed—that Europeans and Eurasians think that, to a very great extent, they can now do as they wish, and that they will not have such opportunities in future? In the violent

speeches, the bitter taunts and insinuations that have signalized this controversy, is shown more manifestly than would well have been possible in any other way, how necessary it is for the English community to learn that India does not exist only for their benefit, and that the natives of the country are not to be considered by them as outside the pale of beneficent legislation. No one, however, but will sympathize with them in some measure for the vexation they must experience in losing their much-prized privileges. So long have they held themselves aloof as a superior caste, expressing in every possible way their faith that India is for the English, claiming as members of a ruling and conquering caste separate tribunals and distinct privileges, that the threatened loss of their position necessarily is very distasteful to them. Are abstract justice and right not to be considered as any reason for a measure being introduced, so long as their individual interests are concerned? Are the feelings, hopes, and aims of the millions and millions of natives to be as nothing before the aims, hopes, and feelings of the few Europeans resident in India? And how infinitely small the European community is as compared with the native! India is a territory the size of all Europe without Russia, with climates, soils, and races varying as much as those of Europe. It is throughout most densely populated. It has three hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants. Out of these, but little more than one hundred thousand are Europeans, including the army. For each European there are thus some three thousand natives. Bengal has the population of France; Assam of England and Wales; British Burmah of Great Britain; the Punjab of Austria-Hungary. On what principle of administration, of right feeling, of good sense, or of morality, are the wishes of so small a minority to override the needs, the hopes, the rights of the natives of the country?

But after all Europeans are not truly alarmed at the prospect of two or three natives being invested with jurisdiction over them; nor are the natives elated at this

infinitesimal contribution to the claims of justice. The European and the native loathe or welcome the measure both for the same reason. It is hated by the European, grieved by the native, because it is a further definite application of the principle first enunciated by the Charter Act of 1833, which departed from the old exclusive Cornwallis system, and which declared that no native should be excluded from holding any place, office, or employment.

By very slow and very cautious degrees, the thin end of the wedge then applied has been driven in ever since. By the Queen's proclamation, again the hope was held out to natives that they would be admitted to important offices in the public service. This hope has been systematically baffled. A whole generation has grown up, and little or nothing has been done to gratify most legitimate expectations. The door of competition has been closed. Although another door has been partially opened, as soon as it is proposed to give the natives admitted through it equal privileges with European officers, a strenuous effort is made to exclude them from a most important, perhaps the most important, part of their duties, by stigmatizing them with opprobrious terms and attributing to them odious qualities. It is the old story: "When you have a bad case always abuse the adversary's attorney." The sooner, however, it is recognized that for the good administration of the country natives must be more and more, in some shape or form, admitted to important posts in the Government, the better will it be for all parties.

The increased employment of natives must improve the administration of justice in one respect—namely, that it will be more in harmony with native ideas. It is said that some natives prefer to be tried before a European. This may *sometimes* be the case, but is it imaginable that natives prefer that foreign rulers should influence every action of their lives? The native magistrate or judge must perforce be in closer sympathy with his fellow-countrymen than foreigners can be, and the one cardinal virtue of a judicial officer, that he

shall be able to enter into the feelings of those who come before him, must go far to compensate for other deficiencies. This reasoning will not come home to those who attribute every vice to the owners of a dark skin; but those who have lived many years amongst natives, and have found amongst them good men and true, ready to perform bravely and conscientiously their various duties, will not be those who would exclude natives from higher posts who have behaved so admirably in inferior capacities. However, to pass lightly over this point, consider the question of expense. The following words were spoken by the Under-Secretary of State for India, on the night of May 8, with reference to the Home charges:—

“How could the Government so well prevent the growth of these charges as by the employment of more natives and fewer Europeans? Far be it from him to say a single word against those splendid men who had spent their lives in India in the service of the State. The country recognized to the full the services which they had rendered, and were still rendering; but they were costly, very costly to a poor country, and besides this, when their active work was done they did not stay in their adopted country. Whereas, if they employed natives, they were less costly, they did not come home on pensions at fifty years of age, and by employing them in the service of the State they hoped to make their loyalty to English rule more active.”

Or consider the question of good sense. The Government of India in their Resolution of May 18, 1882, state as follows:—

“There is rapidly growing up, all over the country, an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power, to fail to utilize. . . .”

These are but two utterances, out of many that might be quoted, to prove that for mere purposes of economical and wise government, the task of ruling India *must* more and more pass into native hands.

The present proposal of the Government will, no doubt, tend to help on this most desirable object. It does not stand alone. It is brought forward at the same time that a scheme for introducing Local Government Boards is being worked out in India. It is, no doubt, a portion of an honest attempt to ensure

government of India very much in accordance with Indian ideas. What is being aimed at is this. In all local affairs an attempt is being made to leave the management in native hands, to arrange for themselves as they please for their own good, subject to the general direction and control of the Central Government. People in England should have no difficulty in understanding this, for it is in this way that their own local affairs are managed. No one supposes that English corporations, local boards of health, of guardians, or schools, are perfect. They are not all free from all reproach of crassness, of jobbery, and of wrong-headedness. But the system of Local Government works fairly well. It is worked by the people for the people, and it is distinctly popular. Any gross abuses may be corrected by the Central Board. So will it be in India. But side by side with the District Boards will exist the District Officers, who will be responsible for the maintenance of order, and who will in each district represent the central authority of the Government guarding Imperial interests, while watching carefully the administration of local affairs. Gradually they will take less and less active part in shaping these local affairs; they will simply keep the Government informed of what is going on, with a view to interference if ever need shall arise. These executive District Officers will be either European or native. Most of these powerful District Officers will be Europeans in order that a proper hold shall be kept on the country. But some of the Executive Officers should be natives, in order that the people at large should recognize that their own countrymen are associated with British rule. The judicial branch of the administration would be similarly divided between Europeans and natives, probably with a preponderance of the latter. Where natives are employed they will be trusted "for all in all, or not at all." No invidious distinctions will be recognized. Economy will be observed, and native talent utilized.

I confess that I see in this scheme foreshadowed a system which shall improve the Government of India immensely—

which shall at length, after their long-tutelage and repression, identify the natives of India with our administration, which shall relieve the European officer of the intolerable load of work that crushes him, which shall render administration far more effective and economical, and shall enable local works and local wants to be far better attended to; which shall more and more develop the resources of the country; which shall take good government home into the heart of every district, and which shall gradually replace the might of English rule which is based on force, for a might which is based as much on affection. Thus this instalment of reform, that Mr. Ilbert's Bill promises, will be hailed by me side by side with the Local Government scheme, as a step in the right direction.

While, however, together with other measures, much direct good will result to the people of India, it seems that much indirect good will result to them also. The passing of the law will announce distinctly to England and to the world that a further step has been taken to carry out the principles of right and justice, and also to fulfil the promises of two generations of Indian administration. Every step taken to fulfil those pledges has been met with the strong resentment and opposition of Europeans in India. The history of the passing of the Black Act is well known. In 1849 and 1855 similar violent agitation put a stop to similar schemes, for rendering Europeans more equal with natives before the law. In 1865, however, on the proposed abolition of grand juries, Sir Henry Maine had to face a similar storm, and he met it with firmness and success. But notwithstanding what has been done, throughout a century of conquest, the European has been everything, and the native little or nothing; the European has begun to think that this is on account of his inherent virtues and of the vices of the native. He fancies that it is thanks to British rule only that law and order exist in India, oblivious of the fact that the quarrels of French and English contributed as much as anything to the downfall of the Mahommedan Empire, followed up as those quarrels were

by British encroachments. Yet consider, since the establishment of British rule, can the result be said to be altogether satisfactory? The country is burdened with debt; taxation is crushing; many millions live in direst poverty; famines are frequent; foreign wars not uncommon. The Englishman glorifies himself for having governed India according to English ideas. An attempt is now made to govern India according to Indian ideas, and this message is sent to England:—

“No more, henceforth, shalt thou deal unfairly with India, she holds an equal place with thee in the comity of nations. She shall not be exploited for thy advantage simply. Afghan wars and Egyptian expeditions for thy benefit shall not be paid for from her exchequer. Equal justice shall be administered in India. Thou hast recognized her claim.”

And, as one last word, let us consider the recommendation that the Government shall withdraw from their proposal. I can only hope that nothing will induce the Government to do this. Withdrawal of the scheme will mean for India all that is evil. It will mean that it has been defeated by vituperation, its power crippled by abuse, the result of race-prejudice and ignorance. The scheme cannot well be brought forward again. All old pledges will be broken, and the Government of India will forfeit its high title to the respect of the world as the impartial arbiter of the destinies of India amid the conflicting claims of different creeds and of different races.

ALFRED H. HAGGARD.

BRITISH INDIA COMMITTEE.

The following Gentlemen, amongst many others, who have held various important offices in India, have joined the British India Committee, or written to the Committee in favour of Mr. Ilbert's Bill:—

- SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, BART., K.C.B., late Governor of Madras.
SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., M.P., late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.
SIR R. HENRY DAVIES, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.
RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD COUCH, late Chief Justice of Bombay and Calcutta.
RIGHT HON. SIR ARTHUR HOBHOUSE, Q.C., late Legal Member of Supreme Council.
SIR CHRISTOPHER RAWLINSON, late Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Madras.
SIR JOHN BUDD PHEAR, late Judge in Bengal, and Chief Justice of Ceylon
SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART., Sessions Judge, Bombay Presidency.
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SIR JAMES CAIRD, K.C.B., late Famine Commissioner.
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CAPTAIN EASTWICK, late Director East India Company, and Member of Indian Council.
A. SCONCE, ESQ., late Judge High Court, Calcutta.
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ROBERT CUST, ESQ., late Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, and Member of Supreme Council.
ROBERT SPANKIE, ESQ., late Puisne Judge, North-West Provinces.
W. MANT COGHLAN, ESQ., late Judicial Commissioner and Chief Judge in Sind.
R. H. W. DUNLOP, ESQ., C.B., late Commissioner of Meerut.
MAJOR-GENERAL PUGHE, late Inspector-General of Police, Bengal.
MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON, late Bengal Army.

BRITISH INDIA COMMITTEE.

THE BRITISH INDIA COMMITTEE has been formed for the purpose, in the first instance, of supporting the progressive and conciliatory measures to which the Marquis of Ripon's Government is giving effect, and generally with the object of promoting the interests of the People of India.

All who are willing to assist the Committee are earnestly requested to send in their Names—also any Subscriptions they may be inclined to give—to the Honorary Secretaries or Treasurer, at the address above, or to the Temple Bar Branch of the London and Westminster Bank.

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38, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

Home Rule Series No. 23.

THE LESSON FROM RUSSIA

A FEW NOTES ON THE EFFECT OF THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ON THE PROBLEM OF
HOME RULE FOR INDIA

Spare copy of No. 23

THE COMMONWEAL OFFICE, ADYAR, MADRAS, INDIA

1917

P R E F A C E

WE have put together in this short pamphlet some reflections on the successful Revolution in Russia as it touched and inspired us in India. There were big meetings held in London, reports of which are also included, and we draw pointed attention to Commander Wedgwood's reference to India. Not only our educated classes but our masses also should be made aware of the work of the poor down-trodden Russians. What moral grit the stricken peasant of Russia displayed will be an inspiration to the equally if not more stricken peasant of India.

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THE LESSON FROM RUSSIA

THE freedom of Russia has sent a wave of enthusiasm through the world of Democracy. Those Democrats who have been watching the trend of events since the outbreak of War in August, 1914, were in a mood of despair, for the real issues of the struggle were made obscure by the dust that militarism had raised. The upholding of the rights of Nationality, the destruction of militarism, the recognition of the ideal of freedom as superior to that of benevolent despotism—all these had somehow got mixed up with their opposites, and we were forced to say with regret that a moral triumph for Prussia was involved in the methods that came to be adopted on the free soil of England. The passing away of the Voluntary System, the treatment meted out to conscientious objectors, the alteration in Parliamentary procedure, the attack on the freedom of the Press, the treatment of the Irish question, etc.—smelt of a spirit akin to Prussianism. The ideal of Great Britain for the independence of Belgians and Serbians and Rumanians lacked the great support of example which her fair and just handling of India and Egypt ought to have afforded. The Russians were fighting for freedom abroad while they were in chains at home. Thus the whole aspect was gloomy; wise Nemesis delayed the victory, and brought about the miracle of the retreat of the early days, the surrender of Warsaw, the muddle of Gallipoli, the fall of Kut. At length the much tyrannised-over Russians, perhaps helped by their religious fervour and intuition, saw that Prussianism could not be broken on the battlefield when Petrograd kept Poland and Finland in chains, when the Tsar was a kind of Kaiser. They fought against Prussianism, and have won the most important battle of the War. "All the world knows now that a real Russia exists"—a Russia different from the one that the world fancied.

The new National morality established by the Russians in their own land will enable them adequately to introduce

reforms in international morality. The foundations of that international morality are laid down in a few pregnant words by President Wilson: "Every people should be left free to determine its own polity." On that principle the future of Internationalism has to be shaped. On that principle, as a writer in the April *Nineteenth Century* points out, "the Danes of Schleswig must be free to rejoin the Danes of the Kingdom; the Prussian Poles must be reunited with their brethren in a united and autonomous Poland; the people of Alsace and Lorraine must be allowed to choose the flag under which they live". It is that ideal of Liberty and Freedom for all, that has made us call this War a War of Ideals:

The dim apprehension of that fact has furnished the stimulus and the inspiration to the free peoples who are in league to-day against the Empires whose very existence is a denial of the principle of liberty, a negation of the doctrine of Nationality. Is it imaginable that the freedom-loving sons of Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa would have sprung to arms to secure a territorial readjustment in the map of Europe, or even to curtail the dynastic ambition of Hohenzollerns or Habsburgs?

The writer, Mr. J. A. R. Marriot, in both the above quotations, forgets India. If the Poles and the Alsations and the Danes must be left free to determine their "own polity," then India too must be so left free. And if Australia and New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have "sprung to arms," so has also India, as much as she was allowed to spring forward by the shackles imposed by her short-sighted Government, which did not see what the Indian leaders saw years beforehand, and in their conceit and high-handedness did not act up to the professed advice.

At length the tide is turning. The blow struck by the Russians is having its effect, and by a strange destiny, the Revolution brought forth these words in reference to free England:

Do not go home without realising that in British prisons some of the best young men of this generation are imprisoned for civil and religious offences. Do not forget that in Russia the prisons have been opened.

Such were the words uttered by Mr. George Lansbury, who presided at a huge meeting of British Democrats. Mr. Nevinson, who knows Russians well, recalled the names of heroes "who

marched stage by stage from one dreary barrack to another in the frozen desert of Siberia," and he called upon the large audience to rise to its feet, "to show that we do not forget". Mr. Bellamy, of the National Union of Railwaymen, was there to encourage his people; there was Dr. Lynch, the Irishman, who stood up and demanded "immediate amnesty for political prisoners"; Mr. Zangwill "did not thank her, he congratulated her, and rejoiced that Russia could at last look the world in the face".

These British people will help India. In them lies our hope. How we wish there could have been an Indian present at the great gathering to speak on our behalf. However there was one noble Englishman who spoke for our Motherland. He said:

We have a duty also to India. I know well enough that unless we adhere to the old English principles of freedom for all the people in the British Empire, unless you treat your fellow-citizens as though they were reasonable individuals, they will not *become* reasonable individuals, and you will not end by glorifying the name of England but by degrading us in the dirt. I want to see as a result of this heroic struggle, in which the Indians have taken no small part—I wish to see an acknowledgment that men who are fit to stand side by side with us in the trenches are also fit to stand side by side with us in the government of their own country.

The man who spoke these truthful words was Commander Wedgwood, M. P., and we must thank him for thus championing the cause of Justice. Thus the lesson from Russia is supreme, and our people must learn it as soon as as possible, and must not forget to teach it to our masses.

BRITISH DEMOCRACY AWAKE

THE huge Albert Hall was packed on March 31st by as many of the English Democracy as could get into it, "the *Herald* crowd," as it was called, with the *Herald's* Editor, gallant George Lansbury, in the chair. The *Herald* says :

"The meeting at the Albert Hall on Saturday night was a portent, a prophecy : it was in the literal sense epoch-making : it marked a turning-point in the mood, the spirit, the activities of our country. Over and over again during the speeches one note was struck, and always it met with the most enthusiastic response—the note of *beginning*. Here, one felt, was the first light of morning, the first flush of returning liberty in the black skies of loss and oppression and reaction. The great industrial Triple Alliance, and all the more active elements in the Socialist and Radical movements, found representation in the words and personalities of the speakers ; and more impressive even than the courage and eloquence of the speeches was the electric and indescribable spirit of the audience. Every seat in the vast hall was occupied. People stood three deep in the gallery. Five thousand were turned away disappointed from the doors. Russian, Polish, and Jewish refugees were there in great numbers, British working men and women in greater numbers still—all joined together, not merely to congratulate Russia upon its Revolution, but to initiate a revolution in the political, social, and economic life of the British Commonwealth. The most passionate applause of the evening was evoked by two points, insisted on by several speakers—that the soldiers who

REFUSED TO SHOOT

their comrades in the streets of Petrograd have set an example for all the workers of the world to follow ; and that when, *and only when*, the soldiers and workers of the world have learnt this lesson, wars will cease. Nobody who was among that more than ten thousand can any longer doubt the signs of the times. The capitalist Press has indulged over this meeting in its usual senseless

orgy of suppression and misrepresentation. But to tell lies is not to alter facts. The meeting was out and out and through and through for Peace, for personal liberty of speech and action, for the ideals of Social Democracy and for

THE RED INTERNATIONAL

—and more—the pettifogging legislation by which our bureaucrats have tried to silence and cripple the democracy was smashed into a thousand fragments. Free speech was not just preached on Saturday—it was practised. The speakers stood up to say what they believed, without fear or favour. Truth showed its greatness and prevailed.”

The great meeting passed the following resolution :

“This meeting sends joyful congratulations to the Democrats of Russia, and calls upon the Government of Great Britain and of every country, neutral and belligerent alike, to follow the Russian example by establishing Industrial Freedom, Freedom of Speech and the Press, the Abolition of Social, Religious, and National distinctions, an immediate Amnesty for Political and Religious offences, and Universal Suffrage.”

What will it be for our India when Great Britain follows in Russia's track, and frees *her* captive Nations, Ireland, Egypt, India ?

Mr. H. W. Nevinnson described what Russia had paid for her freedom. He said :

“Men and women, I have been put up to speak first after our Chairman, simply because I happen to be one of the few Englishmen who were present during those glorious and terrible scenes of the Russian Revolution in S. Petersburg and Moscow twelve years ago; and in consequence I have had the privilege granted me of speaking to a theme which requires no eloquence, and for which the highest eloquence would be inadequate—for I am to speak to the honour and memory of those men and women, boys and girls, who have suffered and died for the cause of Russian freedom. It is a long and glorious roll of honour, and from that roll of honour I would not exclude any party or denomination or race in Russia which has contributed to the struggle. I would include the people who were called Nihilists, and the Social Democrats of Russia, and the Social Revolutionaries of Russia, and the victims who fell on Bloody Sunday,

January, 1905, and those who died, as I saw them die, upon the barricades in Moscow, and those who died in that terrible repression of the Revolution under the hang-rope that they called Stolypin's necktie, and those who were betrayed by provocative agents more infamous in ignominy even than the man Gordon, whom our Government has not disdained to use; and I would also include those who have striven within the last ten years for the maintenance of the Duma, be they Social Democrats or Constitutional Democrats. I will not trouble about a long list of names, but I think here we must mention the names of a few women, such as Sophie Perovsky, Vera Figner, Vera Zassulitch, Marie Spiridonova, and Katherine Breshkovsky, the aged grandmother, as she is called, of the Revolution, who now, to our great joy, is returning from Siberia to the country she has served. And here in England we are especially bound to mention the names of glorious Russian exiles, such as Stepaniak, Felix Volkhovsky, Nicholas Tchaikovsky, and that great friend of us all, and of all men of good will, Peter Kropotkin. Those are great names, but what shall I say of that great cloud of witnesses, unnamed, unknown, unremembered, the men and women, the boys and girls, who spent years of hideous monotony shut up in such fortresses as that of SS. Peter and Paul, where on one side you can see the marble domes of the Tsar's Dynasty, and on the other the glorious walls sanctified by the blood and tears of the martyrs of freedom? What shall I say of those men and women who were forced to march from stage to stage, and from one dreary barrack to another, on their way to the inhospitable and cold deserts into which they sank as into the oblivion of the tomb; or those I have seen hunted up and down the streets of S. Petersburg and Moscow by mounted Cossacks with heavy loaded whips of leather and lead; or those who were hunted to death by the secret police, who were betrayed by provocative agents, who were handed over to the most terrible tortures that fiendish ingenuity can invent, or the human frame can endure, in the torture chambers of Riga and Warsaw? It is less than ten years ago that men and women, 2,100 of them, were hanged within three years, an average of about two a day, and that the Russian prisons were crowded with 181,000 men and women, chiefly political prisoners, and that 84,000 were sent to Siberia. It is for us that those men and women suffered; in tears and sorrow they planted the seed, of which we now reap the harvest in joy. With

their stripes we are healed. In 1885 the American writer, George Kennan, in passing through Siberia, met Katherine Breshkovsky, then a young woman of thirty or thirty-five, and as they parted she said: 'We may die in prison and exile, our children may die in prison and exile, our children's children may die in prison and exile, but something must come of it in the end.' Something has come of it now, and I wish we could penetrate the darkness into which those noble men and women have passed, so that we could tell them that not all in vain has been their heroic struggle. Men and women, there is a custom, in Russia, at the beginning of meetings like this; which, I think, we might imitate here to-night. It is the custom, in memory of those who have suffered and died for the Revolution, for all the audience to rise and stand silent for a few seconds, to show that they and we do not forget what has been done for the Cause. I call upon the audience now to rise in memory of those who have died and suffered for the Russian Revolution, to show that we do not forget what they have done for us all."

At these words the audience rose and stood silent for some seconds.

Commander Wedgwood, M. P., did not forget India. He said:

"The Russians are free, but they have given us the hope of freedom, and when we rejoice with them, as we do to-night, with the Russians of to-day and the Russians of yesterday, let us remember also all those rebels in other countries, in England and elsewhere, who have gone under in the struggle. (A voice: 'Liebknecht'.) We march on. Russia is free. What are we to do? Every real freedom lover stands for the equality and freedom of all the races. If we feel our responsibilities for the belief that the democracy is international and irrespective of race or colour, then I say that it is our duty everywhere to support those democracies when they are in trouble, and to support them by every means in our power.

"The next thing is this: it is our duty to look to our own house and to see that that freedom which we acclaim in others is extended to the best of our ability, not only to our own people here, but to all people in our great democracies. I pass over the Irish question, because it is an impertinence in an Englishman to deal with the injustices of Ireland. (Applause.) I pass over,

too, the women question : their freedom, I hope, is coming so far as the suffrage is concerned—(applause)—but the suffrage is nothing at all. It is not a question of whether women are going to vote, but a question of custom and public opinion. We are dealing with a beautiful Bill in Parliament ‘for the better persecution of prostitutes,’ and it has got a clause in it to say that any girl of eighteen can be run in off the streets and put into a home until she is nineteen ! It is in the interest of society ! Every crime against freedom is promoted in the interest of society ! I pass over these things because the point I want to make is, we have a duty also to India. I know well enough that unless we adhere to the old English principles of freedom for all the people in the British Empire, unless you treat your fellow-citizens as though they were reasonable individuals, they will not *become* reasonable individuals, and you will not end by glorifying the name of England but by degrading us in the dirt. I want to see as a result of this heroic struggle, in which the Indians have taken no small part—I wish to see an acknowledgment that men who are fit to stand side by side with us in the trenches are also fit to stand side by side with us in the government of their own country.”

We thank Commander Wedgwood. Would that H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir had been there to speak for his country. A King himself, he has the right to consort with Kings, but we would that he had come face to face with the English Democracy, to feel the heart of England, and learn where lies the hope of India’s freedom.

DAWN IN THE EAST

RUSSIA, by one of time's ironical revenges, has become the envy of less happy lands. Three great meetings, in the Albert Hall, the Queen's Hall, and the Kingsway Hall, last Saturday, acclaimed the Revolution, and in doing so tempered their-joyful welcome to the new Russia by strong protests against reaction at home. Comparisons between the present state of Russia and of England were inevitable in a gathering like that at the Albert Hall, which was organised by the advanced wing of the democratic movement and addressed chiefly by leaders of the "rebel" movement. Serious inroads have been made upon the traditional liberties of the British people since the War began, and although ultra-patriotic people in the Albert Hall may have felt that England is hardly so black as she was painted, and that Liberty can hardly be called a lost cause in a country where it finds so many resolute and able defenders, the opportunity of bearing witness against reaction was too good to be lost. A magnificent demonstration of faith in democratic principles was the result. Many remarkable meetings have been held in the Albert Hall, but none so tremendously enthusiastic, so sure of its ground, so convinced of the validity of the principles it was designed to support. Revolutionary Russia, in freeing herself, has set free a new-hope for mankind, which finds its incarnation in such huge and unanimous assemblies, filling every corner of the vast amphitheatre and rising tier upon tier to the very roof. There one saw Democracy in its most exalted mood: its generous ardours, its radiant hopefulness, its passionate idealism, its splendid faith in the redemptive force of freedom, gave to the gathering an almost Pentecostal quality.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLL CALL

It was an unforgettable experience to share the emotions of this immense audience of democrats, over which Mr. George Lansbury presided. There was a veritable crisis of feeling when Madame Clara Butt stood forth upon the platform to sing,

to the tune of the Russian National Anthem, the words of an old hymn invested with a new and poignant significance :

God the All-Terrible! King, who ordainest
Great winds thy clarions, lightnings thy sword ;
Show forth thy pity on high where thou reignest ;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord !

Alternate verses were taken up by the audience, and the appeal was poured forth on a wave of surging emotion which shook the foundations of self-control. Madame Butt sang with glorious passion, sustaining in the most extraordinary way the tremendous pressure of the audience which carried it beyond itself. Deep called to deep, too, in that moment of strained silence when Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the first speaker after Mr. Lansbury, called the roll of the brave men and women who have striven and suffered for liberty in Russia. No man had a better right to speak of the Russian martyrs than Mr. Nevinson ; he was one of the few Englishmen present during the terrible scenes of the Revolution in Petrograd and Moscow twelve years ago. Beginning with the Decembrists of 1825, Mr. Nevinson recited the names of the Russian martyrs, known and unknown—men, women, boys, and girls—who suffered and died for freedom, who marched stage by stage from one dreary barrack to another in the frozen desert of Siberia, in which they sank at last as into a tomb. He told the audience that it is a custom in Russia at such meetings as this to remember the heroes and martyrs of Revolution, and he called upon the audience to rise to its feet “to show that we do not forget”. With a single impulse and with impressive dignity, the audience responded to this suggestion and stood up in proud silence.

MR. LANSBURY AND MR. SMILLIE

From the chair Mr. Lansbury read the resolution which sent joyful greetings to the democrats of Russia, and called upon the Governments of Great Britain and of every country, neutral and belligerent alike, to follow the Russian example by establishing industrial freedom, freedom of speech and the press, the abolition of social, National, and racial distinctions, an immediate amnesty for political and religious offences and universal suffrage. He said this was the most representative international assembly since the International Socialist Congress in this country. Russian freedom has been secured, he went on, because for the first time in modern history working-class soldiers have refused

to fire upon their brothers and sisters. A great roar of cheering emphasised the statement, to which more than one speaker later recurred. "Do not go home," Mr. Lansbury added, "without realising that in British prisons some of the best young men of this generation are imprisoned for civil and religious offences. Do not forget that in Russia the prisons have been opened." Mr. Robert Smillie, the Miners' President, said it was a splendid thing to be able to speak freely about Revolution . . . in Russia. He hoped Russia was really free; but he was sure that the Nation of which we form a part is not a free Nation. His reference to the conscientious objectors, like that of Mr. Lansbury's, was emphasised by a thunderous cheer. It is for the people of Great Britain, he said, to prove to the Russian people whether we are worthy to send a message of congratulation to them.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS AND MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Mr. Robert Williams, speaking as the leader of the transport workers, said that the rights of organisation and combination and civil and political liberty had been challenged by the reactionary classes in this country. The Defence of the Realm Regulations were calculated, in his judgment, rather to defend the privileges of the profiteering classes than the safety of the sovereign realm. He declared that they were resolved to use the powers of the great Triple Alliance of railwaymen, miners, and transport workers against industrial conscription, against "indentured white labour," as against indentured coloured labour. We want to send men like Robert Smillie to represent to the Russian democrats the true attitude of the industrial democracy of this country. Mr. Israel Zangwill delivered a charming speech as a representative of the race which has suffered most from the old Russia. Many of his sentences had a cutting edge. We democrats, he said, never denounced Russia, but only the Russian Government. We welcomed the representatives of the Duma to our shores; it was only the Tsar that we refused to allow to land here. We have always recognised that there was a holy Russia; but it was not the Russia of holy candles and ikons, but the Russia of the holy struggle for freedom. Passing on to speak of the inroads upon British liberties during the War, Mr. Zangwill became very epigrammatic. Lloyd George, diluted by the Constitution (he said) is all very well; but unalloyed George is a National danger. Freedom, it is said, broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent, but our

freedom seems to be falling down from precipice to precipice. For that great gesture with which Russia freed his people Mr. Zangwill said he did not thank her, he congratulated her, and rejoiced that Russia could at last look the world in the face; he rejoiced that this burden is now lifted from the soul of Russia as from the body of the Jews.

MISS ROYDEN AND COMMANDER WEDGWOOD

Miss Maude Royden delivered what was, perhaps, the most generous and free-hearted speech of the evening. It had been suggested more than once that English democrats, because they are in the grip of reaction, had little right to praise Russia, but at least (said Miss Royden) the spirits in prison may send a message to the spirits who are free. We can rejoice that Russia is free, with no grudging after-thoughts about ourselves. She dwelt upon the message of the Russian literature, with its insistence upon the principle that every human being counts for one, and none for more than one. "Why, where do you think the Russian people could have stopped when they were deciding who should have political freedom, before deciding to give it to every man and woman?" Commander Wedgwood, likewise, had the courage to speak counter to the prevailing sentiment of the audience. [He is pro-War, Ed., *N. I.*] If we believe that democracy is international, he said, it is our duty to support that democracy everywhere when it is in danger and trouble by every means in our power—an obvious reference to the part democrats like himself have played in fighting against German aggression.

DR. LYNCH AND MR. ALBERT BELLAMY

One of the most interesting figures on the platform was Dr. Lynch, the Irish rebel, whose career is a romance. He has a wild Irish eye, and, watching him, one saw the very spirit of Revolution at work, ardent, high-spirited, and fundamentally reckless of consequences. He stood up when his time came, and demanded "an immediate amnesty for political prisoners and the establishment of the Republic". He did not qualify this demand. Some one in the audience suggested that the Socialist Republic was wanted, but Dr. Lynch said promptly that for the moment he would be content with any sort of Republic. Amidst all the falsity and hypocrisy of the War it had become more and more apparent (he

said) that this is a War in which on the one side we have militarism, Tsarism, autocracy, and the Trust of Kings ; and on the other the Republic. Perhaps the course of events will be, first Russia, then Germany, will get a Republic, and then England—for we have got so much from Germany. He would like to see, not Imperial Federation, that Pecksniffian imitation of the German model, but a ring of British Republics ; and he believed that this programme would be found to be the solution of the Irish problem also. Mr. Albert Bellamy, of the National Union of Railwaymen, and Mr. W. C. Anderson, each in his own way, drove home the moral of the Revolution as they would have the British workers understand it.

POLITICAL SANDHYA-KALAM

"THE happiest event of our generation is now triumphantly completed."

So says the *Nation*, referring to the Russian Revolution. We can well understand the significance of such a statement, if we realise that the great event is not going to affect "the land of the Tsar" that was, but all the countries of the world in the West and East alike. A thick, black, ugly cloud obstructed the shedding of the Light which the Sun of Democracy gives, and on Russian soil the darkness of autocracy reigned supreme. A change has taken place, but it began some years ago.

Over a decade ago, when Russia made an alliance with France and Great Britain, the first step was taken. British Radicals often disapproved of England joining hands with a country where liberal and democratic principles were not duly honoured. On the other hand Russian Liberals greeted the Alliance with joy and hope, for they saw the significance of the event. A Nation, like a man, is known by the company it keeps; a Nation, like a man, is affected, for good or ill, by the code of morals and honour of its friends. They believed that it would strengthen their cause and not that of the autocracy, if Russia stood on the side of France and England, and against Germany and Austria.

Their hope is fulfilled. Nor is the Revolution a blessing for them only. Russia belongs to the West, but also exists in the East. Thus the whole world is to be touched. Says the *Nation*:

We hope from these tremendous events something for ourselves, much for Europe, everything for Russia. Something is changed in London and in Paris—aye, and in Berlin also—because hope has released a people that sat in darkness.

If Berlin and London and even Republican Paris hope for something from the Revolution, how much more must Delhi and Simla hope? The *New Statesman* says:

For two continents the death-knell of absolutism is being sounded.

The Russian Revolution deals a deadly blow to Prussianism, which the Powers of Light wish to destroy. More than all her achievements on the Eastern Front, more than all her dash and push and victory in Turkey, the Russians have helped the progress of Peace by freeing themselves from the tyranny of Prussianism at home.

It is the greatest event of the War against autocracy, bureaucracy, absolutism everywhere. "The Russian leaven has worked at once on the Irish question," says the *Nation*. It has affected public feeling in India too, though the masses are yet to learn the inner meaning of the Revolution in Russia. *The Christian Commonwealth* describes it as the "Dawn in the East".

Who will explain to the Indian peasants what their brothers in Russia have done? Who will make clear to our masses the inner meaning of this great action which has made a Nation free? Modern people talk of "psychological moments"; our ancient Knowers have taught us the religious significance of "Sandhya-Kalam"—periods, short or long, which join the old to the new, leading individuals and Nations from bondage to Freedom, from mortality to Immortality. Such an hour is this. The Sun of Liberty rose for the children of Nippon a few years ago; it has been rising for waking China; it is now rising for the Russians. Our hour is approaching. India too shall be free: but the sons of India must sacrifice as the sons of Japan did; they must undergo the change of heart that those who were slumbering in the Celestial Kingdom passed through; they must stand up for Right and Justice as the Russians did. Here in India all these lessons are being learnt, and our long connection with Great Britain, who to-day champions the cause of Freedom, entitles us to hope and to stand expectant. We are worshipping in the small hours of the morning.

The Sun of Freedom will soon rise for us also.

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