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Poona Sarvajanic Sabha  
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# THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.



## THE RE-ADMISSION OF THE VERNACULARS' INTO THE UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM.

The following representation was submitted some time ago to the Senate of the Bombay University on the subject of the re-admission of the Vernaculars into the Curriculum of the Bombay University :—

To,

THE REGISTRAR

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY,

BOMBAY.

SIR,

We, the undersigned, Members of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, and Fellows, Graduates and Undergraduates of the University of Bombay, request that you will be good enough to submit the following observations in regard to the introduction of the Vernacular languages of this Presidency into the higher Examinations of the University, to the Syndicate and the Senate.

2. We understand that a Sub-Committee has been appointed to revise the course of studies in the Arts' Colleges affiliated to the University, and we think that the time is opportune for the reconsideration of the position of the Vernaculars in the Arts course.

3. In requesting the Syndicate and the Senate to re-introduce the study of the leading Vernaculars into the University curriculum, we are anxious to state definitely at the outset that we do not in any way wish to propose a curtailment or even a modification of the present

standard of English and the Classics in the Arts Course. The study of the Vernaculars is proposed, not in substitution for, but in addition to, the study of English and the Classics. We are fully aware that the study of English is, for various reasons, absolutely indispensable to us. First, as the language of the rulers of the country, it is the natural vehicle, through which all higher administrative work is carried on; secondly, it supplies the most convenient medium for inter-provincial communications; thirdly, it possesses a literature, which, in its humanizing and refining influences, is Uncomparably superior to the present Vernacular literatures of this country; and lastly, a knowledge of English enables us to make or continue our acquaintance with the ever-progressing thought of the West. For these reasons, then, a curtailment of the present English standard is not even to be thought of; similarly, we do not in any way propose the least change in the present well-deserved position of the Classics. For we are aware of the comparative poverty of even the leading Vernaculars of the Presidency, and we fully believe that their development depends almost entirely upon a careful and extensive study of Sanscrit. We only contend that the University ought to recognize the claims of the Vernaculars and give them a place by the side of English and the Classics.

4. We need hardly state that the change we advocate does not seek a reversal of the policy which was deliberately adopted by the Senate in 1864 and carried into actual effect two years latter. We are fully aware of the reasons which led scholars and educationists like the late Sir Alexander Grant and Mr. Howard to recommend that the Vernaculars should make way for the Classical languages. They no doubt conscientiously believed that the Vernaculars were rendered by the poverty of their literatures unfit to form part of the course of studies in the Arts' Colleges, and they succeeded at the time in impressing their views upon the majority of the Members of the Senate. It should, however, be remembered that the minority was a very respectable one, and was headed by the late Dr. Wilson and Mr. (now the Hon. Sir Raymond) West, who took a different view of the functions of the University. The decision then arrived at may be accepted as final so far as the question relates to the recognition of the Classics in the University Course. That decision, however, in no way precludes the consideration of the measure we now advocate, namely, the recognition of the Vernaculars as fit subjects of study along with and not in substitution for the classics. We may say that the Verna-

culars are not at present what they were in 1864. For during the last 25 years, there has been a great development of their literature, and the conditions of the problem are therefore to some extent altered.

5. We urge the claims of the Vernaculars for recognition by the University on the ground that the University system of education can never be naturalized and can never sink to foundations deep in the soil so long as the languages which the masses of the people can understand find no place in the University Curriculum. The chief object aimed at by the framers of the Education Despatch of 1854, which, to some extent, led to the foundation of the Universities in India, was to popularize Western Science and Learning in this country and secure the widest possible diffusion of Western ideas. This paramount object can never be accomplished and the Universities can never cease to be exotic institutions as long as a connection is not established between the studies encouraged by them and the popular and current languages of the country. We do not wish to be understood to say that the time has arrived when the higher subjects of study can be taught through the medium of the Vernaculars, although this is the ultimate object which has to be kept in view. The necessity of continuing English as the medium of instruction for a long time to come must be unreservedly accepted, but this does not require that the graduates and the under-graduates of the University should be brought up under influences which divorce them from all touch with the languages of the people among whom they live and move. They can never command the respect and authority due to learning as long as the learning which they acquire is so foreign and dead as to be unappreciated by the people, and they have to profess ignorance of the literature of their own mother-tongue.

6. Since the admission of Sanscrit into our University, the study of that language has received a very good encouragement. But the labour spent upon it has failed to bear the excellent fruit which it would otherwise have borne, if the Vernaculars had not been excluded from the University. At present the average College student has no motive to utilize his knowledge of Sanscrit in rendering English thought into his Vernacular. His chief concern is to cram the prescribed English and Sanscrit text-books, and scrape through the examinations. As at Col-

lege and before entering it there is nothing to induce him to cultivate a taste for the study of his Vernaculars, so after he has left the College and established himself in the world, he forgets his Sanscrit almost completely, and retains only so much of his English as is necessary for the purposes of his profession. The evil does not stop here. The Vernaculars being excluded from Colleges, the High Schools which prepare the students for the Colleges also by reflex influence fall in with the necessities of the situation and exclude Vernaculars to a greater or less extent from their own proper course. In this way the study of the Vernaculars in the case of many hundreds of boys is practically closed with the third Anglo-Vernacular standard. As soon as the student is transferred to the 4th standard, which is the entrance standard for High Schools, he bids farewell to his vernacular studies and need never return to them during the rest of his school or College course.

7. This strange system of public education is, we submit, productive of many evils. It frustrates the chief object which a system of public instruction ought to have in view. It impedes the spread of education; for education, if it is ever to spread in the country, can do so only through the medium of the Vernaculars. The masses have neither the means nor the intelligence requisite for the acquisition of useful knowledge through the channel of a difficult foreign language, and therefore all useful knowledge must be imparted to them through their Vernaculars. But our educated classes, who ought to take upon themselves this task of imparting knowledge to the masses, have no taste for the study of those languages. Thus the spread of education is checked and the masses continue to remain in the same mental darkness in which they have been immersed for centuries. The hope was once entertained that University graduates would labour for the enlightenment of the masses of the people by devoting themselves to the task of interpreting English thought to their fellow-countrymen through their Vernaculars, developing these by the help of their Sanscrit studies. The hope has been only partially realized. This disappointing result is chiefly due to the existing system of higher education which neglects the Vernaculars throughout and thus turns out young men highly instructed in Western knowledge, but for the most part unable and therefore unwilling to impart that knowledge to their fellow-countrymen through those Vernaculars. These results are, in the higher interests of the



country, not at all desirable, and we submit that early steps should be taken to remedy these and other defects pointed out above.

8. The remedy is not far to seek. Let the system of our University Education be re-established on the lines suggested by the Court of Directors in their celebrated Despatch of 1854 and on the subsequent recommendations of such eminent educationists as Dr. Wilson, the Hon'ble Sir R. West, Sir J. B. Peile, and the gentlemen who constituted the Bombay Committee of the Education Commission, and the evils will soon disappear. The Universities here must do what Universities elsewhere have successfully attempted. The encouragement of the study of modern European languages in European Universities has helped their development in various ways, and the Universities here must follow their example.

9. For the present we shall be satisfied if the University accepts the following proposals :—

- I. A paper to be set at the Matriculation in addition to the papers set at present, requiring the candidate to translate an English passage into his Vernacular and to write an essay in that language on a proposed subject. The paper should also contain simple questions in grammar and idiom of the candidate's mother-tongue.
- II. A similar paper of suitable difficulty to be set at each of the three higher examinations—*viz.*—the Previous Examination and the two B. A. Examinations ; only it need not contain questions in grammar and idiom.
- III. The degree of Master of Arts should not be conferred on a candidate, unless he has satisfied the Syndicate that he has got a fair grasp of the subject in which he seeks proficiency, by producing in his Vernacular an original essay, or by translating or adapting some standard work on that subject.

10. We are aware that these proposals will be objected to by some on the grounds of overlook, of the difficulty of exacting equally hard tests from all candidates, of the necessity of setting two papers in English to those whose mother tongue is English, of the fear of deterioration of the standard of efficiency, of the additional expenditure that will have to be incurred and many more of the like.

kind. In reply, we have to urge that the advantages likely to accrue from accepting the proposals will more than out-balance all the disadvantages pointed out above, and in practical working the difficulties will be found to minimise themselves. Surely a paper on translation and composition will not seriously add to the work of the candidates. There need be no inequality if the examiners fix upon a common test before drawing up the question papers. The number of candidates, whose mother tongue is English, is so small that it can hardly be an element for consideration. The fears as to the deterioration of efficiency are groundless, as English and the Classics will retain their present position. The difficulty of finding examiners was not experienced before 1864 and need not be experienced now. The financial difficulty will not be of a very formidable kind, as the increase of expenditure will not be great. The advantages named above are, on the other hand, so real and so permanent that we trust the Senate will be quite prepared to face any small difficulties in its way, if the proposals made above meet with its acceptance on other grounds.

11. What we ask for is small. Indeed, considering all things, we venture to think that it is surprisingly little. We, however, hope that once inside the University, the Vernaculars will work their way up to their proper place. It is this hope that comforts us, and it is with this hope that we content ourselves with making these really very limited proposals.

Hoping that you will be good enough to take the earliest opportunity to place this memorial before the Syndicate and the Senate for their favourable consideration,

We beg to remain &c., &c.,

V. M. BHIDE,

*Chairman, S. Sabha.*

N. B. DANDEKAR,

M. G. RANADE,

V. S. APTE,

G. S. AGARKAR,

And 80 more Signatories (being Fellows, Graduates and Under-graduates of the University).

## THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF 1889.\*

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In the year 1889, the 8th International Congress of Orientalists that assembled at Stockholm (Sweden) and Christiana (Norway) between the 2nd and the 11th of September last, and the Universal Exhibition of Paris, commemorative of the centenary of the French Republic, were the great attractions of Europe. People from all parts of the world flocked to these centres of European Civilization and Progress. Both the sights were unique and unrivalled in their variety, grandeur, and educating influences. While the one represented the highest results of mechanical and scientific progress and material advancement; the other was illustrative of the great energy and intellect of the West, perhaps of the World, bestowed on the study of the Light and Learning of the East, and of antiquity generally. While the one was inaugurated by one of the most prominent Republics of Europe and the World,—that of France, the other was called at the invitation of one of the most intelligent and cultivated Princes of the North, King Oscar II. of Norway and Sweden. The Universal Exhibition was a right imperial work, although it basked under the sunshine of a Republic, while the Congress was purely democratic in spirit and constitution, although it smiled under full regal splendour and influence. But both of them were representative of the intellect, energy, and application of the West.

The Congress of Orientalists had for its compeers and contemporaries other Congresses also, the hundred and one of

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\* This paper has been kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, District Judge Amreli, Gaikwar's Dominions.

Paris, that formed appanages of the Universal Exhibition; as also the Vegetarian Congress, that met at Cologne, about the 15th of September. But the Oriental Congress of the North far excelled and exceeded that of the South in every respect. All the four quarters and continents of the world sent their representatives to the ancient lands of Scandinavia; there all the leading religions of the world also had their followers. Of these, Europe among the former, and Christianity among the latter, figured prominently. There were 459 European, 16 American, 13 Asiatic and 5 African scholars present. If we re-arrange these numbers according to races, the Aryans far out-numbered the Semitics and Negroic, there being only one Abyssinian and perhaps 9 Semitics, the rest being Aryans or Indo-Germanic. The Japanese, Fins, and Magyars are not separately classed here. Of the Indo-Germanic races, the Teutoni-Gothic races of the North and West formed more than 75 p. c. i. e. 380 out of a total of 492 members present. The Greeco-Latin races numbered only 37, and the Slavonic only 19, the mixed being 44. ~~The distribution of~~ the numbers according to religion consisted of 2 Brahminic, 2 Buddhistic, 1 Zoroastrian, 9 Islamite, and the rest Christian. In Europe again, geographically speaking, the North and the West far exceeded the South and East, there being 402 of the former to 90 of the latter. These figures show the interest of the subject as distributed ethnically, geographically and philosophically, and according to race, locality and religious creeds. They also show us at a glance how the Orientals, to whom the subjects discussed at the Conference ought to have most attraction are so apathetic about them—or are so slow and backward in taking a real and living interest in them. While the Brahmin, the Jain, the Buddha or the Moulvi does not appreciate the worth of rare Mss. lying with him, and while he even consigns them to the flowing waters

of a river, or sells them to the grocer for dispensing pills and powders in them, the Western scholars attach the greatest value to them. While the most important of our coins, copperplates or inscriptions, the Palm leaf Mss. or the Papyri, are allowed to rot and perish in obscurity, they fetch and command fancy prices in the distant West. The arts and lores that are forgotten and lost in their lands of birth receive a strange resurrection in distant lands where it could never have been expected or imagined that they would attract any notice. The East, therefore, is not a little indebted to the West for thus rekindling the light that was almost entirely extinct in its first home.

The registered number of members of the Congress was close upon 710, while the number actually present was 492. The members present at Berlin, Leyden, and Vienna in 1881, 1883, and 1886 were 290, 454, and 424 respectively. The proportion of local members to the general total, viz., of 141, Sweden, and 62, Norway, i. e. 203 in all, out of 492, also is an evident improvement, if we look at 117 Germans out of 290, 160 Hollanders to 454, and 117 Austrians to the total of 424. The percentage was thus 45 in 1881, 35 in 1883, and 27 in 1886, and it rose last year to 41. There is also an improvement in the part taken by Oriental and especially Indian, members. While Mr. S. P. Pandit M. A. was the only scholar present in the first Congress in England, Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma and Mr. Ramdas Chhabildas, Barrister-at-Law, were present at Leyden, Pandita Ramabai attended at Berlin, and Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar M. A., Ph. D., was present at Vienna, there were 3 pure Indians at the last Congress, and Dr. P. Peterson, M. A. Ph. D., Professor Elphinstone College, figured prominently with them. Mr. G. J. Modi B. A. read two papers before the general section and two before the Aryan section, and he was decorated with a

Gold Medal of *litteris et artibus*. There was a paper read by me before the Aryan section at Stockholm on the 3rd of September 1889, and two papers before the same at Christiana on the 10th of the same month. The first was on the Sanskrit elements of Euclid's Geometry. The other two were (1) the New Vernaculars of Western India with special reference to ancient and mediæval Gujerathi, placing before the Congress an old Gujerati Grammar (Mugdhvabodha Mauktika) written in V. S. 1460, (A. D. 1394,) and (2) the antiquities of Baroda State and the light they shed on Gujerat History. There were two Sanskrit Poems also, specially composed for the occasion, recited by me, one at Stockholm and the other at Christiana. Lastly we have good reason to congratulate ourselves that this time India was wholly represented by the Bombay Presidency at the Congress, and the two important discoveries of the Sanskrit Euclid and the Buddhistic work on logic, the Nyayabindu of Dharma Haracharya brought to light by Dr. Peterson, were also made by scholars from this side of India.

The large number of members attending the Congress this year as noticed above may have been partly due to the universal Exhibition that drew people from every point of the earth. There was, further, another novel feature of the Congress *viz.*, the part taken therein by the fair sex. This was not entirely formal, nor idle nor unimportant. There was an interesting paper read Madame Sophie de Torma in Section 5. b.

The following Universities sent delegates to the Congress—Halle 1, Griefswold 3, Girssent 1, and Jena 1, in Germany, Vienna 3, Prague 1, Bohemia 1, Allemande 1, in Austro—Hungary, Munich, 1 in Bavaria, Copenhagen 2 in Denmark, John Hopkins at Baltimore, 1 and Browne of Providence 1, in United States, Helsingfur 1, Finland 1, Oxford 2, Cambridge 1,

London 1, in England, Edinburgh 2 in Scotland, Bombay, 1 in India, Pontificate of Rome 1, in Italy, St. Petersburg 2, and Kassin 1 in Russia, Upsala 1 and Lund 1 in Sweden. Similarly learned Societies like the Deutsche Morgen landische Gesellschaft 1, Orientalische Gesellschaft 2 in Germany, K. K. Handels Museum 1, L'Instruction publique de Vienne 1, Ungarische Academie de Wissen Schafter 1, and K. K. Natural historisches Hog Museum, in Austro—Hungary, Societe de Archæologie de Bruxelles Belgium, China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 2, China, Sunthtonian Institution, United States, America, Societe Finis Ungroise de Helsingfors 1, Finland, Societe Asiatique de Paris 1, and Societe d' Anthropologie of Paris, as also Academic d' Hippone of Bove 1, France, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 4, Society of Biblical Archæology 3, Palestine Exploration Fund 1, India office 1, Christian knowledge Society 1, Asiatic Society of Bengal 1, India, Reale Academie de' Lincei 1, Bibliotheque due Vatican 1, Academia Reale delle Scienze à Torino 1, Italy, Koninklijk Institute Voor de Taal-handen Volken-Kunde van Neder landsch Indie à la Haze 3, Holland, and Societe Imperiale Archeologique 1 of Russia, sent Delegates. Several foreign Governments too deputed their representatives, Austro-Hungary sent 9, Baden 1, Baroda 1, Bavaria 4, Bosnia and Herzegovina 2, Brazil 1, Denmark 2, Egypt 4, France 2, the Government of India 2, Italy 3, Japan 1, Netherlands 4, Persia 1, Portugal 1, Roumania 1, Russia 1, Rogaume de Sane 1, Duches Dane Coburg Gotha 1, Siam 1, and Turkey 2. This contributed largely to making the Congress a highly effective and a right royal Assembly.

The reception accorded to the Congress by its august Patron, the King of the Goths and Vandals, of Norway and

Sweden, King Oscar II, and the Peoples of Norway and Sweden, may safely be said to have had no parallel in the history of the reception of past Congresses. The illuminations and fireworks, pleasure trips, grand dinners and festivals, with music and opera, telephone and swimming bath entertainments, and what not,—everything was made extremely pleasant and agreeable to the learned scholars assembled there. The reception would never fade away from the memory of those to whom it was accorded. The festivities were so continuous and varied, that the Congress gathering has been described to have been more a holiday trip than a real working assembly. The organization Committee and the local authorities have been blamed for this. But I would rather like to thank them for the great and good feeling shown by the people and the Prince of the North, who are famous for their hospitality and love and liking of foreigners. The honour that was thus paid to this collected representative humanity was unprecedented in the annals of the world. It was more cordial than that paid to any popular ruler of mankind or to a successful general returning, crowned with all the glories and trophies of war. And yet there was no foolish idolatry or any tall Hero-worship. If there was any worship, it was that of Intellect and Humanity, the triumph was the triumph of progress in matters that are more divine than human, so in this direction too there was a clear departure and marked advance. Again the work of the brain absolutely needed change and rest, relaxation and relief, as will be seen from what follows.

The Congress worked in five sections : I. Semitic ; II. Aryan ; III. African ; IV. Central and Extreme Asia ; and V. Malayasia and Polynesia. The Semitic section was again subdivided into two subsections : (a) the Arabic and Islamite, and (b) and other Semitic languages and cuneiform writings



and inscriptions &c. The African Section concerned itself mainly with Egyptology, while Sanscrit and Zend engrossed an overwhelmingly greater part of the attention of the Aryan Section, although the Modern Vernaculars, the Gujerati, the Beluchi and Houza dialects too, had no inconsiderable share of it. The papers and work distributed over these sections were written by 86 persons out of 492. Of these, there was only 1 lady as noticed above and she came from Austro-Hungaria; of the remaining 85, there was only 1 Brahmin, I myself; only 1 Parsi, Mr. G. J. Modi; and 1 Japanese among the Asiatics, and 4 Egyptians among the Africans. There were 14 Germans, 10 French, 10 Swedish, 7 Austrians, 5 English, 5 Italians, 2 from the United States, 2 Dutch, 2 Norwegian, 2 Danish, 2 Russians, 1 Welsh, 1 Greek, 1 Swiss, 1 Belgian; the nationalities of the rest being unknown. Here too we see that the Teutonic races do not only muster strong; but their work also forms a very large bulk of the total. Sweden and Norway too have been doing not a little. But France and Germany, followed by Austria and Italy, were to the fore as usual. It is greatly to be regretted that Great Britain and Ireland have figured so little in this field with all their resources and facilities.

There were in all about 106 papers ready by these 86 persons; 48 being in French and 37 in German, while there were perhaps about 2 in Italian and 18 in English. It was not only the programme, catalogues and bulletins and speeches that gave the Congress its French or German character—but this larger proportion of papers also, confirmed this impression. It was no compliment to the world-pervading English language—that is striving to be a Universal tongue,—and to the English speaking races that they should have dwarfed down so insignificantly as they did on the present occasion. Although there was a larger proportion of

English speaking and English knowing members in the Congress, the language was ignored, so to say, not only at the meetings of the sections, and of the whole Congress, but even at the table and on festive occasions. The convenience of the majority had no doubt the first claim to be consulted and attended to. At the same time it is clear that tradition more than actual convenience actually governs the choice of the common or predominant language. French is gradually becoming less and less the *lingua franca* of the continent—and the German and Italian languages will never occupy the place thus vacated by this indisputably senior member. The vacancy thus caused should largely be filled up by English, and, as, in the long run, it will drive away or at least cast into shade every other language of the world English deserves to be the learned or literary language of the future world like Greek of the Ancient and Latin of the subsequent ages in the West, and Sanskrit in the East. And the sooner we do it, the better, as the proposed change is likely to bring the results of learned research in this extensive field easily within the reach of every body, who cares to study the subject. Besides it would economise the time and labour spent in the study of more languages than one, not necessarily required for a correct understanding or study of the results of antiquarian research.

It will not be uninteresting here to take stock of what progress the present Congress has made over the last—and in what direction and fields this progress has been made and what results have been achieved by European research. While Section 6 (a) counts 21 papers on the list and the same Section (b) 22—the Aryan Section has but 18, and the African 13, and the Central and Extreme Asian 10, and Malagasia and Polynesia but 2. Every one will regret that so little work was brought by the Aryan Section to the Con-

gress in spite of its innumerable resources and facilities and in spite of its unbounded field and horizon, clearer and more open than that of others. And even this work was not of a substantial or critically scientific character. While Archæology and Mythology occupy a large share of the above, and comparative philology and study of languages had their due share, no strata of Oriental Philosophies or sciences were unearthed in the way in which Prof. Oppert in Section 6 (b) working for the Chaldean astronomy and astrology, and Dr. Monye in Section IV for Chinese Philosophy had done. In the Aryan Section which is the parent and fountain-head of ancient Sciences and Philosophy, we had only Dr. Peterson's Nyayabindu, Dr. Denssen's remarks on the depth of Aryan Philosophy on the नमोदासीन् Hymn and the Sanskrit Euclid. But even these do not go deep enough. They probe the subject but superficially.

If we look at the papers announced, or read, as can be seen from 17 bulletins published by the Committee, there is a sad want of further and more critical enquiry in the really difficult fields of Oriental study and research with regard to the Philosophies or the Darshans. We have advanced not an inch from where we were with Colebrook—nor in Purans from where we were with H. H. Wilson. Beyond the sacred Books of the East and a few publications here in our Bombay Sanscrit series or the Calcutta Bibliotheca India series, we have done almost nothing in the Vedic, Bramhanic or Upanishad or Sutra Literature. There are still dark continents to be explored, more unknown than the interior of Africa or Australia, some parts of America or the Arctic and Antarctic regions. We still want our Livingstones, Stanleys and Nodelskjolds. Tantric Literature is a jungle still dense and not even distantly approached. Of

course, our Dramas and Poems, our tales and stories, our fables and fictions are more largely understood than before. Our coins are deciphered in larger numbers, our copper plate grants and stone and other inscriptions have been more thoroughly read and annotated and edited, our epics and some of our Sutras of domestic or sacrificial rites and some of the Smritis and Upanishads are more clearly and correctly interpreted. The progress made by us in comparative mythology, comparative theology and comparative philology is not inconsiderable, although we have much work still left unaccomplished in all these directions. The languages both living and dead, classical and vernacular, still require to be more largely studied, understood, and investigated. But the thick crust of the earth of Sanscrit and other Oriental Literature—the accumulated result and formation of long ages of activity is not penetrated even to a thousandth part, to say the least, of the depth. We are yet groping about the shores and the outskirts, but we have an unlimited and boundless Atlantic and Pacific oceans to traverse. Although we cannot shut our eyes to the great work done by the Scholars of the West, and the great light they have shed on the dark shores, we cannot help noticing what a vast deal they have left to native investigation to accomplish.

All the past Congresses have assembled in Europe, far from the scenes and sources of the subjects of research and studies. The fountain-heads of inspiration lie very far from them. The originals are hidden from their view. They have got their materials in many cases second hand, or very distantly resembling the originals. The copies no doubt are faithful, but they are copies after all, and no oriental Congress for research can be really Oriental until and unless they have repaired to their native sources

and homes. The East must and should invite the West to itself, if it wants to be correctly understood, appreciated, and studied. The Governments of China, Japan, or Siam, of India, Persia, Turkey, or Egypt, have a duty to perform to themselves and to the nationalities of those lands which are the subjects of the studies and enquiries. And it will be only then that the full extent and magnitude of the work of research will be apprehended. When the stream was thus made alternately to flow and reflow from the East to the West and from the West to the East, what looks now hazy from a distance would get clearer, what is indistinct would look bright, what is crude and unsightly would appear perfect and proportionate. New vistas will open, fogs and mists will melt away and the real unobscured light from the Orient would shine superb.

Many a Philosophy of the East is but imperfectly understood in Europe. The Phonetis are still a difficulty. The French or the German, the Swedish or the Russian languages can never be perfectly mastered from books, grammars and manuals. Much less can the Sanscrit, whether Vedic or classic, or the Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, or the modern vernaculars of India be so studied. What applies to Phonetics also holds good in the case of shades of meanings, turns of expression or idioms. The local associations and the associations of ideas and thoughts also must be learned here in their respective homes.

Before closing this general view of the Congress, I must mention the names of the leading scholars of Europe who were present at the Congress and in the Aryan Section. The old Veteran Professors Maxmuller and Weber, advancing far on the other side of sixty, appeared still to retain their full freshness and vigour. So also the eminent Zend scholar Prof.

Spiigel. The Aryan section honoured themselves in honouring these three leading spirits with their Chairmanship. The Orientalists and the general world would no doubt have liked to hear something more about them beyond their presiding over the section meetings or beyond their speeches. There were also several well-known Indian Europeans, if I be allowed the use of such a term. I have already alluded to Dr. Peterson more than once. Dr. Buhler is another, and he still commands the high and well deserved position of a great epigraphist of Ashoca and other inscriptions. Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. Burgess also are still unflagging in their interesting work. There were again Professor Rendall of the British Museum, Dr. Rosf of the India office, and Dr. Leitner of Working Institution ; and the brother Codringtons were there among others.

The Italian scholars Count Angelo Gubernatis,—whose name is still fresh in our memory since his last visit, was there as active as when he recounted in his sonorous voice the result of his thought and study in Indian Mythology. Among the German scholars, the name of Dr. Denissen deserves to be mentioned with reverence for his deep love and patient study of Indian Philosophy. In my conversation with him, I learnt with great pleasure his division of the civilization of the world *viz.* the Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and Egyptian. All the three commenced with Polytheism, and ended with Monotheism or Monism rather. With the first, Polytheism developed into Monotheism philosophically, with the second, fanatically, and with the third, mechanically. The second comprises Judaism and Islamism. Christianity, although born in Judaism, was more really the result of the action of Aryanism on the latter. Zoroastrianism, largely influencing Judaism during the captivity of the Jews, softened down its severity and tempered it into Christianity. Buddhism contributed

## FIVE YEARS' ADMINISTRATION OF LORD REAY.

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The reviewing of an administration, and especially an Indian Administration, is a task, at all times difficult, and is often far from agreeable, because where an Administration has been more a failure than a success, a scrupulous regard for truth and justice would require the saying of many hard things, whereas human mind is naturally reluctant to criticize a person harshly after his connection with us has ceased, and his work become a matter of the past.

Although it was said by Antony, in the bitterness of his soul, that

The evil that men do lives after them,  
The good is oft interred with their bones.

the view embodied in these lines can hardly be said to be endorsed, to any material extent, by the common experience of humanity. There must be something inherently perverse in a mind that loves to dwell, even when it can help it, on the gloomy side of a picture. Happily in reviewing the administration of Lord Reay, our late-Governor, we do not labour under the disadvantage of having to perform a disagreeable duty. All circumstances considered, the five years of Lord Reay's rule must be pronounced to have been a success, and the feeling of gratitude and respect for his Lordship, entertained by the Native Community at any rate, is consequently so deep and intense that really it is a pleasure and a privilege to have to speak of his Lordship's administration. There may be details of this administration, of which it

may not be possible for us to approve. With some of the views of his Lordship, we may be unable to agree. But whatever may be the divergence of opinion on matters of detail, we believe no fair-minded person can dispute the position that his Lordship has proved himself to be a very able, high-souled and sympathetic ruler of men; that throughout his *regime*, he strove for the happiness of the people committed to his care, consistently with a proper regard to the exigencies of the times and the administration; that he uniformly endeavoured to rise, in some cases with doubtful success though, superior to the influence of Departments and thus bring a perfectly open mind to the discussion of all the great questions that engaged his attention; that he did his best to put down wrongdoing, wherever it was found,—in high places or in low; that he always took a very lofty view of his duty, and that in the discharge of that duty, he exhibited an amount of courage and firmness, worthy of all admiration; and that owing to the confidence which the people felt in him, and under the fostering influence of his beneficent and watchful care, the Presidency was enabled to make, during his *regime*, a considerable advance in the path of general progress.

Lord Reay came amongst us with excellent credentials. An intimate friend and follower of Mr. Gladstone, a sound Radical, and an educationist with a reputation not confined to England, his Lordship was welcomed to the Indian shores in the belief and hope that he would make a sympathetic and progressive ruler, and that he would not run counter to the growing aspirations of the Indian people. And the success which his Lordship has been able to achieve once more furnishes an explanation, if any were needed, why India feels instinctively drawn towards Liberal England, and why she hesitates to extend the same measure of confidence to the Tories. The advice is repeatedly given us—and often



it is well-meant—that we should keep ourselves religiously aloof from the party struggles of England, that it would be a disastrous day for India, when Indian grievances became party questions in England, and that we should be guilty of doing our country an enormous dis-service, if disregarding this note of warning, we expressed greater sympathy with one English party than with another. Those who give this cheap advice do not, in our opinion, adequately realize the nature of the circumstances, amidst which Indian reformers have to work, and the position of Indian reform in its relation to the two great Parties of England. The distinctive principles of these two Parties, broadly defined, cannot be expressed better than in the terms of the venerable ex-Premier of England. Liberalism, said Mr. Gladstone, on one occasion, with characteristic expressiveness, meant trust in the people bounded by prudence, while Toryism represented distrust of the people, checked by fear. Even a superficial study of English history is sufficient to show that although the Tories have, on several occasions, been the authours of beneficent legislation, yet the principles which such legislation embodied, were first conceived by the Liberals, were carefully nursed and developed by them, and it was only when they attained such a growth of vigorous manhood that it was impossible to resist or impede their onward march with safety, that they were accepted by the Tories in a grudging and halting spirit. The Liberal Party on the other hand, has at all times been a party of progress, of enlightenment, and of broad sympathy with the people. It may not unfitly be termed the champion of the struggling and unprivileged masses, just as its great rival may be called the advocate of the privileged classes. Now we need hardly say that the present political problem in India reproduces the old world struggle of the classes against the masses, the Patricians against the Plebians,—the dominant Anglo-Indian

class, with power and authority in their hands, against the vast Native population, possessing at present very little share in the government of the country but aspiring every day more and more under the influence of the teachings of the West, so graciously imparted to them by their great rulers, to have their due and reasonable share. The Anglo-Indian section is naturally averse to all proposals that would bring about a curtailment of the power at present lodged in its hands. And thus the political struggle in which we are at present engaged in this country is a struggle between the classes and the masses, *i. e.* between the privileged few and the unprivileged many. If this view of things be correct, it is not, in any way, difficult to see why we instinctively feel that if circumstances were clearly and fully placed in their true light before the great English people, the Liberal section of it would, in all likelihood, stretch its hand of help to us, while the Tory section would either sympathise with the other party in the struggle, or at best, stand aloof, viewing our efforts with coldness and sullenness. And the teachings of experience also coincide with the view set forth above. Fox and Burke were Whig leaders. Macaulay was a Liberal. John Bright was one of the sturdiest champions of the Liberal cause. Fawcett and Slagg also came from the Liberal fold. Mr. Bradlaugh too is a rising luminary on the horizon of Liberalism. Every one of the members of the Indian Party recently formed by Sir William Wedderburn is a Liberal. Liberal winter-tourists, like the Right Honourable Mr. Childers, and Liberal students of England's problems, like Sir Charles Dilke and Prof. Bryce, speak hopefully, encouragingly and sympathetically of New India, while Tory tourists like Lord Galway scent sedition all round. It is Liberal Constituencies that have the generosity to accept the candidature of a Dadabhai or a Lal Mohan Ghose. It is,

Liberal papers that speak with satisfaction and in some cases with enthusiasm of the Indian National Congress. It is Liberal platforms that cordially invite Indian speakers. It is Liberal leaders like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley that readily welcome enlightenment on Indian questions and view with satisfaction and sympathy the growing aspirations of the Indian people, while Tory leaders like the Marquis of Salisbury pronounce us to be inherently incapable of enjoying the political institutions of the West. Need anybody wonder then, that New India rests her hopes mainly on the Liberals and fears that she may expect very little help from the Tories? Of course, instances can be cited of Philo-Indians belonging to the Tory party, but they are so few that they only form the exception proving the rule. Sir Stafford Northcote ( afterwards Lord Iddlesleigh ) certainly made a very conscientious and popular Secretary of State for India. Mr. Blunt, till a short time ago, professed to be a Tory. Sir Richard Garth, the retired Chief Justice of Calcutta, is a follower of Lord Salisbury in English politics. Mr. Pincott, who has recently been doing excellent service to the cause of the Congress in England, is in the Conservative Camp. That erratic nobleman, Lord Randolph Churchill—a strange combination of great abilities and many faults—who, we confess we sometimes think, is not unlikely to be of service to India, though in his own unsteady and high-handed fashion, is nominally at least a Conservative and as yet sits on Conservative Benches. To this small number, let us hope we shall be able to add, five years hence, the name of the present ruler of this Presidency, Lord Harris, whose family traditions mark him out so well for the position of a real friend of India. Part of the explanation of the sympathetic attitude of such persons towards Indian reform is to be found in the fact that by temperament they are only moderate Conservatives and that their instincts

and tendencies are Liberal, although they may not choose to profess this, or may, in some cases, be themselves unconscious of the fact. Be that as it may, with regard to the vast bulk of the Conservative party there is no denying the fact that they are more or less hostile to our efforts and our aspirations. Speaking broadly, therefore, we may say that there is ample justification for the greater sympathy which we involuntarily feel for the Liberals of England than for the Tories. And thus in coming to govern this Presidency as a sound Liberal of Mr. Gladstone's choice, Lord Reay came in our midst with our minds already prepossessed in his favour.

Lord Reay's *regime* has been so eventful that it would not be possible, within the limits which we have proposed to ourselves, to attempt anything more than a brief survey of the more important events and features of his Lordship's Administration. Among the events of the last five years, there is one which towers in importance over the rest, and demands the very foremost mention, because, beyond all others, it was the cause of his Lordship's popularity with the Native Community, and his unpopularity, in consequence, with the Services and the Anglo-Indians generally—we mean the Crawford case. The facts of this memorable episode—the inquiry into the charges and allegations against Mr. Crawford, and the treatment ultimately meted out to the Mamlatdar witnesses, who came forward to tender evidence under a promise of indemnity, which was flagrantly violated, will ever form a most remarkable chapter in the history of the British Administration of this Presidency. These facts are now sufficiently well-known, and yet it would not be amiss to recapitulate them very briefly here. Its chief moral consists in the fact that for once the force of Native public opinion prevailed over the prejudices and sympathies of Anglo-Indians, though in the struggle the latter revenged themselves upon the poor innocents who

volunteered to discharge a public duty. An Anglo-Indian official of high standing, great influence and very great abilities was for years together openly abusing his high official position, for unlawful gains. The fact was so well known that almost everywhere it formed the most common topic of conversation, and now and then it was even openly alluded to in vernacular newspapers. There were very good grounds for supposing that successive Governments were not unaware of the practices of this man, because, on more occasions than one, half-hearted and perhaps insincere attempts were made to hold something like a departmental inquiry—attempts, which, because they did not seek for the support of native public opinion, naturally and necessarily proved abortive. The consequence of all this was that a wide-spread, we had almost said universal, impression prevailed that the man was pursuing his course with the connivance of Government, that Government was allowing him to carry on his nefarious practices, either because it was unwilling or because it was powerless to deal with him as he deserved. In this manner, Governor after Governor came and went, and whatever their personal views might have been, no one ever had the courage to openly lay his hand on Mr. Crawford, until Lord Reay determined to cleanse the Augean stable. Not only that; the man was allowed to rise higher and higher, and every day Government was bestowing on him fresh marks of honour and confidence. The results of such a state of things were simply disastrous. Mr. Crawford was every day growing more and more reckless, and employing agents who almost publicly advertized that such and such an office or such and such a favour could be had for so much consideration. All claims of Native officers under his charge, based upon seniority or excellence of service performed, were disregarded in the most flagrant manner possible, and everybody was

made to realize the fact that under Mr. Crawford, at any rate, the only way to preferment or to the avoiding of his displeasure was payment of money, pure and simple. The belief gained ground that a member of the ruling race could commit with impunity even the most heinous offences, and thus public faith was staggered in the purity and impartiality of the British Administration. Under such circumstances, a higher service, to the British Empire could not be performed than an honest attempt to expose and eradicate the scandalous system and bring to book the leading characters. Lord Reay rose equal to the occasion and made up his mind to make that attempt and render that service. The taking of this resolve to order a public investigation into the doings of Mr. Crawford bespoke no ordinary moral courage on the part of his Lordship; for the position of one who would order such an investigation was rendered peculiarly difficult and painful by the long connivance of previous Governors, by the powerful influence which the man had in high quarters, by his being near the end of his service and on the threshold of retirement, by the brilliancy of some of his past services to the State, and last but not least, by the great popularity which he enjoyed in his own Community, owing to an uncommon charm of manners and a lavish mode of life. Lord Reay was, however, undismayed by all these difficulties. He allowed himself to be swayed only by a high conception of his duty and when a Native official of considerable standing, and a spotless character came forward to formulate in plain terms native public opinion, which charged Mr. Crawford with corrupt abuse of power, Lord Reay did not hesitate to take the step, from which his predecessors had shrunk. The Inspector-General of Police was instructed to gather and sift the evidence against Mr. Crawford, and when it was discovered that there was a very strong *prima facie* case against

the accused, his suspension from office was ordered as a preliminary to an exhaustive investigation into the whole matter. We need not dwell on the incidents which rapidly followed ;—the arrest of Hanmantrao, Mr. Crawford's chief agent ; Mr. Crawford's attempted flight in a disguise ; his arrest under a Criminal warrant, charge before a Magistrate and its subsequent withdrawal in favour of a more thorough inquiry ; the prosecution and conviction of Hanmantrao as an accomplice of Mr. Crawford in his corrupt practices ; and the constitution of a tribunal, composed of independent members named by the Government of India, at the request of the Bombay Government, to hold an exhaustive inquiry into the charges and allegations made against Mr. Crawford. Allowing that Government did commit some mistakes in matters of detail and showed some amount of indecision in the hour of trial, there can be no denying of the fact that throughout this painful affair, it acted from the highest and most honourable motives. For instance, it was an error to bring outsiders who knew little of this Presidency and its administrative methods, to sit as a tribunal ; but in taking this step, Government wanted to keep itself clear of all suspicion of having entrusted the work of inquiry to a packed or a prejudiced Commission. The three gentlemen who formed the Commission, and who must be credited with every desire to ascertain the truth, came from a part of the country where the relations between the Natives and the Europeans are unhappily not as smooth as they are in this Presidency, and who therefore imported with them a certain amount of prejudice against what the Native witnesses would depose to. We will not say here anything as to the manner in which the Commissioners conducted the inquiry, and the remarks that they allowed occasionally to fall from their lips, which showed how difficult it is for even upright men to deal equal justice between native accusers

and an accused European official. We will only make one remark, that these things struck all fair minded persons who watched and followed the proceedings as extraordinary. After a laborious investigation, the simple denial of the accused was allowed in many cases to discredit any amount of direct and circumstantial evidence tendered by Native witnesses, and the Commissioners arrived at the conclusion that although charges of reckless and even dishonest borrowing were substantiated, the more serious allegations of corruption were "not proven." This astounding conclusion of the Commission rendered the position of Lord Reay infinitely more difficult and embarrassing than what it previously was. Already the friends of Mr. Crawford were moving heaven and earth to baulk and defeat the inquiry and discredit those who were the authors of it. A Bombay Anglo-Indian paper was, day after day, bitterly and unscrupulously assailing his Lordship in connection with the matter. The Calcutta correspondent of the *London Times*, who presumably received his inspiration from the Bombay paper alluded to above, was, week after week, sending the most distorted, calumnious, and dishonest versions of the proceedings of the Bombay Government to the people in England. All these persons now seized upon the Report of the Commission with avidity, and with greater effrontery than ever, pursued their shameless object of throwing dust into the eyes of the English people with regard to the true facts of the case. Their efforts were largely crowned with success, and a great howl was raised especially by the Tory English press against Lord Reay. Any other man would have been daunted at such a juncture, and, making the best of the opportunity afforded by the Report of the Commission been tempted to back out of the difficult position. But Lord Reay was made of a sterner and nobler stuff. He discarded all considerations other than those of duty and conscience, and with the powerful



assistance of Sir Raymond West, set himself to the task of removing all the difficulties placed in the path of justice by the three Commissioners, two worthy judges of the Bombay High Court and a large circle of Mr. Crawford's friends. Lord Cross could not decently shut his eyes to the strength of the case placed before him by the Bombay Government. But he took shelter behind the Report of the Commission, and said that although he himself would have given a different verdict, had he been called upon to do so, from the printed evidence alone, he did not choose to disturb the conclusions arrived at by an exceptionally strong Commission. Mr. Crawford, however, was dismissed for infringing the rules of his Service by borrowing within his jurisdiction; and Lord Reay was publicly thanked by the Secretary of State for his exertions in the cause of administrative purity. And thus closed the first part of this melancholy but memorable drama.

The difficulties of the Bombay Government, however, did not come to an end with the dismissal of Mr. Crawford. When the Inspector-General of Police was ordered to make preliminary inquiries, he reported that although there were "floods of information," there was no possibility of any serious and substantial evidence, that might be expected to hold in a Court of Law, coming forward without a promise of indemnity to those who would be prepared to tender it, the law having prescribed punishments for both the receiver and the giver of bribes. Most of the persons, again, whose evidence was required, were Government servants holding the positions of Mamlatdars and others; and they were deterred from coming forward not only by the penalties prescribed by law, but also by the fear of loss of office and the consequent loss of position and means of sustenance. The evidence of these men, however, was most

absolutely necessary in the interests of justice and administrative purity, and a conscientious man like Lord Reay had, therefore, no choice in the matter but to give the promise of indemnity, without which no evidence could be secured. And thus in June 1888, *i. e.*, when Mr. Ommanney, was conducting his preliminary inquiry, he was authorized to give to persons in possession of evidence the absolutely-needed indemnity in the following terms:—"Mr. Ommanney is empowered to promise immunity from prosecution to any person giving evidence, and in case of payment for promotion or to obtain or avoid transfers, may guarantee immunity from official or departmental loss, subject to the stipulation that the evidence given is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Mr. Crawford's friends, however, were not slow to perceive that in this promise of indemnity there lay for them an effective weapon for damaging the Bombay Government; and they made a most adroit use indeed of that weapon. With the object of playing on the fears of the witnesses and to deter them from coming forward to give evidence, these men first sounded a note of alarm to the effect that the guarantee was illegal and that it was not in the power of Government to make it good. Government answered by instructing the Advocate-General to re-iterate the pledge in open court. Then these men changed their tactics and made a terrible hue and cry that Government was bribing venal natives for swearing falsely that they had made payments to Mr. Crawford. After the dismissal of Mr. Crawford, one might have expected that they would then at any rate let the Bombay Government alone. But no!. They pursued Lord Reay as rancorously as before. These men now appeared in a new *role*—that of persons solicitous for the purity of British Administration. Fancy persons, who stuck at nothing in their efforts to screen Mr. Crawford, now posing as men

largely to the development of Christian forms and rituals. The fanaticism of the Inquisition and the middle ages was due to the Semitic trace in Christianity. Islamism was a reaction of Judaism against the Aryanized Christianity. Professor Desiseen's appreciation of Poetry and Drama, Philosophy and Mythology, as distinguishing marks of the Aryan civilisation is also a happy one.

It was no less interesting to hear Dr. Buhler's view of the Indian caste system; he, unlike other scholars, would like to see it preserved but largely modified and liberalized. It is a distinctive institution of Aryanism. It had its existence in Europe upto very recent times in the Scottish clans, and the French dishonourables at the close of the last century were the Pariahs of Liberal France. The course of events has developed Individualism in Europe, levelling all barriers of classes against masses. Europe has lost a good deal with its one-sided and extreme development of Individualism, while here in India the out-and-out iron hardness of the caste system has done no little harm. What is wanted is an easy and pliable opening for the innate powers and strength of the lower strata of the Indian Society, without dislodging and dismembering the higher ones. In a small paper like this, all that was read, done, and discussed at the Congress can never be compressed together. It is neither my aim here to recount everything that took place from day to day at the various sittings of the Congress. But in the rather diffused resume above given, I have tried to present the salient points and features of an institution which is likely to shape not a little the knowledge, not only of India and the East, but also of the whole world.

Apart from this literary and scientific value, the Congress has its social and political usefulness. It creates a love

of peace among the leading men of the several nationalities of the world. And it can never fail to exert its influence over a wider circle. Mutual contact and mutual knowledge are invariably the parents of mutual good will and friendship. The awkwardness and angularities of local pride and prejudice are sure to wear away. And a very desirable levelling of prejudice must result from their contact. Travels to distant countries and the personal acquaintance of those lands and peoples again have their own intrinsic value as great educating influences.

It is only under such circumstances and auspices that the East and the West can be brought face to face to learn, to love and respect each other. On the one hand, there are vast treasures of which the owners do not know the full value. On the other hand, there are the great explorers from foreign lands who crave to interpret the present with the help of the past. Both have to learn and gain considerably from one another. The principles of self-help and individual action and liberty of thought, act and speech constitute the strength of the West; deep spirituality, keen imagination, great austerity of life, and love of study constituted the glory of the East. The untiring energy, the unflinching earnestness, the strong will and determination, the unshaken purpose of Europe are largely required in our country of the rising sun. The patience, calmness, and coolness of judgment of the East will add no little tone to the other. The steam, the electricity, and the other physical powers are no ordinary measures of the strength of Europe. The material wealth and greatness of those distant countries are of no common proportions. The magnificence, the might and the magnanimity of those lands and peoples deserve all the attention that we can bestow on them, and they are right worthy acquisitions. The virtues of the West merit a worthy wedlock with those of the East. Everywhere

there are two sides to a picture,—and a close study of the best forms of ancient and modern life can alone teach us to avoid the dark spots wherever they exist, and to admire the bright side wherever it shines. These mutual meetings are conducive to the good of either party.

There is much to study in Europe for our people not only in the moral and material world but in other respects also. The arts and sciences supply a vast field for the enlargement of our knowledge and powers. The anthropological, ethnographical or other museums of Europe are a life's study in themselves, where we can institute comparisons of arts, industries, dress, living, habits and customs of different countries and people. The natural scenery and social peculiarities of various lands and nations bring new light to us. The mode of building houses of wooden planks and rafters in Norway and Switzerland reminds us of our own wooden houses. The knitting and needle work, the tapestry and wood carving of Sweden and Norway have frequently called to my mind similar handicrafts of India. The lake, mountain and woodland scenery of Sweden, Norway and Switzerland would call to our mind scenes in Guzerath, the Deccan, Kashmir and the Himalayas. Norway is our Deccan without Konkan. Semmering in Austria reminds us of our Kasara and Khandala Ghauts. Everything that enlightens the mind, that enlarges the heart, that elevates the soul, that strengthens affections, that creates nations, that raises and enlarges empires, kingdoms and republics, is found as a living and active force in Europe, and they are matters of the past in most cases in our East. There we find "sermons in stones, tongues in trees, and good in everything" as the swan of Avon sings. May our Indians learn to study these things and assimilate the best of them with their system!

K. T. Telang, Javerilal Umiyashankar Yajnik, P. M. Metha, K. L. Nulkar, R. M. Sayani, Kazi Shahbuddin, the late Dayaram Jethmal, Becharadas Veharidas, in support of our statement. The non-official European Community was represented by Mr. (now Sir Frank) Forbes Adam as long as he was in India, and after his departure by Mr. Beaufort, his successor in the Chairmanship of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce; and it goes without saying that no better representatives of that community could have been selected. His Lordship thus strove to make his Council as much of a reality as it is possible for it to be under the present circumstances, and well did the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal put this claim of his Lordship on our attachment in the foreground, when at the last meeting of the Indian National Congress, he moved the resolution, placing on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not merely by the Bombay Presidency, but by the whole of India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that characterized his Lordship's administration.

Another feature of Lord Reay's rule was the great regard that his Lordship showed for public opinion. Born and bred in the Liberal camp, it was not possible that his Lordship should exhibit that supercilious and disdainful disregard for public opinion, which so often characterises an Indian Administration. Kind and courteous to a degree, Lord Reay not only welcomed, but always sought public criticism of his acts. It is a matter of gratification to us that the late Governor always took care to attach due weight to the representations of such representative Associations of this Presidency as the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. His statements of public policy made before the representatives of such bodies was a most happy depart-

ture from the usual groove of autocratic rule. During the days of the Deccan College transfer negotiations, when there was a strong public agitation against the Government proposals, his Lordship, in order to meet the wishes of the people at least half way, so modified his original scheme that the Deccan Education Society could not see its way to accept the proposal consistently with the maintenance of its own position as a body independent of Government control, and the negotiations thus fell through. The polite replies, which the Bombay Graduates' Association received from time to time to its representations on various subjects, might also be mentioned as an illustration in point.

The deep and loving solicitude, which his Lordship entertained for the welfare of the vast and varied population confided to his care, led him to undertake his long and thorough tours. It may be said without fear of contradiction that in this particular, Lord Reay surpassed all his predecessors. Every part of the Presidency was visited, in some cases, more than twice, in some cases more than once, and wherever his Lordship went, he encouraged the expression of public opinion on official measures, assuring the people in the most sympathetic manner possible, that the complaints would be carefully enquired into. The far-off and long neglected Province of Sindh received its proper share of attention from the ruler of this Presidency for the first time under Lord Reay. The promptitude with which his Lordship went to the scene of disaster when Surat was prostrated by a terrible fire some two years ago, may be with- in the recollection of many people. Lord Reay always took the greatest pains to ascertain local opinion on various questions, wherever he went, and to acquaint himself with the real state of those who were under his rule.

Another characteristic about Lord Reay that needs

mention is the capacity that his Lordship had for developing the spirit of public liberality in all those, who had the good fortune to come into contact with him. The floods of public charities that poured especially upon the people of Bombay during the last five years, and the silent but steady reforms effected in many of the Native States under the political control of the Bombay Government, would suffice to illustrate what we say. That the city of Bombay alone was able, during the last five years, to spend more than 25 lacs of rupees from public and private funds together on public buildings of one kind or another, and that out of these 25 lacs, about 10 lacs were spent on educational institutions, and about 7 lacs on buildings, intended for medical purposes, are facts which at once show the beneficent nature of the influence exercised by Lord Reay on philanthropists like Sir Dinshaw Manockj Petit, Bart., Mr. Cama, Mr. Varjivandas, Mr. Ranchodlal, the Kathiawar Chiefs and others too numerous to name. The remarkable farewell address which Native Princes and Chiefs presented to his Lordship a short while before his departure makes an eloquent acknowledgement of the many claims of his Lordship on their friendship, esteem, and gratitude.

The marked personality of Lord Reay and his high intellectual eminence must not go without mention. His Lordship left a distinct impress of these on every thing which he handled. A common matter of complaint against his Lordship was that he cared little for departmental traditions. Had he chosen to leave himself completely in the hands of his departmental advisers and not cared to think for himself on important occasions, he would not have been regarded with that want of sympathy, which was so officiously shown by some of his countrymen here, when one English club in Bombay openly declined to give his Lordship a farewell dinner, while another



sent its invitation so late that his Lordship's programme of engagements was already complete and no spare evening could be had. His Lordship's intellectual greatness is admitted even by those who were most hostile to his policy. A day or two before Lord Reay left the shores of India, the Calcutta correspondent of the London *Times* telegraphed to that paper his own verdict of Lord Reay's administration. Of course his rule was proclaimed to have been a failure, but the admission was distinctly made that India very rarely sees rulers of his Lordship's intellectual calibre or learning. The numerous speeches that his Lordship delivered during his stay in this Presidency, the minutes that he published on occasions on individual responsibility, and last but not least, the magnificent University Convocation Address which his Lordship delivered in 1889, and which must still be ringing in the ears of those who had the privilege of listening to it,—all these may be mentioned as proofs, if any were needed, that, for once, the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* was right when he said that Lord Reay stood unsurpassed, if not unequalled, among Indian rulers in intellectual capacity and in literary attainments.

We will now proceed to a brief review of the work done in the several departments of administration during the last five years. Our remarks will naturally be confined to those branches of the administration which have attracted marked attention and comment from the public. We have already said that although Lord Reay endeavoured to rise superior to the misleading influence of departments, he did not always succeed. And no wonder, when we take into account the peculiar position of an Indian ruler. The first one or two of the five years during which he has to stay in our midst and preside over our destinies, are taken up in acquainting himself general-

ly with public business. And if unfortunately, after that period, one or two questions happen to attain so much importance that they eclipse all others and draw the ruler's attention exclusively to themselves during the rest of the period of his office, can we, in all fairness, blame him for his inability to deal satisfactorily with less pressing, though perhaps equally important matters, especially when a satisfactory disposal of them was not possible without going directly against the advice of departmental chiefs. The rule, which requires that Viceroys and Governors and other high functionaries should not hold office for more than five years, is certainly based, on high policy, and often brings us a welcome riddance. But we deplore its operation in the case of rulers like Lord Ripon and Lord Reay. For, by the time that these sympathetic rulers, from whom we are led to expect so much, attain a position by their experience and knowledge of public questions to do real service to the country in administrative matters, they have to lay down their office and go. The address presented by the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha made prominent mention of this point. "In view of the many important questions," said the address, "taken up and left incomplete, when Your Lordship was best fitted by experience to decide them properly, a desire that your Lordship's term of office should be extended was recorded in one of the resolutions of the Bombay Provincial Conference of 1889." While, therefore, we regret that certain questions should not have received their satisfactory solution during Lord Reay's *regime*, we do not hesitate to absolve his Lordship from any great personal responsibility for that unsatisfactory state of things. We shall now first turn to the Forest Department.

A very succinct history of the question of the Forest grievances might be given here with advantage for a proper

understanding of the whole subject. In giving this history, we will confine ourselves only to the two districts of Thana and Kolaba, because full and complete material for an adequate study of the question is available only for those districts. The main grievances of the people there in this connection are with regard to the right or privilege of free grazing, and a sufficient supply of rāb, and timber, and firewood. It would appear that under the Peshwa's Government, no restrictions whatsoever were placed on the use, which the residents of the villages of these districts made of the forests, belonging to or adjoining their villages, with the exception of an occasional claim to teak trees as royalties. There certainly exists proof that now and then the Native Government issued prohibitions against the cutting down of teak trees on the ground that they were the property of the Government. But with the laxity or leniency which characterized Native rule, and which forms so complete a contrast to the machine-like rigidity of the present administration, the prohibitions were never sternly enforced. The Forest Commission, which was appointed by Lord Reay to investigate the question of forest grievances, immediately after he had taken charge of his high office, has thus recorded its conclusion on this point: "It seems clear from the above that the former Governments asserted their seigniorial right over the tree produce of the waste lands of the country for imperial or revenue purposes, according to the demands of the day, and that they, both in their own interests and that of the people, appropriated certain parts of the forest for imperial purposes and regulated the cutting by the local residents in the other parts. At the same time, the inhabitants were allowed to obtain all the produce they required for domestic and agricultural purposes from the public forests without let or hindrance. This was only natural, considering the circumstances.

of the Konkan at the time. There was no such demand for timber and fuel for trade purposes then as now." When the British Government took the place of the Maratha Government, it did not interfere for a considerable length of time with the Forest rights and privileges of the people. Indeed there is evidence to show that, for a time at any rate, the new Government was anxious to be even more indulgent to the people than its predecessor. And no wonder. For in those days the population of the Konkan was so sparse that it was little better than a "thinly inhabited forest." Mr. Nairne has thus described the state of the Konkan of that period: "It is necessary to remember that so lately as when Elphinstone wrote his history, he described the Konkan as formerly 'a thinly inhabited forest, from which character it has *even now*, but partially emerged'; that about the same time, Sir J. Malcolm, then Governor, could only look forward to the improvement of the 'hitherto unproductive land of Salsette,' by respectable and opulent natives of Bombay settling in it; and that some years before this, but long after the British Government got possession of the island, it was seriously proposed to import Chinese emigrants to bring the same Salsette under cultivation. The descriptions of Captain Dickenson, in his reports on the inland parts of his Collectorate, show that at the end of the Peshwa's rule, the whole country was lying waste and unpopulated. Down to about 1850, waste land was everywhere so abundant as to create a feeling of despair as to the future of the District, and the increase of cultivation was so much desired that the poorest people were allowed to cut down as many trees as they liked merely for the purpose of clearing the land, and that wood itself was so abundant that every one cut where and as he liked." It was in the year 1839 that, for the first time, the idea of forest conservancy entered the head of the British Government; and in 1840, Government deputed Dr.

Gibson on a tour of inspection through the North Konkan to examine and report upon the state of the forests in that part of the Presidency. The report was accordingly submitted in 1841. This report and some experiments which were subsequently made, led Government "to take into consideration the propriety of permanently appointing an officer for the general conservancy of the forests, whose duty should be to enforce a regulated system for felling timber, and to consider the means for preventing a decrease in the supply of firewood and building timber throughout the Presidency." And accordingly, Dr. Gibson himself was appointed *ad interim* Conservator in 1845, and Conservator in 1847. And from this time commenced the gradual curtailment of the forest rights and privileges of the people of the two districts, which is at present the cause of such bitter, and for the most part, such legitimate complaint. In 1855, the first Survey Settlement was introduced into the Konkan, the result of which in several cases was to considerably restrict the forest rights and privileges of the people; but these restrictions were not observed in practice, and, in many cases, the ignorant people continued quite unconscious of their existence. In 1862, the Forest Department was reconstructed and the reorganization led to a still further *theoretical* curtailment of the rights and privileges of the people. But still the people could find ample free grazing for their cattle, could cut up in sufficient quantities and could also get whatever timber and other wood they required for agricultural and domestic purposes, from the forests. Things went on in this way till 1878, when the Indian Forest Act was passed. The Forest department had meanwhile steadily continued to trespass more and more on the rights and privileges of the people. Even prior to 1878, it had marked off certain portions of unoccupied land as Imperial Forests, but these were, for the most part, small and valueless. Other portions it had marked

off as village forests, but as the people were not very rigorously prevented from taking whatever forest produce they wanted from those forests, the complaints of the people against certain restrictions that existed more in theory than in practice, were not very loud or bitter. But the passing of the Forest Act of 1878 changed the entire state of things. The intentions of those who framed the measure were no doubt excellent. Sir Theodore Hope, who was in charge of the measure, made a very noble speech in support of it, in the Viceregal Legislative Council, and assured the people throughout the country that the object of the legislation was not to trespass on the rights and privileges of the people, but merely to conserve and take better care of that part of the forests which was over and above the actual wants of the people, who were, till then, using the forests. But in spite of these good intentions of the Legislature, the working of the Act fell into the hands of persons, who were not much noted for their regard for the rights and privileges of the rayats. What followed the passing of this Act by the Supreme Legislature, in the Bombay Presidency, cannot be expressed better than in the vigorous language of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Laxman Nulkar, C. I. E., who was a member of the Forest Commission appointed by Lord Reay:—

“At this juncture, the Government of India passed its Forest Act VII. of 1878,—an event which happened to be synchronous with the advent into this Presidency of a regime characteristic for its grasp of conception and vigour of execution of large measures of development and reform, a regime which would brook no human obstacle or opposition, which sought to compress within its narrow span of five years' lease of office the ordinary achievements of a generation or two. It was under such a regime that section 34 of the said Act (VII of 1878) was enforced in this Presidency. The section provides that “within twelve months from the date on which this Act comes into force within the territories administered by any local

Government, such Government shall, *after consideration* of the right of the Government and *private persons* in all forest lands or waste lands *then under its executive control for purposes of forest conservancy*, determine which of such land, if any, can, according to *justice, equity and good conscience*, be classed as reserved forests, or protected forests under this Act, and declare by notification in the local official Gazette, any lands so classed to be reserved or protected forests as the case may be." (The italics are Mr. Nulkar's.) It seems plain that such lands as may be already under the actual executive control of the local Government "*for purposes of forest conservancy*," were alone to be notified and treated as protected and reserved forests. About 135 square miles had been, up to the date of the Act of 1878, marked off and set apart as Government forests in Thana, and this area only could be correctly said to be under Government control, "*for purposes of forest conservancy*," as contemplated by that Act. But by a notification of March 1st, 1879, Government arbitrarily added to this area about 1529 square miles, and suddenly declared the same to be Government forest in the name of law, "*justice, equity and good conscience*." The schedule, which was appended to this notification containing detailed lists of lands so taken up, included all recognized communal lands belonging to the village communities, such as common *shindad* lands, village forests specially set apart for village use in former forest demarkations, village grazing lands recognized as such at the survey settlement, salt-marshes &c. In short, by this notification Government claimed as forest every acre of land which did not happen to be entered in their land registers as actually owned and occupied by private individuals.

This sweeping measure, followed by the opinion of the Forest Committee of 1882, accepted by Government, that *Tahal rab* was not absolutely necessary for rice cultivation in Thana and by decision of forest settlement officers declaring the new forest areas to be generally free of all private rights, reduced the people to straits unparalleled in the history of the fiscal administration of the Konkan. The principles which guided the new forest demarkations differed totally from those which regulated all former similar operations in which a suitable portion of the forests was invariably set apart for village use as a first charge. Such a provision ceased to be a factor in the new demarkations. It was stated be-

fore the Commission that in some places fuel became so difficult to get even for the cremation of the dead that a man was compelled to pull down his own hut in order to use the timber for the purpose, and some others had to bury their dead. The result of all these sharp practices resorted to by forest subordinates in the name of effective forest conservancy was that the people were reduced to a choice between starvation and bribery to get what was their customary right. That they chose the latter as a temporary relief is now a matter of contemporary history. A huge system of bribing the petty foresters by subscription in every village and hamlet gradually came into existence, and the people waited in apparent peacefulness and patience in hopes of ultimate success of the constitutional means they were advised to adopt in order to obtain justice."

It will thus be seen that the reckless manner in which notifications were issued about Reserved and Protected forests under the Forest Act of 1878, and the attempt of the Thana Conference of 1882 to literally trample upon the rights and privileges of the people, were the direct and the main cause of the very bitter and loud complaints made by the people against the Forest Department during the administration of Sir James Fergusson. It will not be out of place to indicate here briefly the absolutely perverse nature of the views recorded by the Forest Conference of 1882. The following extracts culled from their report show what these views were :—

"The Committee believe also that when Government made the distinction between Reserved and Protected forests in issuing the notification of March 1879, *they were under the impression that the public possibly had legal rights of which they could claim the exercise in the Forest area. As a matter of fact no such rights, except those of an incorporeal nature, have been discovered by the Forest Settlement officers to exist in Gurcharan, Ranrakshan, Gaon Bhag and other descriptions of forests.*" (The italics are ours.)

"In the first place, the lands that are comprised in the forest area are, indisputably, waste lands and as such belong to Government.



In the next place, it follows that the rights claimed by the people being of the nature of a *profit a prendre* in soil belonging to another cannot be claimed by custom, however ancient, uniform and clear the exercise of that custom may have been. Also so far as the rights claimed are unlimited, they cannot be claimed by prescription.\*

"Under the system, suggested in paragraph 2 of this report,\* the forests will be divided into blocks for working and improvement purposes, each block being subdivided into compartments which will be worked in rotation and subjected in turn to temporary closure; these will be so arranged that not more than one quarter of any block will be closed at any one time. Free grazing in the unclosed portion of a block will be allowed for the cattle of each rayat, who holds *kharij* land in a village in which any portion of the entire block lies. The privilege would be limited to cattle used for agricultural and domestic purposes, and the Committee are of opinion that, as a general rule, the following would be a fair scale to adopt in order to determine the number of cattle in respect of which the privilege may be exercised, *viz* :—

For every 4 acres of *kharij* land contained in one holding, 1 pair of bullocks or buffaloes, 1 cow or she-buffalo, and 2 calves.

The scale would be liable to variation in villages where the area, of the protected forest, or of *Gurcharan* lands not included in forest, is of sufficient extent to justify the restriction of the exercise of the privilege in Reserved forest limits. Rayats would receive passes showing the number of cattle they are entitled to free grazing for.

Cattle bred or kept for profit only and *excess* cattle would be admitted to the forest only on the payment of fixed fees, and *at the discretion of the Forest officers, and the same would be the case with cattle of villages that do not form portion of a forest block.*"

"Whatever policy may be pursued in future with regard to trees in waste lands not included in forests, the Committee are of opinion that the terms of Government Resolution No. 6550 of 3rd November 1881 are here applicable, *viz*. : 'The enjoyment of the produce of trees in Government waste land by custom or under a tax

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\* When the entire area of the more important forests is worked under one system and properly conserved and blocked.,

system of administration does not amount to a recognition by Government of a right which the Forest Department must respect."

"The Committee are of opinion that the various circular orders that have been issued in the district, giving the rayats the privilege of cutting *tahal* or *shindad* for *râb* in *gurcharan* and *gaon bhag* forest without payment, must be considered to have been at variance with the expressed wishes and policy of Government. For this reason and for the additional reasons stated below, they recommend that the privilege be now stopped elsewhere than in assessed lands. These reasons are :—

1. *Tahal* or *shindad* is not absolutely necessary as manure for rice nurseries, and in many parts of the district is never used for the purpose. Where both are available, cow-dung *râbbing* is preferred by the better and more industrious classes of cultivators.

2. The impossibility of conserving forests where *tahal* cutting is allowed.

3. The direct incentive given to those cultivators who hold *rarkas* land to cut down and sell to the dealer the trees on the land and fall back on the free supply of *tahal* obtainable from the Government jungles.

4. The assessment of the privilege will induce the holders of *rarkas* to utilize the land for its proper purposes, and will give a local marketable value to such excess supply of material as they may be able to produce."

"The Committee think it their duty to point out to Government the serious injury that has ensued from the passing of Government Resolution No. 2206 of 26th April 1880, forbidding the application of the penal clauses of the Forest Act until the rights of Government shall have been enquired into and settled. The tendency has been to allow to all the continuance of unrestricted recourse to the forest for the supply of their wants, and for a multitude who had put forward no claims and have no foundation for doing so, to step in on the principle of making hay while the sun shines. And the forest Subordinates have been powerless to stop them."

Government gave effect to the recommendations of the Committee or Conference, holding views such as these. What wonder then that at once on every side cries and wailings arose

from the miserable inhabitants, and that these cries and wailings have not ceased to this moment, although on some occasions they have been louder than on others. And it was while these complaints of the people were at their loudest and their bitterest, that the Governorship of Bombay changed hands. And almost the very first thing that attracted the attention of Lord Reay, the new Governor, was a small pamphlet, called the Red Pamphlet, and alleged to be written by Mr. A. O. Hume, in which the writer had described in most forcible and perhaps sensational terms, the misery which the "cruel, grasping and relentless" policy of the Forest Department of Bombay was spreading in hundreds of poor homes. Lord Reay at once appointed a very able Commission to investigate the grievances, and in formally opening the sittings of the Commission, he eloquently exhorted the members to acquit themselves of the trust reposed in them "with complete independence." He asked them to remember that they had "a very difficult and delicate task to perform"; that "local wants, local customs, and local systems of village tenure have a right not to be wantonly disturbed—unless a very good cause be shown for it"; that the chief object of the Government was "to substitute co-operation for antagonism, confidence for distrust, contentment for disturbance"; that it was "the determination of Government that wherever free grazing has been lawfully enjoyed, it should be continued by giving a full equivalent in all those cases where the area hitherto used has been absorbed;" and that the people would then have no cause to complain of, "as the equivalent will be an improvement on what formerly provided them with an insufficient supply." And his Lordship thus concluded:—"This Commission will strengthen, not weaken, the ultimate action of Government. It will uphold law and order, promote one of the chief elements of agriculture, namely, good pasture; promote

harmony between the administration on the one side and the people on the other, whose interests will be ably represented on this Commission, not only by those whom they will perhaps more especially consider as their representatives, but also by officials, whose desire, I know from personal experience, it is to preserve to the people privileges to which naturally they attach great weight. You enjoy the confidence of Government, but your labours, gentlemen, will, I am sure, give you a further title to the gratitude of the people of the Presidency." The Commission made an exhaustive inquiry into the grievances of the Thana and Kolaba districts, and submitted its recommendations to Government. The main recommendations of these, relating to Grazing, Rab, and Timber and Firewood supply were :—

*Grazing :—*

That free grazing in the unclused compartments of Forest blocks shall be allowed to the cattle belonging to residents and cultivators (whether residents or not) of all villages of Thana and Kolaba from which waste land of any description has been taken in forming the forest blocks, and in certain cases to the residents and cultivators of non-Forest villages (i. e. villages which have contributed no land to the forest blocks.)

2. That for the present at least no limit be placed as to the number of cattle to be allowed free grazing in forests.

3. That while cattle should be rigidly excluded from the closed compartments of forest blocks all the year round, no close season should be fixed within which cattle entitled to free grazing should be excluded from other portions of the forests.

4. That in order to assure an adequate supply of grass to cattle entitled to free grazing, all working plans involving

closure of grazing areas in rotation should, before final sanction, be submitted to the Collector of the District that he may satisfy himself that the area left open will suffice for the reasonable grazing wants of the villages dependent on it, and, if he is not so satisfied, procure such modifications in the proposals as may be necessary.

*Rab* :—

1. That all residents and cultivators of forest villages be allowed to lop certain specified trees for *Rab* in all open compartments of their respective blocks.

2. That this arrangement continue for a period of ten years after the expiry of which the whole question of *Rab* should be reconsidered.

*Timber and firewood* :—

A large number of recommendations having for their object the giving of permission to poor villagers to remove all branch and small wood of two inches and less in diameter, to be left on the ground wherever the trees are felled, and further giving them the privilege of getting timber and superior firewood, required for agricultural use or domestic consumption, at low rates.

*Trees in occupied lands* :—

1. That all rights which Government may still possess in trees in occupied lands be sold to occupants at half their market value on condition that the material either in the form of timber or firewood shall not be exported beyond the limits of the District; and that Government renounce all right to future growths.

We have given above only the most important portions of the recommendations of the Commission on the four ques-

tions of Grazing, *Rab*, Timber and firewood, and trees in occupied lands. It will be seen that the recommendations were not very satisfactory. These were, in fact, a compromise between extreme views, and, as such, had the weakness and the strength of all compromise arrangements. The distinction, made or rather accepted by the Commission between the villages known as Forest villages, and those called Non-forest ones, was most arbitrary and unjust, and systematically placed the residents of the latter villages at great disadvantage, especially in the matter of *Rab*. But unsatisfactory as were the recommendations of the Commission, they were, as stated above, a compromise, and promised some solution of the vexed question, and they ought therefore to have been given a fair trial. But the action of the Government in this matter was exceedingly disappointing. In the first place, they allowed an interval of more than two years to elapse between the submission of the Commission's report and the passing of their orders thereon. And secondly, the orders issued after so much delay did not give effect to the recommendations as they were, but for the most part deprived those recommendations of what beneficent character they possessed as a compromise. In the matter of grazing, for instance, the Government says that it accepts the recommendations of the Commission with these two conditions that there shall be a close season whenever the Forest Department considers that necessary, and that the number of cattle, for whom free grazing will be allowed, shall not be in excess of what would find sufficient pasture in the unclosed portions of forest blocks. But these two conditions exactly destroy the beneficent nature of the Commission's recommendations and render them absolutely useless for redressing the grievances of the people. Again, with regard to *rab*, the orders of Government are so general that they leave everything in the hands of the Forest Department and

the Revenue Department, and thus leave the villagers entirely at the mercy of the low paid officials of these departments. With regard to trees in occupied numbers, the Thana Resolution, recently issued avowedly with the object of dealing with the question, maintains absolute silence; although it would seem from the Kolaba Resolution, issued almost simultaneously, that the clauses in the Thana Resolution which contained the orders for the disposal of these trees in the Thana district have been intentionally or unintentionally dropped; for while the Kolaba resolution refers to clauses 9, 10 and 13 of the Thana Resolution, the latter, as at present given to the world, contains only 8 clauses!! The Government have accepted the recommendations of the Commission, in full and without reserve, in regard to the question of timber and firewood supply. But these recommendations are certainly not liberal, and therefore very little good can be expected from their adoption. And thus we have regretfully to say that the mountainous labour of the Forest Commission and of the Government delimitation over it for nearly three years, has, after all, brought forth no relief to the people concerned. Meanwhile the net revenue of the Forest Department has gone up during the last five years from  $10\frac{1}{2}$  lacs to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, and the total reserved and protected area has risen from 13940 square miles to 14696 square miles.

In the Abkari Department, too, the tale that we have to tell of the last Administration is disappointing. The charges against the Abkari policy of the Bombay Government, that have been made by the people for some time past, are 3 in number. (1) That the consumption of Toddy, which is a perfectly innocuous drink, and even wholesome food, has been most unduly discouraged. (2) That the Minimum Guarantee system creates a class of persons—the liquor-farmers—who are directly interested in pushing forward the

consumption of intoxicating drinks, at least upto a particular quantity, and is thus daily encouraging the growth of the consumption of ardent liquor in the Presidency. (3) And that, under the present system of granting licenses, the number of liquor shops is steadily increasing. Of these charges, the third is not confined to the Bombay Presidency alone, but is common to it along with the rest of India. The first two however concern more or less peculiarly our own Presidency. All the three charges are legitimate and just grounds of complaint, and in spite of all its endeavours to diend itself, Government has not been able to meet them satisfactorily. In regard to the first grievance, Lord Reay appointed a Commission to inquire into it so far as it concerned the city of Bombay, and afterwards gave effect to some of the recommendations of the Commission. But the improved administration was not allowed to last for more than a year, for the very next near, the old order of things was reverted to in only a slightly altered form. With regard to the second charge, no real remedy exists other than expunging the Minimum Guarantee clause from the licenses of liquor-farmers. And with regard to the third, some form of what is known as Local Option will alone be able to cope with the evil. It is a matter of regret to us that no reform worth the name was effected in this department during the last regime; while the number of shops rose from 4516 to 4816, and the reveune from 67½ lacs of rupees to 77½ lacs.

In connection with the Public Works Department, the only point that needs mention is the amalgamation effected between the Public Works Department proper and the Irrigation Department,—a measure which promises in the end to secure a substantial economy of more than 4 lacs of rupees a year.



In judging of the educational policy of Lord Reay, we must, in the first place, remember the fact that, though a professed educationist, he had no free hand allowed to him by reason of the peculiar financial circumstances amidst which he had to work. It were idle to deny that there exists much difference of opinion about the educational work of his Lordship in this Presidency. The transfer of the Government High School at Ahmednagar was certainly a very premature measure and deserves all the condemnation that has been bestowed upon it. Similarly the raising of fees in the Deccan College and the Science College from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 a month was a most unfortunate step, undoubtedly harmful to the cause of higher education. The negotiations in connection with the intended transfer of the Deccan College sorely exercised the public mind, and were very strongly protested against all over the Presidency. But against these, we have to set to the credit side of the account the fact that the expenditure on education from Provincial funds during the last *regime* increased by about 4 lacks of rupees a year,—and this, in spite of the recommendation of the Government of India to all Local Governments, made about 2 years ago, that thenceforward the expenditure from the public treasury on education should have a tendency to decrease rather than to increase. Of this increase of 4 lacs, about 2 lacs is spent in increased State aid to private enterprise, and the major portion of the remainder is spent on primary education. We have also to remember that a full Arts College was opened in Sind during the last administration, and also that a full time Inspector was for the first time given to that long neglected Province. The Ahmadabad college too was raised to the status of a full Arts College. Substantial reforms were introduced in connection with the Grant Medical College of Bombay and the Science College of Poona, and an additional

Chair was founded at the Elphinstone College. Large building grants were made to the Wilson College, to the Ferguson College and to the Poona High School for Native girls. It is, however, when we come to the subject of Technical education that we have reason to feel unmixed satisfaction. As the Sarva-janika Sabha farewell address to Lord Reay put it, "the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, reared as it was in the midst of great difficulties, will always remain as the noblest monument of his Lordship's rule, and will justify to all time the breadth and nobility of his views on state education." His Lordship was almost the first of Indian rulers to recognize the towering importance of technical education to a country like India, where industrial prostration is complete, and throughout his administration, he did his best to foster institutions which would be helpful to the cause of the industrial revival of the country.

The general progress of the Presidency, also, during the last five years, was satisfactory. A careful comparison of Administration reports discloses the fact that owing to various causes, both prices and wages have risen, though slightly, in this Presidency during the last five years, but that the wages have risen in a greater proportion than the prices. In the matter of Local Self-Government, the passing of the Bombay Municipal Act deserves the first mention. The Act enlarges and places on a firm basis Local Self-Government in the city of Bombay. During this period, too, special privileges were conferred on the Poona Municipality, viz. of having two-thirds of the total number of members elected, instead of one-half as elsewhere, of having an educational constituency, and of electing the Chairman. The number of Municipalities in the Presidency rose during the last five years from 162 to 244, the number of elected municipalities going up from 24 to 120 and that of elected members from 270 to 900. In

the matter of education, the total expenditure on it from all sources rose from a little under  $41\frac{1}{2}$  lacs to a little over  $54\frac{1}{2}$  lacs ; while the number of pupils receiving instruction increased from a little over  $4\frac{1}{3}$  lacs to a little under 6 lacs. The number of periodicals also rose from 94 to 173. All this indicates that the Presidency made fair and satisfactory progress during the last five years.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that wherever Lord Reay was left free to act for himself, or where he had merely to decide a point of principle, his work was highly satisfactory to the people, because it was all based on a feeling of deep sympathy for them. Where, however, he had to decide questions in which the interests of Government revenues were concerned the steady reinstance of the departments in charge of these revenues prevailed against the beneficence of the Governor, and he felt himself powerless to carry out his own policy. Lord Ripon and Lord Reay were cast in the same mould and failed and succeeded alike. And we, therefore, cannot do better than conclude this rather lengthy review with the following extract from Mr. Cotton's *New India*, asking our readers to only substitute the name of Reay in the place of Ripon :—

“ It is impossible that I can mention Lord Ripon's name in terms of too high praise. From the moment he landed in India to the moment he left it, he laboured for the Native population. His tenure of office will always be a memorable one. He will be known in history as the author of an enlightened and progressive policy, from which no subsequent Government will be able to swerve, as a statesman of wide and sincere sympathy with the people of the country, as a Governor-General, above all others, ‘ the Friend of India ’ ; and it will be the proudest honour of his successors if their names are handed down to posterity with that of Ripon. Yet he was able to accomplish little. It is true that the political revolution now taking place in India is largely attributable to his exertions—although by the irony

of fate, it is far more largely attributable to the blind fanaticism of those who opposed him—but the actual results of his administration as shown upon the statute-book are not very great. I recognize the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and it may be that he was encompassed by other difficulties of which I have no knowledge. He was harassed and hampered in an inconceivable degree by the bigotry and race-feeling of his own countrymen. He was paralysed from want of support, and neither he nor any man in his position, single-handed, could have overcome the dead wall of opposition, by which he was confronted.

We may be thankful to think that his services to India are not yet ceased and that he will yet be able to do more good for India in his own Native land than he was able to do in India itself. Public opinion in England will rally round him in acknowledgment of the services he has rendered, and from his influence in the guidance and control of that opinion we may hope for much. The complete confidence which the Natives of India repose in him, the almost idolatrous admiration they entertain for him, the very magic of his name in every English speaking Indian household from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, establish an absolute duty on the British public to recognize and accept his leadership."

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### Independent Section.

Economic Situation in India. II (Agriculture).

# THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective system under rules framed for the purpose.

WALEKAR'S WADA, DANE ALI,

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President.

H. H. Shrinivas Rao Parashram Pandit alias Rao Saheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Oundha.

Vice-Presidents.

H. H. Dhundiraj Chintaman alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of Sangli.	Appa Saheb Patwardhan, Chief of Jamkhandi.
H. H. Amrit Rao Saheb Daphale, Chief of Jat.	H. H. Gunpatrao Harihar alias Babu Saheb Patwardhan, younger Chief of Kurundwad.
H. H. Mudhojirao Zansao alias Babu Saheb Naik Nimbalkar, Chief of Phalton.	H. H. Hariherao Vanayek alias Daji Saheb Patwardhan, Chief of Karandwad.
H. H. Ramchandrarao Gopal alias	H. H. Toolajee Raje Bhosle, of Akalkote.

MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR 1889-90.

*Chairman*—RAO BAHADOOR VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE.

*Members of the Managing Committee.*

R. B. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh.	Waman Vishnu Lele Esqr.
R. B. Narayan Bhai Dandekar.	Mahomed Sidik Esqr.
R. S. Chintamanrao V. Natu.	Aderjee Dorabjee Ghaswala Esqr.
Ramdikshit bin Gangadhardikshit Apte Esqr.	Dorabjee Dadabhoj Butee Esqr.
Damodar J. Gokhale Esqr.	Gangaram Bhanu Mhaske Esqr.
Waman Rao S. Apte Esqr.	Rajanna Lingoo Esqr.
Sadashiv R. Medatkar Esqr.	Vishvaudas Harikisondas.
Koopuswami Vijayarungam Esqr.	Becherdas Amolik Esqr.
Professor Bal Gangadher Tilak.	Sakharam R. Joshi Esqr.
„ Gopal Krishna Gokhale.	Sakharam R. Phadke Esqr.
„ Waman S. Apte.	Vinayak R. Jalnapoorkar Esqr.
Govind M. Gadre Esqr., Pleader.	Nathamal Bharmal Esqr.
Raghoonath Daji Nagarkar Esqr.	Daxuman Rao Hari Sinda Esqr.
Keshavrao P. Godbole Esqr.,	Waman Prabhakar Bhave Esqr.
Krishnarao B. Mande Esqr.	Vinayak Narayan Apte Esqr.
Ramchandra G. Sapkar Esqr.	Ganesh Krishna Bawadekar Esqr.
Ramchandra M. Sane Esqr.	Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar Esqr.
	Shivram Hari Sathe Esqr.

Treasurer.

CHINTAMANRAO VISHWANATH ALIAS BHAI SAHEB NATU Esqr.

Auditor.

GOVIND MAHADEO GADRE ESQR., PLEADER.

Secretary.

SHIVRAM HARI SATHE ESQR.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## THE GOVERNMENT FOREST POLICY.

No. 711 of 1890.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

Poona, 18th September, 1890.

To

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay,

POONA.

SIR,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to address this communication to you in regard to the orders passed by the Bombay Government, as contained in their Resolutions one of August 27, 1889, and two of April 8, 1890—~~on the Report of the Forest Commission~~ appointed in 1885, to enquire into the Forest Administration of the Presidency in general, and into the grievances of the people of Thana and Kolaba in particular. The subject of the Forest grievances of the Thana and Kolaba Districts was pressed upon the attention of the Provincial Conference held here under the auspices of the Sabha in May last, and the Committee of the Sabha feel it to be their duty to give expression to the sense of general disappointment which is felt all over the Presidency in respect of the way in which the recommendations of the Commission have been virtually made ineffective by these recent Resolutions.

2. The circumstances which led to the appointment of the Forest Commission, the high position of the persons of whom it was composed, the noble and encouraging assurances which Lord Reay addressed to the Commission at the time, and the patient and exhaustive manner in which that body investigated the grievances of the two districts of Thana and Kolaba—all these considerations had led

the public to expect that the wearisome and unequal struggle with the Forest Department which the people of those Districts were carrying on since 1879 would soon cease and a happy compromise arranged which would secure a substantial measure of relief to those people as the result of the deliberations of the Commission. If, however, the orders contained in the Government Resolutions referred to above, are to be regarded as finally disposing of the recommendations of the Commission, the Committee feel constrained to observe that the elaborate enquiry of the Commission and the long time taken by Government to deliberate upon the Report of that body, have failed to attain the objects which the Government proposed to itself, namely the contentment and prosperity of the agricultural classes in these two districts, and that the position of these classes will, in many respects, be worse off than what it was in 1879.

3. The Committee need hardly remark that the recommendations of the Forest Commission had fallen far short of what the people of Thana and Kolaba considered themselves fairly entitled to. On more occasions than one have the people of these districts expressed their dissatisfaction with the conclusions arrived at by the Commission. But neither the Provincial Conference nor the Sabha have ever taken up such an extreme position. They have all along been ready to admit that a Commission, which included persons like Messrs. Vidal and Ozanne and the Hon'ble Rao Bahadoor K. L. Nulkar would not have recommended any arrangements which they did not feel satisfied in their own minds were fair and reasonable to all the varied interests concerned. Seeing that the recommendations were made after careful, conscientious and laborious investigation by persons who were fully conscious of the responsibility of their position, the Sabha accepted them as a workable compromise and as such entitled to a fair trial. The Sabha, accordingly, urged the Government to adopt in full and without reservations the recommendations of the Commission on the various points entrusted to that body for enquiry. In the address which the Sabha presented to Lord Reay on the eve of, His Lordship's departure from this Presidency, it was observed that "though many of the separate recommendations of the Commission have failed to satisfy the expectations of the two districts more immediately concerned,.....we feel satisfied that as a compromise between extreme proposals, these recommendations, as *taken together*, may be regarded as affording a satisfactory solution for the time of this



vexed question." The public generally accepted this view and hoped Government would adopt without adding any reservations of their own, the recommendations made by the Commission; and in fact after all that had happened, there was a moral obligation upon Government to follow such a course. The Committee of the Sabha however are grieved to find that the Government have chosen to hem in the Commission's recommendations with many conditions and qualifications, which virtually destroy the beneficent character they originally possessed; and thus after more than four years of patient and painful suspense, the people find that the idea of substituting "co-operation for antagonism, confidence for distrust, contentment for disturbance," which led Government to appoint the Commission, is as far from realization as ever.

4. It has been admitted by Government that among the subjects entrusted to the Commission for investigation, those of Free-grazing and Rab were the most important. And the Committee of the Sabha observe with regret that in respect of both these matters, the final action of Government has led it virtually to set aside the recommendations of the Commission and emphasize the purely departmental view of these matters. The two beneficent features of the recommendations of the Commission on the subject of Free-grazing were that they recommended that for the present at least there should be no limit placed as to the number of cattle to be allowed free-grazing in the Forests of Thana and Kolbaa, and that no close season should be fixed by the Forest Department within which cattle entitled to free-grazing should be excluded from the unclosed compartments of the Forest. In their Resolution of August 27, 1889, the Government say that they accept the recommendations of the Commission with two reservations, wholly inconsistent with the spirit and even the letter of those recommendations, namely, "that adequate restrictions should be imposed on the number of cattle permitted to be grazed in any unclosed Forest block," and that "the exercise of the privilege should be limited by the closure which the Forest Department may impose for purposes of forestry," so that "the number of cattle permitted to graze free of charge should not be in excess of the number for which the area open can be expected to furnish a sufficient supply of grazing, and that the cattle should not be allowed access at the season when it is deemed requisite to close the forest

to permit of the growth of young grass." It will thus be seen that the two conditions tacked on by the Government to the proposals of the Commission completely deprive those proposals of their beneficent character. This is surely hard upon the people of the districts concerned, and may become harder still as a precedent in less favoured districts. If the recommendations of such a strong Commission made after an exhaustive inquiry and careful weighing of conflicting interests, have thus been unceremoniously altered in their very essence, there is little ground left for hoping for a relief in other directions. With regard to the question of Rab also, the proposals of the Commission were regarded generally by the people as far from satisfactory. They certainly did not err on the side of liberality to the people, and they placed the residents of what are called the non-forest villages at great disadvantage, as is clearly shown by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar in his minute of dissent, where in he characterises the official distinction between Forest and Non-forest villages as "wrong in fact" and "simply arbitrary" and "almost accidental." The proposals had however one advantage, namely, that they were simple and definite. But the orders passed by Government on this question in their Resolution of 27th August 1889, are so vague and general in their wording, that almost everything is left to the unfettered discretion of the Forest and Revenue Departments, which practically means that the villagers are to be at the mercy of the low-paid officials of these Departments. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise that everywhere throughout these two districts, the orders of Government in this matter are regarded as cruelly unsatisfactory and disappointing.

5. With regard to the trees in occupied lands, the Committee beg to observe that the orders of Government on the recommendations of the Commission, as contained in their two Resolutions of April 1890, are to a large extent mystifying. The Resolutions issued with respect to the district of Thana avowedly with the object of dealing with this question of trees in occupied numbers, maintains absolute silence in regard to the trees in workas lands, which means that the question concerning by far the largest majority of the trees has yet to be decided, whereas the Kolaba Resolution issued simultaneously proposes to settle the question of such trees in that district in accordance with the principle which, the Resolution says, has been stated in clauses 9, 10, 12.

of the Thana Resolution, which, however, unfortunately, contains only eight clauses, as it is at present published for general information. The Thana Forest Association asked for authenticated copies of both these Resolutions, but it was informed that the Resolutions published in the news-papers were correct in all respects. The Committee of the Sabha venture to submit, notwithstanding the assurance, that there has been some mistake, and they request that the paragraphs in the original Thana Resolution, which have been omitted, may be published without delay, or an assurance given to the public that as soon as the matters dealt therein are finally disposed of, they will be so published for general information. Apart from other considerations, it can be easily seen that the unhappy circumstance of keeping back clauses at first avowedly intended to be published, tends to create and has actually created a prejudicial impression on the minds of the people. And it will be readily admitted that such a disturbance of public confidence cannot but be accompanied by results prejudicial to all concerned. It is, of course impossible for the Committee of the Sabha to say anything definite with respect to the contents of these omitted clauses. It is however, clear from the Kolaba Resolution that in this respect also Government appear to have so modified the recommendations of the Commission as to materially diminish their usefulness; for while the Commission recommended that Government should part with all their rights in trees in occupied numbers at *half the market price* to the owners, the Kolaba Resolution says that these rights are to be parted with at a *fair price*, thus changing a definite term into an indefinite one and leaving that indefinite term to be interpreted by the Forest Department as it pleases.

The Committee of the Sabha would, therefore, respectfully urge

(1) That the orders passed by Government in their Resolutions referred to above on the questions of Freegrazing and Rab be reconsidered with a view to give effect to the original recommendations of the Commission in their entirety and without any reservations.

(3) And that the clauses of the Thana Resolution of April 8 referred to in the Kolaba Resolution of the same date, be published without any further delay; and that as in the case of Free-grazing and Rab, so also in the case of trees in occupied lands, the recommenda-

tions of the Commission be adopted as they stand in the Commission's Report.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

G. K. GOKHALE,

SHIVRAM HARI SATHE,

Secretaries, Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.

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N. 7133 of 1890

REVENUE DEPARTMENT BOMBAY CASTLE,

18th OCTOBER 1890.

To

THE SECRETARIES,

Sarvajanic Sabha,

POONA.

*Gentlemen,*

In reply to your letter No. 711, dated the 18th ultimo, containing a representation on behalf of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha on the Bombay Forest Commission, I am directed to state for the information of the Sabha that their communication has received the attention of His Excellency the Governor in Council.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

J. D. ATKINS

Acting Under-Secretary to Government.

No. 718 of 1890.

*Sarvajanika Sabha Rooms,  
Poona, 24th September, 1890.*

To

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay,  
Legislative Department,  
Poona.

Sir,

I am directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanika Sabha, to submit to Government the accompanying copy of a Draft Bill and other papers, received from the Committee of the Poona Arbitration Court with a request that the same may be forwarded by the Sabha with their opinion for the consideration of His Excellency in Council. The Bill, if passed into law, the Committee of the Sabha venture to think, will be a great boon to the people, as it is calculated to facilitate adjustment of civil disputes in an amicable and economical manner. The proposals contained in the Draft Bill are, moreover, almost similar to the provisions of the conciliation system of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act,—provisions which have been in force for the past ten years and the working of which has met with public approval and the commendations of the officers entrusted with their administration. The Committee of the Sabha, therefore, hopes that His Excellency in Council will be pleased to forward the Draft Bill for the favourable consideration of the Government of India.

It is rumoured that a proposal for the abolition of the conciliation system has been submitted to the Government of India by the Government of Bombay. But such a step is likely to entail great hardship upon the indebted agriculturists of the Deccan. The report of the Special Officer appointed by Government to inquire into the general working of the Agriculturists' Relief Act has not yet been published, and in consequence neither the public nor the Sabha nor other public bodies have had an opportunity of considering the conclusions arrived at by the Special Officer.

The Managing Committee of the Sabha, therefore, respectfully request to be supplied with a copy of the report and papers connected with it, that it may have an opportunity of submitting its views in regard to the several conclusions and proposals of the Special Officer.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedt. Servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Hon. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanika Sabha.

From

THE SECRETARY OF THE  
POONA ARBITRATION COURT,

POONA.

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
*Judicial Department,*  
CALCUTTA.

Sir,

I have been directed by the Committee of the Poona Arbitration Court to submit the following representation together with the accompanying Draft Bill and other papers for the consideration of Government. In May 1879, while the Bill for the relief of Agriculturist Debtors in the Deccan was under consideration, a public meeting was held in the City of Poona which was presided over by Mr. Newnham, District Judge of Poona. Sir W. Wedderburn, Dr. Pollen and other European and Native gentlemen were present at the meeting, which was held for the purpose of preparing a Draft Bill for the legalization of trial by Panchayat Court in civil cases. A Draft Bill prepared by Sir W. Wedderburn, chiefly on the model of the Madras and Bombay Panchayat Regulations, was read at the meeting and a Select Com-

R. E. M. G. Ranade.  
R. B. V. M. Shide.  
R. B. C. S. Chitria.  
R. S. V. K. Limaye.  
R. B. Shrinivas Shesho.  
R. S. A. S. Nagpoorkar.  
R. S. S. B. Gounde.  
R. S. K. S. Jogalekar.  
R. B. G. H. Deshmookh.  
R. B. G. A. Mankar.  
R. B. N. D. Khandalewala.  
R. S. G. V. Joshi.  
R. S. D. B. Chakradeva.  
R. S. G. M. Gadre.  
R. S. G. G. Gokhale.  
R. S. Kevalechand Khubchand  
R. S. S. H. Chipionkar.

mittee consisting of the gentlemen named in the margin was appointed at the meeting to revise the draft of the Bill. That Select Committee made its report upon the draft Bill submitted to it for revision, and this revised-draft was sent to Government by Sir W. Wedderburn. The suggestions made in the draft were duly considered by the Hon'ble Mr. Hope who was in charge of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Bill, and he turned to account some of the suggestions in framing the provisions of Chapter 6 relating to the conciliators which subsequent-

ly became law. It was thought at the time that the experiment so far as it had been legalized by the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, should be watched for some years before the matter was again pressed on the attention of Government. Accordingly after 5 years trial of the Act, and the admitted success of its conciliation provisions, the provisions

of the first draft Bill as prepared in 1879 and submitted to Government, were again taken up for consideration. In 1885, a second public meeting was held under the presidency of Sir W. Wedderburn, when the old revised draft was again brought forward, and a new Select Committee was appointed to consider and settle it in the light of the additional experience gained between 1880-85. The first draft was confined in its operation to agriculturists only. The new Select Committee were of opinion that the success of the provisions in regard to agriculturists warranted their extension to non-agriculturists. While extending the scope of the measure to all classes, it was thought that there would be a decided advantage in limiting the measure to a certain class or classes of suits in which the claims were simple and did not involve much dispute, and parties were naturally disposed to compromise. Accordingly a change was made by the second Select Committee of 1885, limiting the scope of Panchayat trial generally to the classes of suits which were defined in clauses W. and X. of the Relief Act, and extending the provisions to all classes. These are the two most important changes adopted in the second Select Committee's draft. Instead of the conciliators, as under the Relief Act, acting singly, and deriving their authority solely from nomination by Government, it was thought advisable that provision should be made for their first nomination by Government and for allowing the parties a choice out of the lists so nominated of one or more conciliators sitting together, and acting as arbitrators by the consent of parties. These checks will remove many of the inconveniences experienced in the working of the conciliation sections of the Relief Act. The Bill as thus framed and revised, was adopted at a meeting of the Lawad Court on the 19th October 1888. The members of the Lawad Court did not submit it to Government at the time, as the Government of Bombay had just then appointed a special officer to enquire into the general working of the Act, and to submit his report thereon for the information of Government. The special officer submitted his report in 1889, and the Local Government, we understand from the newspapers has taken the special officer's report into consideration, and made certain recommendations to the Government of India proposing modification of certain provisions of the Act including chapter 6 regarding conciliation. As the whole subject is now before the Government of India, the members of the Lawad Court, as interested in the extension of conciliation, deem that the time is now opportune for submitting their

views to Government. Accordingly I now beg to forward herewith 7 copies of the draft Bill to legalize Panchayat Courts in civil suits with a request that you will submit the same to Government with a view ultimately to the draft being considered by the Government of India in the Legislative Department.

The Poona Lawad (Arbitration) Court has now been in existence for over 14 years, and it has worked continuously to the great advantage of the people who seek its assistance. Copies of the rules of the Arbitration Court and of its reports for the past five years are herewith sent for your information. The Panchayat Courts which will be constituted, if the Bill now submitted became law, will have to be closely modelled upon the present constitution of the Poona Lawad or Arbitration Court. The successful working of this Court for so many years leaves no doubt that, with the additional guarantees provided by the Bill, the Panchayat Courts, if properly constituted, will be a great help in the administration of civil justice, at least in the Districts in which the Relief Act may be in operation. The extension of the Panchayat system will enable the Government in time to reduce the number of its Civil Courts and thus effect considerable economy.

The meeting of the Lawad Court which adopted this draft was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Candy, then District Judge of Poona, and a copy of the proceedings is appended herewith. The members of the Arbitration Court, being materially anxious for the extension of the conciliation system, request that the Government will allow them an opportunity of expressing their views on the proposals of the Government of Bombay, if these proposals involve any curtailment of the existing honorary agency employed in these four districts, before sanctioning the proposals made. More than 200 gentlemen have been for the past 10 years devoting their time and attention to this work with much success, and their services have been repeatedly acknowledged by Government. Under these circumstances it is hoped that the Government of India will direct the further continuation of this great experiment which under the additional guarantees provided by the Bill now submitted for its consideration cannot fail to be of great help to the administration of justice and that it will take such steps as it may deem proper to secure the necessary legislation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Poona,  
July 27, 1890.

Your Most Obedt. Servant,  
AMRIT SHRIPAT NAGPOORKAR,  
Secretary, Poona Arbitration Court,



DRAFT OF A BILL TO LEGALIZE TRIAL BY  
PANCHAYAT COURT IN CIVIL SUITS.

Whereas with a view to afford facilities for the amicable adjustment of civil disputes, to diminish the expense of litigation, and to render the principal and more intelligent and respectable inhabitants useful by employing them in administering justice to their neighbours, it is desirable that litigant parties should have the means of adjusting their differences without being obliged to resort to courts of law, and that an award duly pronounced should have the force of a decree, the following provisions are enacted to take effect from—

1. It shall be lawful for the Local Government to establish in any district, or Talooka or Talookas of a District, Panchayat Court to receive, and where the parties consent, try and determine certain classes of suits here-in-after specified. The number of Panchayats to be established under this section shall be fixed, and may from time to time, be altered by the Local Government. The Local Government shall fix, and may, from time to time, vary the local limits of the jurisdiction of such Panchayats. "The Panchas" or persons eligible to serve upon the Panchayats, shall be selected by the Subordinate Judge and an officer deputed by the Collector, in personal consultation with the people dwelling within the Local limits for which the Panchayat is constituted. The Lists of Panchas shall be published in the *Government Gazette*. The Courts of arbitration constituted by Government under this section shall be called Panchayat Courts, and the members for the time being, who are selected by the parties out of the list published by Government to act as arbitrators, shall be called Panchas.

2. In any District, or part of a District, in which Panchayat Court shall have been established under the last preceding section, it shall be lawful for the Local Government to declare by notification in the *Government Gazette*, that on and after a certain date, all suits hereinafter specified, shall, in the first instance, be brought before one or more members of the Panchayat Court within the local limits of which the defendants or any one of them shall, at the time of the commencement of the suit, dwell; and from the said date no Civil Court shall entertain any such suit unless the Plaintiff produces a certificate

signed by one or more members of the Panchayat Court that amicable settlement has failed, and that the suit may be brought in the Civil Court. Provided further that nothing herein contained shall affect the provisions of Sections 525 and 526 of the Civil Procedure Code. It shall be sufficient to file a copy of this notification after or before such notification.

3. The Suits referred to in sections 2 and 2 a.

(a) Suits for the recovery of money alleged to be due to the plaintiff on account of money lent, or advanced to or paid for the defendant, or as the price of goods sold, or on an account stated between the plaintiff and defendant, or on a written or un-written engagement for the payment of money not hereinafter provided for.

(b) Suits for the recovery of money due on contracts other than the above and suits for rent or for moveable property, or for the value of such property.

4. The Local Government shall declare by notification in the Official Gazette the number of villages which shall constitute the local jurisdiction of each Panchayat.

5. When the Plaintiff desires to bring a suit, he shall present a written plaint to any Panch or Panches, who is or are members of the Panchayat Court having local jurisdiction at the place where the Defendant, or in case of more than one Defendant being sued, one of the Defendants, resides. The plaint shall state precisely the nature of the claim, the time when the cause of action arose, the name and residence of Plaintiff and Defendants, and the total amount of the sum claimed. The Panch or Panches to whom the plaint is presented shall be deemed to have been selected by the Plaintiff as his Panch or Panches.

6. On receiving the plaint, the Panch or Panches, to whom it is presented, shall issue a notice to the Defendant or Defendants, residing in the village, to appear on a day therein fixed to answer the plaint. Such notices shall be served by the village authorities through the village servants on the requisition of the Panch. When any of the Defendants lives in another village, the notice shall be served through the bailiffs of the Civil Court of the Talooka. When the Defendant

or Defendants appear, the Panch or Panches shall ask the Defendant or Defendants, if he or they accept him or them as Panch or Panches on Defendants side ; and if he or they accept accordingly, they shall exert themselves to effect an amicable settlement, and shall proceed in the manner provided for in Sec. 8. If the Defendant or Defendants do not accept the Plaintiff's Panch or Panches as his or their Panch or Panches, the Panch or Panches, to whom the plaint is presented, shall ask the Defendant or Defendants to select his or their own Panch or Panches in equal numbers with those of Plaintiff's Panch or Panches, out of the official list published by Government. The Panches named by the parties shall select a Sar Panch out of the same list ; but where the majority of the Panches do not agree as to the nomination of a Sar Panch, such nomination shall be made by the Sub-Judge of the Taluka, upon a reference being made in that behalf to him by the Panches selected by the parties.

6. (a) No Panch or Panches shall take any proceedings in a suit, in the subject-matter of which either of them may be directly or indirectly interested as Plaintiff or Defendant, but the party who brings the suit shall be referred to another Panch in the neighbourhood, whose name appears in the Talooka list.

7. If any person on the Panchayat List, who has been selected by either party, dies, or is unable, or neglects, or refuses to serve, the party or parties, who selected him, shall be called upon by the other side to name a substitute, and shall name one accordingly within 8 days.

8 When the parties are agreed as to the constitution of the Panchayat, the Panches named by the parties shall proceed with all diligence to take up the case. They shall commence its proceedings by requiring from the parties a " Razinama " or agreement in writing to abide by the decision of the Panchayat, as above constituted. In investigating the matters in dispute the Panches shall examine the docu-

So. Reg. VII. of 1827  
S. 4. Cl. I.

ments, and witnesses produced by the parties. They shall not, however, be bound by the formal rules of evidence, but shall adopt such

mode of inquiry, and proof, as shall appear to them most conclusive to ascertain the facts of the case.

9. The parties shall ordinarily produce their own witnesses and documents, and it shall be the duty of the village authorities to give the parties every assistance in their power to procure the at-

So. Reg. VII. of 1827,  
S. 4, Cl. 2.

tendency of the witnesses. The Panches shall also have the power to require the production of such documents or witnesses as they consider are essential for the proper decision of the case. In the case of witnesses neglecting to attend when called by village servants, and in the case of witnesses resident in other villages, the Panches shall, on the application of the party issue a summons, which may be served through the Subordinate Judge. Any person upon whom such a summons has been served, and who disobeys such summons, shall be liable to the penalties stated in Section 174 of the Indian Penal Code. The Panchayat Court shall also have the power to administer an oath witnesses to before examining them; and any witness who gives wilfully false evidence, while under oath, shall be liable to the penalties stated in Section 193 of the Indian Penal Code.

10. When both parties have been heard, and the whole of the evidence gone through, the Panchayat shall pronounce an award according to justice and right. The award shall contain the names of the parties, the date of reference, the substance of the claim, the answer, and the final decision arrived at. It shall be dated and signed by the Panch or Panches who made the award, and by the umpire, if any; where the award is made by a majority of the Panches, the Panches constituting the majority shall sign the same-

Mad. Reg. V. of 1816 s. 4  
Cl. 10 and S. 6.  
Bo. Reg. VII. of 1837 s. 8  
Cl. 1.

11. In cases of claims below 20 Rupees in amount, it shall be discretionary with the Panchayat Court to take down the depositions of the witnesses at full length, or not, but in such cases, when depositions in full are not taken, it shall be the duty of the Panchayat Court to keep a brief note of the proceedings. In all other suits, the depositions shall be taken down in full, and shall be signed by the witnesses after they are read out to them, and corrected if necessary, and the members of the Panchayat Court shall also sign the same.

12. If any of the parties do not appear before the Panch, to whom the plaint is presented, or if, after appearing he does not agree to have the case tried by a Panchayat Court or if the parties cannot agree as to the constitution of the Panchayat Court, the Panch shall furnish the plaintiff with a certificate to that effect. The Plaintiff may then sue the Defendant or Defendants in the proper court, and

file the certificate with his plaint. Whatever might be the result of the suit, the Court, shall in the award of costs take into consideration the conduct of the party or parties on account of whose default no amicable settlement may have been effected.

13. All awards made by the Panchayat Court shall, within three days from the date of the award, be forwarded by the Panch or Panches, who made them, with all the papers of the case, to the Subordinate Judge having jurisdiction to file them, who will issue notices to the other parties, and require them to show cause why the award should not be filed. The Subordinate Judge shall hear all objections, and if no sufficient cause be shown, the awards, shall be filed, and shall have the force of a decree of the Court. The objections to the filing of the award must be of the nature of those specified in sections 520 and 521 of the Civil Procedure Code, and the award may be returned for amendment in the manner provided in Section 520.

14. In computing the period of limitation prescribed for any suit under this Act, the time intervening between the plaint presented by the plaintiff, and the grant of the certificate under Section 11, or refusal by the Court to file the award under the last preceding section, shall be excluded.

15. If any party to a suit, which has been referred for trial to a Panchayat Court complains, that the suit is not being proceeded with with due diligence, the Subordinate Judge shall enquire into the matter. If he is of opinion that the complaint is just, and if the suit has remained undisposed of for more than three months, he will call upon the Panches to dispose of the same, within a reasonable time to be fixed by him. If the Panches do not assemble to dispose of the suit, and the parties so desire, the Sub-Judge may allow the parties to make a fresh selection of their Panchas but if the parties or any one of them do not or does not so desire, the sub-Judge shall give the required certificate.

16. No appeal shall lie against the award of a Panchayat Court passed under this Act ; but an appeal shall lie to the District Judge against the order of the Subordinate Judge, directing an award to be filed or rejecting it.

17. When an award has been filed, the Subordinate Judge shall execute it as a decree of his own Court.

18. The parties may appear before the Panchayat Court by pleader, or recognised agent, as provided for by the Code of Civil Procedure. They may also be represented by a relative, partner, gumasta, servant or dependant, provided such person produces a written authority describing his relation to his employer, and the matter in which he is empowered to act. Such an authority must be filed in the suit. In the Panchayat Court no costs will be allowed on account of a pleader or agent.

Mad. Reg. V. of 1816 s. 7  
Cl. 2.

19. Suits tried by Panchayat Court shall be exempt from fees, stamp duties, batta, and all charges of every description.

Mad. Reg. V. of 1816,  
s. 12. Bom. reg. VII of  
1837, s. 3, Cl. 1 s. 4. Cl. 2.

20. The District Court shall with the previous sanction of the High Court have the power to frame such rules, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, as it may consider necessary to guide the procedure of the Subordinate Judge and the Panchayats' Courts. It shall also be the duty of the District Judge to exercise, as far as may be, careful personal supervision over the working of the Panchayat Courts.

## ECONOMIC SITUATION IN INDIA.

### II.

#### ( AGRICULTURE. )

Since we wrote our article on the "Economic Situation in India" in January last, the general subject has received a measure of public notice, which is a most welcome sign of the times. The industrial question, as it presents itself in India under the unique conditions of British rule and modern life, is a question, which, view it as we may, seems to transcend and overshadow in importance every other question of our time, and, which, we think, ought no longer, consistently with due regard to the economic future of the country, to be put aside. To the nation as a whole, the question in its broadest aspects is one of "to be or not to be" in the industrial state-system of the world; to millions and millions—"born and yet unborn"—of its individual members, it is a question of bread or no bread; and it is really reassuring to find from recent discussions that there is a rare consensus among leaders of thought throughout the country as to the serious magnitude and urgency of the problem that confronts us in "the living present." The Industrial Conference held in Poona in May last, as focusing the representative opinion of the Deccan, is an event of no small significance in this connection. But, further, it is gratifying to observe that the question is even advancing as yet,—of course, by slow and tentative steps—beyond the theoretical stage of discussion. The formation of a Native Shipping Company at Madras, the registration of a Native Railway Company in Bengal, the springing up of a number of technical institutions in Upper

India, and the foundation of Industrial Museums in Poona and Bombay, within the past few months, may be noted as some of the more striking evidences of the national awakening, and mark a turning point in our economic history. Altogether, we think, we are on the eve of a new departure, and the future is full of promise. Surely Industrialist leaders like the Hon'ble Mr. Ranade and Captain Beauclerk will see in these recent discussions and practical beginnings much to encourage them to persevere in their almost single-handed endeavours to give proper shape and direction to the new forces making for a grand national upheaval in this economic sphere. The movement is one which seeks as its sole and single purpose to raise a great historic nation from the slough of grinding poverty and suffering, and thereby ameliorate the condition of a full sixth of the whole human race, and as such, must appeal to the warmest sympathies of every lover of his country and of humanity. For ourselves, we are confident of the future. The Government of India is animated by the best of intentions, and is now fully roused to a proper sense of its obligations in the matter; and that it shall honestly and earnestly strive to do its part is the plighted word of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress to the people of India; for, says Her Majesty to us in her Magna Charta of 1858, "it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects, resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." And all that is needed for the success of the new movement is for



the nation to endeavour to do its own part, relying in the endeavour on the hearty and generous help of Government, which it is bound in duty, no less than in solemn promise, to extend. This being so, we almost seem to see in the new signs of the national awakening, (in the words of John Bright) "above the hill tops of time, the glimmerings of the dawn of a better and a nobler day for the country and its people," and feel encouraged to proceed with our own humble share of the work by following up our inquiry into the economic situation in India, begun on a former occasion, on the basis of a more detailed analysis of recorded facts and evidences.

Our survey of the economic situation, as attempted in our January article, was necessarily of a general character, and was intended to focus its broad and determining features and emphasize their significance. We summed up these features to be "*(1) acute, wide-spread, growing poverty all over the country, (2) increasing severe distress among the lower classes, and (3) absence of economic staying power in the masses,*" and we endeavoured to show that the situation thus summed up was with us almost solely the result of a prostration and partial dislocation of our old balanced industrial organisation. The issue being one of fact, there was little room for difference of opinion, and in fact little or none has been expressed. As is, however, only too natural, views begin to divide off and diverge when we come to consider the question of responsibility for the past and of remedial and protective action for the future. On the question of responsibility, we see no reason to correct or modify our views, as previously expressed. We still think that, whatever the faults and short-comings of the people, in this matter the state in India has much to answer for. When it became apparent towards the close of the first half of the present century, after the abolition of the E. I. Company's

trading privileges, that an industrial revolution was imminent and unavoidable, consequent on the country being drawn into the broad world's arena of international commerce, in a state of complete unpreparedness, the British Indian Government, we think, guided by the economic experience of the West, was bound to intervene to balance the force of the impact and equalize the conditions of the new competition, and, in the circumstances of the time, might have intervened with the most extensive success. And it is our decided conviction that if the British Government in India had done in time for our industries and our industrial classes half of what the national Government of Germany did, under parallel circumstances, to safeguard the growth of German industries after the close of the War of Liberation, when Germany stood to England and other stronger countries in much the same economic relation as India does now to the competing world, the economic problem with us, in its present alarming features and dimensions, would in all probability never have arisen. But this is now only a question of ancient history, and, as such, we would leave it to the historian of British India.

Our present concern is not with the past—its fateful errors and its blighted hopes,—but with the future—its serious dangers and its imperative demands. A growing, exceptional poverty such as is fast falling to our share as a nation, a poverty already crushing and degrading in the case of millions and millions in the lower strata of the population—and that, further, under conditions which we feel ourselves increasingly helpless to modify—is, in our opinion, from a social and political, no less than from a moral and economic, point of view, a danger of the first magnitude, to which we ought no longer to close our eyes. Obviously, such wide-spread poverty must ever be the

most formidable bar to every variety and degree of national progress. The appalling amount of misery and suffering that already exists all the country over invests the question with a deep ethical aspect, and the harrowing history of the famine of the past five and twenty years has painful lessons to convey, which it is to be devoutly hoped, no more famines will be needed to enforce. But there is a still more serious side to the question. The history of popular revolutionary struggles all over the globe is full of warning on the point to both rulers and leaders of nations. In such cases the economic question rises to the gravity of a socio-political question of the greatest seriousness, and cannot be on the *laissez faire* principle let alone, under penalty of frightful disaster, to work out its own solution. This brings us to our tentative scheme of industrial reform on the conjoint basis of State aid and popular self-help, drawn up in brief outline in our January Article.

We are afraid the nature of our recommendations on the subject is somewhat misunderstood. Our scheme emphatically is not a scheme of *state-socialism*, such, for instance, as was attempted with fatal ill-success by the Provisional Government in France in 1848. With us, the evil of poverty is not confined to any particular classes, nor is it in any way attributable to failure of social arrangements in any strata of the community. We have here no unjust inequalities in the distribution of wealth to rectify and no chasms to bridge over, dividing off class from class; we have here no "Claims of Labour" to urge, no "Duties of Capital" to enforce, and no "Rights of Poverty" to plead, and we do not ask for a recognition of the *droit au travail* and the establishment of *ateliers nationaux*, as its natural corollary, for the simplest and strongest of reasons, *viz.*, that no such measures can here apply or avail. Our difficulties are altogether different, and so

are our requirements. Ours is an exceptional case. It is the case of a whole community, opposed to rival communities superior to it in every industrial resource, forced, unprepared, by circumstances beyond its control into an industrial competitive conflict with them, and reduced to poverty and industrial resourcelessness as the result of that unequal conflict and brought to an industrial *impasse*. What is wanted here is not the Poor Law of Elizabeth nor the *ateliers nationaux* of the Provisional Government—neither of which could do for our purpose,—but a comprehensive scheme of collective action—Governmental and popular conjoined—so devised as to help us to get out of the *impasse* by our own exertions, aided where need be.

Nor, even, in respect of Governmental action in this direction, do we recommend any extensive assumption of *direct* responsibilities by the State with a view to promote the national progress of the country. On the contrary, we earnestly deprecate such assumption, as being not only beyond the legitimate province of Government interference in matters economic, but as more likely than not to defeat its own central aim. State action, in this department of human affairs at all events, to be beneficial must be strictly *in aid* of private effort, and in no case and under no conditions, *in supersession* of it. It is a necessary condition of its success that it must in no way impede, but aid and stimulate, to the greatest possible extent, industrial exertion and independent development. This economic function is at best, an extraordinary function, devolving on the government of a county in exceptional circumstances, and it cannot be too careful how it fulfils it. In such cases, the only way in which the State can hope permanently to improve the tone and stimulate the functional activity of the industrial organism is not by supplanting and superseding the individual worker but by

so improving and elevating his character as to enable him to do the work which is his own, better and in independence of extraneous help. A course of State action, which seeks to help him by undertaking to do his work for him instead of helping him to do it for himself can never succeed; the worker will be maimed and dwarfed, nor will his work be any the better done for such direct State management. No doubt, in a country like India, exhausted by the exhausting struggles of centuries, where the people are not in a position to attempt any thing for themselves, which requires "large means and combined action," the field of direct action for a civilized Government must be large and, practically, even unlimited, but, even here, as John S. Mill insists, "the mode in which the Government can most surely demonstrate the sincerity with which it intends the greatest good of its subjects, is by doing the things which are made incumbent on it by the helplessness of the public, in such a manner as shall tend not to increase or perpetuate but correct that helplessness. A good Government will give all its aid in such a shape as to encourage and nurture any rudiments it may find of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragements to voluntary enterprise, and in giving whatever facilities and whatever direction and guidance may be necessary; its pecuniary means will be applied, when practicable, in aid of private efforts rather than in supersession of them, and it will call into play its machinery of rewards and honours to elicit such efforts. Government aid, when given merely in default of private enterprise, should be so given as to be as far as possible a course of education for the people in the art of accomplishing great objects by individual energy and voluntary co-operation." (vide *Pol. Eco. Bk. V. Chap. XI. para. 16*). But these necessary limitations of scope and direction to State intervention in this matter are oftener than not over-

stepped, and "the mischief begins" as the same distinguished economist points out in his *Essay on Liberty* (vide pages 206-7) "when, instead of calling forth the activity and powers of individuals and bodies, it (*i. e.* the State) substitutes its own activity for theirs, when instead of informing, advising, and, upon occasions, denouncing, it makes them work in fetters or bids them stand aside, and does their work instead of them." It is forgotten that "the worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it, and a State which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill, or of that semblance of it which practice gives in the details of business; a State which dwarfs its men in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed every thing will, in the end, avail it nothing for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish." In India, we regret to observe that the tendency in this respect has set in strongly the wrong way. The State with us, with the best intentions but in inexplicable defiance of moral and economic laws, is taking upon itself, on behalf of the development of the country's material resources, *direct* and extensive responsibilities which do not, strictly speaking, appertain to its proper sphere, and which it is obviously beyond its power to properly and advantageously discharge. In respect to *irrigation, forest conservancy, tagai allowances*, we are strongly of opinion that Government is unwisely attempting to accomplish by its own agency the work which private native enterprise should be trained and encouraged and even subsidised if necessary to carry out. As we shall endeavour to

show in a later part of this paper, more than half a century's experience demonstrates the essential unsoundness of such a policy. It might succeed in building up a pompous material fabric of false dazzling splendour, concurrently with a deplorable diminution in the industrial energy and self-reliant enterprise of the nation; but the fabric must be unstable, liable to fail and crumble away, in course of time, for want of internal supports.

Nor again does our scheme contemplate narrow Protectionism. A Protectionist tariff is no part of our programme. Although we do not go the length of saying with Mr. Gladstone that Protection is in all circumstances, morally as well as economically, "bad", and hold with Mr. J. S. Mill that it is both defensible and beneficial when "temporarily" adopted "in a young and rising nation" to allow "a fair trial" for new industries "under a new set of conditions," we yet think with Mr. Justice Cunningham that, here in India, it has to be regarded as altogether lying outside the pale of practical politics. Besides, a mere "China Wall" of protective duties, even if one could be reared up—which is obviously impossible without provoking "a dangerous collision of interests" between this country and England—would not, we apprehend, help us in any material way, unless we could manage, behind the temporary shelter of such a fiscal wall, to get our system into order, and, growing strong in industrial strength, prepare ourselves to meet foreign competition, independently of such a shelter. The adoption of "Protection to Native Industry" presupposes that the protected country is in course of such preparation or is about to enter on it, and requires, in its special circumstances of industrial weakness or disorganisation, the shelter of prohibitory duties during the preparatory stage; and unless and until the course of such national preparation for a

free industrial struggle has fairly commenced, and the necessity for such temporary "assurance" against outside competition has been clearly established, a protectionist tariff would be open to all the condemnation pronounced upon it by the great English statesman. As we view the matter ourselves, even a temporary check to free, unfettered, healthy contact with the world's commercial commonwealth of nations has, we think, its inconveniences and drawbacks, which the people of India, who have yet to acquire the true spirit of industrial freedom, ought not to under-rate, and, which in conceivable contingencies might be found to be too high a price to pay in the long run of time for this security against the stress of outside rivalry.

What we propose is essentially and emphatically a scheme of industrial revival based on self-help. Self-help is to be our guiding principle of action, State aid to be asked only when and where it may be necessary. State aid, however, we are aware, when once invoked, is often apt to degenerate into aggressive state action, supplanting private effort; and therefore, in seeking it, we propose to surround it with such strict limitations of scope, direction, and time as are laid down by Mr. Mill. We are fully alive to the dangers of State interference in this economic field, when carried beyond such limitations, and which seeks,—as, for instance, in France in the 17th and 18th centuries under the Governments of Louis XIV and Louis XV—or tends,—as at present in India under the British Government—to concentrate intelligence, talent, enterprise and executive capacity within the governing body, and starve and discourage" the growth of such qualities "outside the pale." Such dangers are peculiarly great in a country circumstanced as ours at present, in which the distance between the rulers and the ruled in point



of civilization and the resources which civilization commands is immense, and the tendency must always be strong to carry "the coercive philanthropy of a paternal Government" to undue and undesirable lengths. And we should be untrue to ourselves and untrue to all our national traditions, if we should ever persuade ourselves into asking or even consenting *sub silentio* to be put and kept in the swaddling clothes of State protection, and be disabled for independent economic advance for all time to come. But, on the other hand, we have to bear in mind that so vast and so varied is the direct and indirect influence of State action, even when confined on the extreme *laissez faire* principle within the narrowest bounds, over the course and fortunes of national industry that it is of supreme importance that such influence should be exerted in such manner as not only not to impede in any the remotest degree, but to give the greatest possible encouragement to national self helping effort and independent development. The lines and points of contact and interaction are many, and national industry must suffer if such contact and interaction should prove repressive or obstructive; and it becomes an essential condition of national material well-being that Governmental action, even within the "necessary" sphere, to be a benefit, must be in sympathetic harmony with its needs. Thus without calling upon Government to go one iota beyond its legitimate powers and its admitted "necessary" functions, the industrial worker in this country has a title to claim from it, within the limits of the exercise of such powers and functions, like his compeer in every other civilized country on the globe, the *maximum* of moral stimulus and indirect material aid to self exertion and self-improvement, with the *minimum* of vexatious and obstructive interference, and we may add, of paternal coercion, possible under the circumstances. He has a right to demand *inter alia*,—

(1). That in all branches of industry the worker should have the very completest assurance of the full fruits of his work and sacrifices. The Ryot, for instance, must have a permanent limitation and settlement of the State demand upon the land and absolute non-taxation of his improvements before he can be induced to apply to any extent his industry, skill and capital to the soil. Nothing short of a full sense of proprietary interest in the land has sufficed to promote agricultural improvement in other countries of the civilized world, and can suffice in India. We are convinced that full one half of our present agricultural depression is directly traceable to the unsettling and demoralising action of our Settlement Departments, whose one guiding article of faith is the mischievous economic doctrine of unlimited State proprietorship of the soil with its corollary of the "unearned increment," and it has always seemed to us rather unreasonable to expect, human nature being the same all the world over, the Indian Ryot to do for his land what no peasant of France or Germany would ever care to do under parallel conditions.

(2). That the general taxation of the country should never be oppressive and out of proportion to just requirements and the country's capacity to pay. Economically, no less than financially, it is a blunder to pitch the level of public burdens so high, as it is done in India, as to sweep away into the treasury the major part of the net returns to national industry and thereby leave little room for industrial savings and but weakened motives to save. A fiscal system, which keeps up an overflowing Exchequer, and lets the people starve, violates every principle of good finance.

(3). That the fiscal burdens of the State—whatever they are—shall be equitably arranged and so adjusted as to weigh with the minimum of pressure upon the springs of national in-

dustry. A tax, like the salt tax in India, which keeps "the beast thin and the people thinner" ought not to find a place in the fiscal arrangements of any country within the pale of civilization.

(4). That there should be the strictest and severest economy in administrative expenditure. In a country so poor and so industrially backward as India, it cannot be too often repeated that the pressure of public taxes should be as light as possible. The Indian tax payer, though about the poorest in the world, has to pay for the most expensive administration ever devised, and has, besides, a *budget extraordinaire* of between 20 and 30 millions to face and provide for, every 10 years.

(5). That the resources of the State,—vast as they must always be,—should in no case be employed as against the industrial classes of the country, to help and subsidize foreign enterprise. Exorbitant concessions to the railway, mining, and planting foreign interests in the country, involving a permanent surrender of some of the nation's valuable rights of property, under cover of promoting the material development of the country, have no justification either in the necessities or in the expedencies of the case.

6). That the State should not monopolise in the hands of its huge Departments the greater part of the country's work, which belongs to private enterprise, and that it should leave to the people of the country, and suffer and even, if need be, "encourage them to manage" as many as possible of their joint concerns by voluntary co-operation" ( Mill's Pol. Eco. Bk. V. Ch. XI. Sec. 6 ). With us, as things are, Government, wielding its practically unlimited resources, has constituted itself about the sole Railway Constructor, the sole Irrigator, the sole Forest Conservator and seeks to make itself the sole Creditor for its 200,000,000 subjects. Such a monopoly, it is obvious, of so many of the nation's collective indus-

trial concerns in the hands of the State Departments, even when established, as in this country, with the best intentions, must in the end prove to any country a doubtful blessing, if not a positive curse. In the economic no less than in the political sphere, the only effectual security against national enslavement lies in the widest possible diffusion of "intelligence, activity and public spirit" among the people. The people of this country, who have yet to acquire "a capacity for large concerns" and habits of associative action, require even more than any other people to be associated with the initiation and management of such collective concerns for the valuable moral and intellectual training such association must yield, if for no other reason; their dissociation, under present arrangements, from the prosecution of such collective effort accounts, in our opinion, for half their present incapacity and want of enterprise in the matter.

Thus a complete assurance to the worker of the fruits of his work—including a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue; fiscal reform, based on a policy of economy, retrenchment, and equitable adjustment of public burdens; an impartial employment of the State's resources; a better and more sympathetic P. W. policy—which should associate the people with the management of large works of public utility—these are some of the things which the Indian industrial worker has a right to expect from Government within the limits of its "obligatory" functions, and indicate the sort and measure of what we would call *necessary aid* which a State is always bound to give to its subjects in the pursuit of their industries.

But we go somewhat further, and, in view of the necessities of our historical situation, beseech on behalf of the industrial worker of this country a considerable measure of what we would designate as "optional aid" from the State—under,

of course, due limitations of scope and direction. There are the accumulated impediments of the past in our way, which we with our present resources are unable, unaided, to remove, but which, unless removed, must render any progress impossible. There is, for instance, the formidable evil of popular ignorance,—not even 10 per cent. of the population know how to read and write; the absence of capital in the country, coupled with disorganised credit,—interest ranges at between 20 and 40 p. c. per annum; there is a sad want of enterprise and power of initiation—no large works have yet been taken up by indigenous private enterprise. Heavy is the incubus of a deplorable past, which has to be removed by the joint efforts of Government and the people before our future economic advance can in any degree be assured, and we therefore ask for an adequate provision for national education—general and technical,—cheap banking facilities through the agency of the State aided banks of deposit and issue; subsidies to pioneers of native enterprise, and similar aid in various other minor matters. And, this is the extent of “optional aid” we require from Government, and that, too, for a time. As soon as the evils of the past have been got over, Government will be perfectly free and right to withdraw it and let us alone.

With such and so much aid from the State—partly necessary and partly optional, we think, the Indian industrial worker will be, and ought to be, satisfied. For the rest, he must rely on his own efforts and work out his own economic salvation. He must bear in mind that, in this as in so many other departments of human affairs, self-help is the best, safest, and surest way to success; “*aide-toi, et le Ciel t’aidera*” must be his motto. He must remember the poet’s advice:—

“Do what thou canst and then invoke the Gods,”

“God helps the man who toils to help himself.”

Such is our scheme ; according to our view, Self-help should be with us the keystone of the arch, State aid, serving only as a subsidiary prop. The scheme is put forward with the greatest diffidence, and with a view to elicit and help rather than guide practical discussion on a subject of much difficulty and complexity. As we said in January last, it is beside the scope of our plan to formulate any definite constructive scheme of industrial revival ; any such can only be the work of united India in Industrial Conference assembled ; and we beg to resume our inquiry into the economic condition of the people, with such imperfect lights as we possess, in the confident hope that the more clearly that condition is understood and realized, the more helpful it would be to a practical consideration of remedies for recognised evils. On the present occasion, we propose to take up *Agriculture*, (1) because it is not only the first, but almost the sole surviving one of our national industries, and (2) because, in view of the Agricultural Conference assembling at Simla in this month, such a survey of the present position of this industry from a non-official stand-point may be of some service.

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As the direct result of a forced economic revolution, effected under peculiar circumstances in little more than half a century, India has come to be what she was not for centuries past,—an exclusively agricultural country. Moreover, agricultural industry, under present conditions, is not a paying industry in the sense in which it once was, and in which it now is in Canada, Australia, the Cape, or the United States, —countries, be it remembered, which “ have been but recently settled, have as yet a very small population, and own vast areas of virgin soil waiting only to be ploughed to yield good crops.” India, on the other hand, is an old and exhausted country, densely inhabited, with no margin available of good

land, and it rests, industrially speaking, on a non-economic basis, when it has to depend on agriculture as the only surviving resource left for its people's subsistence. The central determining consideration in the present situation of the country is accordingly the fact that by far the largest proportion of her inhabitants is agricultural, either living exclusively by the soil, or eking out the earnings of other employments by the produce of the land they till, or as agricultural laborers." According to our estimate given on a former occasion, 86 p. c. of the entire population of the country is so dependent, including agricultural labourers, while 7.2 p. c. only are otherwise engaged, the remaining 6.8 p. c. being employed in Government or domestic services &c. The population of British India, excluding Native States, as estimated in March 1888 was 208.8 millions, and applying the above proportions, we have the following:—

Agricultural population dependent on the soil = 179.56 millions.  
 Non-agricultural population dependent on other industries = 15.03 millions.  
 Population dependent on service and professions = 14.21 millions.

{ The coming census will supply a truer basis for this classification. }

It has to be further observed that the non-agricultural proportion of our industrial population, which is already so small—barely 7.3 p. c.—is becoming steadily smaller still, as the old indigenous manufactures of the country (in the words of the Madras Adm. Report for 1889 p. 87) "are dying out before the cheap machine-made goods imported from Europe." The economic change is now very near completion, and we may, for practical purposes, assume that the population of the country is almost exclusively agricultural, working at the plough and living on the soil, the few non-agricultural industries still left, being "local," subsidiary, and altogether unimportant.

Our position, thus set forth in respect of the national disposition of productive labor, may be advantageously compared with that of other nations, and the following table, taken from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 331, relating to "occupations," marks a most instructive contrast:—

## A—"Workers in all Nations."

	RATIO.			Total.
	Agriculture.	Manufactures.	Various.	
England.....	11.3	34.7	54.0	100
Scotland .....	12.3	34.0	53.7	...
Ireland .....	29.9	9.9	60.2	...
United Kingdom .....	14.6	30.4	55.0	...
France .....	51	24	25	...
Germany .....	43	34	23	...
Russia .....	81	5	14	...
Austria .....	55	13	32	...
Italy .....	70	7	23	...
Spain.....	30	12	58	...
Portugal .....	45	8	47	...
Belgium.....	40	38	22	...
Holland.....	58	12	30	...
Scandinavia .....	61	9	30	...
Europe .....	55	17	28	...
United States .....	26	12	62	...
Total...	51	17	32	...
India .....	86	7.2	6.8	...
( according to our estimate )				

From these figures it is apparent that in no other country of the world is there such a perilously exclusive restriction of national labour to this single industry of agriculture as in India. Even in "Agricultural" Russia and in the "infant"



kingdom of Italy, the state of things is a good deal better, and what is still more significant—is fast improving under the protective care of their national Governments. All over the globe, we see, nations have struggled or are struggling to pass out from the cramped, contracted sphere of agricultural industry into the free and elevating atmosphere of manufacturing and commercial expansion; India alone, far famed till within the memory of living men as the land *par excellence* of rich and varied industrial activity, has been compelled to revert to the position of a primitive agricultural community, as described by J. S. Mill in his Political Economy, (vide Prelim. Remarks) —a community, earning little beyond the barest necessities of life, and little removed from the pastoral or nomad stage.

Such a retrograde change in our national disposition of labor will appear under different aspects to different minds. To the Sociologist who thinks that, in the economic no less than in every other sphere of human affairs, diversity of individual type and organic development is the very soul of true progress, this revolutionary change—for it is nothing less—must appear as a deplorable result of some Procrustean process ruthlessly applied to the old industrial system of India, which has levelled down a whole people and thrown back for centuries the advance of a full sixth of the human race. Similarly to the Positivist student of Economics, who holds with the Washington bureau of Agriculture, that it is an essential factor in the prosperity of nations that “there should be a harmonious distribution of labour, by which all grades of physical powers, all peculiarities of taste, all degrees of special aptitudes may be most advantageously employed”, the change must seem a change of mournful and alarming significance,—a change which limits and restricts all the nation's labour to a single industry, and that, too, an industry peculiarly subject to the inexorable economic law of “diminish-

ing returns." To the responsible rulers of the country, this utter break-up of its old well-balanced industrial system appears as the most serious feature in the economic situation, —and the most alarming factor in the general "problem of Indian poverty". The evil of "over-population"—of a population rapidly outgrowing the means of support supplied by a conservative system of agriculture—is a source of the greatest apprehension to the Government of India (vide the Resolution on Technical Education, July 1888). Independent observers too, like Sir J. Caird and Mr. R. Giffin, approaching the question from their point of view, appreciate fully the difficulty of increasing the food supply in a way adequately to meet the wants of a growing population. To the doctrinaire Free-trader, however, who thinks that the goal to be reached in the world's race in this respect is a complete international division—according to varying national aptitudes—of productive labour, the change in our industrial occupations that has taken place, must appear as the realization of his beau-ideal of theory,—a whole nation applying all its energy to the one industry that suits it best, a most happy consummation fraught with the richest promise; and the average Anglo-Indian administrator, who is usually a Free-trader, shares the same Free-trade illusion, but, finding poverty and suffering where he expects plenty and comfort, contents himself with attributing the strange phenomenon, not to our present abnormal distribution of national labour, which allows no field for varied industrial activity, but to inherent defects in our national character.

But, be that as it may, the economic change in our national system is one of grave moment, and is opposed, and runs counter, to the entire tendency of modern times. The final catastrophe is yet some way off and beyond sight, but 16 famines in 18 years (1860-1—1876-8) with a total record of

12 million starvation deaths afford a sufficient warning of the coming event. Our present so-called "agricultural prosperity" appears to many careful observers of the situation to be as hollow and artificial as Ireland's ever was, in the 18th century, and what complicates the problem with us is that our vast numbers have but a poor safety-valve in emigration. While Ireland in the course of 30 years sent out 3 millions out of its small population of eight millions, anxious official inquiries on the subject of emigration from India to the British colonies, instituted by the Secretary of State during the famine of 1876-8, showed that the colonies required "no more than 20,000 emigrants annually"; (vide the *Pioneer*, April 1878) and that Burmah and the Central Provinces, on which Government so much relied, would soon be filled up. The situation is full of danger, and we submit that before the danger comes on and overtakes us, it is a solemn duty we owe to ourselves and to our children and children's children to try to do what in us may lie to avert it by timely and judicious precautionary action. The experience and wisdom of United India alone can deal effectively with the situation, and we will only endeavour in these pages to examine this change in our industrial status in its various economic bearings.

The subject falls under two heads :—

(1) The present condition of Indian agriculture as a national industry, particularly in relation to the country's growing requirements in respect of food-supply and profitable employment ; and

(2) The present position of the Indian Ryot, his poverty and his difficulties.

At the outset, we have to express our regret with Mr

J. A. Baines C. S. that there still are no "complete" nor even, in some cases, "approximate statistics, concerning the industry upon which so large a proportion of the Indian population depends for its existence." But, such as they are, they seem to afford a fairly sufficient practical basis for such a review of the question, and we will begin with an inquiry into the present condition of our agricultural industry.

The first fact to notice in this branch of our inquiry is the vast extension of cultivation that has taken place all over the country during the last 30-40 years. "Since 1858," we read in the recent India Office Memorandum on some of the results of Indian Administration (page 10), "the cultivated area has more than doubled in thinly peopled tracts like Burma and Assam, it has increased by 30 to 60 per cent. in the Central Provinces, Berar and parts of Bombay; even in the thickly peopled province of Oude it has increased 20 p. c." The fact, however, of this large extension of cultivated areas is no matter for unqualified satisfaction, as the writer of the India Office Memo. appears to suggest; part of it only can in any sense be described normal and healthy,—the rest being more or less compulsory, and carried out on an ~~essentially non-economic~~ basis: and there are certain well-marked stages in the course of this expansion of our agricultural industry which it would not be un instructive to note.

The first stage is one of *Agricultural depression*. A chronic agricultural depression, as Sir W. Hunter points out in his Imperial Gazetteer (Madras), prevailed all over the country throughout the first 40-50 years of the present century. Money was scarce, trade was dull, prices were low, the settlements of land revenue were for short periods, the assessments were heavy (the State demand often amounting, as in Madras, "to as much as one half of the gross produce") and the commuted money payments for payments in kind pressed

heavier still; besides, the country over large areas was yet unsettled, and wars and ravages of wars were not at an end. The consequence was that much land remained waste, and much even went out of cultivation, and there was much suffering in most parts of India. Speaking of the condition of the Deccan in 1830-1850, Sir B. Frere said (in his speech in the Legislative Council, Bombay 1865):—"The whole of the Deccan had been more or less exhausted by the errors and mismanagement of former Governments. The removal of the Native Court and Army had destroyed the local market for produce; no foreign trade adequate to supply its place had grown up; the prices of agricultural produce and of labor had for years been steadily falling; and the Government revenue was "as steadily decreasing." Barely more than two thirds of the culturable land in any district was under cultivation. Frequently, as much as two-thirds of the land was waste, villages almost deserted were frequently to be met with, some were "*be-chiragh*" without a light in them, utterly uninhabited. The people were sunk in the lowest depths of poverty.....The revenue to be derived from the land was practically dependent on the discretion of the local officers. There were, it is true, fixed customary rates which nominally regulated the assessment to be paid, but they were so much higher than could possibly be paid at the then existing prices of produce, that it was necessary to grant remissions. ( " Deccan Riots Commissioners' Rep. App. A. page 20 ) Similarly, writing of Madras, Sir W. Hunter remarks, "the old prescriptive demand of the State based on the assumption of a share of the crop—as high as  $\frac{1}{2}$  in theory—was commuted into a money rent charge at the high prices current in the early years of the century. Prices steadily declined in subsequent years, and between 1830-45 they fell so much below the commutation rates that much land was thrown up and remained out of cultivation, and the con-

dition of the agricultural population became depressed and critical." The state of affairs in the N. W. Provinces was equally deplorable, and in Bengal also the heavy assessments punctually exacted, obliged the old race of Zamindars to sell out, and their place was taken up by speculators and professional men from Calcutta.

The next stage which succeeded this early feature of British rule was the stage of *Agricultural revival*. Matters did not begin to mend till a short time before the Mutinies. The Russian war gave the first upward impulse to our collapsing agriculture. Then the Mutinies followed, and with the return of peace and security, good times came, and the general improvement in the economic condition of the country, between 1854 and 1872—a period of nearly 20 years—was considerable. The land revenue settlements were revised in Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, and were made for longer periods, generally 30 years; the rates of assessment were lowered, the State demand being fixed at one half the "net assets" instead of  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; New Land Revenue and Tenancy Acts were passed in Bengal and the North-West Provinces with a view to reform tenant-right, and give the cultivating Ryot greater security of tenure in all the Provinces of the Empire. Communications were developed, roads and bridges were constructed, and the number of miles of railroad open for traffic rose from 20 in 1853 to 3797 in 1872. The foreign trade of the country increased and expanded; the exports of merchandise—mainly agricultural produce—more than doubled, rising from 29·8 crores in 1859 to 64 crores in 1872; British India entered with much energy into the general commercial concert of nations, securing for her products a broad and firm footing in their markets and in competition with more powerful rivals. The "Economic Equation of International

value," asserted itself, and prices now rose to a high level—almost at a bound—to be in sympathy with those ruling elsewhere in the broad arena of the world's trade. Money flowed in, the imports of silver, between 1855-6 and 1871-2, aggregating no less than 175 crores, and Government P. W. borrowings and private Railway guaranteed loans long kept up this large influx of the precious metals into the country. The American War of Secession intervened, and caused a temporary but violent upward oscillation, sending up both trade and prices to an abnormal height. There was a slight descent when that war closed, but the opening of the Suez canal, and other circumstances had a steadying effect, and a high level was maintained all round, though not without many "oscillations". As a result of the concurrent action of so many economic influences working in the same direction, our agriculture revived from the depression of half a century, and for a time delusive prosperity smiled upon the land and dazzled both the rulers and the ruled. The condition of the Ryots improved a good deal; and the cultivated area showed a large increase in most provinces. The following figures relating to such increase, gathered from official returns, will be interesting :—

	Year	Cultivated area.	
Madras .....	1852-53	9.73 million acres.	} Increase of about 80 p. c.
	1862-63	16.19 do.	
	1872-73	16.97 do.	
Bombay .....	1850-51	12.691 do.	} Increase of 110 p. c.
	1860-61	17.992 do.	
	1871-72	26 do.	
N. W. Provinces.	1851-52	21.29 do.	} Increase of about 15 p. c.
	1870-71	24.84 do.	
Central Provinces.	1858-59	11.107 do.	} Increase of about 20 p. c.
	1870-71	13.29 do.	

Thus, this period (1858-1872) was a period of marked agricultural revival, and would have been a period of agricultural

prosperity also but for a variety of circumstances, among which may be mentioned the following :

(1) Famines and scarcities that afflicted the country during the period ;

Famines	Affected Area in sq. miles.	Population affected.	Mortality estimate.
1860-1 N.-W. Provinces... Punjab..... Native States .....	53,500	20,300,000	500,000
1865-6 Bengal ..... Madras..... Bombay ..... Mysore and Hyderabad .....			
1868-9 N.-W. Provinces... Punjab..... Central Provinces.. Bombay ..... Bajoutana .....	2,96,200	44,400,000	2,950,000

Total Famine mortality:—5,335,000  
(Vide Fam. Comrs'. Report)

2. The Collapse of non-agricultural industries, by reason of the displacement of indigenous manufactures by imported articles and resulting in an increased pressure of the population on the land. This displacement of indigenous manufactures will be gathered from the following statement of

#### Imports of Merchandise.

Year.	Cotton twist yarn and manufacture	Other articles.	Total.	Showing increase of 50 p. c. in 14 years.
	(Mill. £)	(Mill. £)	(Mill. £)	
1859	9.8	11.9	21.7	
1866	13.8	15.7	29.6	
1872	17.4	14.6	32.	



(3) Increase of "Home charges" and other foreign liabilities, as reflected partly in "net excess of exports." These excess exports were about 4 or 5 crores before 1855 and the Home charges were about 3 crores in the same year.

Year.	Home charges Mill. £	Net exports of total trade. Mill. £	
1865-6	4.98	19.96	} Showing an increase of Homecharges over 200 p. c. " " Net exports over 5. p. c.
1871-2	10.70	21.03	

(4). Growth of public burdens.

	Revenue. Mill. £	
1859-60	39.7	} Growth 25 p. c.
1865-66	48.9	
1871-2	50.1	

These four blights of the period robbed it of much of its promised bloom. However, it may, on the whole, be said that this period was one of comparative ease and repose to the agricultural interest.

We next come to the third stage which may be described as one of agricultural depression. Agricultural distress and shrinkage of cultivation characterize this third period. It was heralded by severe agricultural distress which culminated in the great famine of 1876-78, which prevailed over the greater part of the country. The six years intervening between 1872 and 1876 were years of irregular or deficient rain-fall in some Provinces, and of severe drought in others, and there

was much distress in the land. Prices of agricultural produce heavily fell; assessments in parts of the country (e. g. the Deccan) at first fixed on the basis of abnormal prices current during the preceding period had to be lowered; and the Ryot's difficulties with his sowars commenced with the shrinkage of his credit. His position became worse and worse, and he was deeply involved in debt. In some districts (e. g. Nagar) he threw up his land for want of means wherewith to continue the tillage; in others, he kept tilling it—but more like a serf than as a free cultivator. The result was a large decrease of cultivated areas. The droughts and famines of the period deepened the distress. In Madras, the cultivated "Rayatwari" area fell off by nearly 2 millions. "In Bombay," says Sir C. A. Elliott, "the cultivated area is known to have fallen off considerably in these years of droughts, and the agricultural returns show the decrease to have amounted to 7 million

Madras—average of 1874-5 and 75-6  
 Rayatwari area—17-604 mill. acres  
 '76-7                    14-150  
 '77-8                    15-752

acres or 28 p. c."

acres or 28 p. c."

	Area sq. m.	Population affected.	Morta- lity.
Famines Behar Famine' 73-4 N. W. P. & Oude ...	54200	21,400,000.	800,000
1876-8 { Madras, Mysore, Hydera- bad, Bombay, N. W. P. and Oude and Punjab.	257,300	58,300,000	3,886,420

While there was such suffering in the land and such shrink-

	Crores.
Exports of merchandise. 1872-3	55.2
1873-4	55.0
1874-5	56.3
1875-6	58.0
1876-7	61.0
1877-8	65.2

age of cultivation, and while prices steadily declined, our exports of merchandise kept on increasing. The figures are as per margin. Even the exports of grain an-

	Mill. Cwt.	} in 1872-3
Grain and pulses and Seeds.	22·97 2·77	

Increased respectively thus—

Grain and Pulses.	[Mill. Cwt.]	Seeds.
	[Mill Cwt.]	
73-4	19·8	4·4
74-5	18·1	6·07
75-6	22·6	10·5
76-7	25·1	9·5
77-8	24·6	12·18

pulses and seeds participated in the increase, though showing some oscillations. This expanding export trade—and particularly the export of grain, pulses and seeds—in the face

of falling prices and scarcity and dire famine in the land is significant, as showing the forced compulsory nature of the trade conducted under the circumstances. The Revenue increased during this period of distress from 50·2 crores in 1872-73 to 65 crores in 1877-8, and Home charges from 14·7 crores to 16·9 crores—both significant facts (but of this later on).

*4th Stage. Agricultural revival*; Lastly we come to better times. Since 1878, we have had a succession of fairly good seasons, and agricultural statistics exhibit a recovery from the shrinkage of the previous period (1872—78). The recovery, satisfactory as far as it goes, however, falls far short of the required standard, and leaves us pretty much where we were 20 years ago, except in the Punjab. The figures relating to cultivated areas are:—

*Cultivated acreage.*

		RAVATVARI AREA.	
Bombay	'71-2	27 Mill. acres	Madras '72-3 19·69 Mill. acres
	'88-9	26·9 " "	'88-9 20·62
		—1	+·93
N. W. P.	'70-71	22·543 Mill. acres	Central P. '71-2 13·270 Mill. acres
	'88-9	24·643 " "	'88-9 13·87 " "
		—1	+·6.
Oude	'73-4	8·33 Mill. acres	Punjab '67-8—20·9 Mill. acres.
	'88-9	8·85 " "	'88-8 23·4
		+·52	+2·5.

Bombay	-1	} Mill acres = 4.45
Madras	+ .93	
N. W. P.	"	
Central P.	.6	
O. de	.52	
Punjab	2.5	

Thus, the increase of cultivated areas in these Provinces since 1870-72 amounts to only 4.45 million acres, an increase, obviously too small for the in-

creased needs, during the period, of an increased population and an increased export trade. The increase of population in these Provinces since 1871 may

Population in these Provinces.	
Census of '71	115.5 Millions.
'81	120.4
Estimate at	"
6. p. c. for '90	127.3
Increase since 71	11.8 Mills.

be calculated at about 11 millions at least (as per margin)—requiring, according to Sir W. Hunter's estimate of  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of an acre of food crop per head, an addition, for its food-supply alone,

of more than 8 million acres to the total area under food crops. But, again, during the period, the exports of grain, pulses,

Exports in	
Mill Cwts.	
1870-1.	32.15
1889-90.	76.52
	-----
	+ 44.37 Mill. Cwts.
	or 80 Million bushels.

seeds, &c. have increased from 32.15 million cwts. in 1870-1 to 76.52 million cwts. in 1889-90, which increase roughly estimated at 80 million bushels represents the yield of at least 8—9 Millions

of acres more. Allowing, say, 2 millions for Bengal, it is thus clear that the normal equation between population and production on this basis of "extensive agriculture" would have been maintained, if the cropped area in these Provinces had been added to by at least 14 million acres. But as it is, the increase of tillage is only 4.45 million acres—not even  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the required acreage,—which indicates a dangerous disturbance of the economic *status quo* of twenty years ago. At any rate the fact seems established beyond doubt that the extensive husbandry of the country has during this period received no adequate extension for its extended requirements in regard to both food-supply and foreign export. How far, if at all, "intensive agriculture"—makes up the required deficiency will be considered in a later part of this paper.

Thus, we have to distinguish 4 stages in the extension of our agricultural industry during the present century :—

1st. stage.	1800-50	Severe agricultural depression.
2nd. stage.	1858-72	Agricultural revival.
3rd. stage.	1872-78	Agricultural distress and shrinkage of cultivated area.
4th stage.	1878-89	Partial recovery.

The total cultivated area according to the latest returns for the chief provinces of British India is 189.35 million acres, distributed as under :—

Cultivated area (1888-9) crop.		Census of 1881
Madras.....	23.15 millions acres.	was 186.5 millions.
Bombay.....	26.92 do. do.	As we have had
Bengal.....	71.0 do. (official estimate.).	no great famine
N. W. Pro- vinces and Oude. }	33.69 do. do.	calculating increase of
Punjab.....	20.72 do. do.	population at .7
Central Pro- vinces. }	13.87 do. do.	per cent. per an- num, the total of
Total.....	189.35 millions acres (vide agri- cultural statistics for 1888-89.)	population may now be put down at 197.75 millions.

The following statement contrasts cultivation and population.

Provinces.	Population 1881.	Population 1890.	Total crop area in May 1890.	Cropped area per head of the population in 1890.
	Millions.	Millions.	Millions acres.	
Madras.....	30.45	32.32	23.15	.7 acre
Bombay.....	16.48	17.44	26.92	1.5 "
N.-W. Provinces and Oude }	44.10	45.74	33.69	.7
Punjab.....	18.53	19.96	20.72	1.1
C. Provinces.....	9.83	10.52	13.57	1.2
Bengal.....	66.69	70.69	71.	1.
Total...	186.51	197.69	189.3	A little less than an acre

As Sir. W. Hunter calculates, one acre of crop land at least is required "to keep a human being in comfort", and yet we have, on an average for the whole country, a little less than an acre per head of the population. In Madras and the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, the average per head is even much less.

Thus, with all our vaunted extensions of tillage areas during the last 30 years and more, the cropped area at the present moment is inadequate for the wants of the population, let alone the requirements of an expanding foreign export.

This extension, besides, of cultivated areas, inadequate though it has been for the growing wants of the country, has not been an unmixed good, and has led to evils of considerable magnitude. It has trespassed to a serious extent on the forests and jungles of the country; it has largely encroached on natural pastures, it has stretched to rocky and sandy wastes and barren hill-sides—soils which can never yield a sufficient return to industry or capital. We shall briefly review the extent of these losses.

(1). Destruction of Forests :—As early as 1846, "extensive clearances of timber" in many parts of the country attracted the serious attention of the Court of Directors, who ordered careful inquiries on the subject. But no effective action was for a long time taken; and these "clearances" continued practically unchecked down to 1877. Sir R. Temple, writing on the question as Famine Delegate in that year, pointed out that "the Southern Peninsula of India has been, or is being denuded, not only of its forests but also of its jungles, its groves, its brushwood", and added:—If it (this work of destruction) were to proceed unchecked, there would be imminent danger of the rivers running dry, by reason of the catchment basins and the drainage areas near the sources becoming incapable of storing rainwater." This extensive denudation of the country—

mainly for purposes of tillage, besides tending to a rapid diminution in the needed supply of timber and firewood, was evidently producing a most injurious effect on its climate, its productiveness, its water supply, and its rainfall. The famine of 1876-7 in Southern India was largely attributed to such denudation. The evil loudly called for a remedy, and the State had in the public interests "to interpose," so write the Famine Commissioners, "its authority for the preservation and systematic working of the forests, both to protect the country from serious injury through the improvident destruction of the timber, and to turn to the best account the vast resources provided by nature in the shape of timber and other produce in demand for export or local consumption". The Hon'ble Sir T. Hope observed in his speech in the Viceregal Council on the subject:—"Without effective regulation and conservation of forests, not merely the public revenue, but the public themselves would suffer, and even risks of famine would be infinitely incurred." But as usually happens in such cases, the interposition of the State in the matter, when once begun, did not limit itself to its higher sphere of restrictive and protective regulation, but, under the large powers vested in the Executive Government by the Indian Forest Act of 1878, it is now showing a tendency to be inconveniently and needlessly aggressive. The Rayats and the village communities, on whose behalf the work was primarily undertaken, are practically being excluded from its oversight except in the Punjab and Oude, and the Forest Departments of the State dominate the field, and virtually control the whole area of the nation's forests, and the nation's industry, in respect of forest produce, worth several crores a year. Besides, conflicts between State "forest rights" and the people's "forest privileges" have already begun to occur in several parts of the country, *e. g.* in Bombay and the N. W. Provinces.

Under the forest Act of 1878, the Forests of the State are classed either as "Reserved" i. e. "absolutely set aside for strict conservancy", or "Protected" to meet local demand for pasture, fuel and timber"; and Sections 25-28 even empower Local Governments to extend the restrictions applying to Government Forests in regard to "the clearing of land for cultivation" and the pasturing of cattle "to forests which are private property," if the public interest so requires it. In most of the Provinces, the Local Governments are taking vigorous measures in this matter of forest conservancy, as will be seen from the following figures relating to the increase of area of Government "reserved" forests:—

Area of demarcated Forests		The total of Government forests including "Protected" and "District" exceeded one lack of square miles in 1888-9.
Years,	sqr. miles	sqr. miles
1873-4.....	10,003	"Reserved".....54917 Protected.....8570 Other.....44428 <hr/> Total..... 107915sqr. miles.
1875-6.....	15,089	
1877-8.....	18,113	
1879-80.....	41,821	
1881-2.....	48,594	
1886-7.....	63,756	
1888-9.....	54,917	

There are besides extensive forests in private hands, yet unsurveyed. In Bengal and the Central Provinces alone, such forests are understood to be about 75000 sqr. miles (vide Cotton's report p. 202). As a rough estimate of the total extent of existing forests in the country, including both Government and private, we have the following figures:—

Govt. Reserved Protected &c....	107915	sqr. miles.
Private Forests .....	85000	do.

Total British India..... 192,915 sqr. miles.

The area of British India is roughly estimated at 900,000 square miles, and the forest area thus estimated is about



22 p. c. of the whole area, and compares favourably with the ratio of forest areas in other countries, as per margin. Our

Country.	Ratio to total area.
India.	22 p. c.
France.....	17 p.c.
Germany .....	25 "
Russia .....	33 "
Austria .....	27 "
Italy .....	15 "
Scandinavia ..	32 "
Europe .....	27 "
U. Kingdom...	3 "
Spain and Portugal ...	6 "
Belgium and Holland ...	10 "

Mulhalls' Dictionary.

ratio is better than that of France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, but worse than that of Germany, or Russia or Austria. But the forests in these European countries are real forests, while in this country all waste land, not appropriated to cultivation, is absorbed in the so-called forests, and this means much of the difference between fact and fiction.

(2.) *Contraction of grazing areas*, arising from extension of tillage, is a point of much interest in the general inquiry; but detailed information is not available. Sir W. Hunter, however, remarks in a general way, that "the pasture grounds of the villages have, to a large extent, been brought under the plough, and the cattle in many districts have degenerated from insufficient food" (England's Work in India-pages 65 6). Mr. Robertson of the Sydapet College, Madras, points out the same evil, and Major C. McQuroy laments with him what he calls a "wanton destruction of pasture." The figures for Punjab and Madras, as far as they go, lend confirmation to the view. They are as under:—

Grazing lands for live stock (Cotton's Report 1882-83 and Agricultural statistics for 1886-7).

Punjab—4,932,058 acres	}	9,289,765 Cows and bullocks	} 12 millions	
		2,568,726 Buffaloes.		} of horned
		6,399,000 Sheep and goats.		

Thus every available acre of grazing land in this Province supports :

2·4 horned cattle ; and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  sheep &c.

Madras—grazing land	Live stock, millions.	} =13·711
5,635,000 acres	10·392 cows and bullocks.	
	3·319 buffaloes.	
	11·392 sheep and goats.	

This gives for every acre of available pasturage 2·4 horned cattle, and 2 sheep.

“ In the summer pastures of England between London and Bristol,” observes Dr. Balfour, (vide Famine Commissioners’ Rep. App. page 106) “ an acre is necessary for one of the horned cattle with two sheep.” The Madras and Punjab figures show barely  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre for each head of horned cattle !

(3.) Descent of tillage to poorer and poorer soils. All over the country, except perhaps in the Central Provinces, the Ryots, as Sir W. Hunter points out, have been obliged with every recent increase of population to fall back on inferior soils—involving, of course, much waste of labour. Speaking of Bombay, the Famine Commissioners say ( p. 76 ) :—“ In every case, the best land has been taken up already,” and similarly Sir J. Caird observes in his “ Report on the condition of India ” :—“ The available good land in India is nearly all occupied.”

Bearing these facts in mind, we must now inquire, what are the possibilities of further extension of cultivation ? The areas yet available for cultivation in the different Provinces are given in the latest issue of Agricultural Statistics of British India, ( 1888-89 ) as under :—

(A) Table prepared from "Statistical Abstract, 1886-7" and "Agricultural Statistics, 1888-89."

Province.	No. of Districts.	Districts.	Population (1881) Millions.	Cropped area 1888-9 Millions.	Cultivable land in 1888-9 MILLION acres.	Ratio of cultivable land to cropped area.
1 Punjab Population 18,850 Millions. Cropped area 20,720 Million acres.  Available for cultivation } 24,850 Do.	82 A	Multan, Jhang, Montgomery, Shahpore, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Gizkia, and Muzaffargarh ..... (7) .....	2.92	3.19	17.5	5.4
		Hissar, Karnal, Kangra, Lahore, Gurjanwala Kohat, Banna ..... (7) .....	3.9	4.7	4.4	1 nearly
		for 14 districts...	6.82	7.9	21.9	2.9
	B	The remaining 18 Zillahs .....	12.03	12.8	2.9	.28
2 N.-W. Provinces Pop. = 33.9 Millions. Cropped area 24,829 ,, ac. Cultivable 7,229 .. .	37 A	Lalitpur, Jhansi Mirzapur, Hamirpur, Band Cawnpur, Pilibhit, Shahjahanpur, Bijnor, Etawa, Dehra Dun..... 11 Districts...	7.0	5.839	3.193	.54
	B	The remaining 24 districts .....	26.9	18.99	4.73	.25 nearly
3 Oude Popu. 10.2 ..... Cropd. A. 8,857 ..... Cultivable 3,374 .....	A	Kheri, Fyjabad, Rai Barcili, Sultanpur ..... 4 Districts....	3.82	2.68	1.29	.5 nearly
	B	The remaining 8 Districts .....	6.38	6.17	2.07	.33
4 Central Provinces Pop. = 9,838 ..... Cropd. 13,87 ..... Cul. 7,29 .....	A	Rampur, Balaghat, Nimar, Mudla, Jalalpur, Demoh, Saugher..... (7) .....	3.8	5.27	4.34	.84
	B	The remaining 14 District .....	6	8.61	2.95	.34
5 Bombay including Sindh. Pop. 16,454 ..... Cropd. 26,92 ..... Cult. 8,832 .....	23 A	Sindh (5 districts) Canna, Khandesh, and Panch Mahals..... 8 .....	4.82	5.63	7.557	1.3
	B	The rest of the Presidency.....	12.128	21.28	1.275	.66
6 Madras. Pop. 30.8 ..... Cropd. 23.4 ..... Cult. 8.46 .....	22 A	Nellore, Anantpur, Bellary, Cuddlaph, Karnul N. Arcot, S. Arcot, Salem, Madurai..... 9.....	13	11.9	6.22	.58
	B	The remaining 13 District .....	17.8	11.3	2.24	.2

Provinces.	Cultivable land in Mill. acres.	Remarks.
Punjab	24·859	
N. W. Provinces	7·929	= 60·750 million acres available, for a population of 120 millions in these Provinces (the figures for Bengal are not available). This gives nearly <i>half an acre per head</i> . The acreage includes grazing lands.
Oude	3·374	
Central Provinces	7·295	
Bombay	8·832	
Madras	8·461	

On analysis, these figures of cultivable lands may be arranged in relation to *area, population and cropped acreage* thus:—(See adjoining table.)

The cultivable areas include grazing lands, and a deduction accordingly has to be made on account of village pasturage from the available margin. Speaking on this point, Lord Lawrence, in his evidence before the Parliamentary E. I. Finance Committee in 1873 (June 16), when questioned as to the "80 p. c. cultivation" limit laid down in Sir C. Wood's Despatch of 1862 on the subject of extending the permanent Settlement, observes, "in point of fact, a village cannot exist, cannot prosper, unless it has an area of uncultivated land for pasturage. What is really wanted in India is not that all the land should be broken up, but that the land which they reserve for grazing purposes, should be improved for their cattle. If they break up all land, they will have none where to feed the cattle." "I think a margin of 20 p. c. would be a

fair one to allow for village purposes for the grazing of their cattle. I think that if I were to make a settlement, and a village had no grazing lands or scarcely any, I should be disposed in fixing the assessment of the village to make a small deduction in consequence of this circumstance. I should feel that there was more uncertainty in the means of the village to fulfil its engagement without any grazing lands than if it had some. All over the N.-W. Provinces and in the Punjab, and I believe, in other provinces, it has always been recognised that the Government revenue should be put on the cultivated land and that little or nothing should be put on the waste land." Going on the basis herein indicated, and also suggested by the Punjab and Madras figures quoted in a former page, we may deduct for village pastures an area equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total cropped (i. e. 20 p. c. of the total area) from the "cultivable" acreages. So deducting, we reach the following results:—

Table A re-arranged in 2 as under :  
I District areas marked A.

Province.	A Districts	Population millions.	Cropped area mill. acres.	Cultivable area, in mill. acres.	Deduct 25 p. c. of the cropped for grazing area, mill. acre.	Cultivable area, net after deduction	Per head cultivable area.
Punjab.....	14	6.82	7.9	21.90	1.98	19.92	3nearly
N.-W. Provinces.....	11	7.0	5.83	8.19	1.45	6.74	.25
Oude .....	4	3.8	2.68	1.29	.67	.62	.16
C. Provinces, ..	7	3.8	5.27	4.34	1.32	3.02	1nearly
Bombay .....	8	4.32	5.63	7.55	1.47	6.08	1.8
Madras.....	9	13	11.90	6.22	2.97	3.25	.25
Total...	53	38.74	39.21	44.49	9.86	34.63	About less than an acre per head of the population.

Thus in these 53 Districts out of the 144 districts in the six Provinces, a population (1881 census) of 39 millions has a cultivable margin of 35 millions or about *one acre per head*. Turning to Districts marked B, in Table A, we get the following:—

## II District areas marked B

PROVINCE.	B Districts No.	Population in millions.	Cropped area in million acres.	Cultivable area in mill. acres.	Deduct 25 p. c. of the cropped for grazing purposes, mill. acres.	Cultivable acres (Net) after deduction.	Per-head cultivable area.
Punjab .....	18	12·03	12·8	2·90	3·2	— 3	0
N.-W. Provinces...	26	26·90	18·99	4·73	4·74	0	0
Oude.....	8	6·38	6·17	2·07	1·54	+ 53	09
Central Provinces...	11	8	8·61	2·95	2·15	+ 8	13
Bombay.....	15	12·128	21·28	1·27	5·32	— 4·05	0
Madras .....	13	17·8	11·3	2·24	2·82	— 58	0
Total.....	91	81·24	79·15	16·16	19·79	— 3·63	0

## Summary of I and II.

Districts A .....	53	38·04	39·21	44·49	9·86	34·63	One acre per head.
.. B .....	91	81·24	79·15	16·16	19·79	— 3·63	0
Totals for the six provinces.....	144	119·98	118·36	60·65	29·65	0	0

(The 38·74 millions of Districts under class A form 30 p. c. of the total population of 119·98; the 81·24 millions of Districts under form B. form 70 p. c. of the total population of 119·98).

Thus on the basis of these figures, so analysed and arranged, we reach the broad conclusion that, while 30 per cent.

of the population of these six Provinces has a margin of cultivable waste lands, still left in the A Districts, within the limits of which it can,—other things favouring—double itself, the remaining 70 per cent. in the B. Districts has not only no margin left,—but has taken for tillage more than 36 lakhs of acres from the village pasture areas,—a very serious contraction of grazing acreage in these Provinces owing to our extension of cultivation during recent years. More particularly, taking B. Districts first, and going on the basis of the census of 1881, we may say, (1) that in Oude and the Central Provinces for a population of 1239 millions, there is only a margin of 13 *lakhs* of acres. As the population increases all over India at 7 p. c. per annum, this margin may suffice for 18 years' increase of population in these Provinces. (2) The N.-W. Provinces with a population of 33·2 millions have absolutely no margin left for further tillage. (3) Punjab, Bombay, and Madras have not only no margin left on which to fall back with an expanding population of 42 millions in these B Districts, but have appropriated for tillage purposes nearly 50 laks of acres from their village pastures.

Even in regard to A Districts, it has to be observed that by far the greater part of the waste land area, which is here available for further tillage, is so available only when irrigation extends, or is such as requires heavy initial outlay for its reclamation. In the Punjab, for instance, 9 million acres of good fertile soil in the Mooltan Division, 6 million acres in Derajat, 2 millions more in the plains of Hissar—altogether 17 million acres, or about 90 p. c. of the available margin, are ready for the plough if only water is brought to them. Similarly 5 million acres are so dependent in Sind. So again, in the Central Provinces there is much good land, but it requires for preliminary clear-

ince outlays of money, not well within the present resources of our Ryots.

In this connection, the fact noted on a preceding page is significant, viz that in these six Provinces, only 4½ millions of acres have been added to the cultivated area during the last 20 years, at per margin, which is a much smaller increase, than the estimated increase of population.

	Mill acres.
Punjab	2.5
Madras	.9
Central Provinces	.6
Gude	.5
	4.5

Bombay and N.-W.  
Provinces—nil

Bengal furnishes no returns, but the Famine Commission wrote in their Report (page 76) thus: "In some of the districts of Behar and Central Bengal, the cultivated area forms a very large proportion of the whole; in Saran, for instance, it is believed that out of 1,698,000 acres, 1,568,000 are under the plough, and that a margin of only 65000 culturable acres still remains. In the hilly tracts to the S. W., in the districts that lie at the foot and on the slopes of the Himalayas and the Eastern ranges, and in the jungles of Sundarbans, there is a great extent of land, which may at some future time be brought under cultivation; but it is feverish or poor thin land, not tempting to a settler, or else it requires considerable outlay for clearances of forest or exclusion of river or sea-water to render it fit for agriculture."

On the whole, the general conclusion on the facts noted above seems to be that, as things are, there is but little scope for further expansion of "extensive" cultivation in these Provinces, excepting parts of Punjab and Sindh and the Central Provinces, and that whatever further extensions of tillage might take place in future years, would be an encroachment



ment on pasture areas. And it would appear that if the growing population of the country is not to starve or suffer, we must be prepared to enter on the inevitable change which takes place in all countries from extensive to intensive husbandry, as population increases. There are, no doubt, the United Burmas with a magnificent waste land area of 28 million acres (lower Burma, 16·8; and Upper, 11·3 millions of acres.). But here too the tide of Chinese and Siamese immigration has strongly set in, and the Provinces will be filled up before long. Besides, the Indian agriculturist, even when he has the will, often has not the means wherewith to emigrate to, and settle in a new country, unless he gets exceptions, inducements and facilities from the State; and it is clear that the possible relief so obtainable can only be, in the very nature of things, small and temporary for such a population as ours.

With all these extensions, however, our present cultivated acreage is too small for the vast and increasing population that has come to live and work on the soil, as the only occupation and means of subsistence left. It is not only inadequate for the country's annual food-supply and foreign export of agricultural produce, but it is also too small to give sufficient occupation to the swelling millions driven to the plough. So severe is the pressure of the population on the soil in this respect, owing to the absence or insignificance of non-agricultural industries and so keen is the resultant competition for the land, that vast numbers of agricultural families have to be content with holdings barely enough either for their maintenance or occupation. The average area for such agricultural worker (representing a working agricultural family) is about 4 acres. The figures are:—

British India —“ Agricultural statistics” and “ Statistical abstracts.”

Province.	Male agriculturists and Labourers (in mill.) 1881.	Cropped area in mill. acres 1888-9	Area per Agricultural family.
	Agriculturists. } Labourers. }		acres.
Bengal .....	12·840 + 2·457 = 15·297 }	71	4·7 per family
Punjab .....	3·373 + 285 = 3·658.	20·7	5·7
N.-W. Provinces...	7·760 + 775 = 8·535.	94·8	2·9
Oudh .....	2·827 + 240 = 3·067	3·8	2·8
Madras .....	6·930 + 543 = 7·473.	23·1	3·2
Bombay .....	3·393 + 328 = 3·721.	26·9	7·3
Central Provinces...	2·210 + 113 = 2·323.	13·9	6
Total...	44·40	189·2	4·3 acres.

Taking the increase of population during the last 9 years into account, the average is 4 acres per family.

This acreage of cultivation for each male agricultural

Area per male agricultural worker		
U. Kingdom 10 acres.	The average in the United States is 22 acres.	worker does not fall far short of the average prevailing in the countries of Europe, as noted in the margin. But there the husbandry is high class and intensive as opposed to ours which is poor and as yet only extensive. In the U. States, however, where agriculture is still extensive as with
France..... 4·8 „		
Germany... 5·2 „		
Russia ... 4·9 „		
Austria ... 4·2 „		
Italy ..... 2·2 „		
Spain ..... 6·8 „		
Europe ... 4·8 acres.		

us, the average tillage area per agricultural worker is 22 acres; ours is not even  $\frac{1}{2}$ th of it. In particular parts of the country, it is not even 3 acres; the N.-W. Provinces Oude, and Madras have only 3 acres for each worker.

The total tilled area for the British Provinces is 190 million acres, of which 80 million acres are irrigated, and it has

been estimated by competent authorities, taking into account the present conditions and requirements of our agriculture, "that 10 to 15 acres of dry crop land—or 5 to 7 acres of wet-crop land—is not a large holding for an agricultural family to till and manage." Now taking the minimum of 10 and 5 acres for dry and wet-crop land respectively, it would seem that for our present cultivated area of 190 million acres, 16 million families will suffice to till 160 millions of dry-crop land, and 6 million more will suffice to till 30 millions of acres of wet-crop tillage, or in all, 22 millions of agricultural families, representing a total rural population of 88 millions only, can be maintained with comfort. At present, however, we have 47·7 million families (= 180 millions of the population) working over this area. Or, in other words, 94 millions of people have either no work and are living in enforced idleness. What a ruinous waste of economic energy? What a ruinous loss of Wealth to the country? What a penalty imposed on the nation by reason of its loss of varied industrial activity? This is, however, a low estimate. Sir J. Caird, an exceptionally high authority in such matters,—in his special Report to the Secretary of State on the condition of India (1879, 31st October)—is disposed to put the workless proportion of the rural population a good deal higher—at  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total, i. e. full 120 millions in rural India. He writes, "the population of India is more exclusively agricultural than that of most other countries; *et the extent of land there cultivated in proportion to the population is the smallest known.* A square mile of land in England, cultivated highly, gives employment to 50 persons in the proportion of 25 men, young and old, and 25 women and boys. If 4 times the number, i. e. 200 were allowed for each square mile of cultivated land in India, it would take up only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the population." Sir James proceeds: "In no agricul-

rural country that I know of, are so many people to be seen strolling idly about during the hours of labour as in India. The streets and court-houses and yards are always full of idlers. The roads are never empty, and the Railway stations and natives' railway carriages are crammed with people. Entering a village at any hour of the day, you are surrounded with idlers. Much of this arises from the absence of other occupations than agriculture, and in many parts of the country from the uncertain character of land tenure." Whatever the cause, the fact is startling—that 94 millions, as we estimate or 120 millions, as Sir J. Caird thinks, are driven to live on the land, and yet are forced to go from year's end to year's end with no work in connexion with it, or rather that the whole agricultural population of the country—amounting to 180 millions—has to be idle for want of work for more than six months of the year. What can be more wasteful or demoralizing to the industrial morale of the classes concerned? The money value of the rural labor so wasted and lost to the community and to the world is something awful to contemplate. More serious still by far is the moral loss entailed on the community by the enforced indolence of the agricultural classes caused by the absence of non-agricultural industries to keep them elsewhere fully and profitably occupied. Indolence, when it becomes a national habit, such as it must tend to become in India under the present conditions of our disorganised industrial life, is hard to cure, and must in course of time weaken the moral fibre and industrial nerve of the community. The question of providing bread for the growing population of this country is no doubt a pressing and serious one at the present moment, but to our thinking, more serious and more pressing is the question of providing adequate work for our growing workers. Looking at the question from the point of view of famines and their remedies, the

Famine Commission thus notice this point of want of sufficient work in rural areas:—"A main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian famines, and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of promoting relief in an effectual shape, is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the population directly depends on agriculture, and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the community derives its support. The failure of the usual rain thus deprives the labouring class, as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it. The complete remedy for this condition of things will be found only in the development of industries other than agriculture, and independent of the fluctuations of the seasons. With a population so dense as that of India, these considerations are of the greatest weight, and they are rendered still more serious by the fact that the numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are in large parts of the country greatly in excess of what is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land; so far as this is the case, the result must be that the part of the population which is in excess of the requirements of agriculture eats up the profits that would otherwise spring from the industry of the community." (Report Part I p. 34; the italics are ours).

And yet, moreover, our present cultivated area, thus already too small for the population living on the soil, declared, indeed, by the distinguished English expert to be "in proportion to the population," "the smallest known",—and which, besides, does not now admit of much further expansion, except in isolated parts of the country, is exposed, after centuries of irrigational effort to all the vicissitudes of the Indian seasons for the greater part of its vast extent. The character of the Indian climate is such, writes Mr. Justice Cunningham, "that failures of rainfall, involving more or less complete destruction of the crops, occur in some part of

the country or other in about two out of every nine years." As regards the liability of the different Provinces to drought, the Famine Commissioners say: "In Bengal, during the 110 years over which our record extends, four droughts only have occurred, of which two were very severe. Previous to the Orissa Famine, Bengal had enjoyed complete immunity from famine for 81 years, and on this occasion as well as in 1783-4, only the western parts of the province were affected. In the N.-W. Provinces, nine droughts are recorded, of which two were intense, and three very serious. The two greatest famines in this part of the country, those of 1783 and 1837-38 were separated by an interval of 53 years, but there was a frequent and highly irregular occurrence of less important droughts. In Bombay, nine seasons of drought appear, of which two were severe. In Madras, there were eight such seasons, of which two were severe. Excluding Bengal, the average interval between the several recorded droughts, great and small, in any one province is about 11 to 12 years, and between those of the severest type, about 50 years; but the deviations from these averages are very large" (Rep. Part 1, p. 25). Table II on page 11 of the Appendix to the Report, relating to mean local variations of rainfall during 16 years (1863-1878), gives the following results:—

	Annual normal average rainfall.	No. of years of rainfall below the normal average (16 years.)
Carnatic .....	33.34	7 out of 16 years.
Deccan .....	30.13	7    "    "
West Coast .....	99.60	8    "    "
Punjab .....	21.66	9    "    "
N.-W. Provinces..	34.72	7    "    "
Bengal .....	67.52	6    "    "

Thus in most parts of the country, almost every alternate year is one of deficient rainfall. Apart from these variations, the exposed areas, [marked out by unequal distribution of rainfall, are thus given in the Material and Moral Progress Report for '72-3, as requiring artificial protection. "In the north-west corner of India, there is an arid region, including all Sindh and half the Punjab, where the normal annual rainfall is less than 15 inches. Here irrigation is essential to the existence of the people. Next, there are two zones of dry country with an annual rainfall between 15 and 30 inches. One surrounds the arid zone on the north and east in a belt from 100 to 200 miles wide and has been named by Dr. Brandis the Northern Dry Zone. It includes Delhi and Agra. The Southern Dry Zone is in the Peninsula, extending from Nassik to CopeComorin, longitudinally parallel to the great mountain ranges at some distance from those ranges. These dry zones also stand in absolute need of irrigation. The fourth region has a rainfall between 30 to 60 inches, and includes the upper part of the valley of the Ganges, Central India, and the east coast of the Madras Presidency. Here, irrigation is also much needed, and great distress has been caused by the want of it. The fifth region has a rainfall between 60 and 75 inches, and comprises the delta of the Mahanadi and the Ganges and the lower part of the Ganges valley. In this more favoured belt, irrigation may be looked upon as a luxury, often useful, but not absolutely necessary, except in extraordinary years. Finally there are two belts of excessive rainfall, where irrigation is unnecessary, the one extending from the mouth of the Irrawadi along the East coast of the Bay of Bengal up the valley of the Brahmaputra and along the skirts of the Himalaya; the other along the West coast of the Peninsula from the sea-shore to the summits of the Ghauts". ( page 49.)

The tracts of the country, naturally exempt from the risk of drought by reason of the abundance and certainty of their rainfall, are the East districts of Bengal and Assam, the Konkan and the Western ghats, and the deltas of the Mahanadi, Gogayeri, Krishna and Caveri rivers. All over the rest of the country, artificial irrigation is not only a help to agricultural improvement, but is an indispensable and absolute necessity, as an insurance against drought. Our present cultivated area is, as given before, about 190 million acres in the six Provinces, for which detailed figures are available; of which 20 millions may, roughly speaking, be regarded as "naturally safe"—14 millions in E. Bengal and 6 millions on the West coast and elsewhere. To this "naturally safe" area, we may add the 13·8 million cropped acres of the central Provinces, where the Famine Commissioners assure us, "the rainfall has never been known to fail." But of the remaining area of 156 million acres, irrigation is at present provided only for 26½ million (irrigated) acres, and 2·5 more (unirrigated) making, in all, 29 million acres, leaving 127 million acres as absolutely requiring the protection of artificial water-supply. The figures are as under:—



(In Million acres.)

Provinces.	Cropped area in mill. acres.	Naturally safe.	Requiring artificial irrigation.	Protected acres.			Unprotected and exposed.	Proportion to cropped area of un-protected.	The Central Provinces with a cropped area of 138 million acres provide irrigation for 687 million acres or 5 per cent.
				Irrigable.	Irrigable.	Total.			
Madras.....	28-15	3	20-15	6-23	8	7-03	13-12	57 p. c.	
Bombay including Sindh ...	28-92	3	23-92	2-83	7	3-53	20-89	75 "	
N. W. Provinces and Oude.....	38-69	0	38-69	8-73	0	8-73	24-96	72 "	
Punjab .....	20-72	0	20-72	7-88	0	7-88	13-84	65 "	
Bengal .....	71- (Estimate.)	44	57	1-28 (Estimate.)	1	2-28	54-72	72 "	
Total...	175-48	20	155-48	26-45	2-5	28-95	126-53	72 p. c.	

Thus, we have to note the fact that the efforts made by the British and pre-British rulers have in these Provinces succeeded in bringing an artificial supply of water only to about 29 million acres out of a total of 156 millions of thirsty soil or to less than  $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the extent of land requiring such protection, and that irrigational facilities have yet to be provided for  $\frac{4}{5}$ th of the unprotected and cropped area.

The following statement furnishes details of our Irrigation resources.

Source of supply.	in the Six Provinces.	
	Government.	Private.
(1) Canals furnish water to .....	11·261	·983
(2) Tanks .....	4	1
(3) Minor sources...	1·04	1·04
(8) Wells .....	·029	9·502
Total	16·50	12·525

Even in respect of this small area at present under irrigation, we have to note with regret that the people's share of the work is less than one half. The latest figures show that private irrigation embraces only 42 p. c. of the total irrigated area in these six Provinces. Well-irrigation, which is a good test of popular self-help, represents only one third irrigation supply, being, on the estimate of 5 acres to a well, sufficient to water about 1,900,000 acres. The figures for Madras, as given in the Administration Report for 1889, show that in that Province even less than  $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the total irrigated area gets its supply from private sources; they are as under:—

Irrigated area = 6.23 mill. acres.

SOURCE OF SUPPLY.	GOVT.		PRIVATE.		TOTAL.		Govt.	Private.
	Rayatwari.	Inam.	Rayatwari.	Inam.	Rayatwari.	In. m.		
Canals .....	2.162	.479	.018	.006	2.180	.485	2.642	.024
Tanks .....	1.818	.275	.026	.107	1.844	.393	2.153	.133
Other sources .....	.140	.028	.007	.003	.147	.031	.05	1.047
Wells .....	.035	.015	.947	.101	.982	.116	.167	.01
Total .....	4.155	.797	.998	.217	5.153	1.014	5.013	1.218

The most serious feature of these statistics is that even this small extent of private irrigation discovers a decided tendency to a fall-off.

The following figures are for the N.-W. Provinces and Oude (drawn from the Imperial Gazetteer and Statistical Abstracts).

	1878-9	('82-3)	('88-9)
N.-W. Provinces	7,118	5,293	4,835
Oude	2,957	2,957	2,476
		8,250	7,311

In Punjab, the irrigated acreage was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million acres in 1882 and about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1888.

The decline in Well-irrigation is still more remarkable; the figures available relate to three Provinces only:—

Province.	1877-8	1888-9	Decrease in 10 years.	
N.-W. Provinces	4,480 mill. acre	3,221	-1,259	The decrease represents the supply of about 380,000 wells falling into disrepair.
Oude	1,840	1,247	-0,993	
Central Provinces	120	070	-0,050	
	5,980	4,538	-1,402	

As a set-off, we have a recorded increase of 7 lacs of acres in Punjab under this class of irrigation. But still, the net fall-off is large, and in the Provinces in which it has occurred, serious

too, as showing that the ryots have been unable not only to sink new wells but even to keep the old ones in working order, and have had during a brief decade to let as many as 280,000 wells fall into disrepair. And this fact, read in conjunction with the evidence as to the Ryots' growing indebtedness all over these provinces, lends strong support to the view that their borrowings—large and increasing though they are—are for purposes other than that of agricultural improvement.

Side by side with this painful decline in popular self-help in this matter of irrigation, we observe a large extension of Government operations. The state outlay on irrigational works has increased from 6·6 millions sterling in 1866-67, to a total, up to the end of 1889-90, of 31·53 millions. The figures are:—

State capital outlay.

Up to 1866-67	£ 6,612,495	} Exclusive of £1371666 spent by private Irrigation Companies.
1867-8 to 1876-7	£ 9,651,618	
1877-8 to 1889-90.	£ 15,270,000	
	<hr/>	
	£31,534,113	

The results also of this vast expenditure have been considerable, though incommensurate, —

	Govt. Canal	Irrigation
Punjab	{ 1877-8	1·324
	{ 1888-9	2·614
N.-W. Provinces.	{ 1860-1	·730
	{ 1866-7	·990
Bombay.....	{ 1883-4	1·604
	{ 1884-5	·039
	{ 1889-9	·079

The tendency, thus, is becoming year by year strong and pronounced for the people to withdraw from, and for the State

to step into and occupy, this field of industrial effort—certainly not a healthy sign of our present economic position.

The ruling idea of State action on its present lines seems to be that in this matter of irrigation, which is an absolute necessity, not simply as an aid to agricultural operations, but pre-eminently as an insurance against drought and the uncertainties of the seasons, the State, and the State alone, must and can do the work, if it is to be done at all, and done as it must be,—the people having neither the means nor the capacity for such undertakings; or as the Famine Commissioners put it, “there is no room to doubt that it is on direct State action alone that any reliance can be placed for the extension of irrigation.” The present P. W. Administration of Government is, to our thinking, such as tends—we will not say, seeks—to supersede, and in some respects to supplant, rather than assist or supplement, private effort. In this matter, no inducements are held out—rather the reverse (*e. g.* taxation of sub-soil water and water advantage)—to indigenous private enterprise to take up such works;—no facilities are offered in the shape of engineering advice or guaranteed loans to private individuals or local bodies; and the plan is adopted and prosecuted with almost aggressive vigour, of doing the work for the people, instead of helping or educating the people to help themselves. From wells in Madras and tanks in Bombay to minor irrigating channels and canal distributories in the Punjab, the irrigation works are State works pure and simple and under exclusive State management, and at no stage are the people to be called in. In old times, it would seem, the native rulers followed no such exclusive or aggressive policy. They contented themselves with only building the larger works like the inundation canals of the Punjab and the magnificent tanks of Madras, but

even in respect of such works, their plan was to entrust their management, after they were constructed, to the people themselves working through *Panchayat* organizations. Thus in the Panjab, "the important system of inundation canals from the Panjab rivers upon which the very existence of the inhabitants of the vast area in the rainless region depends, was administered by the people themselves under Government supervision" (vide Material and Moral Prog. Report 1872-73 p. 53, ). The British plan, in this regard, seems conceived in a different spirit, and "the whole of this class of canals within British territory" is now under the regular management of the Irrigation Department of the Province. Mr. T. H. Thornton C. S. I., late Secretary to the Panjab Government, in a note on Mr. Newman's Paper on "Water Storage and Canals in India" a few years ago pointed out this undesirable aspect of the present Irrigation policy of the Government of India, and expressed his fear lest it would tend "to check local effort and self-help". He advised:— "Don't be in a hurry to extend Government canals to tracts of country irrigated by wells or other simple means, but effect your object rather by *helping the people to help themselves*, i. e. advancing the necessary capital on easy terms and securing them a good share of the profits of the outlay." The recent decrease of private irrigation in the Panjab (from 5·66 million acres in 1883-4 to 4·823 in 1889 = 732 mill acres) seems to show how very real were Mr. Thornton's fears on the point, and lends much practical value to his advice. The E. I. Public Works Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report of July 1879, adverting to this feature of the Government Irrigation policy as at present pursued, in relation to Madras, observed:—"A strong consensus of opinion has been expressed by those best acquainted with Southern India that more might be done in assisting by advances or otherwise the inhabitants to extend

and make themselves tanks and depositories of water"; and they even recommended that "a certain portion" of the Famine Insurance Fund should be utilized in promoting in this way "small irrigation works in Southern India" (vide p. xv Report P. W. Com. 1879). This "Famine Insurance Fund" has now been in existence in India for more than 12 years, and Sir J. Gorst might well be asked how far this recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee has been given effect to.

But this entire dissociation of the people from the construction and administration of such works undertaken in their behalf is only one broad feature of the Government P. W. policy in this branch of irrigation. There are other aspects of it also as remarkable, to which attention might well be called here.

1. A cardinal mistake of plan : *Canals* are one particular class of irrigation works on which almost the whole strength and resources of the Irrigation Department seem concentrated, regardless of the fact that the irrigational requirements of the different Provinces are widely different according to differences of climate and geographical configuration. If canals are good for the Punjab, tanks and storage reservoirs are required for Madras. The E. I. P. Works Parliamentary Committee comment on this point in these words: "The impression seems well founded that since the establishment of the system of 'Public works extraordinary' too much attention and money have been concentrated on the prosecution of those great engineering works; which, though most likely to enhance the reputation of those who carry them out, are less beneficial, in proportion to their cost, than the humbler undertakings of the old village communities" (page XV). "There are millions of acres in India," writes Mr. Justice Cammingham, "beyond the reach of canal irrigation,



and exposed to constant risk of drought, which might be exempted from this terrible risk, and rendered infinitely more productive if they were adequately supplied with wells.' There is as yet however little sign, as far as we see, of a change of plan in this respect.

As a consequence of this central mistake of plan, we have, to note on the one hand the vigorous pushing on in particular localities of costly canal works unsuited to their requirements, and on the other, disregard in other parts of the country, of their urgent needs. While thus there lie pigeon-holed in the Bombay Secretariat projects of important schemes for Gujrat, planned years ago, we have the *Sone* canals in Bengal pushed on with reckless energy in South Behar—canals fed by a failing river, and in a tract where a serious failure of rain has never been known, and where besides the people are building for themselves the small storage-works—the *pynes and arhars* they require—a system of canals, declared by expert critics to be a mistake "in its conception, in its construction and in its working," and which has upto date cost nearly 280 lakhs of rupees, and irrigates only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of acres. Similarly, we have the *Karnul* canal in Madras, unsuited to local wants, which has cost upto the end of 1889 Rs. 2,16 42,645, and irrigates only "34,999 acres" (vide Government of India's Resolution, 1st March 1890). To the same cause, again, we attribute the culpable neglect of the old tanks in the Madras Presidency. The number of such tanks is according to this Resolution, probably not less than 50000." General Sir G. Balfour puts it "at 75,000, including storage reservoirs;" the revenue dependent on them is about a crore and a half, and yet the Famine Commissioners in 1879 found that many of these works "have fallen out of order for want of proper supervision and timely repair." (Rep. page 163). The Commissioners strongly

condemned this neglect of the important works, and urged their early repair and restoration. Accordingly, 3 years later, the Madras Government started what it called a "Tank Restoration Scheme," but up to 1889 no advance was made beyond the preliminary stage of investigation and plans and estimates,—the investigation besides being conducted in so costly a fashion that according to Government of India's Resolution, "it has cost (during the past year) Rs. 786,404 to prepare estimates to the aggregate amount of Rs. 20,22,845," i. e. 39 p. c. of the estimate. So, also, in the Central Provinces, many of the old native irrigational *Thils* (=lakes) and tanks have completely fallen out of repair, and nothing is yet attempted to save the remaining "by removing their silt and repairing their banks." Similarly old tanks in several Bombay zillahs are becoming useless through neglect (e. g. in Dharwar).

But, besides, we find, that the canals on which Government is spending all its force are not in various parts of the country quite the blessing they are said to be; and on this point, we would refer our readers to Mr. T. H. Thornton's paper on "Some evils of Canal Irrigation in India." There is (1) the evil of "saline efflorescence" i. e. "the bringing up to the surface" salts known as "saline" prevalent particularly in the clay soils in Northern India and in the black cotton soils in the Deccan, and "the poisoning the surface soil, and rendering the cultivation of all but a few crops impossible." According to General Brownlow, R. E., late Inspector General of Irrigation, N. W. Provinces, about 8 p. c. of the irrigation area or 60000 acres are affected with saline in that Province. Speaking of the Punjab, the Hon'ble Colonel Wace says "the evil (i. e. saline efflorescence) is most wide-spread in the land irrigated by the Western

Jumna Canal, where some 3000 acres of once fertile soil have passed into swamp, and become defertilized by *reh.*” In Bombay, too, the same evil is manifesting itself. The Officialing Director of Agriculture, Bombay, in his Report for 1888-9 mentions a field in the Bhinathadi Taluka of the Poona District, rendered totally unproductive on account of salt efflorescence produced by percolation from the Canal”; and adds, “the deposits of salt in the lower layers of the black cotton soils in the Deccan and S. M. Country are very large, and the frequent result of irrigation is a raising to the surface soil of salt, either common salt or other soda salts, in quantities which seriously diminish the fertility (page 87). (2) There is next the evil of “water-logging and swamping of the soil in localities where subsoil water is near the surface,” producing insanitary conditions calculated to extend and intensify malaria, to the serious detriment of the health and physique of the people of canal-irrigated districts.” In the Districts of Delhi and Karnul, the mortality from malarial fever is always high, and speaking of similar tracts in the N. W. P., Dr. Sweeny, Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, says: “A more fertile or thoroughly utilized land it ~~would be hard to find,~~ but the people are not blessed with health. Go where you will, men may be seen young and in the prime of life, sad of face, slow of step, with spleen enlargement filling all the front of the abdomen.” (3) There is further the evil of extensive impoverishment of soil and deterioration of produce in the case of lands irrigated by canals deriving their supply from the Himalaya source.” “In these irrigation canals” says Sir J. Caird, (“India the land and its people” p. 206) “which are fed from the melted snows of the Himalayas, the water comes down at a temperature much below that of the land to which it is applied, and carrying with it a deposit which is barren sand. The effect of this pure

cold water on vegetation is only permanently useful when the land is sufficiently manured, and becomes extremely hurtful when lavishly applied to unmanured land." Our Ryots cannot afford to put in their lands the needed manure. There are other minor evils, too, but they may be passed over. "None of these evils can arise from Well-irrigation." And yet in the face of all these evils, the State outlay on canals is steadily increasing, while little or nothing is being done to promote the extension of wells and river-fed or deep tanks" by offering advances to the cultivators or otherwise, as the Parliamentary P. W. Committee of 1879 recommended—a recommendation which Sir J. Caird, writing a few days later, so warmly endorsed in his "Report on the condition of India" (pages 10-11.)

(II.) Besides such faults of plan, there is observable a growing tendency to extravagant or wasteful expenditure in this branch of the P. W. Administration in this country. In 1875-6 the total capital out-lay on Irrigation works was £ 15,562,655, and the working expenses amounted to £ 396750 or about 2.5 p. c.; in 1888-89, the capital expenditure up to date amounted to 31.53 crores or twice the total of 1875-76 and the working or maintenance charges stood at 1.06 crores or a little less than 3 times the figure for that year—a fact which suggests the necessity for a stricter control over this branch of public expenditure.

(III.) But, thirdly, we find an increasingly less commensurate return for the growing outlay on this class of works as measured by irrigated areas; a few figures will suffice.

		Capital outlay crores of rupees	Irrigated area in million acres	Capital outlay, per acre
Panjab .....	1877-8	2.260	1.324	17 rupees
	1888-9	6.080	2.614	27 "
N.-W. Provinces..	1867-8	2.58	1.432	18 "
	1878-9	4.46	1.735	26 "
	1888-9	7.99	1.604	50 "nearly
Bengal .....	1877-8	4.54	400	113 "
	1888-9	7.7	584	132 "
Madras .....	1882-3	3.721	2.039	18.6 "
	1888-9	6.648	2.398	28 "

Thus in these four Provinces, 15½ crores have been laid out as additional expenditure on these works—Panjab spending 882 lakhs since 1877, the N.-W. Provinces 540 lakhs since 1867-78, Bengal 316 lakhs since 1877-78 and Madras nearly 3 crores since 1882-83, and yet we have had only 19 lakhs of acres added to the irrigated area or *one acre per 75 rupees of capital outlay*. In Bombay alone, there is some improvement, the irrigated area having risen from 34000 to 79000 acres, since 1883-84 for an outlay of over a crore. In the N.-W. Provinces, we note a steady fall-off in the irrigated area in recent years. Side by side with an increasing capital outlay on canals, the figures are as under :—

## Irrigated acres in millions.

1878-79	1.735
1880-81	1.732
1881-82	1.915
1882-83	1.973
1883-84	2.297
1884-85	1.617
1885-86	1.709
1886-87	1.363
1887-88	1.517
1888-89	1.604

Thus the irrigated area in 1888-9 is less by half a million of acres than that in 1883-84.

It is worth noting, besides, in this connexion that in parts of the country, the supply of canal water is available, but still remains unutilized. In Bombay, for instance, the irrigable area is officially stated at 456,831 acres, and yet the irrigated is only 79,000—not even  $\frac{1}{5}$ th. And as one cause of this, the Director of Agriculture, Bombay, assigns “want of capital”—the Ryots having no means wherewith, to prepare their lands, for irrigated crops, which require a different style of cultivation, and a larger outlay than unirrigated. Thus the kind paternal Government brings water to the Ryots’ fields, but he is too poor to take it!—a fact, than which, no stronger condemnation, is needed of the benumbing influence of State action, as followed at present in this country.

(IV) Again, the management of Government Irrigation works has also much to answer for their comparative ill-success. The works seem to be more and more administered as a source of revenue than as a help to agricultural industry. The water rates in many places in Bombay and Madras (e. g. in the Karnul canals) are fixed at a point beyond which, if raised, they would cause a loss to the Treasury; in other places, they are even prohibitive. The Famine Commissioners (p. 162 Rep.) remarked; “it was obviously unwise that the Karnul canal, which has still its customers to find, should charge Rs. 6 per acre, when for the supply from the Krishna and Godawari canals, where irrigation is popular and well established, the charge is only Rs. 4”. The rate on this canal has since been reduced to Rs. 2-2 per acre, and yet the irrigated area does not extend. The people of Karnul, as Mr. Benson has recently told us in his report on the District, earn 9 or 10 rupees per head per annum!

(V) The Government administration, moreover, is in large measure not sympathetic. It seldom consults the wishes

of the people concerned, nor does it respond to their wants. Only lately the people of Nellore in the Madras Presidency thought it proper to draw Lord Connamara's attention to this feature of the Local irrigation administration, and they put in a claim to be consulted as to the repairs and improvements to be made to supply channels. Some time ago, the people of Khandesh asked for a small money grant-in aid to put their local irrigating water courses in order, but the Bombay Government thought it right to refuse the grant.

From this brief review, it is clear (1) that the Government Irrigation policy, which has already expended  $31\frac{1}{2}$  crores, and must require increased grants of public money if persisted in in its present direction, and has further cost us some 10 crores in interest charges on borrowed loans, has but a poor record of net results to show, and it is clear that, as long as it follows its present lines, Government has undertaken a task to which it can never hope to be equal, unless with the co-operation of the people. In spite of this huge expenditure, 127 million acres of the total cropped area (or 72 p. c.) are thirsty for irrigation water. Private indigenous effort shows all over the country unmistakable signs, under present conditions, of decline and decadence, except in isolated parts of Bengal and Punjab, but even here, it is receding, as Mr. Thornton predicted, before the aggressive and conflicting action of the State. Such a condition of things, which brings state action and popular effort into a collision, in a matter of such vital importance effecting the well-being of 200,000,000 people, can under no aspect be regarded as satisfactory. A change, a radical change—in this irrigational "Plan of campaign" against the monstrous evil of drought and famine, is absolutely necessary,—a change, we mean, in the direction of establishing relations of sympathy and healthy co-operation between

the state and the people in place of the ruinous antagonism between the two agencies; and unless there is such a change, the country would have to wait years and years, before it could get the needed irrigation supply for its 127 millions of unirrigated and unprotected cropped areas. Much lies, of course, in the power of the state to do towards this end; Advances to the Ryots on easy terms for the construction of wells and water courses in parts where, as in the Deccan, the rain-fall is scanty, guaranteed irrigation loans in others, as in the N. W. Provinces, Panjab, and Madras, to individuals and local bodies for the building of minor canal distributories, wells, storage works, tanks and tank repairs; but above all, in all parts of the country, free association of the people in the management of local irrigation works, — these are some of the ways in which, in our humble opinion, Government can do a great deal to enlist popular sympathy and call out popular self-effort. Much also has to be done by the people themselves. In this respect, we submit, the superior land holders all over the country have a very important and responsible duty to perform; the zemindars of Bengal, the Talukdars of Oude, and the N. W. Provinces, the Malgujars of the Central Provinces, the Khots of the Konkan — have to realize that property has its duties as well as its rights; they have, besides, a vital interest in the improvement of their properties. They are thus bound in duty no less than in interest to provide, as far as they can, irrigation facilities for their tenantry, and otherwise assist the action of the state Irrigation Department. By some such mutual efforts on either side, we are confident a happy concord can be brought about between the State and the people and with the happiest results. But of this more later on. Here we have only to emphasize the fact that the Indian Ryots have 72 p. c. of their lands still exposed to all the capricious fluctuations of the Indian seasons.



We hope thus to have shown that the limit of expansive cultivation has been in most Provinces reached, and over large areas in the older parts, seriously over-stepped; and even where there is still a margin available, all the best land is already under the plough, and what remains is only the poorest, or such land as requires for its reclamation an initial expenditure of capital—such as the people with their present resources cannot afford. The cultivated area, though thus expanded, is yet too small for the vast number driven to it as their only available means of scanty subsistence; moreover, even of this cultivated area, so limited, no less than 72 p. c. is unirrigated, and is absolutely dependent for tillage and crop-yield on the annual rainfall of a tropical country, subject to cyclic variations of an enormous and uncertain range, so that in parts of the country, like Madras and Bombay Deccan, bad seasons follow good in almost alternate succession, and not only sweep off the cultivator's savings, but even narrow what may be called his "subsistence fund." But what adds most seriously to the difficulty of the economic situation in this respect is that our agriculture, even under such circumstances, shows as yet but little sign of passing from the *extensive* to the *intensive* phase—a change without which an increasing food supply to support an increasing population and increasing foreign exports in part payment of our growing foreign liabilities, cannot be regarded as in any sense assured. The style of cultivation followed all over the country is of the rudest and most exhausting character; of scientific agriculture and its methods, the Indian Ryot is profoundly ignorant, and even in the pursuit of his primitive and unscientific husbandry, he has not the requisite means where-with to make the best of his position; he is resourceless and overwhelmed with debt.

Above all, such are the existing conditions of tenure in this country, under which land is held and taxed, that he has no effective motive to improve. The landholder—whether Zemindar or Ryot—stands where and as he has stood for decades past—apathetic and indifferent in regard to the land he holds or tills,—the Zemindar proprietor in Northern India, because of the limitations imposed by recent legislation upon his proprietary rights and upon his exercise of proprietary powers, and the subordinate holder by reason of incomplete security of tenures,—and the peasant proprietor in Southern and Western India, because of the exactions of the state, which are often so heavy as virtually to destroy his sense of proprietary right. The intending land-improver is virtually denied a legislative guarantee as to the full fruit of his improvements; the non-taxation of such improvements, except where cultivation has reached a certain limit and a certain standard, being left by the latest legislation on the subject to the discretion of the Executive Government. Under these circumstances, what wonder if agricultural improvement all over the country is at a stand-still! As Sir J. Caird has forcibly put it (in his Report on India page 8), “an exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead lock.” Already over extensive areas, as in Bengal, where, according to Sir W. Hunter, we have a “population of 24 millions struggling to live on 15 million acres or a little over half an acre a piece,” the stage of deadlock is passed, the people submitting more and more in the stress and exhaustion of their despairing struggle to a gradual fall-off in their standard of life; and we are face to face with what may be without exaggeration characterized as an acute phase of the agrarian problem in India.

This alarming position of things in regard to the nation's only remaining industry and means of subsistence is fully recognised in responsible quarters, and in explanation of this prevailing agricultural depression we are often referred to the Ryot's indifference to agricultural improvements, an indifference induced by his ignorance, his want of thrift, his consequent resourcelessness and indebtedness, his prejudices, and his conservative aversion to change. It appears to us to be mainly ascribable to the *absence of effective motive to improvement* under present conditions. The motive of self-interest is wanting, and he cannot be expected, any more than his compeer in Western Europe to work and improve his acres, when the full fruit of his work and improvement is far from assured to him. Self-interest is the one effective motor force which leads to self-improvement all over the world, and even in this "land of the lotus"—indoctrinated though it be with altruistic Vedantism,—the law of human nature and human work cannot be otherwise. "Give a man the secure possession of a black rock, and he will turn it into a garden" is as true of India as of France or Norway; and we can conceive of no more efficacious correction of the Ryots' present indifference to his own interests than such "secure possession" of the acres he tills, and assurance of the full fruits of his toils.

The absence of *effective motive to improvement*, in the case of the Indian Ryot, we believe, has its roots deep down in the economic effects of the increasing pressure of the competitive struggle for the possession of land,—a pressure increasing with an expanding population on the one hand, and with the collapse of non-agricultural industries on the other. These economic causes are at work all the country over to discourage and check agricultural improvement, [and

they are aided in their operations to a most disastrous extent partly by the weakening of the moral stimulus of self-interest under the incomplete security of the prevailing land tenures, and partly by the pressure and variability of the state or Zamindar's demands on the land. This question about the absence of *effective* motive to improve is one of vital interest, and goes to the very root of the agrarian problem in India, and we propose to consider it in some-what fuller detail under three heads :—

(a). The evil of a growing division—and sub-division of land under competitive pressure ;

(b). The evil of unfair distribution—partly due to historic and partly to economic causes—through a long chain, of landed rights—proprietary and tenant—such as to weaken, at every link of the chain, personal proprietary interest in and responsibility for agricultural improvement, &c.

(c). The evil of the aggressive policy adopted by the Government, which has led it to assert, under such economic conditions of division of land and distribution of landed rights, the communistic theory of state land-lordism in a sense which it has never possessed in actual practice in India or in Europe, and, in the practical application of that theory, to regulate periodical revisions of land assessments in all parts of the country.

The result of these three causes, concurrently operative, has been a general dislocation of the forces engaged in the mechanism, producing, in the words of the late Sir Louis Mallet, "the marked absence of any adequate accumulation of capital upon the soil, and (as a consequence) of any sufficient appropriation of such capital to purposes of agricultural improvement, deficiency of stocks, of ma-

nures, of roads, of tanks, often of seeds and of implements," and "in the people, prevalent habits, among the higher classes, of prodigality and indolence, and among the lower, a character of helpless dependence on Government, extreme poverty, and generally very low conditions of existence. No where do we see a spirit of enterprise, of initiation, of progress."

Of these three evils, the economic one of subdivision of land is at work in a more or less intensified form in all the provinces; the other two, viz unfair distribution and aggressive state action in reference to land—exist in different degrees in the different provinces. In Bengal and parts of the N.-W. Provinces and Madras, for instance, under the permanent settlement, the deterrent action of the State, as universal Proprietor of the soil, has little scope except in so far as it seeks to recoup the loss of revenue involved in the arrangement by the imposition of cesses on landed property; here the historical and economic distribution of landed rights as determined by recent law with its resultant conflict of proprietary privileges and tenant rights offers the strongest bar to agricultural improvement. In the Central Provinces, part of Oude, the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, where there is the dual ownership of the soil, the evils of unfair distribution of land and aggressive state action are in active operation to hinder agricultural progress; while in Bombay and Madras, it is the Land Revenue Administration that is mainly responsible for the agricultural dead-lock.

(a) First as to *division of land*:—The division is already extreme, and is still proceeding. Estates and holdings are divided and subdivided, leased and subleased, often as many as twice, thrice, even four times over, under stress of competitive pressure, aided by the law of partition and the extensive practice of sub-letting. Dividing the total area into the *proprietary*

(zemindars) and *tenant* (including Rayatwari) blocks, we find that a part of the former only is held under the law of primogeniture, the rest being governed by that of equal partition. The following figures furnish details for four Provinces.

	Under Primogeniture.	Under ordinary law.
Madras	14·9 mill. acres	1·29
N. W. P.	1·65   "   "	4·15
Oude	8·0   "   "	1·72
Central P.	·29   "   "	·43
	24·9	+   7·58 = (32·5)

In Bengal and Bombay, the governing law regarding proprietary lands is that of equal partition. In Bengal the multiplication of estates under the operation of the law is fast proceeding. "Within the last 20 years," writes Mr. Cotton in his Report (82-3), "the number of estates on the roll in the Patna Division has nearly doubled, while in the single district of Tirhat it, has more than trebled. Behar is becoming emphatically a province of "petty land holders." Similarly, the tenant area throughout the country is held under ordinary law. In the Madras Presidency, "there were formerly certain regulations checking the splitting up of blocks or fields marked off by the Paimash or Survey Department; but these were abolished in 1875, and there is now no limit to the smallness of a holding for which a Government patia will be issued." "The Survey number" in Bombay marks the limit of subdivision in case of sale on transfer by inheritance, further partition is allowed to the extent of recognising aliquot shares." There are no provisions of any kind restraining such partition in the other Provinces.

To aggravate this evil of partitions, there is the most extensive practice of subletting all over the country, and a most minute sub-division of land results in consequence.

The Rayat was in former days for the most part the actual tiller of the soil; but "as population increased," writes Sir W. Hunter, "under British rule, the value of land rose, and the peasant proprietor has in many cases been able to sublet his holding to poorer cultivators, and to live in whole or in part on the rent." The number of such sub-lease holders, holding of the Rayats, is believed to be not less than a million (vide the Hon'ble Mr. Ranade's Revenue Manual). In the Tenancy Acts passed in recent years in Northern India, restrictive provisions are inserted to check this evil, and to narrow the area of sub-leases, but competent observers doubt their efficacy. Sir J. Caird strongly recommended such restrictions, but on this point the Government of India in their Reply-Despatch to the Secretary of State (June 1880), referring to this evil as one of the great difficulties which threaten the well-being of the landed classes in future, justly observe:—"It is possible for the Government to declare that it will not recognise or record any sub-division of a land tenure, below a certain minimum area; but it does not appear to us that such a course will have any material effect in checking subdivisions. If a man who owns only the minimum area dies, leaving three sons, the fact that Government will only record the eldest son as the possessor, will not prevent the others from remaining on this land as his co-sharers, and will not drive them forth to seek employment elsewhere. As a matter of fact, what Mr. Caird suggests is now the actual practice in Bombay, and the result is that a great class of unrecorded partners and sub-tenants is growing up in that Presidency, to an extent which threatens to be a serious evil in the future, though at present the population is so thin that the practice is not found to work injuriously: (Sir J. Caird's Report on the condition of India and correspondence, page 33.) This growing excessive sub-division of land is productive

of three distinct economic effects :—( 1st ) that there is a steadily diminishing area of cultivation available to the agricultural worker. Already the average acreage per worker is a little over 4 acres, and is still narrowing more and more till he scarcely has enough land on which to work and maintain himself and his family. Sir J. B. Peile writes in his note " on the Economic condition of British India " :— Excessive sub-division, leading to the multiplication of minute holdings, is another cause of poverty. While the average number of an Indian family is somewhat over 5, and the number of persons in an agricultural household is very frequently more, the average area of tenant-holdings is in the Panjab about 6 acres, in the N.-W. Provinces under 5 acres, in Oude 3 acres and in Bengal probably about the same." In the Central Provinces alone, the state of things is somewhat better, the holdings averaging 14 to 16 acres. A few Provincial figures are as follows :—

Punjab	540,000	tenants holding on an average	6.5 acres.	}
	1,100,000	"	5.9 "	
Bombay	650,000	"	under 5 "	
		"	"	
Madras	5,260,000	"	4.1	}
N.-W. P.	1,200,000	"	4.	
Oude	1,800,000	"	3.1	}
Bengal	6,200,000	"	3 acres to 2 acres.	

Thus we have here a system of *petit culture* so extreme that the industry conducted on such a basis, unless there be, as in France, to the worker the strongest moral incentive to self-help and exertion, must tend to deteriorate and lead to his degradation. (2nd) That there is a diminishing income, with a diminishing acreage, to the



agricultural worker, due, moreover to the "law of diminishing returns" and to his exhausting method of cultivation. Rents and assessments are alike forced up under competitive pressure, and what remains to him in the majority of cases is little more than a bare subsistence. "When the sub-division of land," write the Famine Commissioners, (Rep. p. 118) "among tenants at will is extreme, and where agriculture is almost the only possible employment for large classes of the people, the competition is so keen that rents can be forced up to a ruinous height, and men will crowd out each other till the space left to each is barely sufficient to support a family"; or as the Hon'ble W. Quinton put it in his speech on the Oude Rent Bill, "a tenant in an agricultural community, such as we have to deal with, will agree to any demand which does not involve starvation, sooner than part with what affords the only means of subsistence for himself and his family." 3rd. There is due to this sub-division of land a growing multiplicity of intermediary landed right—a lengthening chain of superior interests—in the land above those of the actual cultivator of the soil. Already all over the country, as the Famine Commission point out, "~~a considerable class of~~ subordinate tenants is growing, who have no permanent interest in the land, and who pay such high rents that they must always be in a state of poverty." (Rep. p. 123.)

But this evil of diminishing—almost vanishing—interest in the land on the part of the actual tillers of the soil has its prime source in the complicated distribution of landed property in the greater part of India, and the complex system of tenures which prevails, inducing a general insecurity and confusion of rights and leading to a conflict of interests between landlord and tenant. The broad features of the position are that while in Bombay and  $\frac{2}{3}$  Madras, the occupant of the soil

holds direct of the State, all over Upper and Central India there is an intermediary land-lord or proprietary community between him and the State. In Bengal, the state demand on the land is fixed for all time; in the rest of India—excluding a few Zemindari tracts—it is liable to periodical revision. The leading Provincial facts may be arranged as under :—

BENGAL.		No.	
Zemindars .....	130,000	Ryats paying	
Intermediary	} 750,000	over 100 Rs.	25,000
Zemindars..		„ between „ 50 & 100.	120,000
	880,000	„ „ „ 20 & 50,	680,000
		„ „ „ 5 & 20	2,800,000
		Under Rs. 5	6,200,000
(holding about 90 p. c. of the total area and enjoying a total rental of 13 crores.)			9,825,000

Remarks :—Most of the tenants are practically little better than tenants at will. Under the Tenancy Act of 1885, the occupancy tenant (the highest privileged class) has his rent fixed for 15 years under contract, or by order of Court, which is not liable to enhancement except on certain specified grounds and within a definite statutory limit, at the expiration of the term. Occupancy right accrues from 12 years' continuous possession of the same land. The non-occupancy tenant is secured in his possession of land for the term of his initial lease at a contractual rate of rent, with the prospect of acquiring occupancy right at the option of the land-lord; the under-tenant has no protection; the sub-lease holders alone get 9 years leases.

	Gross area.
Ordn. Talookdari estates	8.86 million acres.
Zemindari	1.06 „
Village communities	4.50 „
Other leases	.25 „

		Number of tenants.	
The Talookdars	346	} 180,000	} Occupancy Tenants 8,117 Tenants at will 1,800,000
„ Zemindari Proprietors			
	180,346		Tenants—1,808,117

Remarks.—Under the Oude Rent Act of 1886, the occupancy tenants (holding for 30 years and more) have their rents fixed for 5 years, not to be enhanced except by order of court after that term, and to be lower by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  p. c. than the other prevailing rates. In the case of other tenants, the rents are regulated by custom or contract, but when once enhanced, they are not to be re-enhanced till after 7 years, and that too within the limits prescribed by the local Government. The sub-leasees hold for 8 years.

The Central Provinces,	gross area	
Large and small Zemindari and Malgujari	} 38.52 mill. acres or 90 p. c.	
Other tenures.....	4.42 „ „ 10 „	
The cultivating tenancies under Act IX of 1883.	No.	Remarks:—Under the Act of 1883, absolute occupancy tenants have their rents fixed by settlement officers for terms of settlement, not liable to ejection on any ground; other occupancy tenants (those with 12 years' continuous possession) have their rents fixed by settlement officers for terms of settlement in Chanda, Nimar and Sambhalpore. In other districts, the rents are settled by contract or fixed by the settlement officer, and continue unchanged for 10 years; ordinary tenants have to pay rents fixed by contract or by order of a
Intermediate holders.	4,093	
Occupancy holdings at fixed rates .....	185,125	
Other occupancy tenancies .....	279,381	
Tenants at will .....	471,933	
	941,032	

settlement officer for 7 years, and they have the choice to become occupancy tenants by paying  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the rent; the sub-tenants have no protection.

The N. W. Provinces.

Large Zemindars hold	3 · 4 p. c. of the total area
Zemindari village communities...92	„ „
Other tenures	4 · 6 „ „

The village proprietors themselves cultivate about 24 p.c. of the total area, leasing the rest to tenants :—

Privileged tenants, a small number, hold about 1 p. c. of the area in permanently settled parts.

Occupancy tenants, 1,500,000 hold	36·5 p. c.
Tenants at will 1,200,000 „	38·5 „
2,700,000	76 p. c.

Remarks :—Under the N. W. Provinces Rent Act XII of 1881, the privileged tenants at fixed rates are entitled to a permanent occupancy, and are protected from enhancement on any account; the occupancy tenants (including expropriators) who have 12 years' continuous possession, hold at rates agreed upon or fixed by a Settlement Officer for a term of 10 years, enhancement thereafter being allowed on certain specified grounds; the tenants at will hold on terms agreed to.

Punjab.

Large Zamindars hold	8. p. c. of the total area.
Village proprietary bodies—Pattidâri and „ Bhâichâri	} 90 p. c.
Other tenures	

The village proprietary peasants numbering 2,980,000, and cultivating their own lands, hold 14·5 millions acres; and under them and the zemindars there are :—

Occupancy tenants ... 540,000.  
 Tenants at will... .. 1,100,000.

Remarks.—Under the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1887, a right of occupancy does not accrue by mere lapse of time ; such tenants alone as have been in long possession, and are registered as occupancy tenants, hold as occupancy tenants and pay at rate of rent fixed by contract or by order of a Settlement Officer for 5 years, and thereafter these rates are liable to be raised on specified grounds and within definite limits ; tenants at will have no special protection under the Act.

In all these provinces excepting Bengal, we have periodical settlements of the Government demands, and the re-enhancement of Government revenues, even during currency of a lease or occupancy, is in all these Tenancy Acts duly provided for. Limits to rent enhancements by intermediary landlords or proprietary bodies are imposed, partly statutory, and partly descretional with the Executive Government, but there is no such limit to the State assessments. Special grounds for such enhancement are specified to check oppression and arbitrary procedure on the part of the landlords ; and to restrain ejection proceedings for forcing up rents or shifting tenants so as to stop accrual of occupancy right, compensation for disturbance on ejection finds a place in these Acts. Further, tenants of all classes are protected from the operation of their own private contracts entered into under competitive pressure or economic necessity, which are injurious to their own interests, or opposed to public policy, and ample facilities are provided for the expansion of the *occupancy rights* area. On the whole, these Tenancy Acts of recent years are a most "honest and earnest" endeavour to rectify the errors and evils of the past, but even as such, they are far from giving adequate protection to tenant right and

leave a vast deal yet to be accomplished before the land tenure system of these Provinces is placed on a sound economic basis. As it is, the position synoptically stands as under :—

Province.	No. of tenants.	Periods for which rents of occupancy tenants are fixed.	Occupancy tenants are yet a small body in all these Provinces and the number is only slowly increasing under recent legislation.
		{ In some parts 20 years	
The Central Provinces .....	941,232	{ In others ,, 10 ,,	
Bengal .....	9,825,000	15 ,,	
N.-W. Provinces.	2,700,000	10 ,,	
Oude .....	1,808,117	5 ,,	
Punjab .....	1,640,000	5 ,,	
Total...	16,914,349		

Of these 16,914,349 tenants in these Provinces (representing a population of about 80 millions), only a few are privileged tenants enjoying occupancy rights; the vast majority are yet more or less tenants at will, insecure in the occupancy of the soil, and holding on terms dictated by their superior land-lords, to which they have to submit under economic pressure or starve; and even in the case of the privileged class, security of tenure at fixed rates of rent does not extend (except in Nimar, Sambhalpore &c. in the Central Provinces) beyond 15 years in Bengal and 5 in Oude and Punjab; the tenure of the unprotected classes of tenants is of course much less secure, and millions till their little patches of land on little better than yearly or biannual leases. So far, therefore, as this vast tenant population is concerned, we see a very near approach to the Cottier system of Ireland and its moral paralysis.

In these provinces as in Ireland, the situation is further

complicated by the fact that the relations between the land-lords and their tenants are "becoming yearly more and more hostile." The reason for this hostility is, in the words of the Famine Commission, "that an opposition of interests has been created between the two classes,"—created during the first years of the British conquest under faulty arrangements regarding land revenue, and deepened and widened since by legislation (F. C. Rep. p. 117). The conflict, once begun with the violent rupture of old ties, still continues, and with growing intensity; the land-lords stretching their full legal power on the one side, the tenants resisting such pressure as far and as long as they can, on the other. It rages more fiercely in Bengal and Oude than in the Punjab or the Central Provinces, and a few remarks as to its origin and present phase Province by Province will not be deemed out of place.

*Bengal*—Under the Permanent Settlement, the first Zemindars were all "powerful men"—officials, chiefs or representatives of old ruling families, bound to their tenantry by long established ties of good will and amity; but under the strain of the heavy assessments, they completely broke down. There was "a general default in the payment of the Government dues," and extensive sales of their estates for arrears of revenue followed under the rigid system of the time. Most of these Zemindar families were completely ruined. A host of smaller Zemindars shared the same fate, and within 10 years of the Permanent Settlement, there was "a complete revolution" in the constitution and ownership of the Zemindari estates; and as it was an incident of the tenure of the time that a public sale by auction for revenue arrears obliterated all subordinate leases, this "revolution" affected also the entire body of subordinate holders. The auction sale brought in a new race of Zemindars with a considerably changed *per-*

sonnel of under-tenure holders ; the old relations ceased, and the new auction purchasers entered upon their estates as speculators with a *Tabula rasa* to work on. Government was on their side, and with a view to secure the prompt payment of the State demand, passed Regulation after Regulation to strengthen their hold on their tenantry. For full 60 years (1799-1859), they were thus helped and allowed a free hand in shaping their relations with their tenants ; the tenants for a time held their own, but as economic conditions became more and more unfavourable, they had in the end to yield. At last Act X of 1859 was passed for their relief ; but from various defects in its provisions, it utterly failed to accomplish its intended purpose, and the Ryots were still as ever at the mercy of the Zemindars, who were able to raise their rental from 3 to 18 crores during 90 years. The Tenancy Act of 1885 was the first "earnest and honest" effort to give the tenants the relief and protection—for full 90 years their due. The Act was intended, according to the Hon. Mr. Ilbert, "to give reasonable security to the tenant in the occupation and enjoyment of his land, and to give reasonable facilities to the landlord for the settlement and recovery of his rent," and to terminate the ruinous conflict between the two classes, "doing justice", in the words of Lord Dufferin, "to each of the interests concerned, and regulating their relations in such a manner as to secure the rights of the one and respect those of the other." The Act is on its trial, and the latest accounts of its working (vide Bengal Ad. Rep. for 1888-9, p. 294) are far from encouraging. The tension continues unabated, and in the opinion of competent observers, there is a fruitful source of future trouble in the "enhancement" and "non-occupancey" clauses of the Act—clauses with respect to which, the Hon. Mr. Reynolds held the law to be "dangerously inadequate".



*Oude*—Here too the conflict is equally serious, but the legal protection to the tenant is much less effective. The pre-mutiny settlement, effected after the annexation of the Province, which rudely set aside the old Talookdars "as interlopers with no rights of property" and dealt with the actual occupants of the soil, sowed the first seed of discord. The post-mutiny compact, well described by General Barrow "as a revenue settlement made upon the battlefield," and which restored back the ancient estates to the old Talookdars, was too much of a "political Treaty," and left all the under-tenure holders entirely at the mercy of their masters. Subsequent efforts (the *Oude Sub-Settlement Act of 1866* and the *Oude Rent Act of 1868*) intended to remedy the defects in the Talookdar compact of 1859, did something to help the weaker side, but at the same time deepened the discord between the two parties. The Hon. Mr. Quinton, in his speech on the *Oude Rent Bill of 1886*, stated the position of things in that year thus :—"79 p.c. of the cultivated area is occupied by tenants at will, holding farms averaging something under 5 acres, and liable to annual enhancement of rent and to eviction at the mere will of the landlord; and of the total number of cultivators, only one in 200 enjoys any protection against these incidents of tenure." "The power of ejection has been freely exercised by the landlords," the total number of ejection notices issued in 18 years (1868-1886) having been 1,869,964, which would give more than one for every cultivator in the Province, and "an examination of 28,477 tenancies in different districts made 3 years ago showed that, of these numbers, there were only 5 p. c. in which the component fields and the rent had remained materially unchanged during the last 15 years, and that in 46 p. c. the tenants were all new owners", and rents had been raised "24 p. c." all round. Such was the disturbing and dislocating effect of the agrarian conflict deepened by the

Oude Rent Act of 1868. "Under such a system," wrote Major Erskin, "the Oude peasant has little incentive to exercise self-denial, prudence and thrift." The present Rent Act of 1886 is intended to remedy this state of things; the position of the tenant is much improved; the area of occupancy rights is enlarged, and checks are put on the landlord's powers of enhancement of rent and eviction. Still we are as far as ever from the final settlement; and in the meanwhile the struggle between the two parties continues without a sign of abatement, though on more equal terms, with "fatal" consequences to the agrarian peace and prosperity of the Province.

In the N.-W. Provinces, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, the tension is not so great as in Bengal and Oude, but it is strong enough to prevent the co-operation of the classes concerned in the work of agricultural improvement.

*N.-W. Provinces.* Here, as in Bengal, the excessive assessments of the first 30 years of British rule (1802-1832) led to auction sales, and as a consequence, to extensive transfer of landed property, and to a wide disruption of old relations between the two classes. Between 1832-57, much was done to improve and strengthen the position of the tenant under the guidance of the able peasant proprietary school of the Provinces. "But," write the Government of India in their Despatch to the Secretary of State (March 1882) para 7, "the occurrences of 1857 drew attention in some places to the leaderless condition of the people; the sympathies between the mass of the agricultural population and their rulers were for some years disturbed by reminiscences of disorder and severity; the development of the country gave rise to hopes of European colonisation; and thus theories of land tenure, which were unfavorable to tenant right as being

an impediment to the free disposal of property, were advocated, in Lower Bengal on behalf of great European interests, and elsewhere, as coincident with political expediency" ( vide Correspondence on "the Law of Landlord and Tenant" in Bengal, p. 3. ). Act X of 1859 was more a landlords' than a tenants' Act, and between 1859 and 1873 the struggle between landlord and tenant reached an acute phase. Enhancement of rents and eviction became more frequent than ever, and the relations between the two classes were extremely strained. The Tenancy Act IX of 1873 did much to help the weaker party, but not enough. And the Act of 1881 had to be passed to check the arbitrary exercise of proprietary powers on the part of the landlords. The question has not yet been finally settled, and the classes continue their fight.

*Punjab.* The pre-mutiny settlement effected after the annexation of the Province, and modelled on that of the N.-W. Provinces, recognised tenant right, and invested a large portion of the cultivators with rights of occupancy. The post-mutiny arrangements, as carried out by the Settlement Commissioner, Mr. Edward Prinsep, in 1863, reduced most of these occupancy ryots to the position of tenants at will. Lord Lawrence, however, took up their cause, and aided in his efforts by J. S. Mill, succeeded in getting the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868 passed, which restored the dispossessed Ryots to their old status, and did much otherwise to assure tenant right. The Act, however, was regarded by the proprietors as a confiscatory piece of legislation, and the tension between the proprietors and tenants began to manifest itself freely. During 18 years (1868-1886), the proprietors did all they could to defeat the main purpose of the settlement, and weaken tenant right; ejectments were frequent, oppressive enhancements of rents were more frequent

still, and the position of the tenants grew worse. The Punjab Tenancy Act of 1886 sought to remedy the evil, in the words of the Lieutenant Governor of the Provinces, "by providing for the adjustment of occupancy rents by the standard of the Government revenue, and the adjustment of those rents by Government Officer at the time of settlement,". It also provided for the enlargement of occupancy rights. The contest between the classes is still far from closed, and there is the same stretching of legal powers on the one hand, and of legal rights on the other, as in the other Provinces.

*The Central Provinces.*—Here the economic conditions are still favorable to the tenant class, and the conflict is only just beginning. There are already signs of an endeavour on the part of the landlords to prevent fresh accruals of occupancy rights, and to narrow the existing area of such privileged tenures. A recent Amendment of the Central Provinces Land Revenue Bill (1889) provides a check upon the conversion of *rayats* into *sir* land, and the enlargement of *sir* rights by the free eviction of unprotected tenants. (vide the Hon. Sir R. J. Crosthwaite's speech, 1889, on the Bill).

Thus, all over this wide area, besides an extreme insecurity of tenures, there is raging with more or less intensity this social "war" (as the Hon. Mr. Quinton described it) between the landlords and the tenants. The recent Tenancy laws strengthen, no doubt, the weaker party in the struggle, but the struggle itself goes on as fiercely as ever. Legislation is alarmingly on the increase, particularly in Bengal; evictions and threats of evictions, and suits to enhance rents and prevent accrual of privileged occupancy rights, are more numerous than ever. The rents are already in many parts of this area at a ruinously high range; in Bengal, for instance, they are, according to Sir S. Bayley (vide his speech on the Tenancy Bill 1885), "so high that no

sufficient margin for subsistence is left to the Ryot, and a single bad season suffices to break him down." They are not "economic rents" but "competitive rents," imposed by the law of economic necessity upon a pauperised Cottier peasantry. The Ryot is so placed that he has nothing to gain by any amount of industry or prudence that he might practice, and nothing to lose by any amount of recklessness: he has nothing to hope, and being above all anxious not to be dispossessed of his few acres, he pays any rents rather than starve. "A situation more devoid of motives" to self-help and self-exertion can hardly be imagined.

This conflict in these Provinces is, under every aspect, a most deplorable conflict, and it is clear that as long as it continues, the path of agricultural advance must remain barred. Obviously, however, it is a forced and unnatural conflict between the classes whose interests are absolutely bound up together, and the sooner it ends, the better for the common good. Both the classes are the necessary component factors of the agrarian system and ought to live in peace and work in harmony. Each requires the help of the other, and agricultural progress must mainly depend on their hearty co-operation: without it, the future of the industry must remain doubtful. What is therefore most needed here is that the existing tension and antagonism as between landlord and tenant should cease, and be replaced by mutual sympathy and good will. We have every confidence in the good sense of both these classes, and hope and expect that the ruinous contest will before long end, and their mutual relations will be placed on a satisfactory footing. We are aware that there is a certain school of agrarian reformers in these Upper Provinces, who would go straight to the point, and simplify and solve the problem by abolishing altogether one of the parties to the

struggle—namely, the landlord-class, and that their view, revolutionary as it might seem, is not without some apparent warrant in the history of agrarian legislation and progress in Western Europe during the present century. But the conditions existent in India are so entirely different that we are convinced that any scheme of agrarian reform, framed on the false analogy of European methods, can only end in failure and mischief. From an economic, no less than from a political point of view, it would, in our opinion, be a most grave and disastrous error to weaken in any way the position, and diminish the power for good, of the Landlord-classes in Upper India, and leave a vast pauper tenantry, without help and without resource, face to face with a strong centralized Government, which claims the overlordship of the soil, and thinks it right, in the plenitude of its discretionary power, to assert that claim in a most aggressive and unsympathetic manner. There is close on a century's experience in Bombay and Madras, where such is virtually the position of the so-called peasant proprietary classes, to warn us against a repetition of the fatal error.

For, in these Presidencies, the condition of things is much worse than in Upper India. The old village-proprietary system (the Miras-mauzewari) no longer exists. The old Mirasdar who held his land on permanent tenure at fixed rates and shared with the brother Mirasdars of his native village the joint responsibility for the State-demand, has been levelled down to the *status* of a *upri* tenant holding his acres at the will of the State, and liable to ejection for default of payment of assessment. His old privileges are under the Survey Acts gone, and his assessment is subject to periodical revision by a Department which exists for the sole purpose of filling the public treasury, and which, by

its settlement operations, unsettles all relations. The Ryot is not allowed as against this Department, even the protection of the Civil Courts, like his brother of Northern India. He holds direct of the State, and there is no middleman and no complex structure of intermediary superior rights in the soil. The term of occupancy under the Ryotwari system is 30 years, but, even so, "there is strong proof" writes Sir J. Caird in his Report (p. 9), "that even a thirty years' settlement is not reckoned by the cultivator such a security as would lead him to spend any capital he may save on permanent improvements." The improving moral influence of this limited security of tenure is, however, more than neutralized by the growing sub-division of land—an evil already dwelt upon—on the one hand, and by the heavy enhancements of the State demand on the other. Over a large area of holdings, the assessments are such as seem perilously to trench even on the Ryots' subsistence fund. Speaking of the Deccan, Sir W. Hunter said (vide his speech on the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act, 1883), "the fundamental difficulty of bringing relief to the Deccan peasantry, as stated by the Chief Special Judge entrusted with the task is ~~that the Government~~ assessment does not ~~have~~ enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year." This brings us to a consideration of the last of the three causes to which we ascribe the absence of moral stimulus to improvement observable throughout the country—namely the system of Government assessments.

The question relating to the principles, the methods, and the working results of the land revenue administration in British India is one of the most contested, but at the same time one of the most important questions in the whole range of Indian economics, as bearing "on the relations of the State to

the occupiers of the soil," and, as "the country is essentially an agricultural country", going to the very root of our economic difficulties. On a most careful study of the subject, it appears to us impossible to resist the conviction that nothing has tended more in the past, and nothing leads more in the present, to the depression of our agricultural industry than the action of the State in this regard under the changed and changing economic conditions of the country. Western theories are recklessly applied to the facts of Indian life in all their logical rigour—theories suggested by a widely different range of economic experience, and at best of but qualified and local validity. That "the ownership of the soil in India vests in the State;" that "the land revenue of India is not tax but rent;" that "the unearned increment" belongs of right to the State as universal landlord,—these are the working theories of our Land Revenue Administration, and such revolutionary doctrines naturally result in a shipwreck of the peace and well-being of the entire rural population of the country. Mr. A. Harrington, in his able pamphlet on *Economic Reform in Rural India* (chapter I), writes:—"The shattered wrecks of rural happiness lie thick below the surface of village life in India. Too many of them have been caused not by famine, pestilence or the act of God, not by thriftless improvidence or Moghal rapacity, but by the extortions of past British Governments, by the blunders of past revenue administrations, by ignorance and arrogance in high places, and want of backbone and blind unquestioning subservience in docile drudges.....If any one doubts this, let him read the fiscal history of almost any district in India since it first came under the influence of British rule. Let him dip into Settlement Reports and selections from Revenue Records.



Let him study the history of British relations with Oudh since 1775. His doubts will not survive a few minutes' research."

The first theory we have to examine is based on the socialist idea of *State land-lordism*. This socialist theory is only an off-scouring of European economic heresies on the subject, and outside British India, finds its practical expression only in the *doctrinaire* land nationalization movement of our day. It has no logical foot-hold in the Aryan law and usage either of the West or of the East. *Private property in land* is by law and practice the recognised institution all over the civilized world, and tribal or clan ownership of land and its common cultivation is always recognized as an invariable index of a low state of civilization. At any rate, it is the most general and beneficial method of appropriation of what is no doubt "the original inheritance of the whole species." Hindu law is consistent in its entire conformity with this first requisite of organized society, and so are also the best traditions of Hindu rule. "Land throughout India," wrote J. S. Mill in a return presented to the House of Commons in 1857, "is generally private property, subject to the payment of revenue," and yet we find the dominant assumption of the Land Revenue Administration to be that "the land of a country belongs to the people of the country" in their collective capacity, and, therefore, to the State as their representative. The practical outcome of this "communistic" theory of the "territorial sovereignty" of the nation, as represented in the person of its Government, is the exaltation of the Kingly prerogative, which, being above the law, appropriates for the purposes of the State the largest proportion of the fruits of the soil and leaves to the cultivator little beyond the bare margin of subsistence. No doubt, in a memorable Despatch of Dec. 17, 1856, the Court of Directors condemned

this theory and the practice founded on it, pointing out "that the *right* of the Government is not a rent, which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the *profits* of agricultural stock, but a *land revenue* only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or *rent* to the occupier." But the Court's condemnation was of little avail, and only 4 years later, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Wilson, in his Financial Statement of 1860, told the Viceregal Council that "the land revenue in India is rent, and not a tax." The Famine Commissioners' Report contains the latest assertion of this dominant theory (Rep. page 90, Part II). The State in India thus claims the paramount overlordship of the land. It is jealous of private property in land and all private persons can only hold the land as superior or inferior occupants. If it recognises under-proprietary rights, it does so only in strict subordination to its own superior claim. The old *Mirasdār* of the country, holding his land in full proprietorship, subject to the *fixed* demand of the State—once the pride and strength of Rural India—is swept clean off the face of the Indian Continent, and we have in his stead the weak struggling Survey occupant Ryot of to-day, bent down under the weight of his burdens, heavy enough by reason of competition, and liable to still greater enhancement at the arbitrary discretion of the State—his Landlord—with the penalty of forfeiture, ejection and sale, hanging over his doomed head from year to year.

2ndly. The official advocates of this rent-theory of state landlordism, and under the shelter of the state, of the rights of superior holders, assert that the Landlord is entitled to the full economical or competition rental of the land, and the practice is not, only to take the "full rent" but a great deal more. In Upper India, the Zemindar heads of the

village communities, holding direct of the State, pay one half of the "true rent" to Government as land revenue; the cultivating tenants, holding of the zemindars, pay the "full rent" and more, which last is divided between the State and the zemindars in such proportions as the State chooses to fix at its own discretion. The State share is nominally fixed, under Sir C. Wood's instructions of 1864, at half the "net assets," the other half being left to the under-proprietors; but as the late Sir L. Mallet remarked, "the 50 p. c. of the net produce has been a mere paper instruction, a fiction which has had very little to do with the actual facts of the administration," and "in practice the rates levied have often absorbed the whole rental, and not unfrequently...encroached on profits also." In Bengal, under the Permanent Settlement, the Government demand was originally fixed at  $\frac{1}{11}$ th of the net rental (vide Reg. of 1793), but is now believed to be about  $\frac{1}{3}$ th of it; the zemindar's rents, according to the late Mr. Kristodas Pal, amount in the Western Districts to no less than  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the gross produce of the soil, in Behar to "from 7 to 9 annas in the rupee". In the other Provinces of Upper India, the Government share—a moiety of the net assets—is estimated at  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the gross produce,  $\frac{1}{6}$ th being allowed to the under-Proprietors. Thus, the Punjab Revenue Act of 1871 (XXXII) "declares the Government to be entitled to a share of the produce of the land to be fixed by itself," and "this share has recently been fixed by the Local Government at  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the gross produce (vide Punjab Government's letter, Finance Com. Rep. App.). In the N-W. Provinces, the Local Government write that "the average rent taken by the land owner of these Provinces from the cultivator of the soil is believed to be equivalent to a share of the gross produce, lying somewhere between  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and  $\frac{1}{4}$ th. . . . Government takes half the net assets, and the proportion of the

demand to gross produce on the above calculation lies between  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$ th." In Madras, the assessment is fixed at "a moiety of the net produce of the soil, commuted into money at an average of the prices ruling during a certain number of antecedent years" The ratio of the State demand to gross produce is thus explained in the Madras "Standing Information" (1879) p. 115 :—"The principle on which the land-tax of Rayatwari districts is at present undergoing revision and re-settlement preceded by a scientific survey, is that it should in no case exceed 40 p. c. of the gross produce in the case of lands for which irrigation is provided at Government cost, or one-third of the gross produce in the case of lands not so irrigated. These proportions are found to be nearly equal to half the net produce." In Bombay, the method is, writes Mr. W. G. Pedder in his "Memo on land settlement," "avowedly an empirical one;" the assessment being based on a consideration of the general course of prices and previous revenue history, with special reference to the value of the land in point of soil, water supply and situation. All over the country, the actual cultivator takes half the gross produce as his labour share, and the other half represents the owner's share, but the owner has to pay the Government demand therefrom and this demand too often absorbs the whole of the owner's share, and on an average is equal to half the owner's share. So great an authority as Sir Bartle Frere admitted that "the State often takes a full rent even when it professes and believes itself to be taking a mere land tax or share of that rent," and we believe that the Government demand in this Presidency varies between  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and  $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the gross produce of the soil. In Surat, the revised rates, as the tests showed in 19 different cases, represent, according to official estimates, " $\frac{1}{2}$ th;" according to the headmen of the villages  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the gross produce (vide Campbell's vol. for Surat pages 494-5.) The position, then, on the whole stands thus:—

The Ryots have to pay as rent or tax

		in Madras	$\frac{2}{3}$ th to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd	Gross produce.
Do,	do.	Bombay	$\frac{1}{3}$ rd to $\frac{1}{4}$ th	do.
The cultivating,	tenants in	Bengal	$\frac{2}{3}$ th to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd	do.
Do.	do.	Punjab	$\frac{1}{3}$ rd	do.
Do.	do.	N.-W. Provinces	$\frac{1}{3}$ rd to $\frac{1}{4}$ th	do.
		Central Provinces		
		and Oude		

Statistically, taking peasant proprietors and under tenants separately, the position may be re-exhibited as under :—

A.—Peasant Proprietors, holding on 30 years tenure and paying land revenue only.

Province.	No. of such proprietors in millions.	Ratio of Payment to gross produce.	Remarks.
Punjab.....	2-981	$\frac{1}{4}$ th or 16 p. c.	4-063 million peasant proprietors who till their own lands, pay 12-16 p. c. of the gross produce of the soil as tax.
N.-W. Provinces.	1-066	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ th or 16 to 12 p. c.	
C. Provinces ...	0-056	$\frac{1}{3}$ th or 16 p. c.	
Bombay .....	1-265	$\frac{1}{3}$ rd to $\frac{1}{4}$ th or 33 to 20 p. c.	5-548 pay from 40 to 20 p. c. of gross produce.
Madras.....	4-281	$\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ or 40 to 33 p. c.	

B.—Cultivating tenants, holding on varying terms and paying rent to the Under-proprietors.

Province.	No. of such cultivating tenants.	Periods of lease (for occupancy tenants only.)	Rates of rent to gross produce.	Remarks.
Punjab.....	1-640	5 years	$\frac{1}{3}$ ' or 33 p. c.	7-089 millions pay from 33 to 25 p. c. of the gross produce.
N.-W. Provinces.....	2-700	10 years	$\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ or 33 to 25 p. c.	
C. Provinces...	0-941	20 to 10 years	$\frac{1}{3}$ or 33 p. c.	
Oude .....	1-808	5 years	$\frac{1}{3}$ or 33 p. c.	9-825 from 60 to 20 p. c.
Bengal.....	9-825	15 to 5 years	$\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ or 60 to 33 p. c.	

Roughly speaking, then, we may say that the Ryot's payments in India for his land as rent or revenue amount on an average to between  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and  $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of the gross produce of the soil. This ratio of rent or assessment to gross produce in this country compares as under with that prevailing elsewhere: (the figures are taken from Mulball's Dictionary p. 266.)

Country.	Value of gross produce per acre in £.	Rent in shillings per acre.	Ratio of rent to gross produce.
U. Kingdom.....	£ 33	20s. or £1	1/33
France.....	36	24 or 1.2	1/30
Germany.....	25	18 or .9	1/28
Russia.....	3	2 or .1	1/30
Austria.....	15	8 or .4	1/38
Italy.....	22	11 or .55	1/40
Spain.....	18	5 or .25	1/72
Portugal.....	25	8 or .4	1/62
Belgium.....	48	30 or 1.5	1/32
Holland.....	42	30 or 1.5	1/28
Denmark.....	32	24 or 1.2	1/27
Sweden.....	12	5 or .25	1/48
Norway.....	11	4 or .2	1/55
Greece.....	18	12 or .6	1/30
Europe.....	20	8 or .4	1/50
India.....	£ 1.8 (Fa mine Comrs. estimate.)	12'-9" or 6 to 45	1/3 - 1/4

The table speaks for itself. While the European farmer pays as rent on an average  $\frac{1}{30}$ th of gross produce, varying from  $\frac{1}{27}$  in Denmark to  $\frac{1}{72}$  in Spain, the Indian Ryot is condemned to part with a share of the scanty gross produce

of his little plot of land fully amounting to  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  as rent or assessment; and yet official optimists like Sir Richard Temple have the courage to tell the world that Ramji bin Raoji is the lightest taxed farmer in all the world !

We shall next inquire what is the economical character of these so called Rent payments? They are not Ricardo's farmer's rents as regulated by considerations of economic profit, nor even customary rents, such as prevail elsewhere in the East, but Cottier tenants' rents, pure and simple, as determined by the severest competition. We have no "economic rents," because there is no capitalist farming here, and what the Rent Law Commission, write of Bengal (Rep. vol I. P. 19) applies to all India. "There is little or no capital" say they, "employed in agriculture unless we include under this term the commonest agricultural implements, the seed grain necessary to produce the next years' crop, the food necessary for the cultivator's subsistence till the next harvest, and, it may be, a small stock laid by against the year of famine that is sure to come round in the cycle of seasons. The immediate object of cultivation is *subsistence on wages of labour, not profit on capital invested*. As regards customary rents, it has to be observed that the salutary unwritten law of the East in pre-British periods served effectively to keep down the rents in India, and insure (like the Ulster tenant right) "a permanence of tenure in the same occupant without liability to any other increase of rent than might happen to be sanctioned by the general sentiments of the Community." Under British rule this custom ceased to exercise any such moderating influence ; and competition is now with us, though under restrictive legislation, the sole regulator of the Ryot's payments. And competition for the land in this country, under conditions of a growing

population and a vanishing margin of cultivable waste, coincidentally with a failure of non-agricultural industries, is so severe and intense that the Ryot, sooner than part with his acres which afford him the only means of subsistence, agrees to any terms the State or private Landlord may choose to dictate, "which do not involve starvation", and the result is, that his rents are being forced up to a height so ruinous as to leave him only the barest necessities of life, if even that much. We have already quoted the opinion of Sir S. Bayley about the crushing pressure of rents in Bengal; the figures are painfully interesting.

In 1793 (the year of the Permanent Settlement).

Cultivated area, 66 p. c. }

Cultivable do. 33 p. c. }

Rental..... 3.13 crores.

In 1885

Cultivated area, 91 p. c.

Cultivable waste, 9 p. c.

Rental.....16 crores \*

Thus rents have risen 400 p. c., while extension of cultivation has been only 25 p. c. and prices have risen 75 p. c. only during the past 100 years.

In Bombay, Dr. Pollen, sometime Special Judge, Poona, writes:—"In average years the ordinary Deccan Ryot does not get enough from the produce of his fields to pay the Government assessment and to support himself and his family throughout the year." In Kurnool (Madras), according to Mr. Benson, Assistant Director of Agriculture, the gross income of the Ryots is about Rs. 9 a year—an income which "represents an earning of about 1.7 lbs. of grain per diem at the average of the district prices," and yet they pay their assessment! The same is the case,



writes the *Pioneer*, "in many districts in India" (vide its review of Mr. Benson's Report on Kurnool.)

Thus with a tenure so uncertain, and with a rent charge so oppressively heavy as scarcely to leave him even a bare margin for support, what motive, we may ask, can the Indian Ryot have for exertion and improvements, what incentive to thrift, prudence, and self-help? But his difficulties do not end here. As things are, he has no assurance even of the scanty pittance which he at present earns from his few acres. Enhancements in prospect under Tenancy Acts in Upper India and assessment revisions by the Survey and settlement Department all the country over excepting Bengal and part of Madras, hang over his head *in terrorem*, and darken his horizon. And there is the economic theory of the *unearned increment*, cut and dry to hand, to be employed to justify this double increase in the State Landlord's demands upon his diminishing "subsistence fund."

This theory of the *unearned increment* appears to us as illogical as it is mischievous, as applied to the economic facts of this country. As a scientific theory, it professes to rest on a consideration of the general *dynamical* movement of society, but carries its own logical contradiction by assuming a *statical* condition of the ownership of the soil. The assumption is a pure hypothesis, and is opposed to the general laws of social progression. Were land to remain for ever in the same hands, while society multiplies and progresses in every other respect, an *unearned increment* would no doubt accrue to the old possessors, as population should advance and industry expand, and with both, demand for food and other agricultural produce grow. But such a condition of things is nowhere known to exist. Landed property, like every other species of property is subject to the sociological law of flux and change, and is changing hands with more or less

frequency; and with every such change of possession, it is evident that the so-called "unearned increment" in its value, due to the operation of general causes, must disappear, as each incoming holder pays to the outgoing for all its full value—earned and unearned alike. It is true, where, as in England, the land is centred in the hands of a few individuals, and law, usage, and economic conditions, are all favourable to permanence of propertyed possession, such transfers of landed property must be of less frequent occurrence than elsewhere, and an "unearned" increment to a limited extent does no doubt accrue to the lineal descendants of the old Landlords. But no such increment can arise in a country like India, where social arrangements and economic changes strongly favour division and transference of property. To see the extent and frequency of such changes in this country, we have only to turn to Table E of the Agricultural Statistics of British India for 1888-9. Under Transfers of landed property during 1888-9, we find the following figures:—

Madras .....	428,449	acres	} Total = 4,061,490 acres
N. W. P. ....	364,221	"	
Uda .....	640,185	"	
Punjab .....	1,660,627	"	
Central P. ...	968,008	"	

(Bombay and Bengal give no returns).

The economic significance of these figures may be thus set forth :—

Province.	Total cropped area in acres.	Area transferred in a single year in acres.	Period of complete transfer.	Period of rent settlement and revision assessments.	
				Govt. assessments.	Rents.
Madras .....	23,157,408	428,447	54 years.	30 yrs.	—
N. W. P. ...	24,829,969	364,221	70 "	...	10
Oudh .....	8,857,670	640,185	14 "	...	5
Punjab .....	20,720,695	1,660,627	12 "	...	5
Central Provinces .....	13,870,050	968,008	14 "	20 yrs.	20 & 10 years.
	91,435,792	4,061,490	22.5 yrs		

Thus over this vast area, viewed as a whole, we have a complete change, on the basis of last year's figures, in the occupying ownership of the soil every 22½ years ; while the Government assessments are revised every 30 and 20 years, and enhancements of rents are allowed in Upper India at much shorter intervals ; so that before the settlement or revision cycle is over, lands completely change hands more than once. Over particular areas, the state of things is still more striking ; in Punjab, e. g., land changes hands 2½ times, in Oude more than twice, during the currency of the settlement. Under such circumstances, it is clear, that no such " unearned increment" in the value of land as the economic theory contemplates can accrue, which the landlords or the State in the name of the community can be justified in appropriating. And, yet, rents and assessments are being continually enhanced all over the country under the influence of this false economic doctrine.

As regards *rents* in Bengal, the Tenancy Act of 1885

allows enhancements to the amount of 2 annas in the rupee or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  p. c. every 15 years for occupancy tenants, or 25 p. c. every 30 years ; in the other Provinces, we believe a similar limit is recommended, but not statutorily prescribed. As to enhancements of assessments, there is no legislative limitation, and the executive Government is allowed an unfettered discretion in the matter. In Bombay, the limits of 33, 50, and 100 p. c. enhancement of the assessments of Taluka, village and holdings above the original demand, first adopted by Government for the Deccan in 1874, is now the rule for the revision of all settlements of which the time expires after 1883-4 (vide Sir J. B. Peile's speech 1886) ; but Lord Reay explained the point thus :—" whatever conditions are imposed on reclassification and on reassessment, the determination of the amount of land revenue to be paid for Imperial and for Provincial purposes rests with the Government in its executive capacity. The Secretary of State may at any time alter the instructions given by him as to the 33 p. c. limit " ; for, as Lord Hobhouse said, " In India, the land revenue is levied at the discretion of the ruler," or as the Famine Commission remarked, " by immemorial and unquestioned prescription, the Government is entitled to receive from the occupier of the land whatever portion it requires of the surplus profit left after defraying the expenses of cultivation." And " this is a principle," said Sir J. B. Peile, " with which we can assent to no interference whatever." In the other Provinces, things are not at all better ordered. At this very moment, assessments on revision are being enhanced by 60 and 70 p. c. in the Punjab and the Central Provinces. The result of revised settlements during 24 years for 1856 to 1879 is thus summed up in the Government of India's reply to Sir J. Caird's Report on the condition of India (p. 39).

Province.	Old assessment.	New assessment.	Difference	Percentage.
N.-W. Provinces .....	8 32 lakhs	379 lakhs.	47 lakhs.	14.1
Oude .....	105 "	144 "	38 "	37.0
C. Provinces.....	52 "	59 "	7 "	13.8
Panjab .....	173 "	180 "	6 "	3.9
Orissa .....	16 "	17 "	7 "	4.3
Madras .....	148 "	157 "	8 "	5.5
Bombay .....	140 "	172 "	32 "	23.0
Mysore.....	30 "	33 "	3 "	10
Berars .....	51 "	66 "	15 "	29
	10.50 lacks.	12.10 lacks.	159 lacks.	15.2

"Thus," say the Government of India, "more than half the land revenue of India came under revision, and the fiscal result of the resettlements was an increase of 1,597,670 (or about 15 p. c. on the Government demand.

The Government of India Resolution of 1882 on the subject of resettlements lays down three grounds of enhancement, viz "extension of cultivation, increase of produce due to improvements made by the state, and rise of prices." Similar grounds for enhancements of rents are allowed in the Tenancy Acts of Northern India. Now as regards *extension of cultivation*, we think with the Bengal Rent Law Commission that "it is misnamed a ground of enhancement", for when more land is put under crops, the total demand is increased but not the *rate of payment* leviable. As to State improvements—(canals and railways), the irrigation rate, levied for the water supplied, is in most parts of the country Rs. 3 per acre or 10 p. c. on the value of the crops raised, according to official estimates.—This is not a low rate certainly, and there is no justification for raising the rates generally because a canal has been constructed. While in regard to *Railways*, the

effect of improved communications is fully reflected in the rise of the level of prices. But the chief ground relied upon for raising both rents and assessments is "rise of prices." "Enhancement," said Sir J. B. Peile in his speech above referred to, "is justified by the commercial history of the past 30 years." To our mind, however, it furnishes no such justification, and this test is the most fallacious of any. The history of prices in this country has three well marked periods.

*First period*—(1800-1853) a continuous decline with violent oscillations, due to depletion of specie, absence of communications and but little foreign trade, besides political unrest and climatic variations.

*Second Period* (1853—1870) A rise, consequent on expansion of foreign trade, development of communications &c. under the law of *international equation* of prices.

*Third Period* (since 1870)—Both a rise and a fall; a fall in regard to our staple exports &c. rise in respect of the staple food grains of the country. The following few figures will illustrate this phase, as taken from "Prices and Wages in India.



of international trade, but stimulate it by our compulsory exports, expanding with our expanding foreign liabilities, which are used to keep down the general level. The result is that while the Ryot has to put more and more acres under special export crops, and to ship larger and larger quantities, he has to be content with diminishing returns. Turning to the rise in the prices of food grains, the explanation seems to be this:— There is little or no margin of profit now left over large areas of cultivable waste ; there is no agricultural improvement ; the soil, under an exhausting system of agriculture, is fast deteriorating ; and besides, more land has to be given to nonfood-crops year after year to support an increasing export ; and yet as population is advancing, the local demand for food is growing *pari passu*. Thus, decrease of production, concurrently with a growing demand, accounts to our mind for the rising prices of the staple food grains of the country. But what does it mean ? What else but that the Ryot, growing less and less food-corn, has less and less to part with.

Thus either way, in respect of the recent course of prices, the Ryot is a loser : while his exports bring him smaller and smaller returns, his home supply of food grains, through compulsory transfer of more and more acres from food grains to export crops, and other causes, is steadily diminishing,—a diminution which is reflected in the size of food grains ; and, yet, strange as it may seem, it is this rise in the prices of food grains—chiefly due to decreasing production—that is officially urged as a ground of enhancement in regard to the Ryot's rents and assessments.

But if the Ryot is so heavily weighted in regard to prices, how does it happen, it will be asked, that he agrees to pay enhanced rents and assessments ? No Ricardian farmer would do so. We reply, he does so under cruel economic necessity



which leaves him no alternative. So keen and so fierce is the struggle for the possession of land owing to advancing population on the one hand, and on the other, to a contraction of non-agricultural industries, coincidently with a narrowed and narrowing margin of cultivable waste, that the Ryot is placed entirely at the mercy of the land-lord, and preferring to face a deterioration in his standard of life rather than sink into the condition of a landless labourer, he submits to any terms "not involving starvation" (vide on this point Sir H. Davies' remarks quoted by Sir J. Strachey in his speech in the Oude Rent Bill of 1867). The evils of such "fierce contention" for land among vast cottier rural populations in a purely agricultural country have been officially recognised, and the recent Tenancy Acts of Northern India contain restrictive provisions limiting the landlord's power to enhance rents as well as the Ryot's power to enter into ruinous contracts to his own prejudice; but the State Landlord admits no such limitation to its executive discretion in respect of revision of assessments, and an express provision is inserted in the Tenancy laws, allowing readjustment of rents with every revision of assessments.

It is this "forced increment" and not the unearned increment of Western Political Economy—in the renting value of land—so rendered possible by reason of the Ryot's submitting to a continual fall-off in his standard of life, that it is sought to get at by enhancements of rents and assessments. Neither the State-landlord nor the zemindar seems to recognize that the end of such a struggle for an increase of payment so carved out of the Ryot's diminishing "corn heap" must be, in the words of Sir H. Davies, "to the landlord, a shrunken rent-roll and deteriorated property, to the country a degraded and desperate peasantry." The State forgets, in the words of the Duke

of Argyll, "that the best wealth of a Government is to be found in the growing wealth of its people ;"—the Zemindar, forgets that "it is a short-sighted policy" to rack-rent the tenantry, and keep them ever at a starvation point.

And it is for fear of losing this unholy and ruinous "increment" that the State still declines to settle its revenue demands upon the land in perpetuity. And following the example of the State, the Zemindars of Upper India strain every nerve to prevent the accrual of occupancy rights, and abolish such rights where they exist. Only recently a check has had to be placed by statute upon the efforts of the Malgujars of the Central Provinces to convert *Ryotti* land into *Sir* land. Under the influence of the self-same fear, the Government, after destroying the *Mirasdari* tenure in Southern and Western India, set at naught the instructions contained in Sir C. Wood's Despatches of 1862, as to a permanent settlement of the State demand on the land, though repeated in Sir S. Northcote's Despatch of 1867. These orders have been summarily held in abeyance for the past 25 years and more, as involving an "undue sacrifice of prospective revenue," which, Government, it is urged, as trustee for the whole community, cannot be justified in making for the benefit of a section. Would that the tillers of the soil were a section and a small section of the population ! It is conveniently forgotten, however, that the tillers of the soil number 86 p. c. of that community, and it is this 86 p. c. of the population who are made to suffer for the benefit of the remaining 16 per cent. Broad national considerations of equity and economic safety are, under the sway of fiscal greed, put aside, and the tiller of the soil is still denied the boon of a permanent settlement of the State demand.

Nor, again, are the Ryot's private improvements alto-

gether safe from the tax-collector's hand. In Bombay, alone, is there a nominal legislative guarantee, under the Land Revenue Code, provided against the taxation of such improvements; but here, too, a saving clause is added, permitting of their assessment on revision, "with reference to the value of any natural advantage, where the improvement effected from private capital and resources consists only in having created the means of utilizing such advantage". Accordingly, all over Gujerath and in other parts, assessment rates on revision have been and are being enhanced "in consideration of the water bearing properties of the soil," whether the Ryot avails of them or not. In Madras, there is a Standing Executive order—not having the force of law—"that the assessment on lands on which wells and other improvements have been constructed by the owners or occupants at their own cost shall not be enhanced at a future settlement, except on the ground of a general revision of the district rates." In the Central Provinces, no definite rules are yet laid down, and oftener than not, the Ryot's improvements are taxed. In the N.-W. Provinces, Oude and Punjab, the principle adopted is what is known as the "recoupment" principle, which is, as Sir S. Bayley explained it in the Debate in the Viceregal Council on the Land Improvement Loans Bill of 1883, that the improver is allowed to be "recouped" for all his original outlay, before his improvements are taxed. When the improver is thus recouped, the State, as joint proprietor, asserts "its right to a share in the improved produce of the soil." In the Punjab, the maker of a new well is "protected for 20 years," and repairers of old wells and diggers of water courses for 10 years "from enhancement on account of the irrigation so provided," it being assumed that the profits in these periods "recoup the outlay and compensate the improver," whose improvements thereafter become liable to be taxed. If non-

taxation of such improvements were adopted as a rigid rule on the subject, the result would be, as the Lieutenant-Governor in the course of the Debate (1883) pointed out, that "the past assessments would have to be forced down to the level of assessments on unirrigated land" at "a loss probably of *one third* of our revenue." In the N. W. Provinces, the same "recoupment" principle was adopted in 1872, but, of course, without retrospective effect, and with this difference that the fixation of the period of recoupment was left to the discretion of settlement officers. A similar rule has been recently laid down in Oude, which runs thus: "That lands irrigated from masonry wells or otherwise permanently improved by land holders at their own cost will be so assessed that no extra demand will be made from the land holders who have constructed the wells or works until they shall have recovered their outlay thereon, including capital and reasonable interest." Thus here, too, we have the theory of State landlordism, riding rough-shod over private rights, asserted in the administration of the land revenue. Sir T. Hope puts the case as one of "mutual rights," saying that "if it was reasonable that the occupier of land, who-soever he might be, should get a full and fair return for any capital which he might invest in improvements, it was equally reasonable to secure to the owner his rights for any natural advantages, which his property might possess, and which had not already been discounted by the rent imposed upon the occupier." (Vide also on this point Sir G. Wingate's note). The argument is thus put:—"There are two factors in the result's of all improvement, namely, the expenditure of the tenants' capital and labor, and the inherent qualities of the soil"; in the case of fully cultivated land, this second factor does not constitute "an appreciable element in the calculation of the value of a tenant's improvement," (vide Lord Ripon's speech, 1883); but in parts of the country where extensive areas are still await-

ing reclamation, "the inherent qualities of the land are the principal factor, the outlay of the occupier is a much more limited factor, and the true mode of dealing with cases of that kind seems to be the adoption of the English principle of "improvement leases;" any other arrangement would result in a useless sacrifice of the prospective financial resources of the state" (the Hon. Mr. Quinton's speech). The whole of the revenue system in the Panjab has been built upon this principle, and it would never do now, said the Lieutenant Governor, "to exempt in future all new wells from the higher assessment." The settlement officers, however, complain that it is not always possible to distinguish between these two factors in land improvement, and the result may be thus stated in the words of Mr. V. Smith, in his Settlement officer's manual for the North-Western Provinces, page 13, quoted by Mr. Harrington in his *Economic Reform in Rural India* Chap. II:—"It is to be feared that the instruction of the Directors to refrain from taxing unexhausted improvement has often been lost sight of, and I cannot find any mention of respect shown for such improvements except in Mr. S. M. Moen's Settlement Report for Bareilly, and Mr. C. A. Elliott's Rent rate Report for Shamsabad and Kaingaro in Farkabad." The North-Western Provinces Government, in their despatch of March 2, 1874, say:—"This principle of respecting improvements made by the owner has been laid down in theory in the settlement directions for these Provinces, and endeavour is no doubt sometimes made to give effect to it in more marked and exceptional cases; but as a rule, it is lost sight of, and it is probably impossible under our existing system of settlement to give it any thing approaching full effect" (the italics are ours). And this also is the case elsewhere.

Thus, from the foregoing summary of facts relating to

tenures, rents and assessments, revision of assessments and rents, and taxation of improvements, it will be seen that the conditions in all these respects, at present existing in this country, are such as to leave to the actual cultivator of the soil but little motive to exert and to improve. His tenure is uncertain, the leases varying from 30 years in Madras and Bombay to 5 years in Oude and Punjab, his rents and assessment are so oppressively high as to leave him barely a margin for support,—and hardly even that in Bengal and the Deccan; they are further liable to enhancement at the pleasure of the State and the private landlord, concurrently with his diminishing “corn-heap” and consequently dearer food grains; nor, further, are his private improvements left untaxed, if he makes any. Under such circumstances, he feels absolutely no interest—and we ask what tenant would?—in the land he tills, and no motive for improvement, and is practically little better than a predial serf working for his bread,—a mere *adscriptus glebæ*, bound to his acres which he cannot quit—such are the economic conditions prevailing in this country,—under penalty of starvation. He has nothing to hope, and but little to gain by any amount of exertion or prudence, and lives in constant fear of being dispossessed of his holding. “A situation,” in the words of J. S. Mill, “more devoid of motives to either labour or self command, imagination itself cannot conceive. The inducements of free human beings are taken away, and those of a slave, not substituted”. Thus circumstanced, those who would find fault with him for his indifference to improvement, and impute the backwardness of Indian Agriculture and the want of energy of the Indian Ryot in improving his condition to a peculiar indolence and want of energy in the Indian races, would do well to ponder over what J. S. Mill says of the Irish peasantry. “Of all vulgar modes,” writes the great English philosopher, “of escaping from the

consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences. What race would not be indolent and *insouciant*, when things are so arranged that they derive no advantage from forethought and exertions?" (Pol. Econ. Bk. II, Chap. IX., para. 3.)

And here we would, for the present, close.

swayed in their denunciation of Lord Reay by a love for the purity of the administration of justice! However they succeeded amazingly in their new capacity. They denounced and induced others to denounce the Bombay Government, with indignation more feigned than real, for the guarantee given to the witnesses, declaring the guarantee to be immoral and illegal and therefore unworthy of consideration, and demanded the instantaneous removal from office of men who had confessed to the payment of money to Mr. Crawford. The Secretary of State was won over or was frightened into falling in with their views by threats of raising damaging questions in Parliament; and months after the guarantee had been given and recognized tacitly or expressly by the India Office and after it had completely answered its purpose, the Secretary of State turned round and insisted upon setting aside the solemn and re-iterated pledge of the Bombay Government! Lord Reay argued, appealed and offered even to resign rather than see his word falsified, and the pledge violated. The Secretary of State however was not to be shaken from his purpose. Lord Reay was backed, but in vain, by many members of the Covenanted Civil Service of long standing and wide experience, who took the unusual step of sending up to the Secretary of State their remonstrances, in order that the threatened calamity of "a breach of faith in the Queen's name" might be averted. The counsel of high statesmen of the type of Lord Herschell and Prof. Bryce similarly proved of no avail. The matter was taken out of the hands of the Bombay Government and placed into those of the Government of India. It was evident that Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues at heart sympathised with the Bombay Government in the false and embarrassing situation in which it was placed by the Secretary of State. But they dared not disobey him and passed the Indemnity Bill in the face of a vigorous and universal protest.



from the Native Community, not merely in this Presidency but throughout the length and breadth of India, to shield the incriminated witnesses, not from the real danger which threatened them, but from an imaginary mishap. Fancy distinctions were made, and some 15 persons were dismissed from the Service in the face of the solemn pledge given to them in the name of the British Government, while 13 others, whose cases were not materially dissimilar, were allowed to remain in Government employment. The only redeeming feature in the treatment accorded to these betrayed men is that though dismissed from office, they are to draw their full salaries as compensation, till they reach the age of 55 years, when they will be pensioned off at half rate, as though they had continued in the Government service; and even this partial fulfillment of the guarantee was due solely to the exertions of Lord Reay in their behalf.

The curtain, however, has not yet dropped over this shameful part of the Crawford Drama. There are many persons both here and in England, who most deeply feel the disgrace and the danger involved in such a breach of faith as the present one; and they are determined not to let the affair rest where it now is. The whole matter is at present in the hands of Mr. Bradlaugh, and this in itself is a guarantee that we may expect to hear more of it soon.

Before passing on to other topics, we may be permitted to say that there are more lessons than one which we may learn even from this Crawford episode. In the first place, we see the efficacy for good or for evil of persistent agitation. A small band of Mr. Crawford's friends was, by its persistent efforts—albeit in an unrighteous cause,—able to thwart justice even when the strength of the Bombay Government was enlisted in its support. We also see how difficult it is even for

an honest and well-meaning Government to bring European offenders of position to book. Thirdly, even when the guilt of a European is notorious, if a native stands up to drag it before the light of day, his chances of being believed are little better than hopeless.

Another incident, similar to the Crawford affair, but far less far reaching in its consequences, that occurred during the last five years, was the Cambay affair, known as the Wilson case. The facts of this case were briefly these : Mr. Wilson, an English Civilian, who had the political supervision of Cambay, was charged with having made a most hideous and revolting proposal to Mr. Lad, the Divan of Cambay, compromising the honour of Mr. Lad's daughter, Thereupon a Commission consisting of Messrs. Moore and Naylor of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed to enquire into the charge. Both sides were represented by counsel. After a careful investigation, both the Commissioners came to the conclusion that the charge was proved. The Bombay Government, guided by the late lamented Sir Maxwell Melville, concurred in the view. Mr. Wilson, however, it would seem, had influential friends in the India Council ; and the Secretary of State, therefore, chose in this instance to " disturb " the verdict of the Commissioners, endorsed as it was by the Local Government, and pronounced Mr. Wilson not guilty. Lord Reay, however, had done his duty ; and though the Secretary of State did not support him his Lordship earned by his conduct the good will of the Native community, and what was of greater worth, the approbation, of his own conscience.

These two incidents—not to mention other more trivial ones, such as the administering of official rebuke to insolent Civilians,—showed beyond all shadow of doubt that one of the very first aims of Lord Reay in his ad-

ministration of the Presidency was to hold the balance even between the Native and the European—an aim which at once explains his Lordship's popularity with the Native community and his unpopularity with a large section of his own countrymen. In spite of all professions of theoretical equality, members of the ruling race can ill brook the idea of the natives being in reality treated as their equals; and it is therefore the lot of rulers of the type of Lord Ripon and Lord Reay, who attempt to give practical recognition to the principle of equality embodied in the Parliamentary enactment of 1833 and the noble Proclamation of 1858, to incur the inevitable displeasure and hostility of a numerous body of Anglo-Indians. This unpopularity of a ruler with the Anglo-Indian Community has, however, unfortunately become an adequate measure of his sympathy with the Native population of India. And thus it happens that while one ruler endears himself to the Natives by his sympathetic rule, and another to the Anglo-Indians by his domineering policy, one who would please both parties alike is, at present at any rate, an unknown quantity in the country.

Another feature of Lord Reay's administration, which won for him the confidence and gratitude of the people of this country was his conscientious discharge of duty in connection with the appointments to the Bombay Legislative Council. Mr. Hume wrote on a recent occasion that throughout the whole length of his experience, he knew no other Government that made such happy nominations; and the compliment was as well-deserved as it was high. All the best men in the Presidency, men of culture, of experience, of political insight, men recognized by all as the trusted leaders of the people, found a seat in the Bombay Legislative Council during the last five years. We refer to the selections of Dadabhai Naoroji, M. G. Ranade, Badruddin Tayabji,

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## THE DUTY ON SALT.

The following memorial, praying for a reduction of the duty on Salt, was submitted to the Government of India in December last.

No. 746.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS, POONA.

23rd December 1890.

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
*Financial Department,*

CALCUTTA.

SIR,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to respectfully submit for the favourable consideration of H. E. the Governor-General in Council this humble representation, praying that in view of the large and gratifying improvement which has now taken place in the financial position and prospects of the country, as disclosed in the Financial Statement of Sir David Earbourn for 1890-91 and the Indian Budget speech of Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons in August last, the Government of India will be pleased to reduce, at the time of making the budget arrangements for the next year, the duty on salt in Continental India from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 a maund, and thus give the benefit of the improved state of the finances to the 'silent, struggling' masses

of the country, who need relief so much beyond any other class of the population.

2. The Committee of the Sabha take this opportunity, in the first instance, to express on behalf of the Native public their satisfaction at the bold declaration of policy made by the Government of India in their reply to a representation submitted by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce for an early repeal of the Income Tax in preference to a reduction of the salt duties. The views there set forth have assured the country that the Government of India are fully alive to the relative claims of the comparatively wealthy minority who pay the Income Tax and of the masses who are all compelled to pay the heavy salt duty, to consideration in the choice of an equitable reduction of their burdens.

3. When nearly three years ago the Government of India suddenly raised the duty on salt in Continental India from Rs. 2 to Rs 2-8 a maund, the Sabha took the earliest opportunity to submit its respectful but emphatic protest both against the policy of the measure and against the manner in which it was announced. The Sabha then urged in regard to the policy of the measure that (a) as a means of securing financial equity in the distribution of public burdens, the measure was unfair to the masses of the population who were already contributing more than their fair share towards the expenses of the country, and (b) that the enhancement would have a restrictive effect upon the consumption of salt, and that this restriction of the consumption of so absolute a necessary of life would inflict severe privation on millions of poor people. These apprehensions have unfortunately been confirmed by the experience of the last three years and the enhancement has, the Committee of the Sabha regret to observe, entailed serious suffering on the poor people of this country.

4. When the salt duties were enhanced by the Government of Lord Dufferin from Rs. 2 to 2-8 a maund, the finances of the country were in a greatly embarrassed position. An abnormally low rate of exchange (*1s. 4-9d. a rupee*), coupled with a heavy extraordinary military expenditure in Upper Burmah and on the N.W. Frontier had caused a deficit of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees, with but a faint and doubtful prospect of improvement. The circumstances were such as

necessitated, in the opinion of Government, additional taxation to bring about an equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of the country; and although the enhancement of the salt duties, ordered by the Government of India with a view to tide over the crisis, did not recommend itself to the approval of the people, the country accepted the position and reconciled itself to the enhanced impost, though it was a heavy and unfair burden to millions of the poor and already overtaxed masses. That financial position is now completely altered. Exchange to-day stands at considerably over Rs. 6½d. a rupee, with little danger of its ever going down to the old level. Upper Barmah, too, has now well-nigh reconciled itself to the new order of things and is rapidly improving, financially and otherwise. The year 1889-90 closed with the magnificent surplus of Rs. 3,600,500. And for the current year, the expected surplus, according to official estimates, which invariably err considerably on the side of caution, is Rs. 1,870,000. The financial outlook may, therefore, now well be said to be very favourable, and the people not unreasonably expect that Government will take an early opportunity to take off from the shoulders of the masses the additional burden put upon them in 1888.

5. The Government of India have themselves admitted that they resorted to this measure of the enhancement of the salt duty with great reluctance and with a feeling of deep regret; and this reluctance and regret were expressed in the most distinct and unequivocal terms both by Lord Dufferin and by Mr. Westland, when the enhancement was made. It was also promised on that occasion that the measure was to be a temporary one, and that the enhanced portion of the duty would be taken off, directly there was a break in the clouds that darkened the financial horizon of the country. A similar pledge was given by Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, from his place in the House of Lords, shortly after the report about the enhancement of the impost reached England. And in a Despatch to the Government of India, dated 12th April 1888, his Lordship thus wrote:—  
“While I do not dispute the conclusion of your Government that such an increase was under existing circumstances, unavoidable, I am strongly of opinion that it should be looked upon as temporary, and that no effort should be spared to reduce the general duty as speedily

as possible to the former rate. I will not dwell on the great regret with which I should at any time regard the imposition of additional burdens on the poorest class of the population through the taxation of a necessary of life; but apart from all general considerations of what is in such respects right and equitable, there are, as your Excellency is well aware, in the case of the Salt duty in India, weighty reasons for keeping it at as low a rate as possible." The Under-Secretary of State for India also, in presenting the Indian Budget for the current year to the House of Commons on the 8th August 1890, spoke of the enhanced impost "as a tax which ought to be removed and which shall be removed as soon as it is financially proper to do so." The word of the Government is thus pledged to a policy of an immediate reduction of the Salt duty.

6. There are, however, certain indications which lead the Committee of the Sabha to fear that unless the Government of India strictly adhere to their repeated pledges, this reduction of the enhanced impost, Promised in such distinct and unequivocal terms, might be put off indefinitely. The Under-Secretary of State for India, in his speech in the House of Commons in August last, declared that "Government have thought, and I think rightly, that the first duty of the Government upon the return of this financial prosperity is to restore the Special Surplus, Famine Grant, or whatever you call it, and that the remission of the extra salt duty, important as that is, must wait until that is restored. The Government of India, too, in their reply to the representation of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on a recent occasion ~~when~~ the abolition of the Income Tax, placed the claims of the Famine Insurance Fund as prior to those of the reduction of the Salt duty upon the consideration of Government. The Committee of the Sabha would, however, submit in this connection (a) that it is not equitable to give the restoration of the Famine Insurance Fund a precedence over the reduction of the duty on salt; and (b) that even if the claims of the Famine Insurance Fund were to be allowed a priority of consideration, it is reasonably certain that there would be available next year, after restoring the Famine Insurance Fund to its original amount, a sufficiently large surplus for the reduction of the duty on Salt from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 2 a maund.

7. And first as regards the question of precedence. The Com-

mitter of the Sabha would beg leave to respectfully invite the attention of Government to the fact that the suspension of the Famine Insurance Fund took place *before* and *not after* the enhancement of the salt duty. The suspension measure was resorted to by Government as early as 1886, whereas the salt duty was raised fully two years later. It is, of course, evident that if the special difficulties, which beset the Government of India at the beginning of 1888, had never come into existence, the duty on salt would at this day have remained where it had been brought down by the Government of Lord Ripon. The difficulties of 1886, however, necessitated, in the opinion of the Government of India, the enhancement of the salt duty. But now that those difficulties have again disappeared, the public has a right to expect that the *status quo* of the time prior to the enhancement should be restored. Again, by suspending the Famine Insurance Fund *before* enhancing the salt duty, the Government of India clearly showed that even in their opinion the former was a smaller evil, and that they were solicitous to do every thing in their power to avert the necessity for the latter course or at any rate to defer it to as late a date as possible. The enhancement of the salt duty was effected only *after every other resource had failed*, and avowedly it was resorted to by Government with the greatest reluctance. It is, therefore, but fair now that the difficulties which temporarily crossed the path of the Government of India have vanished, and financial prosperity returned once more, that relief should first be given to the poor consumers of salt.

8. Another consideration, which the Committee of the Sabha would urge upon the attention of Government in connection with the Famine Insurance Fund, is that the Fund has now been in existence for 13 years, and that the country, thus, has already borne an extra burden of 19½ crores of rupees for the purposes of this intended protection. During this period of 13 years, there has happily been no great famine in the country. It is true that on two or three occasions there have been scarcities in parts of Bengal and Madras, but they have not been very serious. The actual famine relief accorded by Government to the people affected by these scarcities has been almost nil—altogether about less than 50 lacs of rupees. Of the remaining 19 crores, a considerable portion has been appropriated to other purposes than those of famine protective works. The country, therefore, is now fair-



ly entitled to ask for some brief respite in the matter of this burden of Famine Insurance. It is no doubt a cardinal principle of equitable finance that it is unfair to impose burdens on posterity for the benefit of the present generation; but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that it is equally unfair to over-tax the present generation for the purpose of giving undue relief to generations yet unborn.

9. The Committee of the Sabha would beg leave to observe here that from the manner in which the Famine Insurance Fund has been treated by Government in the face of the solemn promises given at the time of its creation, it has become obvious that the obligation to provide against famine is not deemed to be so paramount as to require Government to resuscitate the fund by diversion of their surplus in preference to the plan of reducing the salt duties. When the Government of Lord Lytton determined to annually raise by special taxation a sum of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees to insure the country against the ravages of famines, they promised in the most solemn and emphatic manner possible that the sum would be applied to the object of Insurance only and to no other. In the words of the then Viceroy, Lord Lytton, that Government regarded it as a "sacred" and "religious" obligation to apply the Famine Insurance Fund solely and exclusively to the purpose for which it was raised. The very same Government that gave this solemn undertaking, however, ignored the obligations which it imposed during the time of the Afghan War crisis. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, again, the fund was diverted from its legitimate purpose towards meeting extra expenditure not connected with Famine. The additional taxes levied in 1878 have thus been treated as general revenue, and this has taken away the force of the plea for maintaining a separate Famine Insurance Fund. The Salt duties, therefore, the Committee of the Sabha submit, have a preferential claim on the surplus which the Government of India now have at their disposal.

10. Even assuming, however, that the Government are determined to make the first use of the improved financial position of the country for restoring the Famine Insurance Fund, there would still be available, the Committee of the Sabha submit, a sufficiently large surplus to enable Government to take off the additional eight annas

of the salt duty levied in January 1888. In the Estimates, which Sir John Gorst submitted to the House of Commons in August last, he took Exchange at 1s. 6½d. a rupee and calculated the surplus for the current year at Rx. 1,870,400. The allotment towards the Famine Insurance Fund in this year's Budget stands at Rx. 1,033,000, of which 49 lacs represents the appropriation, towards the Insurance Fund, of the special contributions levied last year from the Provincial Governments. As these contributions are now to be discontinued, a sum of Rx. 357,000 from the surplus, made available by a higher rate of exchange, will have to be appropriated to raise the Famine Insurance Fund to its original amount of Rx. 1,500,000. Sir John Gorst put this point before the Committee of the House of Commons thus:—"The Committee will observe that in order to keep up the special surplus to the amount of one and a half million, no less than Rx. 357,000 more would have to be appropriated next year. You have nearly half a million to add to the appropriation for the present year, and you will lose, besides, a sum of nearly half a million from the Provincial contributions, so that it will take nearly a million—Rx. 357,209—of the present surplus to make up the Famine Grant to its normal condition and leave only a surplus of Rx. 913,200. It is quite clear, with the uncertainty of exchange, that it would be impossible to apply it to the reduction of taxation." The Committee of the Sabha submit that there is no uncertainty about this sum of Rx. 913,200 which represents the surplus which will be available to Government from an improvement in the rate of exchange alone. Further in the Budget estimates for the current year, there is a large item of expenditure charged to the ordinary revenues of the country. This item has been described by Sir David Barbour in his Budget Statement as "*heavy and special.*" This extraordinary expenditure is in connection with the Army, and amounts to no less than Rx. 1,361,300. Sir David Barbour says in his statement:—"The increased expenditure on the Army in 1890-91 is due to the purchase of Magazine Rifles and ammunition for them to the cost of 21 more batteries of 12 pr. breech-loading guns, to the purchase of machinery for making ammunition for the guns in India, and to the provision of Rx. 200,000 for the Chin Lushai expedition and of Rx. 600,000 to complete the arrangements for prompt mobilization of the first

Army corps. The total cost on the accounts I have stated is no less than R. 1,361,000." In a subsequent paragraph, Sir David goes on to say :—

" It will be seen from what I have just said that the estimates for next year would have shown a very considerable surplus but for the *heavy* and *special* demands that have fallen on them in connection with the Army. These special demands come to no less than Rx. 1,361,000, exclusive of a provision of Rx. 802,000, on account of special Defences. It is reasonably certain that there will be special demands of a somewhat similar nature in 1891-92, but it is not probable that they will be so heavy as in the coming year. Nor are the Finances of 1891-92 exposed to any special dangers, so far as can now be seen, other than those vicissitudes which must always attend Indian Finance. On the other hand, we may look forward during 1890-91 to the normal growth of revenue. There are, therefore, strong grounds for holding that in 1891-92, we shall at least find ourselves in a position of comparative ease, with a surplus in hand, moderate in amount, but sufficient to allow of some improvement in financial conditions." In his speech in the Viceregal Council on the occasion of the introduction of the Budget for the current year, Sir, D. Barbour again declared with regard to this expenditure of Rx. 1,361,000 that it was entirely *special* and that although some expenditure of a similar nature would have to be incurred in 1891-92 also, it would be comparatively very little. This may therefore be taken to give a clear additional crore of saving, at the least, under special Army charges, thus raising the surplus to nearly two crores of rupees. There are also minor charges of a special and non-recurrent character in the current year's Budget, but they have been left here out of account. Now both the Viceroy and the Under-Secretary of State for India have declared that the reduction of the salt duty from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 a maund would involve a sacrifice of Rx. 1,500,000 to the revenue country. And thus it is clear, the Committee of the Sabha venture to believe, that even after making provision for restoring the Famine Insurance Fund to its original level, there will still remain a surplus sufficiently large to enable the Government of India to fulfil the pledge so repeatedly given by them about an early reduction of the salt tax. It might be added here that if the "special demands

in connection with the Army" for next year should exceed 36 lacs of rupees, the excess might be met out of the surplus for the current year, as it would not be fair to charge any large non-recurrent item of expenditure to the ordinary revenues, especially when there is available the surplus of a previous year, out of which to meet it.

11. It was anticipated, when the salt duty was enhanced in 1888, that the measure of enhancement would have a restrictive effect upon the consumption of salt, and would thus entail great privation and suffering on the masses of the population. The figures of consumption for the last five years, supplied by Sir David Barbour in his Budget Statement, clearly show that this anticipation has been unfortunately realized. The last year unaffected by the measure of enhancement was 1886-87, and the consumption of salt during this year was, little over 3 crores and 10 lacs of maunds. In 1887-88, the first year affected by the enhancement measure, it fell to 3 crores and 4 lacs—a fall-off of over 6 lacs of maunds. In the next year *i. e.*, 1888-89 again there was a further fall-off of 6 lacs, the figure of consumption standing at 2 crores, and 98 lacs of maunds. During the last year, the figure came up to a few thousands less than the quantity shown for 1886-87, but that does not mean that the restrictive operation of the enhanced duties has ceased. For the Committee of the Sabha would observe that in the absence of this enhancement and under normal conditions the figure for the last year would, in all probability, have stood at about 9 or 10 lacs of maunds higher than that for 1886-87, owing to the normal growth of population (this normal growth of population being taken as 1 per cent. per year, and the consumption per head at 10 lbs.). Taking this estimate of the normal increase of consumption into consideration for the last three years, it would seem that the people consumed, during the period, about 36 lacs of maunds less than they would, in all probability, have done, if the duty on salt had not been enhanced in January 1888. The Committee of the Sabha need hardly observe that this calculation of the diminution in the consumption of so absolute a necessary of life as salt indicates a grievous amount of privation and suffering, when it is remembered that the reduced consumption must have chiefly affected the poorer classes of the people.

12. The Committee of the Sabha in conclusion submit that the

reduction of the salt duty from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 a maund will only be an act of justice to the half-starved and struggling millions of this country. When, in 1886, the Government of India passed the Income-Tax Act, Lord Dufferin said that the measure was not brought forward in a spirit of apology and that it would serve the interests of financial equity by making a more equitable distribution of the burdens of the country. The burden thus equalized, it was surely hard upon the silent masses of the country that only two years later when the necessity for additional taxation arose, they should have been marked out for that additional taxation in preference to their wealthier brethren. The time has, however, now come to repair the mistake; and the Committee of the Sabha hope that the Government of India will redress the wrong inflicted on the poor masses in 1888, by remitting in March next, if not earlier, the additional 8 as. levied in that year.

We have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

VISHNU M. BHIDE,

*Chairman.*

GOPAL K. GOKHALE,

S. H. SATHE,

*Secretaries.*

No. 195.

Government of India

Finance and Commerce Department

CALCUTTA,

the 16th January 1891.

To,

The Chairman of the SARWAJANIK SABHA.

POONA.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 746, dated the 25th December 1890, conveying a suggestion by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha, that the salt duty

in India may be reduced from Rupees 2-8 to Rupees 2 a maund in the budget arrangements for next year.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. H. HART,

Offg. Asst. Secretary to the  
Government of India.

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENT IN REGARD  
TO THE SPECIAL OFFICER'S REPORT ON THE  
WORKING OF THE DECCAN AGRICUL-  
TURISTS' RELIEF ACT.**

No. 719 of 1891.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

*Poona, 24th September 1890.*

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE

Government of Bombay,

Judicial Department,

POONA.

SIR,

I am directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajani-  
nik Sabha to request that you will be so good as to furnish, with the  
permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, the Sabha  
with copies of the Special Officer's Report on the working of the  
Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act and of any other papers that may  
have been forwarded to the Government of India on the subject. The  
Sabha has learnt from the news-papers that the Bombay Government  
have forwarded their opinion to the Government of India on the

wroking of the Act and the Committee would feel deeply grateful to Government, should it be accorded an opportunity of expressing its views in the matter, as the question concerns the welfare of the Community of the Deccan.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Hon. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

No. 720 of 1890.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

Poona, 24th September, 1890.

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE

Government of India,

Home Department,

CALCUTTA.

SIR,

The Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha have been given to understand that the Government of Bombay have submitted to the Government of India the Report of the Special Officer appointed by them to report on the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879, with a recommendation that the Conciliation system should be abolished. But the Report of the Special Officer and the grounds upon which the Government of Bombay have thought it advisable to make their recommendation have not been published. I am, therefore, directed by the Committee to request you to be good enough to furnish the Sabha, with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, with copies of the special officer's report and the papers connected therewith that the Sabha may have an opportunity of submitting their views in the matter.

I am directed by the Committee also to state that the Conciliation system has proved an invaluable blessing to the indebted agriculturists

in the Deccan by an amicable settlement of the claims of their creditors in a convenient and economical way, and to request therefore that the consideration of the recommendation for its abolition may be postponed, pending the representation the Sabha intends to make on the receipt of the papers herein asked for.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Hon. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

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No. 1562.

From,

J. P. HEWETT Esq.,

Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

To,

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,

POONA, SARVAJANIK SABHA,

POONA.

*Simla, 20th October, 1890.*

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th September last, asking for copies of the special officer's report on the working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, 1879, and connected papers, so as to enable the Sabha to submit its views on the subject.

2. In reply, I am directed to say that application for a copy of the special officer's report should be made to the Bombay Government, to which any representation on the subject matter of your representation should also be made.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. P. HEWETT,

Under-Secretary to the Government of India.



No. 735 OF 1891.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

*6th November 1890.*

To,

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

Judicial Department.

SIR,

On the 24th of September 1890, I addressed to you a letter, by direction of the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, containing a request that Government should be pleased to supply to the Sabha copies of the Report of the Special Officer appointed to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and connected papers. A similar letter was on the same day addressed to the Government of India. In their reply to that letter, the Government of India direct me to apply to the Bombay Government. I have therefore to respectfully repeat the request of the Sabha that the Government of Bombay will be pleased to supply to the Sabha copies of the Report and papers mentioned above.

A copy of the reply sent by the Government of India to my letter of September 24th, is appended hereto.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Hon. Secretary, Poona S. Sabha.

No. 6613 OF 1890.

Judicial Department.

*Bombay Castle, 28th November 1891.*

From

A. C. LOGAN Esq.

Ag. Under-Secretary to Government,

BOMBAY.

To,

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,

POONA, SARVAJANIK SABHA.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 719

and 735 dated respectively the 24th September and 6th November, 1890, requesting that the Sarwajanik Sabha may be supplied with copies of the report of the Special Officer appointed to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and of connected papers.

2. In reply I am to inform you that the report of the Special officer is under the consideration of Government and copies cannot, therefore, be given at present.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. C. LOGAN,

Ag. Under-Secretary to Government.

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THE CITY POST OFFICE.

Sarwajanik Sabha Rooms,  
Poona, 18th November 1890.

To,

The Director General of Post Offices, India.

POONA.

Sir,

A deputation of the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha and the Editors of the local news-papers desires to wait upon you to personally to represent certain Postal grievances of which the people of this city have reason to complain. And I am directed by the Sabha to request you to be good enough to say when it will be convenient to you to receive the deputation.

I beg to remain,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Hon. Secretary, P. S. Sabha.

Office of the Director General  
of Post Offices,  
Poona, the 19th November 1890.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 18th in which you express the wish of the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha and the Editors of the local news-papers to wait upon me in order to represent certain matters regarding the Postal arrangements of Poona. I shall be obliged if you will kindly inform the gentlemen who proposed to call upon me that it is not practicable for me to form a satisfactory opinion on any local postal matter without the help of the local knowledge and experience of the Post Master General. Any representation that the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha and local Editors may desire to make should therefore be made to or through the Post Master General according as it has not or has been already made to that office. It is not possible for me while on tour to deal personally and on the spot with any postal matter that is not of general or at least Provincial interest.

I am, Sir,  
Yours faithfully  
H. M. KISTCH.

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Sarwajanik Sabha Rooms,  
Poona, 19th October, 1890.

SIR,

In acknowledging receipt of your reply to my letter of yesterday's date, I have to draw your attention to the fact that the request of the Sabha and the local Editors was merely to be allowed to personally represent to you the postal inconveniences of which the people of this city have reason to complain. The Sarwajanik Sabha has already prepared a written representation to you in this connection, a copy of which I send herewith for your perusal. It was thought desirable by the Sabha to send it formally to you after first explaining its subject-matter through a deputation. Neither the Sabha nor the local Editors would wish you to express your opinion on the merits of the representation at once. But I believe it will be admitted that it

would be desirable in the interests alike of the Postal Department and the Poona people that you should have an opportunity of learning *personally* from the representatives of the people of Poona what it is they want and why. Under these circumstances, the Sabha and the Editors will feel highly obliged to you, if you will reconsider your decision and allow them an opportunity of stating to you personally their wants and wishes.

I beg to remain

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

G. K. GOKHALE.

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Office of the Director-General  
of the Post offices,  
Poona, the 19th November 1890.

Sir,

In acknowledging your letter of this date with its enclosed representation from the Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha I beg that you will kindly inform the Committee that their representation shall receive the most careful attention. The wishes of the Committee and the reasons for their request are so clearly expressed that I should be putting them to unnecessary trouble by accepting their offer to represent personally the several matters about which they have written.

Yours faithfully

H. M. K.

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No. 737 of 1890.

Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms.

Poona, 19th November 1890.

To,

The Director General  
of Post offices, India.

Sir,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to submit this representation to you in regard to

certain Postal grievances of which the people of this city have reason to complain, and to request that you will kindly accord to it your favourable consideration at as early a date as practicable.

2. In spite of the fact that Poona is the second city in the Bombay Presidency and that the population of the City proper is close upon a hundred thousand people, there is no provision whatsoever for delivering letters, packages &c. at the City Post office.

3. Sometime back the Sabha addressed a communication to the Post Master General, Bombay, on this subject. His reply, however, was that the proposal to make arrangements for delivery at the City Post office was a costly one, inasmuch as it would greatly increase the work of the Railway Mail Service, and that it could not, therefore, be entertained.

4. With due regard to the opinion of the Post Master General, Bombay, the Committee of the Sabha would beg leave to dissent from this view of the matter. Even assuming for the sake of argument that the proposal to provide for delivery at the City Post Office is a costly one, it must not, on that account, be debarred from consideration, as it concerns the comfort and convenience of close upon a hundred thousand people.

5. But even on the ground of costliness, the proposal, the Committee ventures to think, is not open to objection. The Postal Department has made arrangements in smaller towns like Satara, Kollhapore, Baroda &c. for delivery at the City Post office, as separate from the one at the principal office in the Camp. Whenever a new Post office is opened at even a petty village by the side of a Railway line, no objection is made on the ground of increased Railway Mail Service. The Committee of the Sabha might mention that at the time when Mr. Stuard was the Post Master General of Bombay, the present complaint was urged upon his notice, and he not only admitted the full justice of it, but further admitted that arrangements could be made for its removal without incurring extra expenditure. He had even gone so far as to sketch out these arrangements, but unfortunately his transfer from Bombay came in the way, and the question was not taken up by his successor.

6. Even on grounds of equity, the present proposal is one that cannot be ignored. The receipts to the Postal Department from the city proper are, the Committee of the Sabha believes, more than double of the camp receipts. The residents in the camp, again, are in number about a fourth of the population of the city proper, and yet the latter have not even a fourth part of the Postal conveniences and advantages which the former enjoy.

7. The Committee of the Sabha would beg leave to enumerate here some of the inconveniences and disadvantages of which the people of this city have just reason to complain :—

(a) There being no Window Delivery in the city post office, letters from Bombay and Madras sides, which arrive here by night trains do not reach the addresses till after 7-30 a. m. at the earliest. With a Window Delivery in the city these can be had at 6 a. m., which means a gain of an hour and a half—surely an important consideration to business people.

(b) Letters arriving by the noon trains from Bengal, N. W. Provinces, Punjab &c., lie in the Post Office till the time of the evening delivery and do not reach the addresses before 5-30 or 6 p. m. With a Window Delivery in the city these can be got at 1 or 1-30 p. m., Possibly also delivery arrangements in the city Post Office might further lead to the institution of a third delivery to the people of the city at about 1-30 p. m.

(c) Most of the Poona news-papers are published in the City, and they have all of them to be taken to the Camp Post Office—a distance of three miles—to be posted. This entails unnecessary carriage expenditure on their Proprietors and in addition causes them a great deal of inconvenience. If these news-papers could be received at the City Post Office, they would be posted in different lots or batches to catch the different trains in time,—a clear convenience to the Proprietors. In this connection, the Committee of the Sabha learns that the Postal Department pays carriage expences to two or three news-papers for having to post the issues at the Camp office. No such special provision will be necessary, if arrangements are made to enlarge the City Post Office.

(d) If, as often happens, a Postman is unable in his round to meet with the addressee of a registered letter, a value-payable

parcel, an insured packet, a money order &c., the article in question cannot be obtained by the owner till the next day, unless, indeed, he takes the trouble of walking a distance of three miles and enquiring for it at the Camp Office. Similarly when instructions about Savings Bank accounts &c. have to be given to the Post office, these instructions have to be communicated to the Camp office—a procedure that involves some loss of time, and this loss is occasionally a very inconvenient one. Also if persons have to make inquiries about lost letters &c., they can do so only by writing to the Post master or by going to the Camp office. All this trouble would be saved, if the City Post Office be enlarged.

(e) Letters posted at the City Post office are despatched to the General post office only thrice a day; whereas letters posted at the Head office are despatched about 8 different times. This of course means that the people of this city are unnecessarily deprived of a very considerable convenience in the posting of their letters. It is true that arrangements have of late been made to take letters from the City office direct to the Railway station twice a day. But much greater convenience would result to the people, if the letters posted at the City Post office were despatched as often as they are at the Head Post Office.

(f) Unregistered Value Payable Parcels posted at the City Office often lie in the office undespached for some time. This often entails loss on the senders of the Parcels.

(g) The Committee of the Sabha learns that the present accommodation for the Head Office in the Camp is found insufficient and that estimates have been sanctioned for the extension of the building. If the City Post Office is enlarged for removing the inconveniences pointed out above, the work to be done in the Camp office would be substantially reduced; and no extension of the building, as contemplated at present, would be necessary.

9. The Committee of the Sabha would, therefore, urge upon your attention the extreme desirability of enlarging the City Post Office, either by making it the Head Office of Poona or in any other way you deem best, so as to ensure to the people of the City the full measure of its advantages and conveniences that at present fall to the share of the Camp people alone. The difficulty of finding a suitable

building for the Head Post Office in the City is certainly immaterial when the comfort and the convenience of a hundred thousand people are in question, and it need not, therefore, stand in the way. Besides if 3 or 4 Branch offices were opened in the city as at Bombay, (where there are 14 such offices) even the present City Office building with just a little more extension would be found fully adequate to meet all demands.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

G. K. GOKHALE,  
S. H. SATHE.

Secretaries, Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.

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POST OFFICE.

*Nagpur the 3rd December 1890.*

From The Director-General of the Post Offices of India.

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES,

SARVAJANIC SABHA,  
POONA.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to acknowledge your representation No. 739 dated the 19th ultimo and to say that it has been forwarded to the Post Master General of Bombay for disposal.

2. Some delay would have been avoided had your representation been addressed direct to the Post Master General whose interest in the service of the Poona City is no doubt well known to the Sarvajanic Sabha and has quite recently led to arrangements being made for the opening of a telegraph branch in the city Post office.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

H. M. KISTCH,

Offg. Director-General.



## REVIVAL OF HINDUISM IN BENGAL.\*

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No single feature of the agitation against the Age of Consent Bill has come upon the country more as a surprise than the paroxysm of orthodox fanaticism which has for some time past dominated the minds of the people of Bengal, and notably the Hindu Community of Calcutta, which for once justified the significance of the appellation, and became the real residence of the goddess Kali. It can serve no good purpose to ignore the fact and to discount all this stir and excitement as the work of wire-pullers. The mass meeting in the maidan and in other parts of the country could never have been arranged by any factitious wire-pulling, and above all, the Kalighat Pûja, with its array of Pandits chanting hymns and performing the Homa sacrifice, and the Sankirtana procession in which Vaishnavas and Shaktas, Up-country men, Bengalees and Marwadis joined hands together, was a demonstration which represented an out-burst of a genuine orthodox, and in Bengal at least, a national feeling of apprehension that religion was in danger. It is a curious irony of fate that the land where the Mahomedans held the longest sway, and which is the longest under the British rule, where Chaitanya laboured so successfully, and where, since British rule commenced, Raja Bani Mohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Kesheva Chandra Sen, Devendranath Tagore and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidya-Sagar sowed broadcast the seeds of religious and social re-

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\* This paper has been placed at our disposal by Babu Dinanath Gangoli. In publishing it, we have taken the liberty of making some slight alterations.—*The Editor.*

form and established powerful organizations in support of their movements and where the number of those who have returned from England is so considerable, should have thus shown towards the close of the century that all this work of progress was confined to a microscopic minority who have failed to touch the national heart, and that while the rest of India did not lose its head over the Bill, the Bengalees should go mad in a freak of frenzy, none the less regrettable because it was genuine and national. The country generally has shown an active and intelligent interest in the issues involved in the recent agitation, and its men of light and leading have ranged themselves into opposite camps and parties and have carried on the struggle of persuasion and argument for the most part within legitimate limits of party warfare. In Bengal, however, and notably in Calcutta, this balance was upset. The force of the fanatic outburst carried every thing before it and almost silenced all opposition to the prevailing sentiments of the hour. A large majority of the graduates and an overwhelming majority of the Zemindars and the *Bhadralok* generally ranged itself on the side of Conservatism, and made its view felt to be paramount. This is a phenomenon which deserves study and it will be a mistake if we seek to ignore it as a mere passing frenzy. Those who have had time to look below the surface of the Bengal life and its active development in recent years were prepared for such a manifestation at any time, and the recent Kalighat incident did not come upon us as a surprise. We have been studying this problem of contemporary life for some years and we have been noticing the direction of the current below the surface setting steadily towards a revival of orthodox Hinduism in Bengal. The Theistic movement in that province has apparently spent its force. The Samajas

and the Missionaries have spent their energies in mutual conflict, and are in fact extinct volcanoes. Pandit Dayanand Saraswati's effort, which has given a new start to Indian aspirations in the N. W. Provinces and Punjab, made no impression in Bengal. Pandit Ishwar Chandra's work was dropped in despair and despondency, and the Theosophists have made no converts there. The predominating influences in Bengal point distinctly to a revival of orthodox Hinduism, and we propose in the following pages to trace the history of this unexpected revival during the last 10 years and more.

The most important characteristic of this revival is that it is essentially of the nature of a reactionary movement, not offensive so much but self-defensive and protesting against change. Let us endeavour to trace the causes that have given rise to this reactionary tendency. The rise of Bramhoism is, in our opinion, the principal cause. The early Missionaries of Christianity, no doubt, hurt the feelings of the Hindus by their preaching against the Hindu religion, but the Christian mission failed to make any impression on the masses and even the educated community were not seriously touched by their efforts. The aggressive character of mission work was more or less to a great extent counteracted by the rise and spread of the Theistic movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy carried on a constant struggle with the Missionaries of Sarampore and discomfited them. He was followed by the indefatigable Keshav Chandra. The incisive arguments of this great man successfully counteracted the efforts made by the Missionaries in support of Christianity. At that time Keshava Chandra had just commenced the mission of his life, and the victory he gained over the Missionaries increased his fame. Keshava Chandra succeeded in stemming the tide of conversion and for so doing

he gained the approbation of the Hindu community. On one occasion he received the blessings of the Pandits of Nuddin for having checked the aggressions of the Missionaries. The Brahmos were at that time regarded as harmless by the general body of the Hindus. The leader of the Brahmos, the venerable Devendranath Tagore, was guided by conservative principles. He gave due veneration to the Hindu Shastras and tried to adhere to the practices of the Hindus as far as possible. But when the Brahmos under the leadership of Keshava Chandra began to protest against the bonds of caste and to attack the time-honoured customs of the country, it became manifest to the Hindus of Bengal that the Brahmos were not harmless as they were once supposed to be. It must be borne in mind that the orthodox Hindus do not feel much concern whether their sons believe in one god or many, or whether they utter the Mantras of the Sundhya or not. So long as they perform the rights and ceremonies and ostensibly conform to the rules of caste, they are recognised as Hindus. The Hindu system of faith is essentially tolerant and unaggressive, but the Hindu social organization is exclusive and intolerant to a degree. The social fabric and the social obligations count for more than strict orthodoxy of belief. As has been wisely observed by Mr. Guru Prasad Sen, Hinduism binds the nation not by unity of faith but by unity of social obligations. When the orthodox Hindus saw their beloved sons seceding from the family and joining the Brahmo Community, their hatred towards the Brahmos became very great. Apart from the paternal affection and the expectation of help from them in old age, the Hindus set a high value upon the world to come. According to the Shastras a son delivers his deceased parents from the torments of hell by offering *Pinda* to them. Most of the young men who

joined the Brahmo community considered it beneath their dignity to think of the Hindu community they left and of their obligations to their elders and caste-fellows. They began to show their contempt towards the idolatrous worship in their houses and the Shraddha rights due to their ancestors. Seeing their Brahmo sons in affluent circumstances, the orthodox Hindus asked assistance from them, but this was refused, lest the money given to them might be applied to purposes that savoured of idolatry and superstition. We know of an instance in which some Hindus asked the loan of a musical instrument from a Brahmo Samaj, but this request was refused on the ground that it would be used in the temples for the singing of songs in praise of idols. Not long ago, we were told by a member of a Dharma Sabha established by some Hindu young men, that a Brahmo missionary was requested several times to come to their village and deliver a lecture on some subject that would be profitable to them, but their request was not complied with. This young man remarked that had there been a Brahmo Samaj at that village, the missionary would have certainly paid it a visit. This want of sympathy on the part of the Brahmos towards the Hindus cannot produce good results, and the Brahmos are somewhat to blame if they have alienated the good opinion of the rest of the community by such exclusive conduct. It must be admitted that some of the orthodox Hindus persecute the Brahmos, and instances have come to our notice of their having burnt the Brahma Samaj buildings and taken other shameful steps to check the progress of Brahmoism. There is nothing wonderful in the exhibition of such bigotry on both sides. Nothing better can be expected from the mass of orthodox Hindus who, as already stated, are essen-

tially conservative and will not allow any modern innovations to replace their much revered Sanatan Dharma or true religion. Of course those who have received English education entertain more liberal views about the Brahmos and it is desirable that the latter should join them in measures tending to the amelioration of the condition of the people of India. The late revered Dr. K. M. Banerji, though a Christian, joined with the Hindus in several movements tending to their welfare, and the result was that he was venerated by them. A native Christian who holds a very prominent position in the Medical Service, lives in the midst of Hindu families, assists his mother, who is a Hindu, with money towards the performance of religious ceremonies, and helps his Hindu friends and neighbours in various ways. The local high class English school receives a good deal of support from him. He has established a hospital for the benefit of the public. He is much revered by his neighbours and even the most bigoted Hindu blesses him and wishes him long life and prosperity. It is therefore much to be regretted that, when advocating the cause of Brahmoism, some of the Brahmo Missionaries unnecessarily go out of their way to revile the Hindu religion and to deprecate the *Shastras*. In Dacca, in the course of a lecture, a prominent Brahmo missionary thought fit to denounce *Manu Smriti* in strong terms and his remark that it was worthy of being thrown into the river Karmanasha, naturally caused great irritation. The stricture passed by the Brahmo missionary hurt the feelings of even the revered editor of the *Tatvabodhini Patrika*, the organ of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, and that gentleman, in a very sensible article, pointed out that in passing criticism on a book written thousands of years ago, it was necessary to

take into consideration the state of society and other circumstances of that age.

Another cause of the present reaction is the movement set on foot by the late Pandit Dayanand Saraswati. With due deference to the learning of this Pandit, it must be said that he was of a rather haughty, if not irascible temper. The manner in which he ridiculed the Hindu religion was more acrimonious than even the tone occasionally adopted by the Brahmo Missionaries. The Brahmos made adverse criticism on the Hindu religion in the course of their lectures, but this Pandit did so in the course of even ordinary conversation. He not only ridiculed the Hindu religion but spoke very irreverently of the Gods of the Hindus. The Pandit was no doubt led by a commendable zeal and his object was to secure the revival of the Vedic religion. He knew that the establishment of the worship of the 33 millions of Gods was not countenanced by the Vedas. He, therefore, endeavoured to inculcate the worship of one God and he further showed that the Vedas did not support idolatry. In his commentary on the Vedas, Pandit Dayanand began to explain away the texts in a manner that suited his own purpose, and his followers are continuing his work. But the manner in which he advocated the cause of the Vedic religion hurt the feelings of the Hindus and they soon began to manifest a hatred towards him even stronger than they had shown towards the Brahmos. Moreover the Pandit attacked vehemently the social customs of the Hindus and showed that they were contrary to the injunctions laid down by the sages of old. The orthodox Hindus did not of course like this, and they adopted measures to thwart the cause he advocated. In Bengal proper, the system of Pandit Dayanand has failed to produce any impression. But in Behar he had

more success, and Arya Samajs have been established in several places. Not long ago, one of the Arya Samaji Missionaries delivered a lecture in support of Pandit Dayanunda's system and a counter lecture was delivered by Kumar Shreekrishna Prosonna Sen, refuting the arguments advocated by the lecturer. The preachings of the Brahmos and of Pandit Dayanand Saraswati and his followers, no doubt, roused the ire of the orthodox Hindus as they were directed against the system of idolatry and caste organisation to which they were tenaciously attached. But one question still remains unanswered: How has it come to pass that the educated gentlemen of Bengal who cannot conscientiously endorse the idolatrous practices and the expiatory rites now in vogue, have come forward to support the reactionary movement and strive for the revival of orthodox Hinduism? Before answering this question, it seems necessary that we should define what Hinduism is. It may be looked at from two different standpoints—as a system of faith and as a system of social obligations. As a system of faith, there is no unity in it. It is cosmopolitan to a degree. In its highest form, it is the religion contained in the Upanishads, as elaborately propounded in the Bhagvat Gita. In its lower phases, it is the religion of the Puranas, the Tantras and the Mantras. The educated gentlemen of Bengal who join the new movement advocate the cause of religion inculcated by the sages of old, and not the later corruptions reared up by the Brahmins of the Puranic period to subserve their selfish purposes. The leading men of Bengal had at first shown a great indifference towards Hindu religion. The violent attacks made on it by the Christian and Brahmo missionaries and by Pandit Dayanand Saraswati led them to believe that Hinduism was unworthy of taking rank as a religion that can supply the spiri-



tual wants of a nation. Moreover, the puerile ceremonies performed by the Hindus and the hypocrisy noticed among the Pandits pointed out to them the hollowness of the old system of faith and ritual. But a great change took place when Professor Max Muller and other Oriental scholars began to place before the public translations of some of the religious books of the Hindus and to speak in glowing terms of gems of morality and religious doctrines contained in them. The stirring addresses of Colonel Olcott, who pointed out the superiority of Hinduism over all other religions and exhorted his audience to rescue the Shastras of their revered ancestors from oblivion, opened the eyes of some of our leading men; and to crown all, the eloquent lectures of Kumar Shreekrishna Prosonna Sen and the erudite exposition of the Hindu Shastras by Pandit Shashbadhar Turkachoodamani induced young and educated Bengalis to give up their old indifference and take pride in lending their helping hand towards the revival of the Hindu religion.

We shall now briefly review the agencies that have been at work to lead the people of Bengal towards the religion of their ancestors. Before the present revival, Dharma Sabhas existed here and there, such as the Sanatan Dharma Rakshani Sabha of Calcutta and the Nitya Dharma Bodhini of Dinagpore, which recently celebrated its 22nd anniversary. Some of the periodicals conducted by orthodox Hindus, such as the Hindu Hiteshini of Dacca, advocated the cause of Hinduism and opposed the principles and practices of the Brahmo Samaj. But these efforts were desultory and made no impression. The present revival owes much to the Bharat Barsha Arya Dharma Prasari Sabha and we propose therefore to place before our readers a short account of this Sabha. The guiding spirit of this Sabha is Kumar Shreekrishna Prosonna Sen. Fourteen

years ago, it occurred to this young man that Hinduism had become a religion of outward forms and ceremonies, and that the Hindus had degenerated to a very great extent. This state of things pained him greatly, and he resolved to place before his countrymen the enlivening truths of religion and to instruct them with the lessons of morality contained in the Shastras. This young man held the post of an ordinary clerk in a Railway Office at Jamalpore. He was too insignificant a person at the time to exert any influence on his countrymen. But the zeal and sincerity of purpose with which he was actuated overcame all difficulties. He succeeded in inducing some of the leading men of Mongyre to establish a Dharma Sabha. It is worthy of note that the friends who gave him a helping hand included Bengalis as well as Hindustanis. Among them were the Munsiff, the Shirastedar of the Collector's office, the Headmaster of the local High School, a Hindustani Pandit, and two Zemindars of the locality. The Dharma Sabha under the name of the Bharat Barsha Arya Dharma Pracharini Sabha was established in the year 1875. Two years after this, the Sabha started a monthly periodical named Dharma Pracharak which began to popularize the truths of the Hindu Religion. The late court Pundit of the Zemindar of Kusinapore, Pandit Shashbadhur Turkoora-~~moni~~ joined the Sabha as its Dharmacharya and began to expound the Shastras to the people. The Pandit explained the principles on which the mode of worship and the ceremonial rights generally were based. These explanations appeared in the Dharma Pracharak in Bengali as well as in Hindi, and succeeded in turning the attention of the people to the Hindu religion. The Sabha established a Sanscrit school for teaching the Hindu Shastras to the

people. Shree Krishna Prosonna, whilst employed as a clerk, took leave for a certain period and went at his own expense to Haridwar, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bahar, Tirhoot and other places to place before the people the truths of the Hindu religion. His thrilling lectures addressed in Bengali as well as in Hindi produced wonderful results. Not only ordinary men, but well educated gentlemen who had hitherto considered the Hindu Shastras as cunningly devised fables and indulged freely in foreign food and drink, gave up their bad habits and became rigid Hindus. Some of the Brahmos also reverted to Hinduism. The Brahmo Samajas and the Arya Samajas, established by Dayanand Saraswati, suffered much in several places. Even the Monghyre Brahmo Samaj, which at one time was a tower of strength to the Brahmos, dwindled into insignificance. Shree Krishna Prosonna now saw that he could not carry out his mission without giving up service. He had already resolved to lead a celibate life and he now gave up his situation and devoted himself wholly to the cause of religion. This indefatigable young man, after effecting much good in Upper India and Behar, now turned his attention to Bengal. Accompanied by the great Pandit, Shashadhar Turkhachooramani, Shree Krishna Prosonna went to Calcutta about six years ago to turn the attention of the Hindus to the religion of their ancestors. The Pandit began to expound the Shastras, explaining its apparent inconsistencies and demonstrated that the injunctions of the Shastras were based on scientific principles. Shree Krishna Prosonna delivered addresses showing the superiority of Hinduism over other religions, and exhorted the audience to pay it the attention which it so well deserved. The erudite exposition of the Shastras by the Pandit and the

thrilling lectures of Sreekrishna Prosanna produced wonderful results. Some of the leading members of the Hindu society took up the cause of the Hindu religion in right earnest. They started two monthly Magazines to advocate its cause. Babu Akshry Chandra Sircar, the well-known editor of the Sadharani, started the Nobajeevana. Soon after appeared the Prachar. The members of the old and new schools met on one platform to purge off the impurities that had disfigured the external forms of Hindu religion. Pandit Shashobhar Turkachooramani was recognised as the leader of the old school and Babu Bunkim Chandra Chattarji, the first novelist of Bengal, headed the other school. Articles from the pen of these learned men, giving a proper interpretation of the Hindu Shastras and pointing out the corruptions that have crept into them, began to appear in these periodicals. Besides contributing articles to these Magazines, Pandit Shashadhar Turka Chooramani opened a theological school, at which he gave instructions to young men relating to the Hindu Shastras. He also visited all parts of Bengal, delivering lectures on the Hindu religion. It may be mentioned here that since the middle of 1885, the Pandit has been working independently of the Arya Sabha established by Kumar Shreekrishna Prosonna. Babu Bunkim Chandra commenced his work with an article in which he explained what religion was. He laid emphasis on the fact that many myths of gods and goddesses were invented by designing men to serve their selfish ends and these have been mistaken by ignorant people as religion and that it was necessary to expose these myths and the rites and ceremonies connected with them. He thought that nothing which did not lead to the improvement of man physically, intellectually, and socially, was religion

and further that the Hindu Shastras could not be accepted in their entirety, as a vast mass of myths had encrusted the true spirit of that religion. Two alternatives were then placed before the Hindus—either to give up the Hindu Shastras entirely or to study their true spirit and adopt such portions of them as contained spiritual truth. The former course was revolutionary and could not be followed with safety. That course had been followed by previous reformers and they had failed to achieve any lasting benefit. The basis of the faith must be made to rest on Revelation, and the Vedas and Upanishads afforded a sure basis for such a constructive faith. Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Christianity have tried one after another to attack their basis and denounce Hinduism, but all these attacks have thoroughly failed. Babu Bunkim Chandra took no notice of Brahmoism, as he regarded it only as a branch of the Hindu religion and in his view it had not given yet any indications of its ever becoming the religion of the whole community. Babu Bunkim Chandra wrote a life of Shreekrishna, setting forth his character in a prominent light. The first volume of this work is now before the public. In this work the author has displayed his great powers of research and learning. The doings of Shreekrishna have been set forth in the Maha Bharat, the Bhagvat, the Vishnu Purana, the Brahma Sukt Purana and the Harivansha. Babu Bunkim Chandra has given precedence to Mahabharat as being the most ancient of these religious books and he has quoted largely from this book to show that Shreekrishna was the greatest of the religious teachers of the world. Whilst giving their share of praise to other great men, the author has shown that Shreekrishna, as described in Mahabharat, was in every way superior to all other prophets and founders of new faiths, being at once

a great statesman, a great lawyer, a great warrior, a great philosopher and a great religious teacher. The incidents relating to the love stories of Krishna and his frolics with the milkmaids of Vrindavan, as narrated in the Bhagvat and other Puranas, are, according to Babu Bunkin Chandra, pure and later inventions. In support of this statement, the author says that no mention of them is made in the Mahabharat, and he asserts that had there been any truth in them, Shishoopal, the inveterate enemy of Krishna, when speaking disparagingly of him, would have undoubtedly made a prominent mention of the licentious acts attributed to him.

Babu Bunkin Chandra has taken another work in hand. It is a translation of Bhagvat Geeta with a commentary. Several translations of this work have already appeared. The object of Bunkin Babu in publishing another version is to make the purport of Bhagvat Geeta clear to his English-knowing readers, who are accustomed to English methods of reasoning. Articles in elucidation of the Hindu Shastras appeared in the two Magazines above referred to and several uncouth legends relating to the gods were explained on rational grounds. For example, the story of Indra having violated the chastity of Ahilya is thus explained. Indra is the atmosphere and Ahilya means the ground that cannot be ploughed. Indra by a down-pour of rain moistens the ground and enters into it. This has given rise to the story of Indra's intercourse with Ahilya. The advocacy of the Hindu religion by Babu Bunkin Chandra and his colleagues through the periodicals, as also the lectures of Kumar Shreekrishna and Pandit Shasha Dhar, attracted the attention of the leading members of the Adi and Sadharma Brahmo Samajs. They wrote articles and delivered lectures in refutation of the statements made by the leaders of

Hinduism. These appeared in the *Tatvabodhini*, the *Bharati* and the *Sanjibani*. Whilst this controversy was going on, a disagreement took place between Pandit Shashadhar and the Editor of the *Navajeevan*. It is said that the *Navajeevan* published certain articles regarding the Hindu religion which were not based upon the *Shastras*. This was not liked by the Pandit and he ceased to write for the *Navageewan*. Another periodical soon appeared under the name of *Veda Vyasa*. It received much assistance from the Pandit and other orthodox Hindus and able articles from the pen of Pandit Shashadhar began to appear in it. At this time almost all the periodicals of Bengal stood up in support of religion, and above all the *Bangavasi* took it up in right earnest. In fact, religious controversy became the all-absorbing subject of the day. Even the theatres, to suit the taste of the times, began to enact plays of a religious nature such as *Chaitanya Sanyash*, *Pralhad Charitra*, *Dhruva Charitra* &c.

At present the zeal of the party headed by Babu Bankin Chandra seems to have relaxed. *Navajeevan* does not appear regularly. The *Prachar* had disappeared for some time, and has only recently come into existence again. Pandit Shashadhar also, owing to ill health, has not been able of late to exert himself in the manner he once did. The *Veda Vyas*, however, is carrying out its mission. We shall now say a word in regard to the *Arya Sabha* under the leadership of Kumar Shreekrishna. Considering Benares to be the religious centre of India and expecting much help from the Pandits of that place, Shreekrishna Prasanna removed the Sabha to the holy city in the year 1883. Sree Krishna now carried on his mission with an earnestness and sincerity which cannot be too highly commended. In order to devote himself solely to this work he

gave up his service under the Railway Company, kept himself aloof from the management of the Sabha, and devoted himself to the life of a hermit. Some of the wealthy persons of Bengal have helped the Sabha with money to carry on its work. Among them the names of the Zemindar of Kassimbazar, Moharani Sarnomayi of Barhanpore and the Raja of Pakoor deserve a prominent mention. The Sabha has a press of its own. A Dharma Prakarna issues from it monthly and books of religious subjects come out of it now and then. As a Paribrajak (hermit), Shreekrishna travels over the whole of Bengal exhorting his counfrymen to follow the religion of their ancestors. The preaching of Shreekrishna has produced striking results. Several educated Hindus, who had hitherto considered the Hindu Shastras only as grand-mother's tales, and passed their lives in self-indulgences of all sorts, have now given up their heterodox practices and again become Hindus of the orthodox type. Religious centres have been established in several places and several Pandits have come forward to support the cause of the Sabha by explaining the Shastras to the people. The objects of the Arya Sabha, as set forth in one of its pamphlets published some years ago, are to place before the people the religion which the sages of ancient India preached through the Vedas, Vedantas, Pooranas, Samhitas and the Tantras &c., to purge off the scum that has soiled its surface and to give a firmness to the faith of the people now tossed about by the surges of scepticism. The Hindu religion owing to general ignorance has degenerated into outward forms and ceremonies. It is, therefore, necessary to adopt measures towards improving the condition of the people by imbuing them with lessons of morality and true knowledge. With reference to the assertions made by some that



the Hindus being divided into several sects, each having a religion of its own, it is impossible for a preacher to find out how he should proceed in order to make his teachings acceptable to all, the pamphlet under reference sets forth that, at present it is not necessary to advocate the cause of any particular system. As these differences relate to immaterial points, what is now required is to turn the minds of the people from their present state of irreligion and sensuality to the path of righteousness and truth. With regard to the method of preaching, the pamphlet says: "Exhortation to the people to adhere to the rites and ceremonies will not effect any good; the preaching of sectarian doctrines will be of no avail. The preacher of religion should inculcate the principle of universal love which would bind together the many heterogeneous sects of India. They should exhort the people to exhibit in their living the qualities that adorned the sages of old, and whilst giving up their hearts to God, to perform the duties they owe to their fellow beings."

Kamar Sreekrishna has adopted this method. He preaches in right earnest the religion of love. He places prominently before his audience the efficiency of *Nama Sādhanā* and exhorts the people to take the name of Hari. He meets with a cordial reception wherever he goes. People from distant places come to hear him. His preaching of *Bhakti* or intense love to God has caused a sensation never witnessed in Bengal since the time of the great Chaitanya. Whilst initiating the people with the love of Hari, Sree Krishna earnestly endeavours to form the character of the young men, and with this view several Societies have been established under his guidance for imparting to the members sound lessons in morality, so that in many places, there are

to be seen two Societies, one a Dharma Sabha for placing the truths of the Hindu religion before the people, and the other a *Suniti Suvicharini Sabha* for giving young men lessons in morality and pointing out to them the necessity of leading pure lives. Kumar Shree Krishna undertook a missionary tour lately. He preached in several places including Dacca and Calcutta. In an account given of his preaching it is said that at the earnest request of several educated men he had to remain in Sylhet for 25 days. Here he delivered 20 lectures. People used to undertake journeys occupying two or three days in order to hear him. Four thousand men formed a sankirtan procession and the town of Sylhet resounded from one end to the other with the sound of Haribole. The people of Sylhet, to show their great regard for Kumar Sreekrishna, have started a weekly journal under the name of *Faribrajak*. Some years ago, the Arya Sabha published a list showing 108 Societies established in Bengal, Behar and the Upper Provinces to teach the Hindus religious truths and morality, and Kumar Sreekrishna informs us that the number has now increased three times. This shows that the preaching of this Hindu reformer has met with signal success. Some years ago, our countrymen were greatly inclined towards love tales. But matters are now changed, and many are now seen greatly anxious to study the Shastras of their ancestors. To meet the demands of our countrymen, enterprising men have come forward to publish translations of the Hindu Shastras. Babu Mohesh Chander Pal has published translation of the Upanishads. Babu Paratap Chandra Roy is publishing the Mahabharat, the Ramayana, the Harivansa and the Srimat Bhagvat, and the proprietors of the Bangabashi under the name of *Sbashtra Prakash*, are publishing the Pooranas, the

Sanhitas and other religious books. The eminent writers of the day have begun to publish books on religious subjects. Even the great novelist Babu Bunkin Chander, who at one time treated his readers with love tales, has now commenced to write religious books. The papers of the day teem with articles on religion and no periodical can aspire to popular support which does not deal with religious matters.

This present tendency of our Hindu brethren towards religion is no doubt a matter for congratulation. But along with the good that has come out of it, certain evils have cropped up. Some designing men, in order to subserve their own purposes, have begun to interpret the religious books of the Hindus in a manner which sensible men cannot approve. In some cases, they are suppressing historical facts, in others they are explaining the Shastras in a manner in which the authors never intended them to be interpreted. To cite one or two instances. According to the Mahabharat, Droupadi had five husbands. This shocked some of the reformers. They could not allow such a statement to soil the pages of their religious book, and the following interpretation has been given of it :—  
“ Droupadi is Adya Shakti or the original force, Krishna is Paramatma and the five Pandoos are the Pancha Kosha.”  
This interpretation sweeps away all the historical facts contained in the Mahabharat. In their eagerness to explain away the statement referred to, the reformers forgot that the descendants of the five Pandavas are now living and that the whole of Indian history becomes a myth if this interpretation is to be accepted.

In connection with the [present revival, some Yogees have made their appearance who have undertaken to interpret the Shastras in a very strange

manner. The Manu Sanhita is a code of laws for the guidance of the Hindus. These Yogees say that there was no such being as Manu, that Manu means mind and that the laws set forth in the Sanhita are nothing more than instructions to a Yogee. And strange to say, the whole code has been explained in this manner. In chap. 2, verse 38 of the Sanhita, it is stated that the Upabit ceremony of a Brahmin can be deferred till the 16th year, that of a Kshatriya till the 22nd year, and that of a Vaishya till the 24th year. The Yogees have explained this verse thus :—"The yoga cannot be practised by a Brahmin properly after the 16th year, by a Kshatriya after the 22nd year and by a Vaishya after the 24th year." The so-called reformers by their misinterpretation of the Shastras are doing a great harm to the cause of Hindu religion, and the sincere well-wishers of Hinduism should take steps to check this course.

There are now different classes of reformers explaining the Shastras in different ways and the people know not whose explanations are correct. Babu Bunkim Chunder gives Krishna the highest place among the religious teachers of the world and says that the love-tales ascribed to him are mere inventions; another reformer not having the courage to pronounce the Sreemad Bhagbat to be fabulous, interprets Krishna's love-stories in the following manner: Krishna is the soul, Brindabun is the heart of a devotee and the milkmaids of Brindabun are the qualities of the heart. So that Krishna's love to the maids is nothing more than the communion of a person's good qualities with the soul. A third reformer says, Krishna is God himself, so that neither virtue nor vice can affect him. A fourth reformer says, the love-tales of Krishna

are true in every respect. The milkmaids were his sincere devotees, who left every thing for his sake.

In connection with this Revival, steps are being taken by a certain class of reformers to revive the social rules of ancient India and to raise the status of the Brahmins. Some time ago the Dharma Sabha of Rajshaya passed a resolution to the effect that the members should not dine with those who partake of foreign food, and the members are giving effect to the rule in right earnest. The Hari Subha of Dainbat in the Burdwan District is also trying to revive the social rules and to give power to the Brahmins to enforce them as they once did. The editor of the *Bungobashi* has taken up these questions in right earnest. This is a matter of great regret. The Hindus are grateful to the editor for the good he has done to them. The impetus he has given to Bengali literature, the great effort made by him to place the Hindu Shastras before the public and the good he is doing by the establishment of the Bungobashi College, in which Aryan morals are taught, will ever keep him alive in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. But we do not wish to see his fame tarnished by the steps he is taking to revive the social rules which suited a bygone age; it is too late now to make the Brahmins the arbiters of the destinies of the people. Manu Smriti takes the first place among the Hindu Codes of law. It enjoins that the Shudra has no right to the wealth he accumulates. It belongs to the Brahmin. The Shudra must serve the Brahmin because he has been created to be the Brahmin's slave. If a Shudra raises his hand to strike a member of a superior caste, his hand shall be cut off. If a Shudra wishes to sit on the same seat with a member of a superior caste, his loins should be branded

and he should be expelled from the country. Now, we ask, does the enlightened editor of the *Bungobashi* wish to enforce these rules, and if he wishes it, is it possible to do so? The editor seems to support the step taken by the Rajshaye Dharma Subha to excommunicate those who partake of foreign food. Is this possible at the present time? Have not several items of foreign food and drink been already introduced among the Hindus?

It is also proposed to enforce religious duties in the strict rigour of old traditions. Is it possible to effect this? The Shastras enjoin that a Dwija should reside in the house of his religious teacher for at least 12 years in order to study the Shastras. Is there any man willing to stop the English education of his son and send him away for religious training? Then there are certain duties which should be daily performed. Is it possible to observe them all? It is enjoined that a Hindu, after rising from his bed, should go to a grassy spot 150 cubits from his house and there ease himself. Is this practicable for a man residing in a town? A Dwija is required to perform second Sandhya at noon and to take his food after performing it. How can this religious duty be performed by a man who goes to his office at 10 A. M.? It is enjoined that a Hindu should perform the Shradha ceremony at the anniversary of his deceased relations, and that on such occasions Brahmins acquainted with the Vedas should be ~~re-~~red. At present there are scarcely any Brahmins who know the Vedas: and such being the case, the Shradha ceremony cannot be performed. So that at present it is impossible for a Hindu to act according to the rules laid down in the Shastras.

Again, it is enjoined that a Brahmin should not accept the invitation of a Mlenchha, commune with him, or accept a y

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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## MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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“Nature might stand up,  
And say to all the world, “This was a man!”—

*Shakespeare.*

“Did ever so many hearts in so brief a time touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy; it was the uttermost of sorrow, noon and midnight, without a space between.” In these words did Beecher, the celebrated American orator, express the grief of the American people at the terrible assassination of Abraham Lincoln almost immediately after the close of the Civil war. And might not these same words be used to describe the sorrow of the Indian people at the untimely death of one on whom India had just learnt to rest some of her fondest hopes? Not that the death of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh is mourned by India alone. No; men, such as he, do not live for one nation only. Their great heart feels and their mighty brain works for all humanity. Their gentle and sympathetic soul flies to every region where there is a wrong to be redressed. And no barriers of race or colour or creed ever intercept this flight. It is thus that the name of Mr. Bradlaugh is cherished in loving and grateful memory not merely in England or India, but also in France, Italy, Spain, Russia and America. The sorrow, therefore, for his death has been universal. But the tears that India sheds for him indicate a degree of grief and despair all her own. The political emancipation of this country depends, in a very large measure, on the people of England understanding her properly. The ignorance about Indian matters at present pre-

vailing in England is almost abysmal. Now and then, some noble-hearted Englishman endeavours to arouse in the minds of his countrymen some interest about this greatest Dependency of theirs, but these efforts succeed generally no better than "the flogging of a dead horse." In this apathetic and listless mood of the English mind, it was a piece of the rarest good fortune for India that she was able to secure a person so unselfish, so resolute, so influential, so enthusiastic, so talented, —in fact, so great in every way—as Mr. Bradlaugh to champion her cause and advocate her claims in England. Sir William Wedderburn very neatly expressed this feeling at Bombay in 1889 in his address as President of the Fifth Indian National Congress. "I think," said he, "poor India is very fortunate in securing such a champion as Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, a very Charles Martel of these latter days, whose sledge-hammer blows have often shaken to their foundations the citadels of prejudice, of ignorance and of oppression." Alas ! Only a year after this was said, the champion's arm was to lie powerless by his side ! All the high promises that he gave of noble and unselfish services, must now ever remain unfulfilled, and the realization of India's national hopes deferred till she secures another such friend—not a very likely thing for many a long day.

Every thing, however, has its proper bounds, and grief for Mr. Bradlaugh's death must be no exception to this rule. It would be wrong to allow this grief to overwhelm us or fill us with enervating despair. The better way by far would be to think closely and reverently of the life and life-work of our departed champion, that each one of us may, in his humble way, endeavour to walk in his foot-steps and learn to feel and work as he felt and worked all through his life. Mr. Bradlaugh's

energy, Mr. Bradlaugh's talents may not be given to every one ; but every one *can* possess the same earnest desire that he had for the well-being of his fellow-men. The lives of such men as Mr. Bradlaugh are, in one sense, imperishable. Even when all that is mortal of them has gone the way of all flesh, their spirit remains in this world to sustain the weak, console the afflicted and cheer the drooping, and inspire goodness and greatness everywhere. We are sure no one can peruse the briefest sketch of Mr. Bradlaugh's life without being the better for it, and this is our best excuse for presenting to the reader this hurried and inadequate notice of a life, so full of the most thrilling and heroic incidents.

Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was born on the 26th of September 1833, and was thus a little over 57 at the time of his death. His father was an extremely poor man, " who struggled painfully for existence as a solicitor's clerk, his salary being so small that he was compelled to work at home in the evenings ". " Sweet are the uses of adversity," and much of the pluck, energy and perseverance which Mr. Bradlaugh exhibited in later life, he undoubtedly owed to the poverty in the midst of which he was born. It would not also be wrong to trace a considerable part of the large-hearted sympathy which Mr. Bradlaugh always felt for the toiling and the suffering, to the sufferings which he himself had to endure in his early days. Owing to the straitened circumstances of his father, Mr. Bradlaugh never received anything better than the most elementary education. When seven years old, he was sent to the National School in Abbey Street, Bethnal Green. After some time, he was removed from there to a small private school in the same neighbourhood ; " and when finally," writes Mr. Headingley, " he attained the ripe age of eleven, it was

considered that his education was complete." At the age of 12, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was 'thrust from the shore' into the ocean 'where passions ply the sail and oar.' He had to leave school, and was able to secure employment as an errand-boy in the office where his father toiled as a clerk. Two years after, he became wharf clerk and cashier to a firm of coal merchants in Britania Fields, City Road. At this time, he regularly attended the Church of England with his parents, and strange to say, he appeared then to be so intensely enthusiastic about religion that he was shortly chosen one of the Sunday School teachers. He had not, however, served long in this capacity when an incident occurred, "which at one blow changed the tenour of his life." The incident is thus narrated by Mr. Headingley:—

"The Bishop of London announced that he was about to hold a confirmation in Bethnal Green. The Rev. John Graham Packer, the incumbent of St. Peter's, Hackney Road, the district where Bradlaugh lived, thereupon determined to distinguish himself. He resolved to select a few of the ablest boys from his class and invite the Bishop to question them himself, so as to demonstrate the special care he had taken in teaching his parishioners all that concerned this solemn event. Of course, Bradlaugh was singled out as among the most promising pupils and urged to prepare for confirmation. With the greatest alacrity, and only anxious to do what was right, Bradlaugh at once studied the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England and the four Gospels; but these, unfortunately, he examined so carefully that he found they differed. No sooner was he convinced of this fact than he, forthwith and very naturally, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Packer, respectfully soliciting his aid and some explanation."

The Rev. gentleman, accustomed to take these sacred things on trust, was greatly taken aback at this 'audacity' of young Bradlaugh, and instead of trying to help him in the solution of his difficulties, he determined to stamp the spirit of inquiry out of the young man. He wrote to Bradlaugh's parents, denouncing the atheistical tendencies of their son, and further suspended Bradlaugh for three months from his office as Sunday school teacher. Mr. Packer, however, soon found that he had woefully misunderstood the nature of his pupil and the stuff of which he was made. Bradlaugh was not a person to be coerced by threats and intimidations into giving up doubts which he conscientiously entertained. Indeed, so far from doing so, he gradually came to the conclusion that Christianity failed to furnish a satisfactory solution of them and thus at the end of three months, when the period of his suspension was over, Mr. Packer found him more than even leaning towards scepticism. The Rev. gentleman, thereupon, made up his mind to try an extreme measure of intimidation, and gave Mr. Bradlaugh to understand that unless he changed his opinions within three days, his situation would be lost to him. This was an extremely cruel position for a minister of religion to place a young, poor man like Mr. Bradlaugh in, and certainly in the case of a smaller man, the minister would have triumphed at the expense of his pupil's conscience, and perhaps also his own. But young Bradlaugh nobly disdained the idea of earning his bread on so servile a condition, and with a brave soul, chose to face poverty, privation and the displeasure of his parents, rather than surrender conscientious opinions at the bidding of another. "His decision," says Mr. Headingley "was prompt." Finding that every one was in league against him,

he determined to leave home and fight the battle of life unaided but independently." Mr. Bradlaugh was hardly seventeen at this time. It should be mentioned that even at this early age, his opinions on several political questions were decisively formed. The reason of this was that his boyhood was passed in the midst of great political activity and stir. He was born at a time when the great agitation that had culminated in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, had not yet quite subsided, and later on, its place was taken by the Chartist movement, which, when Bradlaugh left school, was assuming "formidable proportions." Of Bradlaugh's interest in this movement, Mr. Headingley thus speaks:—"Joining the general current,—and at first, from mere idle curiosity—Bradlaugh attended various open air meetings held in his neighbourhood. The acuteness of the crisis, the ardour of some of the speakers, inspired him with serious thoughts, awakened a consciousness of his own ignorance and gave him the ambition and the courage to study and read whenever he had a leisure moment." In 1848, Mr. Bradlaugh first stood on a public platform to make a political speech, but his experience of this kind of life was not very pleasant on that occasion. He spoke to a crowd about 'the five points of the Charter,' but the meeting ended "with a free fight with the Police, and the arrest of Earnest Jones."

Between 1848 and 1850, Mr. Bradlaugh had taken part in several political meetings, so that when, in the latter year, he found himself compelled, owing to the bigotry of Mr. Packer and to a certain extent, also of his own father, to face the world 'with no money, and hardly any clothes' he was not an absolutely unknown person, and thus when he began to look out for work, a certain Mr. B. B. Jones—an enthusiastic Chartist



at that time—readily came forward to help him. Mr. Jones, however, was a person, “whose means were more limited than his kindness,” and all that he could do for Bradlaugh was to offer him the hospitality of his table for a week, and to help him in the meanwhile to set up in life in some capacity or other. After some deliberation, Mr. Bradlaugh determined to become a coal merchant, but the absence of capital, without which no business can flourish, stood seriously in the way. For some time, he struggled on in this business, but had ultimately to give it up, because, customers refused to buy coals from an ‘Infidel’! A good story, illustrating the deep prejudice that ordinary persons had against transactions with Free-thinkers in those days, is told by Bradlaugh’s biographer. Bradlaugh’s principal customer at that time was a baker’s wife—a simple, good-natured woman—who required several tons of coal every week. The commission on this transaction amounted to about 10s. a week, and this was the principal source of Bradlaugh’s income. “The spirit of persecution was, however, abroad. Some kind friend considerably informed the baker’s wife that Bradlaugh was in the habit of attending meetings of Secularists and Free-thinkers, where he had been known to express very unorthodox opinions. This was a severe blow to the good lady. She had always felt great commiseration for Bradlaugh’s forlorn condition, and a certain pride in herself for helping him in his distress. When, therefore, he called again for orders, she exclaimed at once, but still with her wonted familiarity:—‘Charles, I hear you are an Infidel’! At that time Bradlaugh was not quite sure whether he was an Infidel or not. But he instinctively foresaw that the question addressed him might interfere with the smooth and even course of his business. He therefore dextrously sought to avoid the difficulty by

somewhat exaggerating the importance of the latest fluctuations in the coal market. The stratagem was of no avail. His kind but painfully orthodox customer again returned to the charge, and then Bradlaugh had to fall back upon the difficulty of defining the meaning of the word Infidel, in which line of argument he evidently failed to produce a favourable impression.\* Again and again, he tried to revert to the more congenial subject of a reduction in the price of coals, and when finally he pressed hard for the usual order, the interview was brought to a close by the baker's wife. She declared in accents of firm conviction, which have never been forgotten, that she could not think of having any more coals from an Infidel. 'I should be afraid that my bread should smell of brimstone', she added with a shudder." The loss of this good woman's custom compelled Bradlaugh to wind up his career as a coal merchant. For some time after, he was supported by a certain Mr. Barnes, but this position of dependence on another became intolerable to his proud spirit. During all this time, his activity as a propagator of Free-thought was ceaseless. He regularly devoted Sundays and the evenings of week-days to religious discussions, and in a short time, gained the reputation of being a powerful speaker. A pamphlet written by him at this time entitled, "A few words on the Christian's creed", was published by a respectable firm, and was further honoured with a review in the *British Banner*. This was Mr. Bradlaugh's first pamphlet; and although devout Christians denounced the writer in strong terms, the Free-thought Party regarded the pamphlet as a distinct success. The pamphlet at once placed Mr. Bradlaugh in the fore-front of Free thinkers, but "all this popularity, though pleasing in itself, failed to bring grist to the mill." Success as a speaker and a pamphleteer could not satisfy the

demands of hunger, and Bradlaugh had therefore gradually to run into debt. "The Free-thinkers", says Mr. Headingley, "who admired his ability and sympathised with his trouble, organized a subscription on his behalf and this far from pleasing him, profoundly humiliated him. It made him realize more forcibly his own poverty, and then the matter was complicated by the bitterness of owing money that he could not pay". His debts were not large;—in all, they amounted to £15s., but they appeared to him to be over-whelming, because he could not see his way to their repayment. Mr. Bradlaugh felt that the time had come when he should make a bold attempt to put himself beyond the immediate pressure of want. While strolling one day in the streets, his attention was attracted by a large poster, which announced that smart young men were required for the service of the East India Company. A bounty of £6-10s., was offered as inducement to enlist. Mr. Bradlaugh saw that the sum was large enough to pay all his debts and at once presented himself before the enlisting sergeant. There was, of course, no difficulty in the way of his enlistment—his stout, muscular frame settled that—but the country, to whose service Mr. Bradlaugh devoted the closing years of his life, was not to see him as a soldier. It so happened that the enlisting sergeant of the East India Company had "borrowed a man" from the sergeant of the 50th foot, and he, therefore, wanted to pay back the debt by giving Bradlaugh to that sergeant. Mr. Bradlaugh resented this, not that he was sorry to remain in England, but because he considered the conduct of the East India Sergeant as an undue interference with his choice. The matter was, however, settled by Bradlaugh being allowed the choice of enrolling himself in the 7th Dragoon Guard.

And thus in December 1850, Mr. Bradlaugh, the boy orator, Mr. Bradlaugh, the Free-thinker, Mr. Bradlaugh, the Chartist, became a soldier!

When we remember that Bradlaugh was only 18 years old at this time, and when we contrast the tenderness of his age with the amount of persecution to which he was so early subjected and which he bravely endured for conscience's sake,—a persecution which may be, to some extent, measured by his rapid changes of profession,—our heart overflows with feelings of admiration and respect for this great humanitarian. Indeed the towering personality of Mr. Bradlaugh never appears grander than at this period. Secularism, which is making such progress in these days, was then a distrusted creed. Those who professed it were not merely subjected to all sorts of persecution, but had also to labour under various legal disabilities. "It was only," says Mr. Headingley, "those who were inspired by the highest sense of duty, who would venture to incur the opprobrium of joining this unpopular body". But the eternal battle between freedom of thought and conscience on one side and bigotry and despotism on the other has always had one issue. Whether Secularism succeeds, as its apostles predict, in becoming on some future day *the religion of the entire humanity*, we do not wish here to discuss. But one thing is certain, that they are absolutely mistaken who regard it merely as a destructive creed. A great historian, the Rev. W. M. Molesworth, although a clergyman himself, has had the greatness of mind to do justice to the secular party; and the character and nature of its creed cannot be better described than in the words of the reverend historian. "Secularism", he says, "is the study of promoting human welfare by material means, measuring human wel-

fare by the utilitarian rules, making the service of others a duty of life. Secularism relates to the present existence of man and to action, the issues of which can be tested by the experience of this life; having for its object the development of the physical, moral and intellectual nature of man to the highest perceivable point, as the immediate duty of society; inculcating the practical sufficiency of natural morality apart from Atheism, Theism or Christianity, engaging its adherents in the promotion of human improvement by material means and making these agreements the common ground of unity for all who would regulate life by reason, and ennoble it by service. The secular is sacred in its influence of life; for by purity of material conditions, the loftiest natures are best sustained, and the lower the most surely elevated. Secularism is a series of principles, intended for the guidance of those who find theology indefinite or inadequate, or deem it unreliable. It replaces theology which mainly regards life as a sinful necessity, as a scene of tribulation through which we pass to a better world. Secularism is, in fact, the religion of doubt. It does not necessarily clash with other religions. It does not deny the existence of god, or even the truth of Christianity; but it does not profess to believe in either one or the other." Unfortunately the beautiful constructive side of Secularism is often lost sight of, not only by those who are its opponents, but also by some who pass for its advocates. Not a little of the prejudice which has hitherto prevailed against this creed is in our opinion, due to this fact. When, however, the history of the rise and progress of Secularism comes to be written, we have no doubt that full justice will be done to the early struggles of the pioneers, and that Charles Bradlaugh's noble

and courageous efforts for the propagation of this faith will be duly and gratefully acknowledged.

Mr. Bradlaugh remained in the Army only for about two years and a half, and his life as a soldier, therefore, is an uneventful one. One or two interesting incidents, however, belonging to this part of his life, and illustrative of the extraordinary courage which he from the beginning possessed, might be related here. When Mr. Bradlaugh joined his regiment at Dublin, he found that his 'gentlemanly' manners made him an object of much ridicule and mirth to his uncouth comrades. Bradlaugh, therefore, thought that it was necessary for him to do something extraordinarily adventurous to establish his prestige with the rough fellows. And thus, one day, when he was teased by these men 'a bit too much,' he boldly challenged the biggest of them—who was reputed to be the best boxer in the regiment—to fight. Mr. Bradlaugh was only a pale-looking stripling of 18 at that time, while his adversary was a stalwart full-grown man. There was therefore no doubt whatsoever in the mind of any one with regard to the issue of the combat. Bradlaugh himself expected to be beaten and his only object in challenging the man was to show that he did not fear fighting with even the strongest man in the regiment. Under such unequal circumstances, the fight commenced, and in a short time Bradlaugh received quite a shower of hard and heavy blows. We have already said that the adversary was a skilful boxer, and it was therefore rarely that he allowed Bradlaugh to deal him a strong blow. Once, however, this man somewhat uncovered himself, and Bradlaugh promptly seized the opportunity to administer to him a very fearful blow and knocked him down. This momentary success infused fresh courage in Bradlaugh. The fighting continued in this

manner for some time, and at last Bradlaugh began to think whether the time had not come for his avowing himself to be beaten, and whether he had not already received a sufficient number of blows to win the esteem of his comrades, when to his utter amazement and to that of every one present, his adversary 'threw up the sponge' and confessed that he could hold out no longer! This absolutely unexpected victory at once put an end to all jokes at Bradlaugh's expense, and after this, no man in the regiment was more respected and feared than he. Another incident is thus narrated by Mr. Headingley:—

"About this time, the owners of the land round Tobin's powder manufactory determined to stop all right of way between the barracks and a place called Inniscarra. They built a gate and shut it against the soldiers and the peasants but still allowed the gentry to pass. This naturally caused great irritation, and Bradlaugh at once investigated the legal side of the question. Finding that the right of way was fully established, he assembled some of the soldiers and villagers, proceeded to the gate, which with their assistance, he destroyed and then wrote on the remains;—"Pulled up by Charles Bradlaugh, C. 52. VII D. G." It might be added that although Bradlaugh thus openly gave his name, his number and his regiment, the owners of the land did not venture to proceed against him! In 1853, his aunt of Bradlaugh died, leaving to him a small sum of money. Mr. Bradlaugh was tired of a soldier's life, and he was, therefore, glad to purchase his discharge with the major portion of this bequest. And thus in the summer of 1853 he left his regiment with an excellent 'good character' certificate from his colonel, again to seek a new profession and fight his way in the world!

When Bradlaugh obtained his discharge from the Army,

he flattered himself with the hope that with the 'good character' certificate from his Colonel, it would not be difficult for him to obtain a respectable situation somewhere, but he soon found that he was greatly mistaken. At last after hunting in vain for months for employment he one day happened to call on a Solicitor named Rogers, who incidentally remarked that he wanted an errand boy, and asked Bradlaugh if he could recommend one. "What salary would you give the errand-boy?" asked Mr. Rogers, and on Mr. Rogers replying that he would pay him 10s. a week, Bradlaugh exclaimed at once—"Then I will take it." Thus at the age of 20, with considerable experience of the world, Bradlaugh again reverted to the dignified profession of an errand-boy! One good result, however, of this employment was that it afforded uncommon opportunities to Mr. Bradlaugh for acquiring legal knowledge. In a short time, Mr. Rogers marked the great abilities of his errand-boy, and in less than a year, he entrusted him with the management of his Common law Department, building for him a special office room. And here Mr. Bradlaugh laid the foundation of that profound knowledge of the laws of his country which so often stood him in good stead and "enabled him to overcome so many difficulties and beat down the barriers of endless opposition."—In this year, (1854) Mr. Bradlaugh married the daughter of a certain Mr. Hooper, a working plasterer, and an enthusiastic admirer of Bradlaugh for his political and religious views. Mrs. Bradlaugh died some years ago, and Miss. Bradlaugh-Bonner is now the only surviving issue of this union.

Mr. Bradlaugh now energetically resumed his Free-thought propaganda, and as before, devoted Sundays and the evenings of week-days to public discussions of religious to-



pics. His orthodox enemies now tried to ruin him by denouncing him to his employer as an atheist. But the generous-hearted solicitor regarded all these attacks as mean and cowardly and treated them with supreme contempt. One thing only he did, and that was to obtain an assurance from Mr. Bradlaugh that he would so conduct his Free-thought work as to cause no harm to Mr. Rogers' business. For the sake of giving effect to his assurance, Mr. Bradlaugh assumed the celebrated pseudonym of *Iconoclast*, and continued to wear the *nom de plume* till the year 1868. Bradlaugh now devoted not only every single minute that he could spare, but also every single farthing that he could save, to the spread of Free-thought in the country. His meagre savings, however, were often inadequate to meet all the expenses of travelling and hiring lecture halls, and posting placards and publishing pamphlets, and although he now and then got a little help from those who were his companions in the work, the main brunt of the charges had to be borne by him and at times he did not hesitate even to run into debt on this account, trusting to future work for its repayment.

Nor was he idle in the domain of political activity. He took a prominent part in the famous Hyde Park disturbances of 1855. Lord Robert Grosvenor had introduced a Bill in the House of Commons, for the purpose of checking Sunday trading. The cruel hardship that this measure involved to the poor might be clearly seen when it is remembered that the rich need not buy on Sundays, but to the poor working people, Sunday is the only day for doing a little marketing. Most of these people receive their weekly wages only on Saturday evening, and they therefore naturally devote the morning of Sunday to the purchase of provisions. The inconvenience and hardship re-

sulting from Lord Robert Grosvenor's measure sorely exercised the minds of the unwashed millions of the country and led to a great agitation which culminated in a monster demonstration in the Hyde Park in the teeth of Police prohibition, and a consequent scuffle with the Police. Afterwards when a Commission was appointed to enquire into the disturbances, Mr. Bradlaugh gave valuable evidence on the side of the people, and this he did in so bold and straight-forward a manner that he was openly thanked for it by the Right Hon'ble Stuart Wortley in the name of the Commission. In 1858, Bradlaugh took a leading part in the defence of Simon Bernard who was arrested by the Palmerston Ministry at the instigation of the French Government. The arrest raised quite a storm of indignation in the country. A Committee for the defence of Simon was at once organized with Bradlaugh as its Secretary. The subsequent events—the trial of Simon Bernard, the defeat of Lord Palmerston's Government, and the acquittal of Simon are all matters familiar to every student of modern history and they need not detain us here.

In 1856, Bradlaugh commenced the publication of a series of papers, entitled 'Half-hours with Free thinkers.' In 1857, he tried to preach his anti-theological opinions for the first time out of London. Speaking of this period, Mr. Headingly observes:—"This lecturing proved to be a most arduous business. On Saturday, after office hours, Bradlaugh would start for some country town. On Sunday, he probably delivered three lectures, and then would be compelled to rush off, perhaps before the conclusion of the last meeting, in order to catch the latest train back to town. On other occasions, he had to rise at the earliest hour on Monday morning to be in time for the first train that

would carry him back to London, and enable him to reach his office and resume his daily duties." This work, arduous as it was, was rendered still more arduous by the slenderness of his means which necessitated his travelling in third class carriages and taking of slow trains; and often the worry of the journey was intensified by want of food for a whole day. In November 1858, Bradlaugh commenced to edit the *Investigator*, and in this year, he was also elected President of the London Secular Society. The work of the Society was pushed on vigorously, but the *Investigator* was a failure. Its circulation was small, and even that small steadily dwindled, and in August 1859, Bradlaugh had to close the paper. Bradlaugh's election as President of the London Secular Society gave him a recognized status as a leader of the Free-thought party and in a short time, he found himself engaged in a number of debates in all parts of the country. At Northampton, Sheffield, Glasgow, Halifax, and several other places, he conducted public discussions and controversies on 'the Bible' with distinguished ministers of the church. At Sheffield, the Rev. Dr. Monsor, who was Bradlaugh's adversary there, began to speak Hebrew in order to shame Bradlaugh before the audience for his ignorance of that language. But to his astonishment he found that Bradlaugh knew Hebrew perhaps better than himself. "During the four nights," says Bradlaugh's biographer, "that the discussion lasted, they both drew Hebrew characters on a black board—a process which amused and mystified the audience, and by which Bradlaugh gained great credit; for whatever his knowledge of Hebrew might have been, he certainly contrived to write the square Hebrew characters with great clearness and rapidity. The audience could not understand the points at issue, but they gave the palm to the

disputant who wrote the "best hand." In 1860, the *National Reformer* was started, Mr. Joseph Barker, a well-known public speaker of the time, being associated with Mr. Bradlaugh in the editorship of the paper. The conjoint editing was done in a unique way. The paper was divided equally into two parts, and each editor wrote in his half whatever he liked best. The arrangement, however, did not prove a happy one. In a short time, the editors fell out and then for several days after, half of the paper for the most part contained violent attacks against the writer of the other half. This intolerable state of things could not be allowed to continue long and was brought to a termination by the shareholders of the paper in August 1861. They appointed in that month Mr. Bradlaugh the sole editor,—and with one brief interval,—he continued to edit the paper till his death.

In October 1860, Mr. Bradlaugh visited Wigan with the object of pushing on his Free-thought propaganda in that place. Here he met not only with violent opposition, but also with the roughest personal handling. An infuriated mob, under the leadership of a leading clergyman of the place, followed him with hooting and yelling wherever he went. The lecture hall was attacked, and efforts were made to force the doors open. In the struggle that ensued, Bradlaugh received a severe blow in the side. Towards the conclusion of the lecture, the rector's secretary forced his way into the hall through a window; and inspired by his example, "some persons began to throw lime in through the windows, while others who had managed to climb on the roof poured water down the ventilators." The disturbance reached its climax when through a little hole in the centre of the ceiling, a hand appeared waving a dirty rag! The audience got excited and

alarmed at this, some sincerely believing that the devil had appeared as a result of Bradlaugh's blasphemy. When Mr. Bradlaugh left the lecture-hall, he was at once mobbed and stoned and several respectable-looking persons improved the occasion by spitting in his face! At last with very great difficulty, he made his way to his hotel, but there a new and unexpected trouble awaited him. The landlady of the hotel, urged by Bradlaugh's enemies, and fearing also for her own safety, insisted that Bradlaugh should leave the hotel at once. He appealed to her in all sorts of ways, but she continued inexorable. At last finding that appeals were useless, Mr. Bradlaugh altered his tone, talked of his contract and of law, went boldly to his room, locked it securely inside, and quietly retired to bed, defying the landlady to eject him. The next issue of the *National Reformer* contained "the following characteristic leader":—

"If all lectures are attended with the same risk and hazard as those delivered by me at Wigan this week, I shall require my friends who are favourable to an extended propaganda to pay the premium for a policy in the office of insurance against accidents to limb and life. I have no taste for martyrdom and I protest most vigorously against the right of any body of religious fanatics to canonize me as St. Stephen the Second. I may be wrong, but I shall never be convinced of my error by a mob of 'true' believers, yelling at my heels like mad dogs, under the leadership of a pious rector's trusty subordinate, or hammering at the door of my lecture-room under the direction of an infuriate church parson. I object that in the nineteenth century, it is hardly to be tolerated that a bigot priest shall use his influence with the proprietor of the hotel where I am staying in order to 'get the devil kicked out

into the street' after half-past ten at night. I do not admit the right of a rich church dignitary's Secretary to avoid the payment of his three-pence at the door by jumping through the window, especially when I or my friends have to pay for the broken glass and sash frame. True, all these things and worse happened at Wigan, but I should prefer that they did not happen again. They will not prevent my lecturing if they do, but they will make my talk louder and stronger which will be inconvenient to all parties. I have also a word of advice to the Mayor of Wigan, who appears to be a respectable, red-faced, dumpy sort of shop-keeping person, and who, as I am credibly informed, used threats about stopping my lectures by force of law. My advice to you, Mr. Mayor, is contained in one word—try!"

When Mr. Bradlaugh visited Wigan a second time, there was a repetition, though on a smaller scale, of the mobbing and the stoning. Brick-bats were freely thrown at him, and a miserable rough gave him a severe kick in the leg. Bradlaugh's patience and persistency, however, swept away everything. After this he continued to visit Wigan every year, and every time he went there, he found the opposition growing feebler and feebler; till at last a powerful party of secularists grew up in that place, ready to offer him a loving and respectful welcome.

About this time, Mr. Bradlaugh left the service of Mr. Rogers, and was articled to Mr. Harfey, another Solicitor. This new master was, however, plunged deep in debt, and the connection therefore inflicted some pecuniary losses on Mr. Bradlaugh himself. To this misfortune, another was soon added in the shape of a prolonged illness. The work that Bradlaugh

did was too much even for his iron frame and a severe rheumatic fever was the consequence.\* At this time, the Italian patriots were struggling to make Italy a nation, and as soon as Mr. Bradlaugh recovered from his illness, he conceived it to be his duty to help the patriotic party as far as lay in his power. He arranged meetings, delivered addresses, and collected subscriptions on behalf of the Italian patriots. He was not able to collect a large sum—a hundred guineas was all that he could raise—but the contribution was duly appreciated and Garibaldi wrote to Mr. Bradlaugh warmly thanking him for his services. Mr. Bradlaugh now paid several visits to Italy, partly on business and partly to observe for himself the progress of the patriotic cause. Naturally he was regarded by the Papal party with great distrust, and on one occasion he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. A few days after Bomba's fall, when Mr. Bradlaugh was at Naples, he received a packet of political letters from the patriotic party to be conveyed to England. Although there was no one in the room when the packet was delivered to him, some how or other the news of his having received it reached the authorities, and therefore just as he was sailing away from Italy, a number of Papal gendarmes came on board the ship. Anxious to avoid a row in the presence of the other passengers, the men wanted to decoy Mr. Bradlaugh from the ship on Italian soil. The officer, therefore, at the head of the party walked up to Mr. Bradlaugh and with much politeness told him that the British Consul wished to see him on shore. Mr. Bradlaugh at once suspected some foul play, for he could not conceive that the British Consul could have any business with him. He therefore, with equal politeness refused to leave the ship, and retiring, sat by

the side of his portmanteau, which contained the despatches. The officer, seeing that his stratagem was of no avail, made up his mind to resort to force, and assuming a threatening attitude, insisted on inspecting Mr. Bradlaugh's luggage. Mr. Bradlaugh took in the situation at a glance, and at once producing his English passport, claimed to be spared all further annoyance. This was, however, to no purpose, for the gendarmes were determined to break open his luggage and capture the letters. The position was desperate. Mr. Bradlaugh instantly determined not to yield the precious documents without a struggle. He was fearfully out-numbered, but with great composure and presence of mind, he set his back against his portmanteau, drew out of his pocket a heavy, six chambered revolver, cocked and took aim at the nearest gendarme and then told the men that whatever might happen to him, he was determined to blow out the brains of the first man who would attempt to violate the sanctity of the English passport. The gendarmes were not prepared for this bold defiance. They retreated a little, held a consultation and decided to attack him at once from before and behind. But at this critical moment, a stout-looking American, who was watching the whole incident with keen interest, ran to his succour. He was extremely delighted with the 'Britisher's pluck,' and snatching up a chair, he sprang forward and placed himself back to back with Mr. Bradlaugh, shouting loudly "I guess I'll stand by the Britisher!" This unexpected help to Mr. Bradlaugh at once decided the matter. The cowardly gendarmes precipitately left the ship with the ostensible object of fetching further reinforcement, but in the meanwhile, the ship sailed away.

In 1861, Mr. Bradlaugh travelled all over England to



advance the cause of Secularism, 'raising the banner of Free-thought even where its echo had never been heard.' In some places he met with the bitterest opposition, and at Guernsey, the experiences of his first visit to Wigan were repeated, if possible, in a more intensified form. At this place, from the time when his arrival was greeted with a shower of rotten eggs down to the moment when he left it he was persecuted on every step and in every conceivable way. No person would give him the use of his hall, even though he offered a liberal rent, no printer would print any placards for him and even the town crier refused to make any announcement for the 'representative of the devil.' Throughout the Island, there was but one person friendly to Mr. Bradlaugh! Mr. Bendall was a devoted Secularist and had suffered much for his opinions, and he now came forward to offer every assistance to Mr. Bradlaugh. The two together sallied forth at a late hour in the night, furnished with paste-pot, brush and ladder, and taking advantage of the quiet that prevailed, they soon stuck up advertisements of Mr. Bradlaugh's lecture in all prominent places. Next day, at the hour announced for the lecture, Mr. Bradlaugh found a large mob 'infuriated by drink and fanaticism,' behaving in the wildest manner possible in the vicinity of the place where the lecture was to be delivered. And as soon as Mr. Bradlaugh uttered the first sentence, a terrific storm of hisses and groans, yelling, hooting and menacing arose from all directions. 'Kill the Infidel,' 'Murder the Infidel,' were the cries that rent the air on all sides. Of course under the circumstances, the lecture could not go on, and with great difficulty he succeeded in returning to his hotel. But here a number of drunk and disorderly soldiers soon gathered to 'pitch the Infidel into the sea.' They

threatened to demolish the hotel if the landlady did not throw Mr. Bradlaugh to them. With great presence of mind, however, that woman led Mr. Bradlaugh into a dark room, locked him up there and then asked the soldiers to come in and themselves look for Mr. Bradlaugh, and did not let Mr. Bradlaugh out of the room till all was quiet. In subsequent years, Mr. Bradlaugh paid several visits to this island, but the opposition to him grew every year feebler and feebler till at last it completely died out.

At Devonport, Mr. Bradlaugh came into collision with the Police. A field had been rented in that town by the Plymouth and Devonport Secular Society for two lectures which Mr. Bradlaugh had promised to deliver there. Placards were posted, announcing the lectures and when Mr. Bradlaugh went to the field, he found a respectable audience awaiting his arrival. He had, however, hardly finished his first sentence—"Friends, I am about to address you on the Bible"—when the Superintendent of Police came forward and arrested him for preaching against religion. Mr. Bradlaugh protested vigorously against this illegal arrest, but the Superintendent paid no heed to his words. The Policemen who took him in custody began to treat him very roughly, and it was not till he drove his elbow violently into one of their sides that they began to practise better manners towards him. Mr. Bradlaugh was taken to the Police station. Although bail was forthcoming, it was refused, and he was consigned to a dark, cold stone cell. The next day Mr. Bradlaugh was placed before a bench of Magistrates and his trial commenced. Two lawyers appeared on behalf of the prosecution, Mr. Bradlaugh defending himself. But at the time of going through the very preliminaries, it was discovered that a great blunder had been

losopher and the peasant, the monotheist and the polytheist, the Atheist and the Pantheist, the Sanyashi and the Grihastha, the pessimist and the optimist—all find their opinions mirrored in the different phases of the Hindu Shastras. The sublimest ideas of an all-pervading Providence, and the most ennobling lessons of morality are inculcated in them by the side of the grossest fetichism, and the most corrupt depravity of practices. While it is exclusive to a degree, it has at the same time developed on occasions a wonderful power of assimilation. When the Brahmins began to trample the Shastras under their feet, and look down upon the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as their inferiors and to sacrifice hecatombs of animals to please the gods, Budha arose with his religion of equality and kindness to all. The much oppressed Shudras and the proud warrior and trading castes joined the new standard of revolt. Animal sacrifices were abolished and the Brahmins sought equal protection at the hands of the Kshatriya kings and merchant Princes, and in time Budhism became the dominant religion of the land. The Brahmins, seeing this, recognised Budha as an incarnation of Vishnoo and adopted his great doctrine of love to all creatures even when they drove away Budha's followers out of India. The Mohamedan conquest brought in its train the rise of Nanak Panthis and the Kabir Panthis protesting against idolatry and caste in its extreme rigour, and in course of time these systems also found recognition and were incorporated into Hinduism. Under the influence of these new ideas, the Shaktas and the Shaiwas and the Vaishnavas, who played such an important part in the

In our own days these same reforming agencies are at work, stimulated by the conflict with Christianity and its militant ideas, and Brahmoism and the Vedic religion of Dayanand Saraswati are striving to gain a recognition for themselves as part and parcel of reformed Hinduism. Seeing what Hinduism has already accomplished, it is not too much to predict that it will in time incorporate the spirit of these new movements and renovate its life and reform its ideals of faith and practice on the traditions of the best days of the Upanishads and the Bhagvatgita. There is no lack of suitable revelations or of inspired prophets to guide and vivify the nation's faith and the nation's practices. Foreign systems will not shake the edifice so deep rooted in wisdom and affections. The conflict with foreign systems only brings out the vivifying forces to the surface and brushes away excrescences and corruptions. There is therefore no ground to fear a permanent reaction. The old tree will, in its own period of re-current spring, put forth new life and vigour and bless the land with its fruits and flowers and its protective shade.

We cordially welcome the efforts of the reformers (and the Revivalists too are *reformers in spirit*) for their endeavours to place the truth of the Hindu religion before the people. Each reformer is explaining the Hindu religion in his own way and in this struggle of the best minds of the nation lies its ultimate salvation.

favour; but the special Jury, composed of Bradlaugh's religious opponents, gave him only a *farthing* damages! The injustice of the Jury, however, served one purpose,—it gathered much public sympathy round Mr. Bradlaugh. After leaving Devonport, Mr. Bradlaugh visited Dumfries, and Burnley. In both places there were most hostile demonstrations and Mr. Bradlaugh was treated quite as roughly as at Wigan and Guernsey. At Burnley, however, the people soon felt ashamed of their conduct, and after the first outburst of fanaticism was over Mr. Bradlaugh was subjected to no further annoyance.

During all these years, an important question was growing ripe for solution. The disabilities under which free-thinkers laboured in the matter of giving evidence in Law Courts were felt by many to be a most unjust hardship, and an agitation for their removal, at first low and feeble, was steadily growing loud and powerful. Free-thinkers could not conscientiously swear by the Bible and they were on that account debarred from giving evidence in Courts of Law. Even the most earnest Christians now began to feel that this intolerance was shameful; and Sir John Trelawny, who had worked hard for the abolition of Church rates, now raised his voice against compulsory oaths. At the end of 1860, a case cropped up, which made the injustice of these disabilities patent to all. A certain Mrs. Maden, an atheist, was the plaintiff in the case. But the Judge refused to hear her on the ground that she did not believe in an avenging deity! The dismissal of the case on such a ground excited much indignation throughout the country and led to a committee being formed for a reform of the Oaths system. Sir J. Trelawny introduced a Bill in Parliament to

enable Free-thinkers to affirm, and though the House of Commons threw out the measure, the reception with which it met there and outside unmistakably indicated that its passing was only a question of time. Mr. Bradlaugh too suffered at this time owing to his disqualifications in this respect. A shorthand writer at Wigan claimed a certain sum of money from Mr. Bradlaugh. The latter disputed the claim on certain grounds. The matter went before a court, but its merits were not gone into. Mr. Bradlaugh being a Free-thinker, the statement was inadmissible, and the case, therefore, was decided against him!

In 1863, Mr. Bradlaugh temporarily retired from the editorship of the *National Reformer*, mainly on the ground of shattered health. The farewell that he addressed at this time to his readers was most touching and has been much admired. The following portion from it, quoted by his biographer, containing as it does a clear declaration of his principles, will amply repay perusal and no apology therefore need be made for its length:—

“In Manchester, on Sunday week, friends gathered from all parts—from Liverpool, Birkenhead, Ashton, Oldham, Altrincham, Shaw, Staley-bridge, Rochdale and their neighbourhoods. Morning, afternoon and evening familiar faces flocked into the Assembly rooms of the Free Trade Hall, and many a hearty hand-shaking greeted the lecturer on the way to and from the platform. In looking at the thousand eyes which sparkled with approving recognition from all parts of the hall, one forgot illness, anxiety, toil and trouble, only remembering that the effort of the moment was appreciated, and only desiring that it might be permanently useful to the

cause. It is now not less than thirteen years since my first Free-thought address in Bonner's Fields, but during my lecture in the Free Trade Hall Assembly Rooms, my memory went back to those outdoor gatherings in Bethnal Green and now my pen hesitates while I ask myself, who shall write the report of my final lecture and where and when shall that be spoken. I am an Infidel, a rough ~~self~~-taught Infidel. What honours shall I win if I grow grey in this career? Critics who break a lance against me in my absence will tell you now that I am from the lower classes, without University education and that I lack classical lore. Clergymen, who see God's mercy reflected in an eternal hell, will tell you even that I am wanting in a conception of common-humanity. Skilled penmen will demonstrate that I have not the merest rudiments of Biblical knowledge. I thank these assailants for the past; when they pricked and stung me, with their very waspish piety, they did me good service, gave me the clue to my weakness, laid bare to me my ignorance and drove me to acquire knowledge which might otherwise never have been mine. I pray the opposing forces to continue their attacks that by teaching me my weakness, they may make me strong. Some (who have not been for the excavating, tunnelling and levelling work, but are vainly having shaken hands or taken wine with the chairman of a completed line of railway) say: 'Oh! a mere puller-down!' Is that so? I have preached equality not by aiming to reduce men's intellects to the level of my own, but rather by inciting each of my hearers to develop his mind to the fullest extent, obtaining thus the hope, not of an equality of ignorance but of a more equal diffusion of knowledge. I have attacked the Bible, but never the latter alone; the Church, but never have I confined myself to a mere assault on its practices.

I have deemed that I attacked theology best in asserting most the fullness of humanity. I have regarded Iconoclasm as a means, not as an end. The work is weary, but the end is well. The political prisoner in the Austrian dungeon day by day files at the massive chain and sturdy bar. The labour is serious but the reward is great. Tell him it is poor drudgery work and he tells you, 'but I toil for freedom.' Watch another captive, how with an old nail, rusted and rotten, he picks, atom by atom, the mortar from between the stones of his prison wall. Tell him that other men have used more perfect tools, he will answer, 'This old red, rusty nail is to me bright silver lever, powerful instrument, for it is the only tool I have wherewith to toil for liberty. Tell the black woodman, who, with axe in hand, hews at the trunks of sturdy trees that his is destructive work, and he will answer: 'I clear the ground that plough and reaping-hook may be used by and by.' And I answer that in many men—and women, too, alas!—thought is prison-bound, with massive chains of old church welding; that human capacity for progress is hindered, grated in by prison bars, priest-wrought and law-protected; that the good wide field of common humanity is overcovered with the trunks of creed frauds, the outgrowth of ancient mythologies. I affirm that file, old nail and axe are useful, and their use honourable,—not as an end, but some means towards the end—for when all true men should strike, that is the enduring happiness of mankind.

"What honour do I get, what reward do I hope for? Not a red ribbon of some Legion of Honor, given by a crowned knave to repay the faint imitation of his own rascality. But an enrolment, ever as the poorest soldier, amongst the rank and file of that Legion of Honour, who have been



hooted as heretics in one age, and honoured as men in the age succeeding. I hope for no peerage such as is won by the right of heirdom to the lady whose pointed face and easy virtue have marked her the mother of a line of Dukes; but my reward—won in the endeavour to upraise myself—won in the endeavour, even if unsuccessful, to be useful to my fellows. My reward—I have it now in the sympathy of Lancashire and Yorkshire factory hands, and in the co-operative approval of the workers of the Midland Counties and North British Districts. My honours, I have them in each kind word and visit and welcome. These are flowers which, strewn across the path of life, make it cheerful to the traveller. Atheist, without God, I look to mankind for sympathy, for love, for hope, for effort, for aid. I see that if the Christian religion be true, and special Providence a verity, then even in the nineteenth century, the Christian God piles snowflakes on the roof of his own house until the steeple-crowned summit falls in, and crushes beneath its weight the worshippers, who unsuspectingly pray to him to protect them from all evil. The unfortunates worship on their knees and die so. I at least will try to stand up right, and will seek to defy the wrong, and offer more useful worship in working to assert the right. If struck down, it shall be while fighting my best in the battle of life. In this journal, the conduct of which I am now surrendering, I have to the best of my ability given free utterance to all who chose to speak. On the platform, I have ever done the same; and whether myself right or wrong, I at least can boast that I have ever sought to submit each opinion to the test of free criticisms."

"For the future, who can speak? I trust not to de-

generate as I grow older, and I do not think that I shall live to read my reasons for a 'conversion to Christianity.' I do not hope, nor do I desire to see the various Free-thought advocates pursuing the same policy in their teachings; on the contrary, it is from the very diversities exhibited in our advocacies, while as yet our knowledge is limited and imperfect, that I am led to hope most earnestly for a real and effective unity in the future. Such unity should be based on knowledge reached by different paths, on truth tested by various methods, on facts attained in most diverse fashions. Diversities? What are they? The sower scatters his seed. Each grain falls to the soil in its own zigzag way; but it is not the manner in which the grain descends to the earth that we look at, but the ripened corn-ears fit for harvesting."

When the American Civil War broke out, Mr. Bradlaugh at once expressed his strong sympathy with the cause of the North and denounced in most vigorous terms the slave-owners of the South and their unrighteous doings. He held meetings, delivered addresses and tried to create sympathy in the English mind for Abraham Lincoln's efforts to put down the rebellion in the Southern States. Mr. Bradlaugh also took a prominent part in the agitation for the abolition of the Irish Church and the settling of the Irish Land question. His sympathy with Ireland and her woes had always been deep. It has been authoritatively stated that he was intimately connected with the Fenian rising. Some have even asserted that the very manifesto of the Provisional Government, proclaiming to the world the Irish Republic, was drafted by him. There is no doubt that with some of the leading Fenians he was on terms of the greatest intimacy. It is also equally certain that he always exerted his influence with these men for moderating

their vehemence. We should not omit to add that Mr. Bradlaugh never hesitated to denounce the excesses of the Irish extremists.

In 1868, Mr. Bradlaugh found himself involved in a serious struggle with the Government of the day in connection with the *National Reformer*, whose editorship he had resumed. Mr. Disraeli was then in power. He had conceived a special dislike for Mr. Bradlaugh on account of his Irish sympathies, and also owing to his being a most active Democrat. Mr. Bradlaugh had taken a very prominent part in the grand Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square demonstrations which had been organised to protest against the rejection of Gladstone's Reform Bill, and Mr. Disraeli never forgave him for this. For some time past, his Ministry had been trying to get Mr. Bradlaugh within the clutches of the Law. Special instructions were given to the Police to watch him closely. But nothing turned up to place Mr. Bradlaugh within Mr. Disraeli's power. At the beginning of 1868, therefore, his Government resorted to the dirty trick of reviving an obsolete enactment of the time of George III. against "vilifying our holy religion" and prosecuted Mr. Bradlaugh under it.

The *National Reformer* had been in existence since 1861; but it was only at the beginning of 1868 that it was discovered that its mission was prohibited by law! The Commissioners of the Inland Revenue claimed a penalty of £20 for each copy of the paper that had been issued since its starting—a terrible claim amounting altogether to between 3 and 4 millions sterling. The parties in this case were to all appearances most unequally matched. On the one side was a strong Government with the treasury of the nation behind it, and the

best legal talent of the country at its disposal. On the other side stood a single individual, not merely poor but deeply involved in debt, and with no training but what had been imparted to him by his rough experiences in life. A smaller man than Mr. Bradlaugh would certainly have shrunk from the contest. Bradlaugh however determined to fight the case out, and his friends strove to raise a defence fund for him. It is but just to observe that public sympathy was entirely with Mr. Bradlaugh in this matter. The people were filled with disgust at the outrageous conduct of the Government in reviving a practically obsolete law for the purpose of crushing an individual. It might be mentioned that in 1855, Mr. Gladstone, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had introduced a Bill for repealing this very enactment. Mr. Gladstone's measure was passed by the House of Commons, but it was thrown out by the House of Lords. In 1857, another attempt was made by another member to carry a similar measure, but that too shared the fate of its predecessor. And thus the statute, under which Mr. Bradlaugh was prosecuted or rather persecuted, was one, which more than ten years back had been pronounced by the popular Chamber of the British Legislature to be entirely iniquitous. Fortunately for Mr. Bradlaugh the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General who represented Government negligently made some bad blunders at the beginning, of which Mr. Bradlaugh was not slow to take advantage. In the copy of the information served on Mr. Bradlaugh, the date was not filled in. Mr. Bradlaugh at once brought the flaw to the notice of the Court and got the information withdrawn. The victory to Mr. Bradlaugh was only nominal, but it was very humiliating to the Law-Officers of the crown.

While the case was proceeding, remonstrances were addressed to the Government from all quarters, no less a person than John Shart Mill earnestly imploring the Government 'not to enforce a law which the House of Commons had twice voted should be repealed.' But the Government was destined to blunder in this unfortunate matter from beginning to end. It would not withdraw from the contest, when it was easy for it to do so with ease; and yet ultimately it gave up the prosecution on the flimsy ground that on the appointed day, a sufficient number of the special Jury-men were not present. The abandonment, however, was not final. For the next year, the Liberal Government that came into office regarded it as its duty to resume the prosecution. Again Mr. Bradlaugh had to contend against the Law-Officers of the crown and, strange to say, again, they made mistakes which enabled Mr. Bradlaugh to avert the blow aimed at him. Mr. Bradlaugh was prosecuted for being the proprietor of the *National Reformer* on the 1st of May. The Law-Officers of the Crown had in their possession a letter written by Mr. Bradlaugh, in which he had admitted that he was proprietor of the paper on the 10th of April; and they thought that this was sufficient to establish his proprietary connection. Baron Bramwell who tried the case on the first instance did not notice this flaw and Bradlaugh too did not draw his attention to it. He allowed the unsuspecting Attorney-General to have a verdict in the Crown's favour, confident that it was sure to be set aside on purely technical grounds. Bradlaugh's appeal against Baron Bramwell's verdict was argued before Lord Chief Baron Kebley. Mr. Bradlaugh now urged that the prosecution had not adduced evidence to establish his proprietary connection with

the paper on the 1st of May; it was true, he had admitted himself to be the proprietor on the 10th of April, but from that it did not follow that he was also the proprietor on the 1st of May. The flaw was evident, and the chief Baron had to get aside Baron Bramwell's verdict. Thus on purely technical grounds Mr. Bradlaugh triumphed a second time over the highest and best-trained members of the legal profession! After this the Government took no further proceedings against him, and dropped the matter entirely. Shortly after, a measure for the repeal of the obnoxious enactment was passed by both the Houses of Parliament! Mr. John Stuart Mill wrote to Mr. Bradlaugh to congratulate him on this victory. "You have gained," said the great philosopher, "a very valuable success in obtaining a repeal of the mischievous act by your persevering resistance."

While engaged in this struggle with Government, Mr. Bradlaugh made his first attempt to enter Parliament. At the general election of 1868, he was invited by the people of Northampton to stand for the constituency in the Liberal interest. At a meeting of nearly 4000 Liberals held in that town, a proposition in support of his candidature was carried with only one dissentient voice. All went well and it was settled that Mr. Gilpin and Mr. Bradlaugh should be the two Liberal candidates for the constituency, when suddenly a third Liberal candidate sprang up in the person of Lord Houlton with the approval of Mr. Gladstone! Bradlaugh's chances were now very poor. He enjoyed considerable popularity with the working classes, but the middle and upper classes still regarded him with great distrust. He, however, worked manfully; but was in the end defeated, the two Liberals and two Conservatives being above him on the list.

We have already referred to the disqualification of Free-thinkers to give evidence in Courts of Law owing to their inability to take the prescribed oath. Mr. Gladstone's Government, anxious perhaps to remove the shameful disability, passed a measure in 1869 so amending the Law of Evidence that the incompetency was thought to be removed. The new Bill provided that "if any person, called to give evidence in any court of justice whether in a civil or criminal proceeding, shall object to take an oath, or shall be objected to as incompetent to take an oath, such person shall, if the presiding judge is satisfied that the taking of an oath would have no binding effect on his conscience, make the following declaration &c." It was, however, soon discovered by Mr. Bradlaugh in connection with a case in which he himself was the plaintiff, that the provision made by the amendment of 1869 was insufficient. He, therefore, vigorously agitated for an absolute removal of the disqualification, and mainly owing to his exertions, Government passed another measure in 1870, further amending the Law of Evidence, and giving Free-thinkers the right to give evidence by affirmation on all occasions in distinct and unequivocal terms.

At the time of the Franco-German War, Mr. Bradlaugh strove hard to arouse in England sympathy for France. An incident, dramatic in its nature, led Mr. Bradlaugh to adopt this attitude toward that country. The incident is thus described by Mr. Headingley:—"Surrounded with books, plunged in a maze of papers, sitting in his shirt-sleeves, the better to resist the heat and accomplish his work, Bradlaugh's silent labour was one day interrupted by an unexpected tap at the door. "Who is there?" he exclaimed in a tone of surprise. "A woman, and a French woman" was the somewhat dramatic and unusual re-

ply. Bradlaugh hastily donned a coat and invited his visitor to take a chair, if, indeed, she could find one amid the litter and confusion of the room. Madame la Camtesse, having thus obtained admission, explained the object of her mission with all the graceful eloquence which distinguishes a French lady, and fixing her gaze steadily on Bradlaugh, she rose and concluded by saying:—‘ You state that you love France, and I know that this is true ; you are, it is said, a powerful speaker and yet you hesitate to save a drowning people.’ ” This mysterious visitor produced a wonderful effect on the course of Bradlaugh’s action. He at once organized a number of meetings and demonstrations to urge the English Government to intercede in favour of France. The effect of these meetings on the mind of Mr. Gladstone, who was then the Prime Minister, was great. The Government of the National Defence of France, learning this, sent two or three diplomatists to England to negotiate in the matter. These men, however, bungled from beginning to end, and thereby cut off whatever hope there might have been at one time of England extending her hand of help to France to enable the latter to tide over the crisis. But although nothing practical came out of Mr. Bradlaugh’s agitation, the French people appreciated his services and M. Gambetta wrote him a letter conveying to him the thanks of the French Nation.

In 1872 Mr. Bradlaugh published his celebrated ‘ Impeachment of the House of Brunswick.’ The pamphlet boldly challenges the hereditary right of kings and brims over with Republican ideas. At this time he also delivered addresses in various places preaching the principles of Republicanism and asking the people to aim at having a perfect form of Re-



present from him. The Pundits who have been honored with the title of Mahamahopadhyaya accepted the invitation of the English rulers of the land, shook hands with them, talked to them and accepted from their hands the badges of honor. The editor of the *Bangabashi* has taken exception to the doings of the Pundits and a controversy is going on between them.—It is evident that the editor is trying to get the hand back on the dial and to accomplish what is wellnigh impossible. He should remember that the rules of a community must be amended from time to time to suit the altered circumstances. The sages of old realized this necessity. The rules that were in force in the Satyayuga were amended in the Treta and so on.—The editor is anxious to raise the position of the Brahmins. Now the question is—who are the Brahmins? Have not most of the Brahmins, orthodox or otherwise, digressed from the paths of their ancestors? Are there not many among the inferior orders who are far better than the proud Brahmins? Why should they not be raised to the rank of Brahmins? We admit the necessity of a body of religious teachers. But under cover of it, we are not prepared to let the priesthood regain its tyrannical sway.

Kumar Sreekrishna has very sensibly kept himself aloof from these extravagancies of the Editor of the *Bangabashi*. He says outward forms cannot effect any good. Following the example of Chaitanya, he is exhorting the Hindus to take the name of Hari. In his lecture on *Andhair Yashti* (blind man's stick) he thus expressed himself: you are wise, I am not speaking of you; you are a yogi, keep yourself aloof from this assembly; you have attained Bhakti, I have no concern with you. I see yonder the poor blind man. Let him come near. Let him take this stick, the name of Hari.—

The Editor has, it is believed, a great regard for Kumar Sree Krishna. Let him consult with him on this subject and follow his wise counsel.

We have thus placed before the reader an account of the revival of Hinduism in Bengal. In the light of this information, it will not be difficult to account for the religious frenzy which seems to have seized upon the people of that Province when the cry was raised that the Hindu religion was in danger. A movement led by such men as Shrikrishna Prasonna, the Pandit Shashidhar, Babu Bunkim Chandra and the Editor of the *Bangabashi*,—a movement represented by the establishment of Dharma Sabhas all over the country must naturally culminate in the wild panic, which distinguished the agitation in Bengal during the last few months and before which even men like Mr. Mana Mohan Ghose, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, and Mr. Surendranath Banerji apparently bowed their heads in silence. It is true Babu Noren-dranath Sen, Babu Shambhu Chandra Mukerji, Dr. Mohendra Lal Sirkar, Babu Durga Charun Laha and others, boldly stood up against reactionary ideas but their voice was drowned in the storm of Hariboles and Kali Mataki Jayas, in the Sankirtan and chanting of Chandi and sounding of conch-shells and the war-cry of Pandits and Gosavis.

We have now a few remarks to make on the general question whether this revival is likely to produce any lasting effects upon the future of the development of Hindu faith and practice in Bengal. It is very difficult to define what Hinduism is. It is like a large Banian tree with branches spread abroad, giving shelter to creatures of all sorts. Hinduism gives shelter to men of different shades of opinion and in all the stages of progress. The learned and the illiterate, the phi-

public in England. This was a time when a sort of Republican wave was passing over Europe. France had established a Republic for herself. Spain too was at this time struggling to establish and maintain a Republican form of Government. In England, no less a person than Sir Charles Dilke had boldly avowed his Republican leanings. In various places in England, Republican societies and associations were rising up, and in May 1873, they held a Republican Conference at Birmingham. This Conference established a National Republican League for England and among other propositions unanimously adopted the following:—"That this Conference desires to express its sympathy with Spain in its struggle to establish a Republican form of Government—its abhorrence at the atrocities committed by the Carlists in the interests of a Monarchical Government; and also expresses its indignation at the non-recognition of the Spanish Government by the British Government, and that Mr. Bradlaugh be empowered to present the same to Senor Castelar (Minister of foreign affairs under the Provisional Republican Government) on behalf of the Conference." It thus fell to the lot of Mr. Bradlaugh to take this resolution and present it in person to Senor Castelar. The task thus entrusted was a hazardous one, because Spain was then in a most unsettled condition, and the Carlists made short work of any Republican that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Several sincere friends and admirers advised Mr. Bradlaugh not to run the risk; but in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, Mr. Bradlaugh was always above personal fears. For Madrid therefore he left, and reached the city after a journey attended with considerable danger. The reception which was accorded to him by the Republican Party there was of a most enthusiastic and gratifying nature. A State

banquet was given in Mr. Bradlaugh's honour. It was attended by all the leading Republicans, who seemed to vie with one another in expressing their esteem and gratitude towards Mr. Bradlaugh. In the speech which Mr. Bradlaugh delivered on the occasion, he observed:—"With pride instead of shame, I admit, Senors, that it is the minority whose ambassador I am to you. To the minority I belong, and we are extending our small minority so that I have little doubt that within twenty years or less, we shall have the Republic of England, (cries of 'now', 'now') sending its official ambassador to the Republic of Spain. I trust, if I live, I shall then be able on behalf of Republican England to revisit Republican Spain and find her natural wealth developed and the ancient glory of her name restored and maintained in a path of peaceful progress, useful to herself and to all mankind. I repeat I shall be quite content if we have secured the Republic of England in twenty years. (Here the speaker was again interrupted by cries of 'now', 'now,' 'at once.')

Speaking for myself, I may answer that if a Republic could come tomorrow in England without force, without bloodshed, without crime, without ruined cities and anger-maddened peoples, then I would be the first to greet it and to serve it. But our Republic will, I trust, come nursed by the school, the brain, the pen, and the tongue and not heralded by the canon's roar, or carried by the sword. Hence it is that I say I should prefer to work even for twenty years to strengthen men's brains, so that they may know how to keep the Republic when they have won it and that it may be an indestructible Republic, which shall honour the destinies of the people of England and serve as guide as well as mother to the English-speaking races throughout the world." Alas for the love

of prophesying in man! The twenty years which Mr. Bradlaugh required to set up a Republic in England have nearly all flown away! And yet never was the hold of the Sovereign on the hearts of the people stronger than now!

In the midst of all these demonstrations and honours, Mr. Bradlaugh's heart was ~~in a~~ ~~case~~. His agitations and lawsuits had involved him deeply in debt, and all the popularity and fame ~~which~~ he had won, could not remove this cause of anxiety and disquietude. On his return from Madrid, therefore, he made up his mind to vigorously apply himself to the repayment of his debts. Great men are generally appreciated and honoured by foreign countries earlier than by their own and so was it with Mr. Bradlaugh. His fame had widely spread over the Continent and in America, and on more occasions than one, he was invited by his American admirers to pay a visit to their country. After his return from Madrid, Mr. Bradlaugh thought of availing himself of this invitation, and accordingly in September 1873, he left for New York. In America, he met with the most cordial reception, and a series of his lectures was at once organized. Circumstances did not, however, allow him to remain in that country long. The sudden dissolution of Parliament in 1873 by Mr. Gladstone necessitated an ~~early~~ termination of Mr. Bradlaugh's American tour, for he had entered into an engagement with the people of Northampton to stand for their constituency again. This was a great misfortune, especially from the financial point of view. His lectures were having a tremendous success, and if only he had gone through the whole programme arranged by his friends, this one tour would have enabled him to pay off all his debts. As it was, he brought back with him a net sum of £1,000 after

defraying all expenses, including damages for broken engagements. The pecuniary sacrifice, involved in this abandonment of the tour, would not have been felt, if Mr. Bradlaugh had succeeded in entering Parliament. But this time too, two Liberals and two Conservatives preceded him on the list as on the previous occasion. After this defeat Mr. Bradlaugh thought of again returning to America. But just as he had completed all arrangements to leave England, one of the Members for Northampton died, thus causing a fresh election in ~~the~~ constituency. Mr. Bradlaugh again came forward, but was again defeated; this being his third defeat. As soon as the result of the polling was known, Mr. Bradlaugh left for America. The second tour in that country was most successful, financially and otherwise. After furnishing himself with the means to pay off his debts and making many valuable acquaintances, Mr. Bradlaugh returned to England in the spring of 1875. Having allowed himself a brief period of rest, he visited America for the third time in the summer of the same year. But although a grand programme was organized for him by his friends, yet the tour was brought to a premature close by a dangerous illness which nearly cost him his life. An attack of pleurisy, complicated with typhoid symptoms, prostrated him. As soon as the period of danger was passed, he was advised to at once return to England. The voyage home did ~~him~~ much good; and by the time he stepped on the shores of his native country he was almost completely recovered. When he arrived in London, his secular friends organized a grand fête in his honour, congratulated him warmly on his recovery, thanked him in most affectionate terms for his services to the Free-thought cause, and as a humble token of gratitude, respect and love, presented to him a purse, containing £169 11s. 6d.

About this time Mr. Bradlaugh for the first time met a lady, whose name has since been inseparably associated in the public mind with Mr. Bradlaugh's, and who ever since that time became one of his best and most trusted co-workers. The history of this heroic lady is a very touching one and is briefly told. She had been married to a clergyman, the Reverend Frank Besant, to whom she was deeply devoted. But as in the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, she soon found it necessary to sacrifice the happiness of her home for the sake of her conscience. A careful study of the Bible made patent to her mind the various inconsistencies of the four Gospels. In vain she tried to suppress the doubts that now began to spring up in her mind. She read, she thought, but every day, the doubts began to grow more and more confirmed. At last she approached her husband in the hope that he would be able to lay them at rest, but the poor Reverend gentleman was no more successful with his wife than was the Rev. Mr. Packer with young Bradlaugh. A feeling of coldness sprang up between the husband and wife owing to this matter and the estrangement grew every day more and more pronounced; and at last a formal deed of separation was drawn up and executed by them in 1873. Reading one day in an issue of the *National Reformer* a general invitation to Free-thinkers to join the National Secular Society, Mrs. Besant at once offered herself as a candidate for membership. The offer was followed by an interview between her and Mr. Bradlaugh. During the course of this interview, Mr. Bradlaugh was so much impressed with the ability, the earnestness and the learning of Mrs. Besant, that he politely invited her to write for his paper, the *National Reformer*. For a time she wrote

under the *nom de plume* of Ajax. But shortly after, she threw off the garb of anonymity and began to appear in her own name. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant became now closely associated in the publication of a large amount of Free-thought literature; and the connection at one time brought about a circumstance, which gave rise to much slanderous comment and an awful amount of misapprehension. Among the publications which they jointly issued was a pamphlet entitled 'The fruits of Philosophy'. The subject-matter of the pamphlet, which had been written by Dr. Charles Knowlton about forty years previously, was of a very delicate nature, its principal aim being to check the growth of population in the world. Neither Mr. Bradlaugh nor Mrs. Besant would ever have thought of publishing the pamphlet for its own sake. But certain circumstances had arisen which, in their opinion, threatened the freedom of writing on delicate subjects in the interests of science; and this at once made them undertake the publication of the pamphlet. When Dr. Knowlton published the pamphlet for the first time, no one took any exception to the publication and all the copies were publicly sold. Forty years after this, Mr. Charles Watts, thinking that the pamphlet would serve a useful purpose, republished it from some 'stereos' which he had in his possession. The authorities, however, stigmatised the pamphlet as obscene literature, and at once instituted a prosecution against Mr. Watts. Mr. Bradlaugh was of opinion that the pamphlet came under scientific publications and Mr. Watts was, therefore, perfectly justified in publishing it, and he wished that the case should be fought out to the end. Mr. Watts, however, thought it more prudent to avoid a conflict with the authorities and got the prosecution against him withdrawn by undertaking to suppress the entire edition. Mr. Bradlaugh could not brook this. There



was also another reason for his coming forward to take Mr. Watts' place. Mr. Watts was the publisher of Mr. Bradlaugh's paper and his other Free-thought literature ; and he, therefore, could not bear the idea of a practical admission that the publisher of Free-thought literature had published an obscene book. As soon, therefore, as he ~~learned~~ that Mr. Watts had consented to the suppression of the pamphlet, Mrs. Besant and he came forward to ~~re-publish~~ it on their own responsibility. The authorities ~~was~~ followed by commencing a prosecution. The result is well-known. The verdict of the jury was given in the following terms:—"We are unanimously of opinion that the book in question is calculated to deprave public morals ; but at the same time we entirely exonerate the defendants from any corrupt motives in publishing it." Thereupon the Lord Chief Justice directed the jury to return on their finding a verdict of guilty against the defendants under the indictment. The Lord Chief Justice wished to deal very leniently with the defendants on their undertaking not to reissue the book. He was "prepared to discharge them on their own recognisances to be of good behaviour in the future," if only "they were ready to submit to the law, and to do everything in their power to prevent the further publication and circulation of a work, which has been declared by the jury to be a work calculated to deprave the public morals." The defendants, however, refused to give the pledge which the Lord Chief Justice wanted. This conduct the Court regarded as 'a most grave' aggravation of the offence, and the defendants were, therefore, sentenced to be imprisoned for six months and pay a fine of £200 each. The defendants made an appeal to the Supreme Court of Judicature, where upon the technical ground that the indictment on which

the lower court had acted was not made out in proper form, Mr. Bradlaugh was able to get the verdict against him set aside.

At the General Election of 1880, Mr. Bradlaugh once more stood for Northampton, and this time his persistent efforts were crowned with success. An errand-boy, a coal-merchant, a private in the Army, a Solicitor's clerk, a Free-thinker, a Democrat, was at last able to make his way into the greatest Legislative Assembly of the world ! But his was ~~not~~ be no peaceful life even here. The new Parliament met on the 29th of April 1880. On the 3rd of May, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself before the Speaker, and handed in a written document, addressed to the Speaker, to the Clerk of the House begging respectfully to be allowed to affirm "as a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration in place of taking an oath." The Speaker appealed to the judgment of the House, whereupon Lord Frederick Cavendish moved that the question be referred to a Select Committee. This motion was carried, and a Committee accordingly appointed to consider whether Mr. Bradlaugh could be allowed to affirm. The decision of the Committee was adverse to Mr. Bradlaugh, it being decided by the casting vote of the Chairman that Mr. Bradlaugh did not belong to the classes of persons, such as the Quakers, who were exempted by law from taking the oath. On hearing of this decision of the Committee, Mr. Bradlaugh declared himself ready to take the oath. On May 21st, he went to the table of the House of Commons and demanded to be sworn. The House found itself in a very embarrassing situation. The man, who was a declared atheist, and who only two weeks back had asked to be allowed to affirm, now demanded

to have the oath administered to him. The House sought a way out of the difficulty by again referring the question to a Committee. The Committee reported that in their opinion Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to take the oath. But they remotely suggested that perhaps he might be allowed to affirm on his own responsibility. Acting upon this suggestion, Mr. Labouchere moved on the 21st of June that Mr. Bradlaugh be allowed to affirm. Mr. Labouchere's proposal was supported by Mr. Gladstone, but on a division the House rejected it by a majority of 45. This division took place on the 22nd of June, and the next day, *i. e.* on the 23rd, Mr. Bradlaugh again went to the House and claimed to be sworn. The Speaker informed him of the decision of the Committee in the matter and asked him to withdraw. Mr. Bradlaugh thereupon claimed to be heard at the bar of the House, and on being granted permission to do so, delivered a stirring and eloquent speech, in which he warned the House not to venture to set aside the will of the people and enter into a conflict with them. After concluding the speech, he once more advanced to the table and asked to have the oath administered to him. He was again asked to withdraw, but he refused to leave. The Sergeant-at-arms thereupon touched him on the shoulder as a sign that, if necessary, force would be used to carry out the desire of the House. Mr. Bradlaugh persisted in speaking against the decision of the House and thereupon was arrested and confined in the clock-tower. Almost immediately, however, he was released; it was felt on all sides that putting Mr. Bradlaugh under lock and key was no solution of the difficulty he had raised. On the 1st of July, Mr. Gladstone moved a general resolution, allowing any one, who

objected to taking oath, to affirm, "the person so affirming to be subject to any statutory penalties, if it were afterwards decided that he had broken the Law by the Act." The resolution was carried by a majority of fifty-four, 303 voting in its favour and 249 against it. The next day Mr. Bradlaugh, in accordance with this resolution, offered to affirm, and was allowed to do so and take his seat. Almost immediately, however, a man named Clarke, who only acted as Mr. Newdegate, an Ultra-Protestant Member of the House of Commons, sued Mr. Bradlaugh for sitting and voting in the House without previously taking the oath. The Court, before which the case came up, held that the statute, allowing affirmation instead of the oath, did not apply to Mr. Bradlaugh's case. Mr. Bradlaugh took the case before the Court of Appeal, but here too the judgment of the Lower Court was upheld. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, did not despair. He took the case before the House of Lords, where the original judgment was reversed nearly three years after, on the ground that "the right of action lay only with the Crown, and not with a common informer." When Mr. Bradlaugh lost his case in the Court of Appeal, Mr. Labouchere moved for a new writ for Northampton. Mr. Bradlaugh again offered himself as a candidate, and was again elected. On April 26, 1881, he again went to the House of Commons and offered to take the oath. But a motion brought forward by Sir Stafford Northcote preventing Bradlaugh from swearing was carried by a majority of 33. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, refused to obey the decision, and again advanced to the table. The House again ordered him to withdraw, and on his refusing, the Sergeant-at-arms advanced to carry out the order of the

House, Mr. Bradlaugh thereupon retired to the bar of the House. The next day he again presented himself at the table demanding to be sworn. Again he was asked to retire; again he refused, and again the Sergeant-at-arms had to carry out the order of the House. To get rid of this difficulty, Government announced their intention to bring in a Bill to modify the law, which then regulated "the formalities of the Parliamentary oath," and on May 2nd, the Attorney-General asked leave to bring in a measure allowing members to affirm, if they objected to taking the oath. Soon after, however, Government dropped the Bill, and on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, the House instructed the Sergeant-at-arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House, until he should engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House further. Mr. Bradlaugh thereupon at once commenced an agitation throughout the country, and wrote to the Speaker to say that he was determined to present himself at the table of the House again and again, till he was allowed to take his seat. After holding, on the 2nd of August, a grand demonstration in Trafalgar Square to protest against the action of the House, Mr. Bradlaugh tried on the 3rd to carry out his determination to present himself before the Speaker. The scene on the occasion was memorable, and has been graphically described by Mr. Justin McCarthy in his "England under Gladstone, 1880-85." A large and enthusiastic crowd had gathered outside the West-Minister Hall to watch the turn events might take. Mr. Bradlaugh attempted to reach the chamber where the Commons were sitting, but was politely informed by the Sergeant-at-arms that he could not let him go there. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, began to push his way through the officials, whereupon

the Sergeant-at-arms ordered his men to eject him. A tussle ensued, in which Mr. Bradlaugh underwent considerable rough handling and was at last ejected 'hatless, breathless, with his coat torn from the violence of the struggle.' Mr. Bradlaugh thereupon went to West-Minister Police Court to ask for a summons for assault against Inspector Denning who had ejected him. The application was, however, not granted. At the beginning of 1882, Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself before the Speaker and demanded to be sworn. The resolution of the House about his exclusion, which had been passed the previous year, being merely a sessional resolution, could have no force in a new session. But again, at the instance of Sir Stafford Northcote, a fresh motion was carried for his exclusion from the House during the Session of 1882. He thereupon asked to be allowed to address the House once again. The permission was granted and Mr. Bradlaugh spoke with great eloquence and pathos. "If I am not," said he, "fit for my constituents, they shall dismiss me, but you never shall. The grave alone shall make me yield." At the conclusion of the speech he again advanced to the table but was forced to retire. On February 21st, Mr. Labouchere moved for a new writ for Northampton. The motion however, was rejected by the House; whereupon Mr. Bradlaugh again walked to the table of the House and taking from his own pocket a copy of the New Testament proceeded in a loud tone to swear himself. The House was stupefied at so much audacity. After taking the oath, Mr. Bradlaugh coolly went and took a seat amidst shouts of the greatest indignation from nearly every quarter. Thereupon a motion for his expulsion from the House was carried by a large majority, and a new writ was issued for Northampton.

Mr. Bradlaugh again came forward as a candidate and was again returned. On learning this, the House of Commons reaffirmed its resolution for his exclusion. After some time, however, an understanding was arrived at between the House and Mr. Bradlaugh, "by virtue of which he was allowed a seat on one of the benches below the clock, on condition that he did nothing to disturb the House, and made no effort to share in its debates." In the Session of 1883, Mr. Gladstone's Government introduced a 'Parliamentary Oaths Amendment Bill' to enable members objecting to the oath to affirm. After a long and angry debate, it was thrown out by a majority of three, 289 members voting in its favour and 292 against it. Mr. Bradlaugh thereupon again made an attempt to administer the oath to himself, but was again restrained by a sessional resolution of the House. During the remaining two sessions of the Parliament, the same story was repeated; Mr. Bradlaugh offering to take the oath and the House preventing him from taking it. In 1885 this Parliament was dissolved and a general election took place. Mr. Bradlaugh was again elected for Northampton. When the new Parliament met, he at once proceeded to take the oath. An attempt was made not to allow him to do so; but it was at once put down by the Speaker ruling that any motion to prevent a member from taking the customary oath was out of order; and thus after a weary struggle extending over five years, Mr. Bradlaugh became a Member of the House of Commons, not merely in name, but also in reality.

As a Member of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh justified all the high hopes that people had been led to entertain of him by his previous career. His assiduity, his earnestness, his

capacity for work, his spirit of perseverance, and, above all, the 'sweet reasonableness' of his nature came to be before long acknowledged by every one. Those who had hitherto regarded Mr. Bradlaugh only as a violent Democrat and an aggressive Free-thinker, were surprised to find that so far from being a dangerous person, Mr. Bradlaugh was really a very high-minded gentleman and a most courteous opponent. Speaking of Mr. Bradlaugh after his death, Mr. Labouche<sup>r</sup> thus wrote in his paper, *the Truth* :—“ He was in private life a thoroughly true and amiable man, whilst in public life he was ever ready to sacrifice popularity to his convictions of what was right. He was, as is known, an atheist, but his standard of duty was a very high one and he lived up to it. His life was an example to Christians, for he abounded in every Christian virtue. This the House of Commons came at last to recognize. I do not think there is a single member more popular or more respected than he was on both sides. Often and often Conservatives have, in a friendly way, said to me :—‘ What a much better man your colleague is than you are,’ and I entirely agreed with them.”\* Mr. Bradlaugh's first

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\* As an illustration of the truth of Mr. Labouche's remarks, the following generous testimony of Sir John Gorst deserves to be quoted :—

“ I wish to add my voice to the chorus of regret with which the news of Mr. Bradlaugh's death has been received by the members of all parties. The unflinching pluck and invariable honesty with which he fought his way uphill against religious prejudice and adverse fortune to a position far above the level of ordinary men have long been recognized by his political adversaries. By all he was admired and by many he was regarded with affection. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he conducted his Parliamentary opposition. He never took the slightest advantage of any confidence reposed in him ; he was always considerate and courteous ; and his views on Indian matters, if not distinguished by all the accuracy of detail of an Anglo-Indian, were generous and consistent with sound English good sense. For ability, for straight-forwardness and for whole-hearted enthusiasm in what he judged to be right, it is long ere we shall look upon his like again.”



care after taking his seat was to place an Affirmation Bill on the Statute book of England. On the Labour question, which is at present fast coming to the front, Mr. Bradlaugh differed widely from the Socialists. And although these differences considerably diminished his popularity with these people, he never shrunk from giving expression to his views boldly and courageously. Had he been spared, there is no doubt he would have done much distinguished service to his countrymen from his place in Parliament.

It is not easy to form an accurate estimate of Mr. Bradlaugh's services to India. His connection with her was short, —less than three years. And yet it would be no exaggeration to say that during that brief time, he did for her more than what any other statesman, living or dead, has done. Great as is the apathy and ignorance about Indian matters in England, the list of those Englishmen who have unselfishly striven to do us good and help us to a higher state of national existence is not small. But among all these benefactors to whom our gratitude is ever due, there are four persons who tower above the rest in the magnitude of their services to this country. At a time when India was legitimately regarded as a pasture-ground for John Bull, when few knew and fewer cared to know anything about the wants and wishes and grievances of the Indian people and when the advocacy of their interests was little better than a cry in the wilderness, the illustrious philosopher-statesman of England of the last century, Edmund Burke, strove nobly for years together for justice to a conquered people. Even when the dark deeds of the Indian Mutiny had filled the English mind with horror, and indignation, John Bright stood by our side, and ever

afterwards raised his mighty voice in our behalf. In Henry Fawcett, we were able to find a real 'Member for India,' and the services of that noble-minded Englishman were at our disposal whenever there was a call for them. Mr. Bradlaugh's work for us, however, aimed at being far more thorough and practical than that of any of his predecessor, though it should not be forgotten that ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> was in a great measure due to the vastly improved facilities, which Englishmen at present possess for making themselves acquainted with Indian subjects. The questions, which Mr. Bradlaugh from time to time asked in the House of Commons, infused a wholesome and salutary fear in the minds of wrong-headed and high-handed Anglo-Indian officials. His various addresses to the English people on India have undoubtedly done much to arouse in the English mind interest in Indian affairs. His Indian Budget speeches have gone a great way towards exposing the weak points of the financial system of the Government of India. The resuscitation of the Famine Insurance fund is his work. His speech in connection with the Maharaja of Kashmir's deposition must not have failed to produce an impression at the Foreign Office of India. His endeavours for a reform of our Legislative Councils will not fail to soon bear fruit, although it is not now for him to watch that result. His visit to India under the most touching circumstances, and the memorable speech, addressed by him to the National Congress on the occasion,—magnificent alike for its eloquence and pathos, will ever remain graven deep in the hearts of the Indian people. Mr. Bradlaugh's death deprives India of a great and noble champion, the like of whom it is not easy to find again! England loses in him a great states-

man, and the world a great humanitarian. To spring from the humblest ranks, and to have to contend all through life against every force that ignorance, bigotry and superstition could marshal on their side—these are surely no light difficulties in the way of a man's rise. And he who overcame these, without at the same time deviating by a hair's breadth from the rigid path of duty and truth, must assuredly be pronounced to be a **GREAT MAN**. There are many things done by Mr. Bradlaugh which will forever constitute his claim to this title and not the least of these will be that during the closing years of his life, he toiled for a people with whom he had neither blood nor language in common, and from whom he expected no reward!