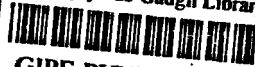


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# POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

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.

NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## A REPRESENTATION TO GOVERNMENT PRAYING FOR AN AMENDMENT OF THE LAW RELATING TO INFANTICIDE.

No. 31 of 1881.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,  
NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

Poona 5th June 1881.

To,

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT,

MAHARASHWAR.

SIR,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to submit for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Governor in Council the following observations on the case of Vijaya Luxmee, a Brahmin widow of Ulpad, convicted by the Sessions Judge at Surat under Section 302, and sentenced to death, which conviction was confirmed by the High Court of Bombay on the 26th of May last, who however commuted the sentence of death to one of transportation for life. The issues involved in the case have secured for it a large measure of public attention and discussion. As long, however, as the matter was *sub judice* no steps could be legitimately taken to submit any expression of public feeling on the matter by an appeal to the merciful prerogative of the Crown. As the High Court, however, has declined to make a recommendation to Government, there is no other resource left for those interested in seeing that justice is duly tempered with mercy, than to submit a prayer that His Excellency the Governor in Council may for the reasons stated below exercise the power conferred on them by Section 55 of the Penal Code, and Section 322 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and reduce the sentence of transportation for life to one of imprisonment for such a period as may recommend itself to the merciful discretion of Government.

1. The Sabha has been moved to take action in this matter solely from the fact that Vijaya Luxmee's case is a typical one, representative of a large number of similar cases, in which the present state of the law too often conflicts with the national sense of justice

and whatever be the decision of the Local Government in this particular case, it feels that the time has arrived when a suggestion for the amendment of the law may be pressed upon the attention of Government with a view to strengthen the hands of judicial officers and remove the conflict which at present creates such an uncertainty and a sense of hardship on every occasion when a crime of this nature comes before the Court.

2. In regard to the particular merits of Vijaya Luxmee's case the Sabha feels it to be its duty to bring to the notice of Government the fact that both the Assessors who tried the case with the Judge at Surat found the prisoner not guilty of the offence she was charged with, and that the conviction was based chiefly, if not solely, upon the confession of the prisoner made by her while under Police charge and withdrawn before the Sessions Court. Circumstances less cogent than those mentioned have very often induced the High Court to disallow the extreme penalty of death or transportation for life, and substitute a less severe sentence. It was a most unfortunate accident that Vijaya Luxmee's case should have come for confirmation to the High Court along with four other cases of a similar nature in the course of the same week; for a careful perusal of the judgement of Justice West shows that this unfortunate coincidence indirectly influenced the minds of their Lordships in refusing to make a recommendation to Government for its merciful intervention. In previous cases the High Court had made such recommendations under circumstances of a less extenuating nature, we refer especially to the one of the Parsee widow Dinabai who committed a similar offence at Bandora in 1876. Dinabai was a much elderly lady, the usages of her people and the dictates of her religion did not come in the way of her lawful remarriage as in the case of Vijaya Luxmee, and the circumstances attending her crime showed more deliberation. Notwithstanding these circumstances to her disadvantage Dinabai was recommended to mercy and had her sentence reduced. In Vijaya Luxmee's case it is to be noted that she became a widow at twenty, a time of life when youthful passions are apt to get the better of discretion and calm judgment regarding consequences. The law of her caste condemned her to perpetual widowhood accompanied with hardships social and physical, which do not fall to the lot of her sisters in any other part of the world. Mr. Justice West in his judgement has drawn a harsh inference from the circumstance that Vijaya Luxmee had given birth to a daughter in her husband's life time, and therefore had known what marital happiness was. This circumstance however, does not furnish any useful test as to the time of life when Hindu widows of higher castes may be considered as secure against all temptation. Unless the Hindu child widows in such castes are

from the first educated to a life of self abnegation, a brief enjoyment of marital happiness fails to furnish a sufficient safeguard against temptation. There is no fair comparison possible between an English spinster or even an English widow and a woman in Vijaya Luxmee's position. To the one celibacy is a matter of choice and discretion and is not compulsorily enforced as a social disability. Moreover she lives singly or with her maternal relations both at home and in society in full freedom, protected by a high and chivalrous sentiment, with full occupation for her mind and body, in domestic and benevolent occupations. She is not shunned nor regarded as a disgrace and a misfortune by her deceased husband's relations. If notwithstanding these advantages she is beguiled into sin, the penalty attaching to disclosure is not a hundredth part of what befalls her sister in this country. It is to the credit of Hindu widows that notwithstanding all these disadvantages the statistics of illegitimate and bastard children here and in European countries furnish on the whole so favourable a testimony to their general purity of life as compared with the state of things in other and more civilised countries where greater freedom and education prevail and the social disadvantages alluded to do not exist. It is invidious to make comparisons but the judgment of the High Court dwells forcibly on the point and suggests that there is no element of greater hardship in the lot of the Hindu widow than what befalls many thousands of her sisters in other countries. The number of bastard children in Scotland and France, especially in the larger cities, and the practice of baby farming which lately attracted such notice show that while both in Europe and in India women as a rule try to conform to the highest standard of duty, yet that the exceptional lapses from virtue are not more numerous in India than elsewhere, but on the contrary the ratio of crime in this respect will be found by far more favourable to India. This point does not seem to have attracted that attention which it deserves.

3. The refusal of the High Court to recommend Vijaya Luxmee's case for mercy to Government is not justified on the ground that infanticide was a general practice in her caste and it was therefore necessary to make an example. Vijaya Luxmee is a Brahmin by caste and not Rajpoot among whom alone infanticide was practised in former times to any considerable extent. Among the Brahmins the murder of a child is a more heinous offence than the murder of a Brahmin, which is the highest crime a Hindu can commit. Infanticide as it obtained among the Rajpoots and other classes had moreover no feature in common with the act of which Vijaya Luxmee stands charged. The old offence was premeditated and wanton and sanctioned by the feeling of the caste, neither of which elements

have any force in the murder of illegitimate children committed from a sense of shame in hot blood and under effects of a mental aberration which overpowers its victim for a time.

4. We have thus far dwelt upon those considerations which plead for mercy. British justice has been sufficiently vindicated by the action of the High Court. British mercy which in its highest embodiment is represented by the Queen Empress of India will, we trust, so far prevail with His Excellency in Council as to induce them to temper the hardship of justice by adapting the sentence to the national feeling on the point. The High Court itself has acknowledged indirectly the force of this sentiment by commuting the sentence from death to transportation for life. This commutation, however, as it banishes the unfortunate woman to a penal settlement without any hope of amendment, will be one continuous torture to its victim far more horrible to be borne than the sudden pang of death. We pray accordingly that as in previous instances of a similar nature His Excellency in Council will see fit in the benevolent exercise of their high power to commute the sentence of life transportation to one of imprisonment for a fixed time.

5. On the much larger question of a change in the law we shall not dilate at length in this place. The matter has been already brought to the notice of Government by one of the most experienced native statesmen in this country. The essential differences noted above between crimes committed in cold blood and hot blood, in wantonness and deliberation as opposed to those which are committed from a sense of shame and under a temporary insanity, distinguish cases of child murder in high caste from similar offences of lust and rapine. As long as the national sense is opposed to widow remarriage, and inflicts harsh and unbearable social disabilities upon women of that class, so long will the strictness of the present law result in uncertainty and in too many cases in the miscarriage of justice by reason of the unwillingness of Assessors and Juries to return a verdict of guilty. Even in Europe and in America child murder under such circumstances is regarded as a much more venial offence than an ordinary culpable homicide and is visited only with imprisonment for a smaller or longer term. The considerations which have suggested this difference of treatment obtain with still greater force in this country, and must recommend themselves as a sufficient justification for a similar modification of the law on the side of mercy. The fact is that while in matters of adultery the law laid down in the Penal Code is less strict than what the national conscience demands, it is disproportionately severe in the punishment which it inflicts upon the inevitable consequences of such adulterous connection. In both these



respects the law as it at present stands needs to be amended so as to bring it more in conformity with the national sense on the subject. We accordingly hope that as the time has come for mitigating the rigour of the present law, a recommendation will be made to the Legislative Department of the Government of India to amend the law in the direction above indicated.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

**KRISHNAJI LAXMAN NULKAR,**  
*Chairman of the Managing Committee  
of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.*

**S. H. CHIPLONKAR,**

*Honorary Secretary Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.*

A LETTER TO THE HON'BLE SIR DAVID WEDDER-  
BURN BART M. P. CONTAINING A PROPOSAL  
FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY IN-  
TO THE CONDITION OF THE DECCAN.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,  
Poona, 2nd March 1881.

My DEAR SIR,

The Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha have learnt with some satisfaction that although Her Majesty's government were opposed to your motion for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the general administration of India, the Marquis of Hartington expressed his readiness to grant a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into, and report upon a limited set of Indian questions. The Committee of the Sabha think that the best method of attaining the result would be to select a province where owing to a variety of causes the results of British administration have manifested themselves in a very marked manner, and which on account of that very circumstance might be fairly considered as a model province for a Royal Commission to confine its inquiries to. The Committee of the Sabha think that if you were to move for a Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the Deccan, Her Majesty's government might possibly support your motion and grant the request. I am, therefore, directed by the Committee of the Sabha to request you to move for a Royal Commission of Inquiry on a small scale into the condition of the Deccan, as being the type of what are known as the ruined Indian provinces. It is true that during the last six or seven years there have been two inquiries into the condition of the Deccan, first by the Deccan Riots Commission of 1875 and latterly by the Indian Famine Commission of 1873-79; but since the recommendations of neither of those two Commissions have been hitherto enforced in practice, except in one or two particulars, and since there is a conflict in the views of the official and non-official members of these two Commissions on points of vital importance to that province, it is of the utmost importance that the same ground be travelled over again by a Royal Commission of Inquiry composed of experts in no way wedded to the local prejudices. It is a point worthy of note that the views of the non-official classes in this part of the country have in most points been coincided with by the non-official members of both the Commissions above alluded to. But the non-official element in both those Commissions having been numerically weak, the official views have practically got the upper hand. Under such circumstances nothing can be more desirable and of greater importance than to establish, if possible, a unity of views between the English public at home and the non-official classes in this country. Such an understand-

ing can be established by means of a Royal Commission of Inquiry alone. As matters at present stand, the English public at home and Parliament must be feeling themselves at a loss to arrive at a safe and satisfactory conclusion on the points at issue by the perusal of the report of any Indian Commission, the majority of whose members represent as a general rule the official interests. The Committee of the Sabha can easily realize to themselves the great difficulty under which Honourable Members, anxious to do justice to the Indian Rayat and secure his welfare, must be labouring. This difficulty can be surmounted by the appointment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry alone, for whose recommendations the English public at home and Parliament will naturally have greater respect.

I beg to enclose herewith for your perusal a memorandum, drawn up by the Committee of the Sabha, setting forth the principal points regarding which there is a conflict in the views of the official and the non-official classes in this country, and which might be referred to the Royal Commission of Inquiry for report.

Your's faithfully,

S. H. CHIPLONKAR,

*Honorary Secretary of the Poona Sarvajank Sabha.*

To,

THE HON'BLE SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN BART M. P.

---

### A STATEMENT OF INDIAN QUESTIONS.

IN RESPECT OF WHICH THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL CLASSES, AND WHICH ARE FAIR SUBJECTS FOR A PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

---

(1.) Deterioration of the Condition of the majority of the Population.

For	Against
1. Increase of population without a corresponding rise of wages.	1. Population would not have increased if there was deterioration of condition. Wages have risen where railways and civilization have reached. They have fallen nowhere.
2. Exhaustion of the soil and of waste lands.	2. No reliable evidence that soil has deteriorated in productive capacity; and increase of cultivation is an admitted fact.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 3. The large mortality caused by famines.                             | 5. Famine mortality due to other causes than starvation.  |
| 4. The total absence of food stores.                                  | 4. Increase of indebtedness due to the increase of credit and improvidence.                     |
| 5. The large increase of indebtedness among the agricultural classes. | 5. Land revenue, and excise and other taxes, show elasticity and a capacity for great increase. |
| 6. The impossibility of levying additional taxation.                  | 6. The standard of life has risen.  |
| 7. The low standard of life and comforts.                             | 7. Large development of the export and import trade.  |
| 8. Small growth of the trade in spite of increased facilities.        | 8. Indian loans are subscribed at the rate second only to that of England in cheapness.         |
| 9. Rate of interest is not getting lower.                             |   |

## (2.) Question regarding the Extension of the Permanent Settlement,

*For*

1. Freehold property alone encourages permanent improvement.
2. Bengal being permanently settled, shows the highest state of agricultural prosperity.
3. Permanent settlement was actually ordered out in 1862-65 by the Home Government in all the older and thickly-populated countries.
4. Colonel Baird Smith advocated it as the only panacea against recurrence of famine. Sir W. Muir, Sir G. Edmondstone, and others advocated it.
5. Mr. Caird advises redemption of revenue demand, and payment therefrom of the Indian debt.

*Against.*

1. In England, leases of twenty years do not prevent farmers from expending money on improvements.
2. The thirty years' leases render the lands liable to fresh assessment once only in every generation.
3. There is a needless sacrifice by Government of the rise of land revenue represented by the *unearned increment*. There are no other taxes equally eligible and productive.
4. In Bengal and other permanently settled districts, a middle class of renters is alone benefited. The poorer classes are not more comfortable, and the soil is not improved.
5. Permanent settlement despatches of 1862-65 were tacitly allowed to become obsolete.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>6. Periodical settlements keep up a perpetual conflict of interest between Government and people, and sap confidence and destroy incentive to real improvement.</p> <p>7. They require an enormous expenditure every year, and after all, the work is very badly done, as no standard is recognized for fixing the assessment and the revision rates.</p> <p>8. Permanent settlement encourages the growth of a middle class, and stops the tendency towards sub-division of soil and growth of population.</p> <p>9. The old Mirasi tenure was a permanent tenure.</p> | <p>6. Periodical settlements keep up the direct connection of Government officers with the people, and thus secure great indirect political ends.</p> <p>7. The land-tax has not been raised in the revision settlements to the proportion justified by rise of prices or extension of prices or extension of cultivation.</p> <p>8. Middlemen should not be encouraged in a community like that of India, as they live an idle life at the expense of ryots.</p> <p>9. The old tenures had no stability in practice.</p> |
|--|---|

(3.) Payment of the Government Assessment in Cash or in Kind.

*For Kind Payments.*

(Or Batai).

1. They would afford visible relief to the ryots by their elasticity, and by obviating the necessity for selling his produce under duress.
2. They would enable the ryots and the Government to have large stores against bad times.
3. They were generally in force under old native rule, and are still generally in force in native states.

*For Cash Payments.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They would afford visible relief to the ryots by their elasticity, and by obviating the necessity for selling his produce under duress.</li> <li>2. They would enable the ryots and the Government to have large stores against bad times.</li> <li>3. They were generally in force under old native rule, and are still generally in force in native states.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kind payments would lead to speculation and oppression.</li> <li>2. British Government in India has a large cash expenditure to provide for, which necessity did not exist under native rule.</li> <li>3. In the better class of native states, cash payments have been enforced, and Batai system abandoned.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|

4.) The Question of the British Indian Administration being too Costly, too Complex, and too Far Advanced for the wants and intelligence of the People.

*For.*

1. The salaries of Europeans are far in excess of what they are in England, or in the colonies, or in Ceylon.
2. There are too many departments and directors, &c., of statistics and archæology, and topographical and geological surveys and commissions for certifying laws, &c.
3. The charges of the army are out of all proportion to the numbers.
4. The amalgamation of the armies and the services, the large and easy pensions allowed to enforce retirements.

(5.) The Question as to whether Responsibility is not properly enforced by Parliament since the Abolition of the East India Company in respect of the Good Government of India, and whether further Checks are necessary.

*For.*

1. Each revision of the East India Company's charter was signalized by concessions to the people. No such concessions have been secured since.
2. Parliament and the Ministry formerly regarded themselves as occupying the position of arbiters and protectors of Indian interests against the Company and its servants. They have ceased to occupy that position now.
3. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State have of late overruled their Councils, under pressure of Parliamentary majorities, or with a view to conciliate large interests. The action taken by Government

*Against.*

1. Civilized government must be expensive to suit the variety of wants and conveniences not felt in native states
2. The larger salaries Europeans get are chiefly for insurance against risks and incompetence. Lower salaries would draw inferior men.
3. The strength of British rule rests on its army. The garrison cannot be reduced.
4. Division into departments is necessary in all skilled work of a high order, and they serve as checks on one another.

*Against.*

1. Return to the old order of things is impossible.
2. Indian affairs are never made party questions.
3. Parliamentary discussions serve the purpose of securing a hearing for both sides on all questions.

in regard to cotton duties, Afghan war, Vernacular Press Act, are recent instances of this tendency.

6. The Question of the Salt and Opium Negotiations recently carried out, or at present under Discussion.

*For.*

1. The Government of India has brought force, or show of force, to bear upon the Native Princes, and required them to tax their subjects for the convenience of Imperial Revenue.
2. Compensation is not awarded to the people engaged in the Salt Trade or manufacture, or Opium production in Native States.

*Against.*

1. The negotiations are being carried on with the free consent of the Native States.
2. Native States pay no taxes for the protection they receive.
3. Compensation is paid to the Native States for loss of Revenue.

(7.) The Question of the Opening Up of the Covenanted, Uncovenanted, and Military Services.

*For.*

1. The promises and pledges given for over half a century preclude all discussion.
2. Natives have a right to be allowed to enter all services on equal terms with the British subjects. The new Civil Service rules do not secure this opening.
3. Natives ask no favour, but only justice, in their demand for local examinations; an enlarged limit of maximum age; and a guaranteed proportion of places.
4. Natives have proved themselves fit and qualified in all places where they have been posted.

*Against.*

1. There are equally forcible considerations which force the Government to support English claims.
2. Government must secure its permanent ascendancy in India, and cannot open all services and all posts to the Natives.
3. Natives are not fit for all posts by their moral and physical defects.
4. So far as an opening could be made, the new rules have effected the purpose.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>5. Native Agency will be cheaper.</p> <p>6. Native Agency will be more sympathetic and better understood by the people.</p> <p>7. The new rules only provide a separate subordinate Civil Service.</p> <p>8. The Resolution regarding the uncovenanted posts is mostly obsolete.</p> <p>9. The policy of Mahomedan rulers was opposed to exclusion of Natives from Civil and Military service.</p> | <p>5. Natives have too great a tendency to rely on Government service. They must learn to get over this ambition.</p> |
|---|---|
- (8.) Question of Allowing or Extending the System of Representation in Municipalities, Local Fund, Devasthan, and other Committees, and in the Legislative Councils.

*For.*

1. The Natives managed their local affairs under the old Pauchayat system, and village communal organizations, with great success.
2. As these have been broken up, their place must be supplied. This is only the compensation foreign rule can give as its justification.
3. There is no likelihood of any danger occurring by reason of such extension of representation in Local Boards and Municipalities.
4. As far as representation has been allowed, it has given satisfaction.
5. The present system of an official majority making laws has failed to give satisfaction.

*Against.*

1. The Native populations are not sufficiently advanced in intelligence and public spirit to work representative institutions with success.
2. With the extension of representation, the permanency of British rule will be jeopardized.
3. Official majority represents the highest intelligence in the land, and, as such, it must prevail against all opposition if India is to be governed properly.
4. The so-called native members have really less knowledge and sympathy with the people than the officials.



The independence of the Councils has become a nonentity.

6. This extension will be the only cure for the friction which now exists, and the misunderstanding of the motives of Government which it leads to.

(9.) Decentralization v. Centralization of Administrative Machinery.

*For Decentralization.*

1. Lord Mayo sanctioned decentralization, and it has since been extended to many new departments.
2. It insures economy and active sympathy, and interest and promptitude on the part of the local authorities.
3. The delay and friction of reference from one set of officials to another set of equally intelligent and less informed officials, will be saved.
4. It would lead to co-operation on the part of the people in Government schemes.
5. The Continent is too vast and varied to be really governed from one centre.
6. Emulation between the provinces, and variety of development would be encouraged
7. Even as it is, the Secretary of State has the final control and overrules Government of

*Against it.*

1. Central power is necessary to ensure unity of administration in regard to great questions of policy, such as the foreign war, relations with Native States.
2. Even in the Home Departments Railways, Post, Telegraph, Army, Customs, Opium, Salt, finance must be centralized and cannot be localized without loss of economy and power.
3. Local Independent Legislation is not really felt to be a need, as India does not want frequent changes of law, and in the Supreme Council there are local representatives.
4. Local Governments have been allowed as much power as can safely be given to them under the Decentralization Scheme.
5. The credit of the Government of India is pledged for the National Debt.
6. In Canada and South Africa Federation, not Separation, is the tendency of the day.

India. The Secretary of State's control will be kept up and strengthened.

8. Mr. Bright, Mr. Caird, and others have advocated it.

(10.) The Question of the Civil Courts with Written Laws as against the Patriarchal Panchayat System.

*For*

1. People complain of the working of the Civil Courts and the written laws.
2. They suppose an equality between classes when equality does not exist, and this leads to injustice.
3. The Courts are too costly, and their working involves too many delays and vexations, and mechanical application, with an absence of personal adaptation.
4. They have encouraged the free sale of lands, and the abolition of the customary moderation of interest, and brought about a distraction of mutual good-will between the lending and borrowing classes.
5. They encourage the nuisance of Pleders.

*Against.*

1. Only the indebted, thriftless, and ignorant classes complain, not the others.
2. It is impossible that we can return to the old order of things. The patriarchal institutions have either been broken up, or exist in a demoralized state.
3. The Government of India derives no surplus revenue from its administration of the law. Litigiousness is checked by the Stamp and Court fees revenue.
4. Free sale of lands and free rates of interest, where parties contract with full knowledge, and accept the risks, are not an evil.
5. Appeals are necessary as checks in contested cases. They have been abolished in Small Cause cases.
6. The Pleders act as a check upon the Judges, and save much time and trouble to the parties.

(11.) Question of Free Trade v. Protection.

*For Protection.*

1. England levies duties on the Indian imports of tea, coffee for revenue purposes, and taxes silver manufacture. In

*Against it.*

1. Duties on cotton goods were protective, and as such could not be maintained.

levying light duties for revenue purposes, there is no protection.

2. In all new countries protection is necessary for some years to test their natural capacity for undertaking manufacturing industries, and such protection is not opposed to free trade.
3. In the Colonies, in the large European States, such protection is freely extended and submitted to.
4. Even in England the reciprocity scheme is finding favour, under pressure of French, German, and American protection laws.
5. Every country should have a variety of industries as a protection from famine, and disappearance of manufactures is a serious calamity in India.

2. It is not in the interest of the Indian population that the necessaries of life should be taxed to support artificial industries.

3. Foreign example cannot justify the Government in following such a suicidal policy.
4. Each country should produce that most which it can produce cheapest.

(12.) Direct or Indirect Taxation.—Licence Tax and Salt Tax.

*For,*

1. Direct taxes, like the Licence Tax, are the only ways open to reach mercantile and other classes of the population.
2. India is so poor that indirect taxation cannot be imposed with profit.
3. It was necessary to provide a surplus to insure the country against famine.
4. The Salt Tax is already burdensome enough, and is, besides, a tax on necessaries.
5. No other direct tax, such as that on tobacco &c., is possible in India.

*Against.*

1. The Licence Tax is an invidious impost. It was first imposed under false pretences, and has been subsequently diverted to war expenses.
2. The Income Tax has been tried and abandoned, after long experience, as unsuited to the country.
3. The Salt Tax is not felt to be heavy; owing to improved communications, the price of salt is not enhanced in proportion to the tax.

- (13.) The Question of Factory Laws, and Cotton Frands Acts.
- (14.) The Arms Act.
- (15.) The Vernacular Press Act.
- (16.) The Forest Conservancy Measures—(1) How far they have gone beyond the real purpose of Conservancy ; and (2) how they have been worked Practically.
- (17.) The Question of the Public Works : (1) as to whether they should be Paid for out of Surplus Revenue or Borrowed Loans ; and (2) whether they should be carried on Departmentally or under an Extended System of Contracts (3) under Native or European Agency.
- (18.) The Question of Railway Extension : (1) as to whether it should be carried out under the old Guarantee System, or the present State Department system, (2) which has proved most Economical and Paying ; (3) and whether it should be on the Broad or Metre Gauge (4) for trunk or Branch Lines.
- (19.) The Question of the Irrigation Department : (1) as to whether the Works of this Class should be large Canal Schemes or small Tanks and Wells ; and (2) whether expenditure on the Canals should be paid for by Compulsory Taxation.
- (20.) The Question of Famine Management : (1) as to whether Remissions or Suspensions of Revenue should be allowed ; and (2) the Usefulness of the Tests proposed ; and the (3) Sufficiency or otherwise of the Ration Test.
- (21.) The Question of starting Agricultural Banks : (1) as to whether they should be started out of the Funds subscribed by the People in their Savings' Banks ; or (2) Supported by a Direct Guarantee or Subsidy from Government to Priyate Companies.
- (22.) The Question (1) as to whether the Re-assessments of Land Revenue in this Presidency and in other parts of India, have been fairly carried out ; and (2) whether there is any System followed in Fixing such Re-assessments ; and (3) whether that System requires Change or Modification.
- (23.) The Question as to whether the Government should spend its Educational Grant upon Higher or Primary Education ; (2) Liberal or Technical Education.
- (24.) The Question of the Reduction of the Armies of Native States ; (1) as to the Justice, and the (2) Expediency of Making and Enforcing such a Demand.
- (25.) The Question of Retrenchments in the Army Expenditure on the lines recommended by the Army Commission Report.
- (26.) The Question of the Home Charges : (1) how far they have been Fairly Distributed ; and (2) whether they admit of Reduction.
- (27.) The Question of the Drain represented by the Excess of Exports over Imports ; how far can this Drain be Stopped.
- (28.) The Question of the Guarantee of Indian Debt by England, and the fair apportionment of the Afghan War Charges.

## PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS.

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It may be in the recollection of many of our readers, that a Committee of the British Parliament was sitting sometime ago with the object of discussing the advisability of constructing Public Works in India out of borrowed money, and that the suggestions made by this Committee have been to some extent carried out by the Government of India. The sittings of this Committee commenced at the beginning of March 1878, and were brought to a close in April 1879. Among the members of the Committee were many statesmen and politicians who have all along taken the most active interest in Indian affairs, and possess an intimate acquaintance with the system of British administration in this country, such as Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Grant Duff, and Sir George Campbell. The evidence collected by the Committee is of a very important nature,—especially at a time like the present, when there is a great financial pressure in India, and when Government, both in England and in this country, is turning its attention to all practicable sources of reduction with the object of lightening the burdens of the Indian tax-payer. The question, therefore, of adding to the already heavy public debt of India for constructing what are called Productive Public Works requires the special attention of every well-wisher of this country, and it is with the object of ventilating the subject, and bringing it prominently to the notice of our readers, that we propose to give a short summary, in this issue, of the information collected by this Parliamentary Committee. The interest on the present public debt is a heavy charge against the Indian exchequer, and any additions to it must be made with great caution. The Anglo-Indian statesmen and professional Engi-

neers examined before the Committee were all officially connected with India. Many of them occupied high positions in the general administration of this country, and were intimately acquainted with the management of the Public Works Department of the Government of India. Their opinions are, therefore, entitled to great consideration, and the information they have given is of high value.

The following witnesses were examined by the Committee:—Major General Dickens, Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department during the administrations of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Lawrence, Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy of India, Sir George Campbell, the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, General Sir Arthur Cotton, the celebrated Irrigation Engineer, employed on the Ganges Canal, Godawary scheme, and other Irrigation projects, Colonel Fife, Chief Engineer for Irrigation in Bombay, Sir Thomas Seecombe, and Messers Sowerby and Juland Danvers, the former a Local Fund Engineer in Bombay, and the latter, the Government Director for guaranteed and state Railways.

Before the year 1854, there was no separate Department of Public Works in India. All works were executed and designed by Military Engineers working under the orders of a Military Board at each Presidency. The Ganges Canal and other important works were projected and commenced under this system. In progress of time, however, the number and importance of Public Works increased to such an extent, that it was deemed desirable by the Government of Lord Dalhousie to create a separate branch of civil administration for the management of Public Works. Accordingly in 1854, a Public Works Secretariate was attached to the Government of India, and its connection with the Military Department was severed entirely. Departments of Public Works were similarly organised in Bombay and Madras in the following year. Subsequently on a

further expansion of the Department, it was thought desirable to separate it into different branches;—each branch having its own specially qualified Engineers for executing and supervising its works. Thus the Department came to be divided into the following four branches;—

1st Military Works.

2nd General, or Roads and Civil Buildings.

3rd Irrigation.

4th Railways.

The first branch comprises the works that relate to the accomodation of troops, fortifications, and other works of defence, and the manufacture of ammunition and materials of war; the second comprises Civil Buildings, and such lines of communication as do not possess any military importance; the third comprises works relating to drainage, reclamation of ground, water supply of towns and the storage and distribution of water for Irrigational purposes; and the fourth comprises works in connection with guaranteed and state railways.

Under the decentralisation scheme brought into operation since 1872, the works comprised in the second branch, that is roads and civil buildings, were made over by the Government of India to the local Governments and administrations, reserving to themselves, however, the power of vetoing works costing more than 2 lacs of Rupees in Madras and Bombay, and 50,000 Ra. in Bengal, North West Provinces and Oudh, and the Punjab. Within the above limits, the local Governments were given the power of constructing any works they chose from the Provincial funds placed at their disposal, without the previous sanction or approval of the Government of India. All works thus constructed are submitted for general review annually to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, but superior authorities never interfere with their management and construction, which are wholly placed in the hands of the local Governments.

The works appertaining to the remaining three branches are kept by the Government of India solely under their direction and control, and no local Government possesses the power of incurring any expenditure in connection therewith on their own responsibility. For works costing above ten lacs of Rupees, the projects have to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India for his approval and sanction before the works are commenced.

The system by which Public Works are carried on in this country is as follows:—Each Presidency or Province is divided into a certain number of circles or divisions which are placed in the charge of officers called Superintending or Chief Engineers, who correspond with, and work under the orders of, the Public Works Department of the Secretariate. Each Superintending or Chief Engineer supervises the work of a certain number of Executive or District Engineers employed under him. The scheme for a work is in the first instance framed by the Executive Engineer of the District to which it relates, and is submitted for the sanction of Government through the Superintending Engineer of the circle in which the District is situated. The estimates and designs are scrutinised by the last named officer before submission to government. They then go through the usual official channel for final scrutiny and sanction to the proper authority, that is the local Government, the Government of India or the Secretary of State, as the case may be. All Public Works in India were before 1875 under the general control of a department of the Governor-General's Council. It sometimes happened that the department was under the personal supervision of the Governor-General himself, as in the case of Lord Mayo, and for sometime, of Lord Northbrook. The last named Viceroy, however, found the work too heavy for him, as he had to look after the foreign and political Departments in addition. He, therefore, delegated the management of Public Works



to a separate member of his executive Council. It was long thought desirable to appoint a special professional minister for Public Works, and attach him to the Council of the Governor-General for professional advice and control. The appointment was at last sanctioned, and Sir Andrew Clarke was the first Public Works Minister appointed in 1875. The special work of this officer was to watch and guide the Public Works policy of the Government of India, and to exercise a close and careful supervision over the schemes submitted for sanction, both as regards professional points, and as regards their ultimate remunerative character.

When Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General of India, he thought it desirable to import foreign capital into this country, if practicable, and have it invested in the construction of railways, Irrigation schemes, and other remunerative works. To encourage foreign capitalists to start these enterprises, he guaranteed from the Indian revenue a certain fixed rate of interest for all money sunk in this country. The rate was fixed at 5 per cent in the case of railways, and it was stipulated that when the profits on any line after paying off its working expenses exceeded 5 per cent, half of them were to be made over to Government in repayment of the amount advanced by them to make up the full guaranteed rate of interest. A good deal of capital was obtained on these conditions, and several companies started work in the different provinces of India. The principal of these guaranteed Railway companies are the East India Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the Sind, Punjab and Delhi Railway, and the South India Railway. The construction of railways on the guarantee principle was commenced in 1851, and is still in progress to a greater or less extent in many parts of India. The total traffic receipts of the guaranteed railway companies in 1876 were Rs. 3,92,08,770, and

the total expenditure Rs. 4,97,95,000, thus showing a loss for the year of Rs. 1,05,86,230. Since then, on account of the heavy pressure of the famine traffic, the great Railways have earned interest at 7, and in some cases even at 9 per cent which they have shared with the Government.

All expenditure on guaranteed Railways is under the control of Government officers. In actual practice it was found, however, that this check was simply nominal, and that the control was not effective in preventing unnecessary and extravagant expenditure. The fixed guaranteed rate of interest being high, (much higher than the average return on capital in England), it was found that the companies were not sufficiently economical in the construction of their works or in their management when constructed. It was their interest to keep their expenditure at as high a figure as practicable, in order to secure the guaranteed interest on the maximum amount that could be laid out. The capital expenditure thus, by reason of this want of economy, largely exceeded the estimated figures, and the profits fell far short of what they were anticipated to be, when the works were first taken in hand. Payments from Indian treasuries for making up the guaranteed rate of interest became, therefore, very heavy, and were found to be a constantly increasing charge on the Imperial revenue, though the lines chosen in the first instance were highly advantageous, and calculated to return a high rate of interest, had the expenditure been kept within proper bounds. The Government of India in consequence of this state of things thought it expedient to modify their conditions of guarantee for future railways, so as to keep under effective check the propensities of guaranteed companies to go in for extravagant expenditure. They tried to form companies with a guarantee of less than 5 per cent for such additional lines of railway as were found to be necessary. No capital was, however, found to be forthcoming for

the projected works on these modified conditions. Government were, therefore, compelled at last in 1869 to resolve upon constructing their own railways by employing their own Engineers, or as an alternative accept the old guarantee of 5 per cent. They chose the former course, and commenced making their own railways, the requisite funds being derived from money raised by loans both in England and in India.

The system of constructing Railway Works out of borrowed money was afterwards extended to Irrigation schemes. All works constructed out of loans were called Extraordinary Public Works. Separate accounts were kept of the expenditure upon them, and of the revenues realised from them. It was generally understood that no work was to be undertaken from money obtained by loans, unless its remunerative character was fully established. This principle does not appear to have been uniformly acted upon, as we find that the Government of India undertook to lay out their borrowed funds over such works as the canals of the East India Irrigation Company, and the Indus Valley State railway. The former of these works were abandoned by the company on account of their unremunerative character, and were subsequently bought over by government, not at their market value, but at their cost price. With reference to the other work, viz. the Indus Valley State Railway, it was never anticipated that it would commercially be a paying line, as it runs through a sandy and sparsely populated portion of the country, with a cheap line of water carriage like the Indus running close by. The work was, however, taken in hand as one of military and political importance, and its construction sanctioned out of borrowed money. For the construction of these Extraordinary Public Works, it was found necessary to borrow a certain sum of money annually, extending sometimes to 5 crores of Rupees. It was anticipated

that the works undertaken would soon be remunerative, and enable the Government of India to go on in its course of borrowing and constructing fresh Public Works, thus covering the country, after a certain period, with a close and thickly woven network of Railways and Irrigation Canals, affording complete security from famines and droughts in future. When large and extensive Public Works are undertaken, it is necessary to provide for a steady annual expenditure upon them. The annual cash balance out of the Indian revenue, after paying for ordinary Public Works and other expenditure, was so small, and that too so fluctuating in its character on account of the varying nature of our annual expenditure, that no dependance could be placed on it for the prosecution of large and heavy works. Hence arose the necessity of certain fixed annual loans for covering this extraordinary outlay. It was found, however, that the schemes chosen for construction out of borrowed money did not yield as early and as satisfactory a return as was anticipated. The amount of loans continued to increase annually without a corresponding return from the works on which they were laid out. The interest-charges, therefore, rose to a high figure, and became a heavy charge against the Indian Exchequer, entailing additional taxation upon the people in one shape or other. Thus the policy of constructing any more works out of borrowed money came to be seriously questioned, and this led to the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into the matter.

The principal classes of works constructed from borrowed money are:—

(1st) Harbour works such as those of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

(2nd) State railways.

(3rd) Irrigation Works.

The harbour works of Bombay and Calcutta were originally constructed or purchased by Government,

and made over for management to a local committee called the Port Trust, who realise the revenue from them by the imposition of Bunder and wharfage fees. It is expected that each Port Trust will return to Government suitable interest on the amount that has been expended in the construction of the works made over to them for management. These expectations are being partially fulfilled in the case of Calcutta, but in Bombay the amount expended in the purchase of the Elphinstone estates &c. was so heavy, that there is little likelihood of its ever yielding an adequate return. The harbour works of Madras have been only recently commenced. It is said that the success of the scheme is doubtful, several Engineers of great standing and experience like Sir Andrew Clarke having pronounced opinions unfavourable to it. There is no Port Trust at Madras formed as yet, but on the completion of the works in progress a similar institution to that in Bombay will be organised, and entrusted with the management of the undertaking. Harbour works of a special character are in progress at Karachi, on the completion of which it is expected that that town will take the place of Bombay as regards European traffic with the Panjab, Sind and other provinces of North India. These schemes are all useful and will do good generally to the country, though their commercial remunerative character may be rather doubtful.

The next class of Public Works constructed out of borrowed money are State Railways. As has been said before, the Government of India were highly dissatisfied with the system of guaranteed railways, and inaugurated in 1869 the policy of constructing further railway works by means of government agency. The first state railway was commenced in 1870, and completed in 1871. Other lines were subsequently constructed, and in 1876 the total mileage of state railways completed was 934. Since then, State Railways have progressed rapidly, till now the total

mileage of completed State Railways is 1500, with 1000 more under prospective construction. In 1876 the interest and working expenses of state railways amounted to Rs. 80,84,850 and the traffic receipts amounted to Rs. 28,95,120, showing a loss of Rs. 51,89,730. The loss on this head has been diminishing every year with the extension of system. The state railway works are yet in their infancy and the traffic receipts compared with the capital invested in them have been very meagre. Most of the lines have not yet paid their working expenses, and there is little likelihood of their doing so for sometime to come. A few of the lines constructed are of strategical and political importance, and will never return adequate interest on their capital amount. As stated before, the Indus Valley State Railway belongs to this class. When government fixed upon the policy of constructing railway works themselves, most of the paying lines of traffic, such as those between the great commercial centres of the Presidency towns, had already been made over for construction to guaranteed companies. They had, therefore, to take up less remunerative schemes, and it will take sometime before even a few of them become paying as commercial undertakings. Ultimately, however, most of the lines will earn an interest of about 5 per cent.

The principal guaranteed Railways in India are the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway (South-east and North-east branches), the South Indian Railway (Bey pore Vellore lines), the East India Railway (South-west and North-west branches), the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway, and the Karachi and Kotri railway. The principal state railway lines are Durbhanga state railway, the Northern India state railway, the Tirhoot state railway, the Indus Valley state railway, the Rajpootana state railway, the Neemuch state railway, the Dhond and Manmad state railway, the Khamgaon and

Umraoti state railways, and the Holkar state railway. Of the guaranteed railway companies, the only ones that have commenced paying commercially are the Great Indian Peninsula and the East India railway companies. Other guaranteed lines and the state railway lines generally, with the exception of a few such as the Rajpootana railway, are paying a very indifferent return, and it will be sometime before they commence yielding a return of from 4 to 5 percent. It is the opinion of experts that in the long run all these lines, with the exception of such of them as have been simply constructed on political and military considerations, will pay not less than 6 percent on the capital expended upon them.

The third class of extraordinary Public Works are Irrigation schemes. It may be mentioned that these were in existence in large numbers in this country before the advent of the British in India. The people of India have been always fully alive to the benefits of Irrigation, as testified by the numerous canals and tank works scattered over the whole country from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, wherever there are facilities for their construction, or where cultivation is impracticable without their aid on account of the scanty rainfall. The small *bandaras* and *pats* on the streams in North Deccan, some of the heavy works in the river deltas in the Madras Presidency such as that of the Cavery, the numerous old tanks which cover the Madras Presidency and the southern parts of Bombay, and lastly the large old Irrigation canals in the North West Provinces and in Sind, are all works which were constructed during the administrations of native Princes and rulers, long before the commencement of the British rule.

When the English rulers gained a firm footing in this country, they turned their attention to the improvement of these old native works, and the construction of new ones wherever suitable sites presented themselves. The first extensive Irrigation pro-

ject undertaken by the British government was the Ganges canal, which was commenced in 1831, and brought into working in 1854. Subsequently other schemes were undertaken from time to time, the requisite funds for their construction being provided for by loans. The principal Irrigation works in this country may be enumerated as follows; the Bari Doab canal, western Jumna canal, lower Sutlaj and Chenab Inundation canals, Sirhind canal, and Swat canal in the Panjab; Eastern Jumna canal, the Ganges canal, Agra canal, Rohilcund canal, Dun canal, Bijnor canal and Agra Irrigation works in the North Western Provinces; Orissa canal and the Midnapur canals in Bengal; the Godawary, Cavery and Krishna Delta works, and some tank projects in Madras; and the Hatmati canal, the Muta Lake and canal, Ojhar canal, Palkhed canal, Krishna canal, Ekrukh tank, Jamda canals, and Sind inundation canals in Bombay. Of these some of the works are yielding a large return on the capital invested in them. The most paying of them, however, are old native works that have been improved and extended by the British Government. In this class may be mentioned the Cavery works in Madras, the Sind Irrigation canals in Bombay, and the western and eastern Jumna canals in the Punjab and the North West Provinces. These works are yielding a very large return, in some cases as much as 85 per cent, if we accept as correct the figures given by English Engineers about the valuation of native portions of the works. Of the works which have been wholly constructed during the British administration of the country, those that are located in favourable situations, and have a perennial water supply in connection with them, such as the Ganges canal, the new Sind Inundation canals, and the Krishna Irrigation works, are paying from 5 to 6 per cent on the outlay upon them. Other schemes, however, where the water supply is precarious and unreliable, or where the people are not used to Irrigation, have, financially speaking, turned out



to be failures. Their prospects may not unlikely improve in time. There are some works, however, like the Ekrukh tank, on which there has been proportionately a very large outlay, which is not likely to pay even after the lapse of a number of years. The total outlay on Irrigation works up to 1876 was about 16 crores of Rs., and the excess of receipts over working expenses in 1876 was Rs. 6,72,420 shewing a very small return on the outlay incurred. Since 1876, five crores of Rupees have been invested by Government in its irrigation schemes. Colonel Fife, Chief Engineer for Irrigation Bombay, stated in his evidence that the Bombay Irrigation works, which are all of a recent growth, paid a return of  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent of direct revenues realised mostly by the sale of water in 1876. He anticipates that the average percentage of return during the first 15 years after the construction of a work will be five per cent, and after 15 years it will be about ten per cent.

It should be mentioned here, that in calculating the returns from Irrigation works in Sind, the Punjab, the North West Provinces, and Madras, it has been the practice to include in Irrigation revenue, such share of the land revenue enhancement as can be ascertained to be due to improvements caused by the construction of Irrigation works. This is called indirect revenue and its amount in the case of each work is arrived at by the best practicable approximation after consultation between the Revenue and Public Works officers of the District. If this indirect revenue be excluded from the returns of the Madras, Punjab, and Northern India works, the percentage of revenue will be much below what it is shewn to be in official statements. For instance, the Ganges canal has been shewn to have paid  $4\frac{1}{2}$  percent in 1876. If we expunge from this revenue the land improvement share, the return stands at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent,

The Government of India tried to form guaranteed Irrigation companies similar to the guaranteed railway

companies. The East India Irrigation and Madras Irrigation companies were accordingly formed. They were found to work very unsatisfactorily, and Government had to buy up the works of the Orissa company at a great loss to the state, and a heavy annual burden to the Indian Exchequer. The Madras Irrigation company has likewise come to a stand-still. They have not been yet able to repay entirely an advance of 60 lacs of Rupees that was made to them by the Government of India for the prosecution of their works. Both companies have failed financially, the works constructed by them not paying their working expenses.

The mass of information collected by the Parliamentary Committee has satisfactorily proved that some of the so-called reproductive works have not proved to be so much remunerative as was anticipated. The reasons assigned are :—

1st The choice of works has been faulty in as much as several schemes have been undertaken in places where they are not likely to be utilised to a great extent, and cannot, therefore, be made to pay.

2nd Some projects were undertaken for political and Military purposes, and charged to money raised by loans. These of course will never prove remunerative financially.

3rd It has often happened that works have been under-estimated, and shewn to pay a handsome return on the basis of the estimates so framed. The actual cost in construction having far exceeded the estimated figure, the projects have proved to be unpaying, in some cases so much so as not to pay even their working expenses.

4th The establishment charges of the Public Works Department have always been very heavy in India, and they have added materially to the cost of works.

5th The data on which the calculated returns were based were necessarily meagre at the commence-

ment, and they led to results which have proved to be erroneous.

As regards the desirability or otherwise of constructing future Public Works in India out of borrowed money, Lord Northbrook, General Dickens, Colonel Fife and other witnesses examined maintained that the course was desirable and should be pursued. Lord Northbrook was of opinion that the annual loans raised should not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores. of Rupees, which sum, he said, could be raised without difficulty in the local markets of India. It is a point of great importance to have all the requisite funds borrowed from Indian creditors, instead of going for them to foreign markets. The nationalization of the Indian debt is desirable both on political grounds, and on account of the increasing difficulty of loss by exchange. Lord Northbrook laid particular stress upon the principle, that the prosecution of productive Public Works should be so arranged as not to necessitate additional taxation upon the already heavily taxed Indian Ryot. General Dickens advocated the raising of 4 crores of Rupees annually for Public Works purposes, of which  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores should be spent on Irrigation works and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores on State Railways. General Dickens and the other witnesses further stated that in order to know beforehand what the Extraordinary Public Works expenditure for any year is to be, it was necessary to maintain the system of having forecasts prepared for such works, showing expenditure for the next five years. These forecasts will be highly useful for the guidance of the financial Department of the Government of India. It was suggested by the members of the Committee, that on the completion of many of the works that are in hand at present in India, it would be difficult to find other schemes that would be equally paying and remunerative. The witnesses examined stated in reply that the thing was not so difficult as might be imagined. There are still numerous schemes which the Government of India can take up as funds be-

come available. There are many comparatively unopened districts where new lines of railway are urgently required, and where they would pay when constructed. Similarly there is a great number of Irrigation schemes at present pigeon-holed with the Government of India, which have had to be shelved pending the supply of funds required for their construction. It is possible likewise to find numerous and perhaps equally paying new schemes of Irrigation in all parts of the country if a careful examination is ordered for the purpose.

The question of the relative cost and usefulness of navigation canals and railways as means of carriage for traffic is one upon which a great deal has been written. The warmest advocate of canals in preference to railways is the celebrated General Sir Arthur Cotton, the great Engineer, who designed and constructed the Ganges canal works. The average cost per mile of a navigating canal was stated by Sir Arthur Cotton as not likely to exceed Rs. 30,000, while railway works cost as much as Rs. 80,000, or even one lac per mile. Railway works are besides expensive to work and maintain. The advantages in favour of navigating canals are that their first cost is smaller; that they are more inexpensively maintained; that their working cost is much smaller than that of railways; and that besides serving as means of carriage, the canals can be used for irrigating and water supply purposes. It must, however, be borne in mind that canal works are not possible in all places and localities, that water may fail and canals dry up, and lastly, that the speed of locomotion in canals cannot be equal to that of railways. Navigating canals should, therefore, be constructed in preference to railways only in such places as offer special facilities for them, as regards the constancy of water supply and the cheapness of construction. In other places, and for military considerations, wherever in fact speed of locomotion is a matter of great importance, railways must in preference

be undertaken. In India both railways and canals are needed. Wherever practicable all irrigating canals should be capable of carrying light traffic by boats and rafts plying over them.

With reference to the question as to whether railways or irrigation works are more conducive to the protection of the country from famines, Sir George Campbell stated that under the peculiar circumstances of this country, preference must be given to the Railways. In years of drought and scanty rainfall, the water supply of irrigation works, with the exception of such of them as are supported by the perennial streams of the Himalayas or in the Madras Deltas, generally fails, and the works do not in consequence afford the anticipated relief in times of scarcity. Railways, on the other hand, are equally serviceable at all times for the transport of food grains to the afflicted districts from those which may invariably be expected to be blessed with plentiful harvests. The value of railways was abundantly proved during the last famine in Madras and Bombay, when the G. I. P. and E. I. Railways did great service to the country by importing grains from Bengal, Behar and Northern India. Had it not been for this railway communication, and the abundant food supply that was poured daily into the heart of the afflicted country, the condition the Southern Districts of the Madras Presidency would have been something too terrible to imagine. There would have been no grain to buy though there was plenty of money supplied from Government relief works for its purchase. Another noteworthy point with reference to the comparative merits of railways and Irrigation works, as regards their famine-protective character is that Irrigation works are impossible in some districts on account of the absence in them of perennial streams, or suitable sites for the storage of water. In such places, railways are the only means that can be resorted to for provision against famines and times of scarcity.

Regarding the possible further extension of Productive Irrigation works, and their distribution in the different provinces of India, it was mentioned that Irrigation, wherever it is carried out in connection with perennial streams such as the Indus and the Ganges, is most successful financially, as the expenditure to be incurred is comparatively light. The provinces of Sind and the Panjab, being watered by the Indus and the five Panjab rivers, are very advantageously situated in this respect. Their rainfall besides is so scanty and precarious, that they stand in absolute need of Irrigation for the maintenance of their cultivation. This want has been provided to a great extent where the districts are sufficiently populated, though a good deal yet remains to be done. The Ganges canal and the Western and Eastern Jumna canals have likewise provided for the protection by Irrigation of such portions of the North West Provinces as stand in need of it on account of their precarious rainfall. The districts beyond Benares, and Oudh, Bengal and Behar, are moist tracts of country in which the rainfall is generally abundant, and water can be obtained by means of wells sunk to short depths below the ground level. No Irrigation on an extensive scale is, therefore, needed for the protection of these provinces. Some important works, however, have been already provided here. In the Madras Presidency, the most favourable situations for Irrigation works are the deltas of the great rivers like the Godavery, the Krishna, and the Kaveri. Irrigation has already been provided here. There are besides a large number of irrigating tanks constructed under the native rule, which have been improved and repaired by the British Government. In the Central Provinces, there are very few streams, and no suitable sites can, therefore, be obtained for the construction of large Irrigation works. To come now nearer home. The rivers in the Bombay Presidency, exclusive of Sind, are all small rivers. All of them, with the exception of

those in Guzerat, take their origin in the Western ghauts of the Sahyadri range, and run east and west to meet the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea respectively. Those that run to the west traverse the North and South Konkans. These portions of India have a plentiful monsoon rainfall almost every year. The crops that grow there are monsoon dry crops and rice. The soil is not capable of producing Rabi crops, and therefore does not stand in need of irrigation and irrigating canals. There is garden cultivation all over the tract, but the people have provided their own wells which retain a perennial supply of water at no great depth. The depth at which water can be met within these wells is very small, seldom exceeding ten feet. The country between the ghaut range and the sea does not exceed 50 miles, and the whole of this narrow strip is traversed by a number of hill torrents. No large canals are, therefore, profitable in the Konkans, and their supply, if constructed, would prove insufficient, unless they are supplemented by large and expensive storage tanks. No irrigation works are under these circumstances required for the Konkans, nor will they be profitable, if constructed.

It is what is pre-eminently called the Desh portion of the Bombay Presidency that requires Irrigation. The Desh districts include Khandesh, the Deccan, and the Southern Maratha country. The rainfall here, except in the Mavals or near the ghauts, is very scanty and precarious; and it is by no means unusual in these parts to have one year of good harvest after every two or three of bad ones. Protection by means of Irrigation works is essentially needed here. Unfortunately it happens that the Desh rivers, which run east to meet the Bay of Bengal, are too near their sources in the Bombay Presidency, and in consequence the volume of their water is very small. Most of them dry up in the hot weather, and the canals from them run dry in consequence,

All the canals constructed in the Bombay Presidency are works of this description. They are taken off from rivers which run copiously for eight months in the year, but during the four hot weather months, the supply proves insufficient, and is sometimes completely stopped. It, therefore, becomes necessary in the case of these works to supplement their supply in the hot weather months from extraneous sources. To meet this difficulty, storage tanks have been provided in some instances, and are being provided in others. These are large artificial tanks, which store up monsoon waters. The stored water is let into the canal or the bed of the river feeding it, as soon as the natural supply commences to fail in the hot weather. After the first few falls of rain, when the river is replenished, the tank sluices are closed, and are not opened unless the river again dries up. The smaller rivers in Guzerath are also of the same character, and the canals from them likewise are incomplete without storage works.

The province of Sind which forms a portion of the Bombay Presidency is a tract of an altogether exceptional character. It has a very slight rainfall, and that too does not extend over a longer period than one or two fortnights. All cultivation in this province is carried on by means of Irrigation from the Indus, the great river which runs through it from North to South. The crops are principally rice, and cold weather crops. The river rises in the cold weather, and in the rains, and feeds a series of canals which are taken off at a high level. These canals are known as inundation canals. There is a large number of them scattered over the whole province. They are full and running, when the river is in floods, and empty when it is low. There are inundation canals of a like character in the Panjab and the North West Provinces.

As regards tank irrigation, these are constructed in favourable positions in such a manner that the greatest quantity of water can be stored at



a minimum of expenditure. The most favourable site is generally a narrow gorge between two hills with a river running through it. The gorge is closed by a dam or embankment, and a lake is formed behind it, varying in extent and depth according to the configuration of the ground. Sometimes a natural hollow amongst the hills is formed into a lake by bringing into it water from a river or a running stream, by means of a canal taken off at a higher level. There are some favourable sites of this description. But almost all the tanks that have been constructed for Irrigation or water supply purposes have been formed by throwing dams or embankments across a running drainage course, at a place where its valley has been narrowed by hills closing in from both sides. The dams constructed for the formation of tanks are either of masonry or of earth. Every tank is furnished with a channel for the escape of surplus water, and with outlet works for letting out stored water when necessary.

The main considerations which have to be attended to in the selection of tank sites are good foundations for dam works, a low and favourable saddle for the waste weir, and above all adequate drainage or catchment area, capable of filling the tank in a year of ordinary rainfall. The catchment area or gathering ground of a large tank must also be large. In the Bombay Presidency, the best catchments are the Ghat districts, where the rainfall is unfailing and copious. A portion of the rainfall over the catchment basin of a tank is absorbed in the ground, another portion is taken up and assimilated by trees, some is lost by the evaporation and the remainder finds its way into the tank. It is found generally that about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th or  $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the rain-fall waters is under favourable circumstances available for tank filling.

We shall now briefly notice the chief irrigation works that have been hitherto constructed in

India. We find a large number of canals and small tanks that were constructed in the times of the Mahomedan and Hindu rulers of the country. The province of Mysore, the Southern Maharata Country, the northern portion of Khandesh, and the western portion of the presidency of Madras, are full of irrigating tanks constructed in all likely places, each tank having a distinct irrigating area of its own. Rice is generally grown on the lands protected by these tanks. The great defect with the old tank works is that the waste water provision made in them proves too often insufficient, and results in the breaching and destruction of a great number of them. Many of these old tanks are very large, much larger than the tanks constructed by the British Government. The tank of Chumbumbokum in Madras may be mentioned here. Its area, when full, is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  square miles. The number of old canals, constructed by the Native and Mahomedan rulers in India, is also very great. Almost all the existing inundation canals in Sind, and the western Jumna, Bari Doab, and other canals in the North West Provinces, are indigenous works. They have only been improved and enlarged by the British Government. Similarly, the Cavery and Godavery Delta irrigation systems in the Madras Presidency, which are so successful financially at present, were originally native works, which have been improved by the British Government. Besides the larger canals mentioned above, there are several small ones known as *Pats*. These *pats* are especially numerous in Khandesh, where each important village on the banks of the principal ghaut rivers has got a weir and irrigating channel for itself. The Panjra, the Mosum, and the Girna rivers have a large number of these weirs and irrigating channels. In the Khandesh Bagayit villages, a certain area of the village lands is specially kept apart for irrigation, and all the principal villages are co-sharers in it. This

area is called the *Thul*, and there is a regular system of triennial or quadrennial, rotation practised upon it. In the Konkan also, there are small *pats* of this description, but they are few and far between.

Of the principal Irrigation works undertaken and constructed by the British Government, the Ganges canal stands foremost. It is taken from the Ganges near Haridwar, is 654 miles in length, and has cost over three crores of rupees. It is a navigable canal. Loaded steamers work upon it. Next in importance to the Ganges canal, are the eastern and western Jumna canals, the Bari Doab canal, the Sutlej canals, the Sone canals and the Orissa canals. This last work was constructed by the East India Irrigation Company, and was subsequently bought over by Government. The Bari Doab canal is 469 miles in length, the Eastern Jumna canal 130 miles, the Western Jumna 445 miles and the Sutlej 530 miles. These canals are the chief works in Bengal, the Panjab and the North West Provinces. The principal Irrigation works undertaken by the British Government in the Madras Presidency are the Delta Irrigation works of the Cavery, the Krishna, and the Godavery. These works are financially very successful. As has been said before, they were old works which have been improved upon and materially enlarged and extended by the British Government. Besides the above, there are the Buckingham canal lately completed as a famine work, and the numerous Irrigation tanks in the Presidency, many of which have been restored by the British rulers after their conquest of the country. In the Bombay Presidency, the works carried out under British rule are very few, and comparatively unimportant. As remarked before, the rivers in this Presidency are small, and no large canal schemes can, therefore, be undertaken in connection with them, without constructing very expensive and costly storage tanks to supplement the natural flow of the river when it falls short of irrigation requirements. The foremost

irrigation work constructed in the Deccan is the Fife Lake and the Muta canals. This work is still in progress, and is estimated to cost about 90 lacs of Rupees, including direct and indirect charges, when complete. Next in importance to the Muta canals, are the Ekruck tank and canals in Sholapur, the Janda canals, and the Mukti tank irrigation in Khandesh, the Krishna canal in Sattara, and the Hatmati canal in Guzerath. Besides these works, there are several smaller tanks and canals which it is not necessary to name here. In the Southern Maratha Country, many old tanks have been restored and improved by the British Government.

All the principal irrigation works in India have been constructed from loan funds, and they are expected to pay more than four and a half per cent on the capital invested in them. With reference to the question of their paying character, it may be remarked, that some of the Madras and Northern India works have commenced paying more than 5 per cent on their capital cost. Of the Bombay works, none, not even the Muta canals, have met with any financial success hitherto. The principal reason of this is the occasional failure of water supply which disheartens the Ryots, and keeps them from going in for perennial and costly irrigation. Another reason is the poverty of the Ryots. In the course of time, when the water supply is made permanent by means of storage tanks, and when people become more used to irrigation, the paying character of all these works will improve. Besides the above mentioned works many new irrigation schemes were commenced in the Bombay Presidency as famine works. Among others may be mentioned the Nira canal works in the Poona District, the Rajewadi tank in the Sattara District, the Pangaum and Asti tanks in the Sholapur District, the Don Project in the Kaladgi District, and the Gokak canals in the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts.

It may not be out of place here to enumerate the

various advantages the country derives from the formation of new irrigation works :—

(1.) The land commanded by them is rendered thoroughly independent as regards its productive power of the notoriously precarious and uncertain rain-fall of many parts of India. Efficient irrigation works, even though not paying financially, afford a complete protection against famine, for the area which they are capable of irrigating.

(2) Irrigation works raise the water level of the adjoining wells, and thus render lift irrigation easy and less costly.

(3) They secure a copious and unfailling water supply for drinking purposes in the villages and towns through or by the side of which they pass.

(4) They encourage the growth of vegetation, and being large masses of water themselves, attract rainfall, and render it less capricious and fluctuating.

(5) Irrigation canals, when large, serve the purposes of navigation; and secure the cheapest means of carriage as compared with roads and railways.

(6) They increase production from the soil by converting Jirait into Bagait lands.

On the other hand, the following may be set down as the disadvantages arising from irrigation works. (1.)

All these works tend to increase malaria on account of the great quantity of water that penetrates below the surface of the soil by percolation. This complaint can be removed to a very great extent by proper attention to drainage. (2.) Again it is found that irrigation works in some cases render some of the adjacent soils unfit for cultivation, on account of their becoming marshy and saturated with water. This complaint also may be removed in some instances by drainage. Some soils may be deteriorated in this way, but this loss is quite insignificant, when compared with the immense good all irrigation works do to the country. Thirdly

it is complained that irrigation brings to the surface of the soil salt efflorescence, which makes it sterile. This efflorescence is called *reh* in Bengal, and is said to have made its appearance on the Ganges canal. It has not appeared as yet in the case of any of the Bombay works, and at the worst it can do damage to a small area only. None of these disadvantages, therefore, can weigh against the many advantages that are derived from irrigation works.

In conclusion it may be said, that it is desirable to construct a number of efficient irrigation works in this country, even though they may not be paying financially, as they are one of the great means of warding off famines, and thus saving the enormous expenditure which the Public Treasury has to bear when famines occur. Let large works be carried out wherever they are possible, and in time we can afford to be independant of the aberrations of the annual rainfall. At present, where no irrigation works exist, the country is dependant upon the rain waters for our crops from the soil. When the rain-fall happens to be scanty, the whole of the agricultural population is put to great straits, and government has to remit its land tax and open relief works. All these difficulties will diminish, as irrigation works increase.

Sir Arthur Cotton in his evidence tried to shew the cheapness of water carriage by navigation canals when compared with railways. This is no doubt a fact, but the cost of making Irrigation canals navigable is very heavy, and it is not possible to secure communication by means of them to any desired place. They therefore cannot be undertaken to the exclusion of railways as advocated by the enthusiastic Sir Arthur Cotton. The portion of the Godavery canal that has been constructed in the Madras Presidency is navigable, but as it does not pass by any great centres of trade, very little traffic has developed upon it. Navigable canals like that of the Ganges are no doubt desirable in places where they can be taken along the centres

of traffic, and where there are no serious natural difficulties in the way of their construction. They would do a great deal of good by taking cheaply to the nearest market the agricultural produce of irrigation districts. In suitable situations, therefore, where they can be constructed cheaper than railways, their construction is greatly to be encouraged.

Almost all the witnesses examined before the Committee were in favour of raising the annual loans required for Public Works purposes in India instead of England. It was suggested that a higher rate of interest should be allowed to small bond-holders, so as to induce many natives of moderate means to invest their monies in these loans. Another alternative suggested was as follows :—When the construction of a work is determined upon, the people to be directly benefited by it should be induced to contribute to the loan required for its construction. A small rate of interest should be guaranteed on these loans from the Indian revenues, and the contributors should be made co-sharers with government in the profits of the work according to the sums of money contributed by them. Seeing the numerous old native works in the country, and the manner in which they have been designed and executed, one is led to believe that the natives must have a great aptitude for the Engineering profession.

The Commission accordingly tried to elicit opinions as to the possibility of introducing the native element to a greater extent than at present in the higher branches of the Public Works Department. It was presumed that the measure would lead to greater economy by reducing the establishment charges in the construction of new works, the natives, if systematically admitted, being paid less than Engineers brought from England. Several witnesses examined stated that the natives would make very good intermediate Engineers, though there were doubts as to their capability of discharging the duties appertaining to the higher appointments of the Department. It was

stated that they were wanting in energy and powers of endurance, and were inferior to European Engineers in both those respects.

The results of the evidence collected by the Committee may be summarised as follows :—

1st. It is desirable to continue the course of constructing Public Works in India in future out of borrowed money.

2nd. A forecast should be prepared for every five or a fixed number of years, showing the details of the works that are to be constructed out of borrowed funds, and the annual expenditure upon each of them.

3rd. All cash balances from the ordinary Revenues of the country should be utilised in the construction of Extraordinary Public Works, and only such amount raised by loan as would be necessary to make up the amount previously fixed upon for expenditure during the year.

4th. The amount of loan for each year should be so adjusted, that no additional taxation will ever become necessary for the payment of interest charges thereon. It should not exceed a certain maximum amount annually of from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 crores of Rupees.

5th. The requisite annual loans should be raised in India and not in foreign markets, partly to obviate the serious charges of loss by exchange, and also from grounds of political importance. The amount of loan thus obtainable without difficulty in India should regulate the maximum referred to in the preceding paragraph. It was stated by Lord Northbrook to be about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees.

6th. No works should be constructed out of money raised by loans, except such as have their remunerative character fully established beyond all doubt.

7th. Each project for a remunerative work, as it is submitted for sanction, should be most carefully scrutinised, and its capability of paying on its estimated outlay thoroughly sifted by responsible and quali-



fied officers both in the Revenue and Public Works Departments.

8th. The estimates for all works should be most carefully scrutinised and investigated, so as to leave no chance for an excess occurring on the original estimate, on which the figures as to anticipated return of revenue have been based.

9th. The establishment of the Public Works Department should be reduced to the requisite strength necessary for works to be constucted annually.

10th. The works should be made cheaper by employing natives to a greater extent in the higher Branches of the Indian P. W. Department, whenever they are found qualified to occupy such positions.

The above is a general abstract noting the chief points of importance in the evidence before the Parliamentary Committee. We have tried to make it of general interest by divesting it of its multiplicity of figures, and of discussions with reference to professional matters which are not likely to be interesting to our readers. When the report of the deliberations of the Committee is out, we propose and hope to be able to review it at some length in these pages.

## FACTORY LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

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THE Government of India have at last passed the Indian Factories Act. It received the assent of the Governor-General of India on the 15th March last, and is now on the statute book of the country as Act XV. of 1881. It is one of the two measures passed within comparatively a few years by the Indian Government at the desire and under the powerful and irresistible, although unjust, pressure of Manchester, the other measure being the partial abolition of the import duties on cotton yarn and goods. His Excellency Lord Ripon disclaims having been influenced by the pressure of Manchester in giving effect to the measure. 'His Excellency,' we are told, 'could only say for himself that having come out here not very long ago from England, no motive of that kind had any thing whatever to do with the support he gave to the Bill.' We gladly believe His Excellency, and acquit him altogether of being at all moved by Manchester. But the measure has been before Government for a long time, in the course of which it is well-known that Manchester has viewed with alarm and jealousy the progress of the Bombay Cotton industry. It therefore need excite no surprise that to gain its selfish ends, Manchester should strain every nerve to handicap a rival industry. His Excellency may not be aware of the past movements of Manchester men in this direction. But those who have watched carefully their efforts, directed to this purpose, feel no hesitation in saying that Manchester has looked very unfavorably, we should say, inimically, towards Bombay manufacturers. That is at least the feeling very common in India. It is worthy of note that this feeling was given vent to in Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Pitt-Kennedy one of the officials of the Government of India, in the course of the discussions on the Bill.

The Hon'ble Member bore testimony to this feeling when he remarked that it was with no friendly eye that English manufacturers looked upon Bombay manufacturers, and that it was easy to see that Manchester could ill brook restrictive measures being taken in respect of the employment of children in English factories, when children in India were employed without similar restrictions. Mr. Kennedy, however, struck the true note of opposition to the Bill when he said that 'he was anxious to see, as far as possible, the industry of the half-starved population of the country developed. He thought that where the legislature found wages at the miserable rate that they were in most parts of India, any industry which could give greater employment to the labouring classes should receive every encouragement from the Government; and therefore it was that he was anxious, as far as possible, to minimize the restrictive action of the Bill, which could hardly in his mind fail to exercise a dangerous influence on the further extension of manufactures.' But whether it was through the pressure exerted by Manchester on the India Office, and by the India Office on the Viceroy, as is believed in this country, or by the Government of India of its own motion, the fact is undoubted that the Factory Act has been passed by the Government in spite of the united protests of all the commercial bodies and political associations in Bombay and Bengal. The Government of India is not unmindful of this fact. It is not unaware of the anxiety felt in Bombay and elsewhere among mill-owning and commercial bodies as to the new forms which this interference on the part of Government with the quiet working of private industrial enterprise will assume. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce referred the Bill to a special Committee of its body, who reported that 'before proceeding with the consideration of the provisions of the Bill, the Committee had under discussion the subject of the system of labor in the Cotton Mills

of this Presidency, and a majority came to the conclusion that the introduction of a Factory Act with the object of regulating the hours of labor was unnecessary.' The Bombay Mill-owners' Association deeply regretted 'that the Bill in its present restricted form, should have been introduced, for it was of opinion that legislative interference of any kind was wholly unnecessary and would be most injurious not only to the manufacturing interests of the country, but to the country generally.' Even after the passing of the Act, in the lenient form given to it, the Mill-owners expressed a fear that the Act might be worked harshly, and that the agency of Inspectors appointed under the Act would prove corrupt and oppressive. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce expressed similar fears and anxieties in regard to the working of the Act.\*

Conscious of the fears and anxieties thus entertained by the mercantile classes in regard to the oppressive and corrupt working of the Act, the Government of India issued in May last a re-assuring circular † addressed to the local Governments and admi-

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\* Mr. Crum the retiring President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in reviewing the legislative measures of the year at the last meeting of the Chamber referred to the Factories Act in the following terms:—The Factories Act will come into force next July. In the words of a Member of the Supreme Council it is 'one of the most lenient and slightly restrictive which could possibly have been framed, providing only for the protection of young children and for the prevention of accidents'. And although we may still, as regards our own Presidency, consider that no Act was necessary, I hope that the fears generally expressed that any legislation might prove to be a check on local industry and leading to disturb the relations between employers and employed may not be realized.

† This circular is too important to be omitted.

No.

FROM THE HON'BLE C. GRANT, C. S., OFFG. SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

To,

Simla the May, 1881.

Home, Rev. and agri. Dept. *Judicial*.

Sir,—In inviting attention to the Factories Act (No. XV) of 1881, I am desired to convey to you the following observations

nistrations. This circular enunciates the principles to be observed by the local authorities in the working of the Act. Even before this circular was issued, we must say we always gave to the present Govern-

regarding the principles which should be observed in its administration.

2. The Act, it will be seen, does not apply to indigo factories or premises situated in and used solely for the purposes of tea or coffee plantations; nor to temporary establishments wherein operatives are employed for less than four months in the year; nor to comparatively small undertakings providing work on any day for less than one hundred persons. Moreover, the restrictions which it imposes on the hours of labor extend only to children; and except in so far as the Act provides for the fencing of machinery and notice of accidents, it does not impose any obligation on millowners for the protection of adults.

3. The scope of the law is thus comparatively limited, and it will be apparent that in framing it, the most careful regard has been paid to the representations of the mill owners and commercial and other associations which have memorialised the Government of India on the subject of factory legislation. Indeed consistently with the objects in view, it would have been scarcely possible to frame a more moderate measure; and the Governor General in Council believes that the uneasiness which is still felt in some quarters regarding its possible effects on the manufacturing industries is caused not so much by objection to the protection of children and to the fencing of machinery as by the fear that the provisions designed for these purposes may be injudiciously worked to the detriment of legitimate operations. Such apprehensions are not altogether unnatural; for there is always a risk that, in the absence of suitable precautions, administrative zeal in enforcing a new law may overstep due limits and prove injurious to the conduct of commercial enterprise. Similar difficulties, however, have been satisfactorily surmounted in England; and having regard to the great importance of providing for the people of this country fresh outlets for surplus labor, and of avoiding all unnecessary restraints upon industrial employment, the Governor General in Council desires to impress upon all Local Governments the necessity of regulating the machinery of inspection and of selecting the inspecting agency in such a manner as to prevent all reasonable cause of complaint. The government of India attach great importance to the choice of inspectors who, while they will take care that the provisions of the Act are honestly and thoroughly carried out, will discharge their duties in the most conciliatory manner.

ment of India full credit for the spirit of honesty and regard for public opinion that guides its actions. If the Government has erred, the error is due probably to want of knowledge of many of the social and industrial phases of native life, rather than to anything else. With this brief remark, we shall next proceed to discuss the principles unfolded in the circular. The Government of India observe, in the first place, that the Act does not apply to indigo factories or estates used solely for the purposes of growing and manufacturing tea or coffee plantations; nor to such temporary establishments as Cotton ginning or pressing establishments. The reason assigned for the exemp-

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4. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that although many factories are managed on enlightened and liberal principles yet the inquiries of the Bombay Commission of 1875 did undoubtedly disclose the existence in many places of grave defects in factory management; and it was to prevent the possibility of such abuses that the present law was enacted. In consideration of the important interests involved, and in deference to the opinions of many of the Local Governments and public bodies and associations consulted, the restrictions which were at first thought necessary have been very materially relaxed. In one respect, indeed, viz. in the reduction to seven years of the minimum age at which a child may be employed, the Governor General in Council does not yet feel sure that the relaxation may not have been carried too far. He has assented to the experimental adoption of the existing limit on the ground that children of seven years of age are at present largely employed in factories without apparent injury to them; and that several Local Governments thought this limit of eight years as fixed in the Bill too high. But he considers that the working of this provision in the law will need to be carefully watched; and that it cannot be maintained unless it is found beyond doubt to provide an adequate measure of protection to children of tender years.

5. I am to request that the rules framed under section 18 of the Act may be submitted to the Government of India; and a report will be required on the operation of the Act when a year has elapsed from the date of its introduction.

I have &c.

C. GRANT

Secretary to the Government of India.

tion from the operation of the Act of tea and coffee plantations which are mostly owned by Englishmen, known as planters, appears to be that on these tea and coffee plantations the work is done out of doors, and not within the close limits of a factory, and the small ginning and pressing factories are exempted because the laborers are not employed in them for more than four months. In the case of cotton ginning and pressing factories, it is urged that since these factories are worked only during the limited period of the cotton season, it is very necessary to the cotton trade that ginned and pressed cotton should be despatched to Bombay or the port of shipment before the commencement of the south-west monsoon. But this argument is quite beside the question. It simply regards the convenience of tea and coffee planters and of those engaged in the export cotton trade to be so great as to justify the government in overlooking the hardships of children employed in such factories. Is it not of importance that children on a tea or coffee estate should not be worked for more than nine hours as in a cotton mill? So far as the labor of children is considered—which is the most essential point in the argument, for to regulate child labor is the sole object of factory legislation,—this labor in the one case does not differ from the other. Again, if labor on a tea or coffee estate is carried on out of doors, a cotton mill as constructed in India has so much of light and ventilation in and about it, that in respect of these two advantages it may be said to be on a par with either a tea or a coffee estate. In a cotton ginning and pressing factory worked by steam, the real question to be determined in regard to labor is, not whether it is worked for four months or a whole year, but whether children are put to work for twelve or thirteen hours or nine hours, as in the case of a cotton factory. So far as this question of child labour is concerned, it is immaterial whether the concern is a cotton ginning, a cotton pressing, or a cot-

ton manufacturing factory. Do not accidents happen in a cotton gin or cotton press factory? Are there no dangerous parts in the machinery of these factories which require to be as well fenced and protected as in a cotton mill? We cannot for a moment see what difference it makes to children, whether employed in the one or the other? On the contrary, we believe the case is worse in small factories, whether they are worked for ginning or pressing cotton, or whether they are indigo or tea concerns. In a cotton ginning or pressing factory, the ruling idea with the owner or manager is how best to get through a whole year's crop in the way of ginning or pressing, before the rainy season sets in, and the work is therefore hurried through. We know of many up-country factories where work is kept up till late hours in the night during the busy season. Workmen, male and female, and children, are engaged for extra hours, and the inducement of more wages proves irresistible to the labouring hands to work for over-time. The treatment which the Cooli labourers receive on the tea and indigo estates is too well-known to readers of Parliamentary Blue-books, and of the proceedings connected with the famous *Nil Durpan* case and the trial of the celebrated Bengal Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Long, to require any detailed description here. It is therefore pre-eminently the small factories, such as cotton ginning and cotton pressing factories in this Presidency, and the tea and coffee plantations in Assam and Madras, that should be more carefully looked after by a government bent upon philanthropy than the large cotton mills of Bombay. This point was forcibly brought to the notice of the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs. Mr. Gibbs observed :—

He desired to say a few words in regard to the Bombay Commission to which reference had been made. The appointment of that Commission was necessitated because, on that side of India, cotton mills had started up with much greater rapidity than in the other provinces, and it was thought necessary to have an inquiry of that na-



ture to see whether there were really any of the very objectionable practices which had prevailed in the mills in England. He was, however, happy to say that having himself inspected some of those mills, and perused the reports from time to time, he believed that, in the great majority of them, the arrangements were any thing but what could be objected to. He thought his honorable colleague, Major Baring was present at the time, when he (Mr. Gibbs) took Lord Northbrook to see the working of one of those mills; and, on coming out. His Lordship said that, if all the Bombay Mills were similar to the one he had inspected, no factory legislation would be needed. The real fact was that an Act of this description was required for small factories where the small amount of capital and other such causes made the owner get as much work as possible from the labourers who were employed on it. He believed that there were a large number of highly respectable mills where the work was very properly conducted. The children employed in those mills were as happy as possible, and in some of them there were very good schools, in which the children were allowed to attend for two or three hours a day. One of the difficulties connected with this question was the practice of little children being carried with their parents to the mills. It was impossible for the people at least on the other side of India, to leave their children at home; necessity made the women, if not the men, take their whole families with them, and the result of the children being taken to the mills involved their getting put to some light work which they otherwise would not have been put to; and for that reason, if not for any others, it was necessary to have some proper rule carried out for regulating the work of children. It was for the inferior classes of factories that the operation of the Act was more especially called for, and government inspection considered necessary.

Thus it will be seen that protection to children where most needed is not given, whereas it is thrust upon them where it is admitted to be absolutely unnecessary.

The circular letter in its fourth para, after admitting that many factories are managed on enlightened and liberal principles, seeks to justify the interference of the new law on the ground that "the inquiries of the Bombay Commission of 1875 did undoubtedly disclose the existence in many places of grave defects in factory management; and it was to prevent the possibility of such abuses that the present law was enacted." Here we beg leave

to inquire whether the Government of India have not exaggerated the result of the Commission's inquiries. Again, even if certain irregularities were disclosed, did such irregularities constitute 'grave defects' or 'grave abuses' in factory management sufficient to justify legislative interference? We are of opinion that the inquiries of the Commission disclosed nothing in the shape of abuses or defects in factory management that can be fairly characterised as 'grave,' or serious, or at all events of such a character as to necessitate a resort to legislation on the part of government.

This Bombay Commission of 1875 inquired into the working and condition of the Bombay factories generally, but into the following subjects more particularly:—(1) Dangers from machinery and necessity of its protection; (2) Age of children employed; (3) Hours of work; (4) Holidays; (5) Sanitation; (6) Ventilation; (7) Education and (8) Necessity of legislation. The conclusions arrived at by the Commission on each of these points were, to use the Commission's own words, as under:—

1st.—As a rule, all machinery is protected, but some portions may not be sufficiently protected. All the witnesses concur in stating that protection of the machinery is both necessary and desirable.

2nd.—Eight years appears to be the general age given as that of the youngest children employed in the mills, but some witnesses stated their age to be as low as five or six years.

3rd.—The hours of work are stated to be from sunrise to sunset, with half an hour for rest in the middle of the day. In the longest days of the year this would give about 13 hours a day, including the half hour's rest. In the shortest days it would give about 11 hours. The children come with their parents, and remain on the premises all the time, alternately working and resting.

4th.—There are no fixed number of holidays for

any factory during the year. One closes every Sunday in the year, others every other Sunday in the year, and others one Sunday in the month. In addition native holidays are given. On an average, the factories work from 300 to 320 days in the year from sunrise to sunset.

5.—The health of the operatives is stated to be good, and it is also stated that they do not suffer by reason of the long hours of labour.

6th.—The ventilation in some factories is better than in others, and the Commission are of opinion that it has not received the attention it deserves from many of the owners.

7th.—Gratuitous schooling is given in a small way in two of the factories, but in none of the others.

8th.—On the last point, namely, the necessity of legislation, the great majority of the members of the Commission were of opinion that 'legislation in any shape was not necessary.' Of the two members in the minority one was a Government official, and the other a medical gentleman who advocated legislation more from a mistaken philanthropy, than from any intimate knowledge of factory work. These two gentlemen thought that 'a simple legislative enactment would be beneficial both to the factory owners and to the operatives.' They also considered that "the Act should be passed by the Government of India, and applied to the whole of British India. To apply such an Act to the City of Bombay, or to the Bombay Presidency only, would be certainly detrimental to their interests."

We trust we have placed before the reader the principal results of the Commission's inquiries, and we now put it to him whether these results are such as to afford the least justification for a legislative enactment to regulate factory labor. The Commission tell us that as a rule all the machinery is well protected; that eight years is generally the age of the young.

est children employed in the mills, though some of the children are seven, and very few six years of age; that, the number of native holidays and Sundays excepted, the working days in a year amount to from 300 to 320 days on an average; that the work people look healthy; and that there is good light and ventilation provided for in the mills generally. Where then, we inquire, are the 'grave defects' in factory management; where are the 'abuses,' discovered by the Commission, to which prominent reference is made in the Government of India's circular, and to prevent the possibility of which the present law was enacted? On the contrary, the salient fact brought out by the enquiries of the Commission was that the majority of the Commission considered that legislation in any shape was unnecessary, and this for the following very cogent reasons, namely:—

(1.) Because any proposed legislation in the direction of restriction must check an important new industry which is as yet in its infancy and which needs great care and protection to foster its healthy growth.

(2.) Because it is at least very questionable whether any legislative measure will act as a deterrent in regard to the employment of children as was contemplated by Government.

(3.) Because no sufficient reason exists for singling out the cotton industry of the country for legislation, when children are found to be employed in other trades more injurious to their health and life.

(4.) Because no factory hands have ever complained directly or indirectly either of the number of their working hours, or of any other arrangements in cotton factories.

To these four reasons we would add the following:—

(5.) Because most of the mill operatives are drawn from the surplus agricultural population in the Presidency.

(6) Because the wages earned in such factories are generally higher than those obtained in any other trade or industry.

(7) Because the buildings in which the labourers work are infinitely superior in construction, and provide much better for light, ventilation and other conveniences, than similar buildings where other trades and industries are carried on.

(8) Because factory labor is one for which Indian laborers show a peculiar aptitude, being of a light and easy character, and so very popular with them.

The two dissentient members were, however, of opinion, that should an Imperial Act be passed, it should provide for the following points:—

1st.—That the machinery should be protected.

2nd.—That children should not be employed under eight years of age.

3rd.—That children from eight to fourteen years should not work more than eight hours daily.

4th.—That the hours of labor should not exceed twelve hours a day, which should include one hour of rest, which could be given either at one time, or at different times during the day, as found to be most convenient.

5th.—That all factories should be closed one day in seven, the day of closing being left to be fixed as the owners and operatives may wish. Other holidays in the year may be given at the option of the owners and operatives.

6th.—That good drinking water should be provided in every factory.

In making these recommendations for a legislative enactment the dissentient members observed that they were distinctly of opinion that “the Act should be passed by the Government of India and applied to the whole of India. To apply such an Act to the City of Bombay, or to the Bombay Presidency only, would be certainly detrimental to their interests.” They further cautioned the Government that any Im-

perial Act that might be passed should not interfere more than was absolutely necessary with the working of factories, for these must be considered as highly important, both politically and financially, and of great benefit to the country generally, and as such they had a claim for encouragement of every description.

Let us now see what action the Government of India took upon receipt of the report of the Commission. All papers connected with the report, and the proceedings of the Commission, were in due course transmitted by the Bombay Government to the India Office, by whom, however, no great activity in the direction of proceeding with a legislative measure was for a time shown, owing partly to the prevalence of a strong public opinion in India unanimously deprecating any legislative interference, but largely to the fact that the time was inopportune. The years which succeeded the date of the report were years of successive famines and distress to all classes of people, industrial as well as agricultural. To the cotton mills they proved most disastrous. Nearly a dozen mills had to be liquidated under the inspection of the High Court. One result of this state of things, among others, was to dislocate the labor market, which found itself glutted by a large number of hands whom the stoppage of these mills left seeking for employment. Wages were reduced to a low level. The best hands among the mill operatives could be secured for one half of the normal rate of wages. This depression was not confined solely to mill industry, but was general in India and Europe. It lasted for three years. At last, reaction set in. The rainfall in 1878 was general over the whole of India, and the harvests which ripened in 1879 gave the first indications of returning prosperity. Mill industry was once more on its legs. With cheaper food supplies, and the demand consequent on the depression of the last three years with diminished stocks of yarn

and cloth in the interior markets, prices rose to a level which left a fairly remunerative margin of profit to the Bombay companies. This favourable turn of good fortune made Manchester jealous of Bombay's prosperity. She was surprised to find that notwithstanding the abolition of the import duty to a limited extent, she had not done enough to handicap or, if possible to crush, the Bombay industry. Once again was pressure brought to bear upon the India Office in favour of a legislative enactment to restrict the hours of Indian factory labor. In consequence of the agitation raised in India, it was considered desirable, however, to introduce a milder measure and one of more limited restrictions than were contemplated by the first measure, much more stringent, and the new Act represents the outcome of this renewed deliberation. It omits all legislation in respect of ventilation, sanitation and other questions, and confines itself to the following points:—

Firstly—That a 'child' is defined to be a person above seven and below twelve years of age.

Secondly—That no child shall be employed in any factory if he is under the age of seven years.

Thirdly—That no child shall be actually employed in any factory more than nine hours in any one day.

Fourthly—That an interval or intervals of at least an hour a day shall be allowed to a child for food and rest.

Fifthly—That the times at which such intervals are allowed shall be determined by the local Government in the case of each factory, and shall be notified to the operatives by means of written or printed notices affixed in a conspicuous part of the factory.

Sixthly—That children shall not be put to certain species of work, such as cleaning any part of the mill gearing or machinery while the same is in motion, or working between the fixed and traversing parts of any self-acting machine while such machine is in

motion by the action of the steam engine, water wheel, or other mechanical power, as the case may be.

Seventhly.—That the Local Government (which means an Inspector) may direct any occupier of a factory to keep in such form and with such particulars as such Government may from time to time prescribe, registers of the children (if any) employed in such factory and of their respective employments.

To take up the last of these provisions first, it will be at once seen that as children are defined, as above, to be persons below twelve years of age, it is plain that all millowners who have boys and girls above twelve years of age employed in their factories, or who can manage to secure the services of such persons, can afford to dispense with the requirements of keeping a register of children, and to render the unwelcome visits of Inspectors as few and far between as possible. There is nothing which people in India, especially capitalists and employers of labor, dislike so much as the prying into their affairs by officials of Government. They have quite a wholesome dread of such interference. But apart from the unpopularity of the Inspector's work, it is the most difficult thing in India to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the respective ages of boys and girls employed in a mill. We have no system of registration of births such as obtains in England and Europe. It is true we have horoscopes showing the age and other points of each person, but this system of keeping horoscopes is confined to the upper classes of the Hindu community. Among the working classes it has no existence. The testimony of parents derived from memory is more or less uncertain. In these circumstances, to throw the burden of proof as to whether a certain child is or is not of a certain age upon the employer, and to require him to produce a certificate from a Surgeon, is not only to put him to considerable annoyance, but to ask him to do what is simply impossible. We are told that all that the Inspector does when he visits a factory is to prohibit the



employment of a child if he finds him employed against the law, until the owner obtains a medical certificate testifying to the age of the child. If this requisition is not complied with, then it will be the duty of the Inspector to prosecute the owner. It is thus alleged that the owner is always protected by the production of a certificate from the certifying surgeon. But those who argue thus seem to forget that, apart from the disagreeable duty which the law imposes upon the owner of resorting to doctors for securing the certificate of a child's age, there is the fact that even medical examination cannot give us the exact age of a child. Medical men might guess, and perhaps guess more accurately than ordinary people, from the general form and development of the body, but their opinion so formed would after all be a guess, and nothing more. The real test of age, we are told, will be the appearance of the bones of the pelvis, but this can only be ascertained by a *post mortem* examination. This test therefore, will be valueless as a guide towards the determination of the exact age of a child. It is said that what the surgeon is required to testify to, in the absence of a proof of date of birth, is the *approximate* age, and not the *exact* age. But it is this very circumstance which will aggravate the difficulty of ascertaining the age for all practical purposes. The Government of India has fixed the minimum age of children that may be employed in a factory at seven years. Hence the dispute between an Inspector and a mill-owner may not unfrequently be in regard to the point as to whether a child is seven years or eight years of age. Even a certifying surgeon can not exactly determine this point. And the Government of India observe that 'in the reduction to seven years of the minimum age at which a child may be employed, the Governor-General in Council does not yet feel sure that relaxation may not have been carried too far. He has assented to the existing limit on the

ground that children of seven years of age are at present largely employed in factories without apparent injury to them; and that several local Governments thought the limit of eight years as fixed in the Bill too high. But he considers that the working of this provision in the law will need to be carefully watched; and that it cannot be maintained unless it is found beyond doubt to provide an adequate measure of protection to children of tender years.' But how, we inquire, is the provision to afford an 'adequate measure of protection,' and that too 'beyond doubt,' when the most difficult point about it is exactly to ascertain whether a boy or girl is seven years or eight years of age? A boy of seven years, if healthy, of good build, and of tall stature, will look as if he was eight years of age, while another, although more than eight years old, will, if weak and dwarfish, will scarcely appear to be seven years of age. Even doctors will differ on this point. In the hands of zealous Inspectors, this difficulty will too often prove a tough bone of contention. But rather than bother themselves in regard to this question of age, and submit to the necessity of allowing frequent inspectorial visits to their mill to ascertain whether every child employed therein works only for nine hours a day, whether the required interval for food and rest has been allowed him, whether the hours of such intervals have been duly notified, whether a register of the children so employed and of the kind of work assigned to them has been duly kept,—we say, rather than submit to these restraints factory owners will much rather take care that no children under twelve years of age are employed at all, and thus minimize the inquiries and interference of the Inspectors so unwelcome to all employers of labour. They will arrange to secure once for all a proper fencing of their machinery and will employ no children below 12 years of age.

And this is exactly what, we find, the mill-owners

of Bombay have already begun to do. Most of them who have children under twelve years of age employed in their factories, have notified to them that from the first of July, that is to say, from the beginning of the current month, their services will be dispensed with. In taking this step, mill-owners are aware that they are putting themselves to much expense and inconvenience. The young hands, whose services they have dispensed with, are in many cases efficient laborers. They have been hitherto employed in the throstle room of the spinning department as doffers, their duties being to remove the full yarn bobbins from the machines, and putting empty ones in their stead. This has to be done four or five times in a day. In the interval they play or keep themselves at ease. The actual work they do or have to do does not exceed six or seven hours a day; while having to do it at intervals of from an hour to two hours, their task is never considered as at all heavy, tedious, or tiresome by them at all. In replacing these hands by boys and girls over 12 years of age, owners and occupiers of factories will doubtless have to pay more wages without, it must be remembered, getting more work out of them as the result. We do not see how the owners are to be blamed for taking measures to protect themselves. They are not acting from a mere sentimental view of the question. They consider that, expensive and troublesome though the work of displacing children under 12 years of age by those over that limit is, it will, upon the whole, be less annoying to them than the intolerable visits of official Inspectors, and the pestering of these officials with inquiries of one kind or another. It should be noted that adult labour, though perhaps more costly, is not less abundant in India.

To the children thus thrown out of employment the result cannot but be disheartening and distressing. In many a poor family these little children are a great help to their parents. The ten or twelve

rupees a month they draw as wages from factories forms a very important contribution towards the household expenses of a poor Maratha workman's family. Of this contribution the family is deprived, by a paternal government, and we need not be surprised at finding the head of the family cursing government for the result brought about by this legislative philanthropy.

But the loss of wages is not the only hardship caused to the working man's family. The loss of employment will entail the loss of training in a particular art which that employment gives to the boy or the girl, a training which in course of time fits him for a more intricate job in a factory, and enables him to earn higher wages, and thereby advance the material comforts of himself and his family. This is not all. Idle hands necessarily find mischief to do. The boys thus thrown out of employment will too often be forced to beg, borrow, or steal, during the time their parents are employed in the factories. This cannot fail to swell the number of juvenile criminal offenders for whom government must be prepared to find additional room at the Sassoon Reformatory Institute or in the County jail. The number of children of twelve years and under employed in the Bombay cotton mills ranges from 7000 to 8000. To drive this number into the streets will thus be the direct result of government interference with the free action of private industrial enterprise. Such a result may not have been intended. It will surprise government to find that the first result of their benevolent efforts in the cause of securing protection to children of tender years is to deprive those children of their bread. It would no less distressing to the children themselves and their parents to find that a false sentimentality should induce government to borrow unsuitable provisions from English factory laws, and thrust them down the throats of mill-owners in this country in spite of the absence of any complaints on

their part. The fact is that Englishmen in their desire to engraft foreign and wholly unsuitable institutions on this country, show a singular want of insight into the practical working of the organism of native society. This is the bane of all Indian legislation. Because a certain law having for its object the protection of certain sections of society exists on the English Statute Book, it must therefore find a place on the statute book of India, no matter how far it fits with or fails to meet the wants of society in this country. This anglicizing tendency is the cause of egregious blunders, and of frequent changes and amendments of laws. In regard to this very question of factory labor, government would have saved a deal of anxiety to themselves, of annoyance to mill-owners, and of loss of employment to children in framing this law, if they had considered with the help of experience the true condition of factory laborers, and settled with deliberate forethought what kind of protection it is which factory children most stand in need of. They would then have found that their crying need is more the want of food and the means of purchasing it, rather than the protection of their limbs or relief from over-work. It is no exaggeration to say that, as a rule, factory children are in respect of their physique and general appearance far better off than they ever were before or can be in any other employment, as he who sees hundreds of such hands return home after the labors of the day can easily satisfy himself by personal inspection. They get better food, are better clothed, look more hale and hearty than similar children employed in other trades. Is it humanity then to legislate for them in a way which, by depriving them of their means of subsistence, has the effect of driving them into the streets, or turning them into juvenile offenders ?

## CURRENT LITERATURE.

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"FREE trade and English commerce" by Augustus Mongredien is one of the Cobden Club publications which has been extensively circulated throughout India by Babu Lal Mohan Ghose. It consists of two parts, the first of which enunciates the general doctrines of free trade, while the second part discusses the bearing of those doctrines on the practical development of English commerce. Our general attitude in regard to the theory of free trade, as elaborated by English writers on political economy, is so often misunderstood that we gladly seize this occasion to set forth our views more in detail than we should otherwise have felt inclined to do. The recent depression of trade and manufactures in England, due partly to foreign competition, and partly to the reaction of the excessive inflation of commercial and manufacturing activity in the early part of the last decade, as also the spread of protectionist doctrines all over Europe, America and the British colonies and the refusal of France to negotiate a favourable commercial treaty with England, all these facts have created a strong sentiment in England itself in favour of a more or less modified form of protection of native industry. There is a strange irony of fate in the fact that Conservative statesmen, with Lord Salisbury at their head, who during their term of office sacrificed the interests of India in the name of free trade, and partially repealed the duties on English cotton goods, thereby surrendering £250,000 of Indian revenue to gratify Manchester to be only replaced by more obnoxious forms of taxation, we say, it is a strange irony of fate that these very statesmen should now come forward as the champions of the rival theory, and feel the pulse of the nation in favour of reciprocity. In the great manufacturing towns there is a strong agitation ga-

thering head against the extreme positions of free trade, which will not fail, sooner or later, if the present depression continues, to assume formidable proportions, and be the war cry of party strife. It is the consciousness of this change of public opinion, and the dangers attendant upon it, that has stirred the Cobden Club to issue this defence of free trade as the only safety anchor of English Commerce. India, though administered as a trust, finds its best interests sacrificed at the altar of this idol of English political economists, and it cannot therefore afford with safety to stand aloof in this controversy.

In our view, English writers commit the mistake of looking at this question solely from the economical point of view, and this economy is itself of a very low and selfish type. The political and social elements which enter into the question, when it descends from theory into practice, are absolutely put out of view, or are judged only from the English standpoint, which, as a matter of course, cannot suit the conditions of other communities not similarly circumstanced. If the whole civilised world were one integral political and social community, the economical aspects would be the only ones which need be considered. As a matter of fact, the millenium is far off, and the civilised world is split into a hundred different states with conflicting interests and aspirations, and perpetually in peace and war opposed to one another in a thousand ways. Under such circumstances, the economical aspects ought to give way, or at least be subordinated to these higher interests and aspirations, if political economy is to be any thing more than schoolmen's metaphysics. The refusal of the English writers to recognize these differences, and their unwillingness to accord full importance to the higher interests involved, appear to us to be their cardinal errors in this matter.

To illustrate our meaning, we shall briefly touch upon the several axiomatic propositions laid down in the

first part of the publication under review, and endeavour to point out the direction in which they need correction to fit them as guides in practice. The first proposition laid down is that exports necessitate imports to the same amount, and that it is perfectly futile to export much and import little. If exports and imports were only governed by the law of free exchange, this would be a true position. As a matter of fact, however, out of 64 countries which constitute the present civilised and trading world, the exports exceed the imports permanently in 32, and on the contrary the imports permanently exceed the exports in the same number. These permanent differences mutually eliminate each other in the total result, as they may even *a priori* be expected to do. The total of the exports of these 64 countries comes in round numbers to £1,316,000,000, and the total of the imports is £1,456,000,000. The excess of 10 percent in the latter is accounted for by the freight and insurance charges and other profits. If the whole civilised world constituted one community, their exports would exactly balance their imports, and the proposition of the English economists would be correct both in theory and practice. When we come, however, to particular communities, the startling fact meets us in the face that in the United Kingdom the imports exceed the exports by 120 millions annually which is about one half the value of the exports, and one third of the imports, while in India the exports always exceed the imports by 15 to 20 millions. We take extreme instances to illustrate our position that, as a question of political economy, it is not true that exports and imports balance each other. English writers themselves are aware of this discrepancy, but they make light of it by ignoring the disturbing causes as being merely accidental. Political economy, however, cannot, and should not, disregard these startling differences; for these accidents as they are called, form the very elements of the question which politicians and statesmen have chiefly



to attend to. The English imports exceed the exports because English capital and English rule levies a tribute from all backward countries like India, which have to pay enormous odds for their backwardness in this race of competition.

The second position laid down is that if protection is beneficial as between country and country, it must be beneficial as between province and province in the same country. This position is also open to the same objection, viz, that the theory of economists is made to over-ride all the practical considerations which differentiate the wants and necessities of one province against another of the same country bound together by political and social ties, and the interests and aspirations of different countries with different politics and social economies. The *reductio ad absurdum* demonstration, sought to be attempted by this analogy, is thus as futile as if one were to argue that the motions of all the heavenly bodies should be straight, because the first law of motion enunciates that all bodies have a tendency to move in straight lines.

The cry against reciprocity is vitiated by the same defect. No body advocates reciprocity for its own sake, but there can be no doubt, judging from what is now transpiring in England, that if France and the other great European countries were to shut out English goods from European markets by heavy tariffs, English statesmen will think twice before resigning themselves to the situation. When Napoleon in his days of power formed the project of the armed neutrality of the great European states, the English statesmen of the day spared no efforts of war or peace to demolish the coalition against the supremacy of its mercantile navy. Just so English statesmen will resent any similar coalition of the European powers which, under the guise of commercial tariffs, shuts out English goods from the ports of Europe. The fact is, the question of reciprocity is not one of pure economies, but, to borrow a phrase from mathematics, is one of mixed or applied

*i. e.* political economy, where the practical and the so called accidental elements have the greatest influence.

The question of the division of labor, as influenced by free trade, comes also under the same category. If all nations were on a par in the matter of their civilisation, and the standard of the Cobden Club, "peace and good will among nations" was universally accepted, then the question would be one of pure economies. At present each country has a vital interest in securing a variety of industrial pursuits for its population. This vital interest is so paramount that in all free countries, the nations have reconciled themselves to heavy voluntary taxation rather than see life taken out of them by being confined to one or more precarious and universal means of livelihood such as agriculture or sheep-farming. In the words of an American writer, no country of modern times which is without manufactures, and we would add trade, and which exports raw produce for foreign made goods, and the inhabitants of which are almost wholly engaged in cultivating the soil, has succeeded in obtaining wealth, prosperity, and power as a nation. The present condition of India makes it a question of life and death to her millions to rescue themselves from this worst form of slavery, which would turn her people into drawers of water and hewers of wood to the civilised nations of the world. An adequate proportion in the town and country populations and in their coordinate and mutually self sufficing pursuits is a *sine qua non* of all real progress. The British colonists in Australia, New Zeland, Canada, and in Southern Africa, feel this necessity as much as we do here, with this difference only that they have the power, which we have not, of giving effect to their wishes. France, Germany and Russia feel the importance of encouraging their mercantile navy and their great manufacturing towns to serve as feeders for their agricultural products, and to sustain their position as first class powers. To talk to them about the advantages of the division of labour is,

to say the least, doubtful wisdom, which though it cries from the house tops will get none but fools to listen to it.

The same observations apply with equal force to the positions laid down in regard to the alleged necessity of protection in young and old states. To take up the case of the young states first, it may fairly be questioned whether before trial any really large country can be condemned off hand as being providentially intended for one or a limited set of industries only. India for instance is a continent by itself, with vast natural and social elements of power and with a traditional instinct for all pursuits. To condemn this vast continent to the slavery of growing raw produce for ever will be to realize the parable that to him who hath much much shall be given, while from him that hath little, his little shall be taken away. The instance of young states mentioned in the publication under review has no application to the oldest country in the world, inhabited by one fifth of the whole entire population of the world, with a central position and an extensive sea-board, with all varieties of climate and soil, and a limitless consumption. In the case of old states again, the necessity of giving preference to indirect over direct taxes is a factor which finds its due weight with European statesmen, though it is set down as a trifle by English writers. There is no reason in the world why Great Britain alone should have the largest mercantile navy, and France and Germany should not aspire to the same preeminence. Even England while it prides itself upon its advocacy of free trade, exempts with one hand what it takes freely with the other, for it makes no difference in the world whether duties on foreign goods are levied as customs duties or excise duties. England promotes its interests as a great mart of the world by levying light customs duties, but it makes up the difference by imposing heavy excise duties on the consumption of many of these foreign articles. Other countries cannot at present imitate her policy in this respect, but

they can not be justly condemned for their inability under present circumstances to do so. We have thus briefly reviewed all the leading propositions of the first part of this publication. We have not much to say in regard to the positions laid down in the second part which have an exclusive bearing upon a transient phase of English commerce. We have no quarrel with the theory of free trade as such. Our only contention is that its practical application must be sub-ordinated to the varying conditions of different countries, and that a hard and fast line of policy dictated by the experience of Great Britain can not commend itself to the nations of the world.

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### RECIPROCITY.

Sir Louis Malet has addressed a letter to Mr. Potter, M. P. Chairman of the committee of the Cobden Club on the subject, which is now much discussed in England, of the advisability or otherwise of levying differential duties upon foreign produce, as a measure of reciprocal or retaliatory justice, to deter foreign nations from levying heavy customs duties on English goods. As might be expected from his known views, Sir Louis Malet is opposed to the adoption of this plan of limited protection or reciprocity. The question is one of some importance in the present state of the commercial relations of France and Great Britain. The Treaty of Commerce negotiated by Mr. Cobden on one side and M. Rouher on the other in 1860 for twenty years has expired, and the Governments of England and France through their representatives are actively engaged in fixing the basis for a new treaty. The chances of success in these negotiations are not very hopeful, for the French seem to be determined to go in for heavy protective duties on foreign goods with a view to stimulate home manufactures. The trade between France and England has prospered considerably under the influence of Mr. Cobden's treaty

The exports from France into Great Britain have increased from about 17 millions in 1859 to 46 millions in 1877, while British imports into France have increased from  $9\frac{1}{2}$  millions to  $25\frac{1}{2}$  millions during the same period. Notwithstanding these favourable returns, the French people find it necessary, in consequence of the burdens imposed upon them by the last war, to secure larger revenue from customs duties, and this necessity is so paramount that it is likely to result in a failure of the negotiations which have been commenced. Theoretically speaking, France risks more than it gains by its adoption of this new policy, for its exports are nearly double its imports from England. French statesmen, however, count upon the adherence of the British people to their policy of free trade which suits England pre-eminently, and the risk of retaliation therefore is minimised, while the increased cost of the English consumers is counterbalanced in their eyes by the larger returns of the customs duties and the stimulus to home manufactures. It is under these circumstances that, in the North of England especially, some agitation has been created in favour of reciprocity as a political weapon intended to dissuade France from carrying out its fiscal policy. Sir Louis Malet seems to us not to have fully realized this exceptional character of the argument for reciprocity. The question in our eyes is not one of pure economies but is a mixed question of political economy where the political element is of preponderative value. If France can be deterred from levying its proposed one hundred or two hundred per cent increase of duties by reciprocal action in England in the same direction, such action would be perfectly justifiable as a question of statesmanship. The only doubt we feel in our mind is that the question is not so simple of solution. Without such justification, reciprocity or retaliation appears to us to be as absurd as Sir Louis Malet makes it out to be. Of course it is a truism to say that all commerce or exchange is reciprocity, and that if the exports are diminished by

the imposition of heavy duties, there will be a corresponding decrease in the imports, and that it would be inexcusable folly to make matters worse by heavily weighting these imports. Even Sir Louis Malet is not opposed to the policy of utilizing international action for the promotion of free trade, and the advocates of reciprocity do not claim for it any other advantage. They allege that Sir Robert Peel's reforms were too sweeping at the time when they were undertaken, and as they have failed in securing the conversion of Europe to free trade views, English statesmen should revert to the discriminating system and conditional engagements of Mr. Huskisson. We fail to see that this plea for reciprocity is at all shaken by the arguments urged by Sir Louis Malet in his letter under review.

In the latter portion of his letter, Sir Louis Malet justly condemns the half-hearted adoption of free trade principles by English statesmen, and exposes the impolicy of levying heavy customs and excise duties on wine, tea, tobacco, indigo, silver manufacture, and coffee imported from India, China, France and Armenia and other foreign countries. Nearly one half of the entire revenues of Great Britain are derived from customs and excise duties on these articles, and as long as this state of things lasts, free imports can not be said to be the first feature of English commerce. England, moreover, is so circumstanced that it can not without ruining herself retaliate upon foreign countries. Out of a total trade of 366 millions which constitutes its imports, it can not afford to lose the raw products or materials for its manufactures which constitutes nearly 40 per cent of its total imports. Nor can it afford to tax its home consumption, which is about 50 per cent of its imports, without exciting disaffection. It can only tax one eighth of its total imports consisting of manufactured goods, but this it can do only at the risk of forcing other countries to starve out its domestic consumption. Reciprocity there-

fore under these circumstances is an impossible policy for England, and on this ground we are at one with Sir Louis Malet in condemning the agitation which seems to find favour with certain classes in England. At the same time we can not blame the French and Germans and the Americans in their attempt to raise the import duties on English goods.

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### THE INDIAN SALT TAX.

Mr. R. D. Rusden read a paper at the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in February last on the subject of the Indian salt tax. Some of our readers will remember that, ten years ago, the Bombay Association and the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha had deputed Mr. Nowroji Fardamji to England for the purpose of agitating the question of the abolition of the income tax. Mr. Nowroji, it seems, addressed the Manchester people on the subject, but as might have been expected, he did not succeed in converting the Chamber over to his views. In reference to that agitation the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester passed a resolution that in their opinion 'an income tax was fair and equitable as a source of revenue,' and that "in any remission of taxation the salt tax, as pressing heavily upon the poorer classes in India, should have the first consideration of the Government." Mr. Rusden in his speech took his stand upon this resolution of the Chamber, but in the light of recent experience he has advocated the reduction of the salt tax on the independent ground that no fresh taxation was necessary, and that the deficiency caused by the abolition of the salt tax could be met by retrenchments. We ourselves have freely endorsed this view of the question, but as long as the Government of India pleads its inability to effect retrenchments, we do not see how Mr. Rusden's views can be carried out. Mr. Rusden has indeed made out a strong case from his stand-point. Upwards of six millions of people admitted-

ly perished during the three years of the last famine. This indication of extreme poverty is so appalling that in any other country the government would have been forced to take up this question into its serious consideration under penalty of a revolution. This fact of extreme poverty is attested to by every responsible statesman who has governed India during the last twenty years. Mr. Rusden quotes extracts from the opinions of Lord Canning, Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, Lord Lawrence, Mr. Halsey of the N. W. Provinces, Mr. Pedder of Bombay, Sir George Campbell, Sir Andrew Clarke, the Deccan Riots Commissioners, and Mr. Caird of the Famine Commission, as his authorities for the position that the masses of the people of India are so miserably poor that they have to live from hand to mouth, that two thirds of the agricultural population are more or less deeply involved in debt, that this condition is rapidly getting worse under British rule, that the revenue returns are enforced under duress which makes the Ryots fear being deprived of their lands, their only resource, and that fresh taxation is a greater source of danger than a fresh out-break of the mutinies. Notwithstanding the consensus of these high authorities, the government revenue and expenditure has been increased during the last 20 years from 38 millions to 67 millions under all heads. We endorse every word of Mr. Rusden's eloquent condemnation of this policy of increased taxation. The salt tax is actually fifteen hundred per cent on the cost of its manufacture, and yet the only way of giving relief which recommended itself to Sir John Strachey was to level up the Bombay and Madras duties in a year of famine to the rates which obtained in Northern and Eastern India. Not content with this, Sir John Strachey brought all his influence to bear upon pressing on the rulers of Native States the new salt regulations, with a view to stop all sources of supply in those states which interfered with the consumption of British Indian salt. We protested against this po-



licy at the time when it was introduced, and the lapse of time has in no way reconciled us with it. Mr. Rusden has done some service in bringing this subject before the Manchester Chamber, which, however, through its President does not seem to have cordially co-operated in Mr. Rusden's advocacy. We are credibly informed that Mr. Rusden intends to organize a movement in England for the lowering of the Salt duties. The work must be taken up in the same spirit in which Mr. Pease has led the attack against the opium duties. India will gladly co-operate to the extent of its little organized public activity, but the brunt of the strife must be borne by men like Mr. Rusden and his English friends. No agitation in India has the least chance of success under present circumstances unless England extends its helping hand. The Salt duties are in every way more obnoxious than the opium duties, as salt is a necessary of life with the millions of our population; and is wanted urgently to preserve our cattle in health while opium at the best is a luxury which, if the Chinese are mad enough to indulge in, may be viewed without any conscientious scruples by a government which in England derives twenty millions sterling from its excise duties on wine.

For 1880-81.

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### NOTICE.

A desire has been expressed by several European and Native well-wishers of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha that its proceedings should be published regularly in the form of a quarterly publication so as to be easily available for purposes of reference. The Managing Committee of the Sabha have accordingly resolved to try the experiment of such a periodical publication of the proceedings of the Sabha. Besides publishing the proceedings, it is proposed to take advantage of such a publication to insert independent communications, reviewing and discussing the more important political questions of the day. There are many topics upon which public opinion has to be created and formed before any formal action can be taken in respect of them by the Sabha. Such topics will find a fitting place in the independent section of the proposed quarterly journal.

The services of a competent Editor have been secured and contributions have been promised by many writers of established reputation.

The journal will consist of about 48 pages royal octavo to be priced at four rupees per annum to be paid in advance or one rupee and a half for each separate number, besides postage charges, and it will be published in the months of July, October, January and April.

As the Sabha has undertaken this work at considerable risk and expense and as the publication will supply a long-felt want, the Managing Committee of the Sabha trusts that the public and the Princes and Chiefs in India will give their most cordial support to the scheme.

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*Secretary Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.*

THE  
QUARTERLY JOURNAL  
OF THE

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO H. E. THE VICEROY.

A Deputation of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha waited by appointment upon His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Ripon K. G., P. C., G. M. S. L., Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Ganesh Khind Government House on Friday the 3rd of December 1880 at 10-30 A. M. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen :—Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar, Chairman of the Committee of the Sabha, Mr. Trimbakrao Narayan Rajmachikar, Sardar and Honorary Magistrate, Mr. Vinayak Rangerao Purandhare, Sardar and Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Chintamanrao Vishwanath Natu, Sardar, Mr. Madhavrao Yeswant Raste, Sardar, Rao Bahadur Chintaman Rao Hari Deshmukh, Sardar, Mr. Rama Shastri Apte, a learned Pandit of the City, Mr. Hari Ravji Chiplonkar, Landlord and Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Gangaram Bhau Mhaske, Pleader, Mr. Dorabji Dadabhoy Bootti, Proprietor of the Napier Hotel, Mr. Hindumal Balmukund, Merchant, Mr. Haridas Nanabhi, Banker and Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Becharias Amolika, Merchant, Mr. Nagesvargir Gunu Kalyanagir Gosavi, Landlord, Mr. Rajanna Lingsu, Pleader, Mr. Govind Mahadeo Gadre, Landlord and Sowcar, Mr. Balkrishna Sayanna, Merchant, Mr. Sakharam Ramohundra Joshi, Agent to Sirdar Menavalikar, Rao Bahadur Shrinivas, Shesho Conciliator and Landlord, Rao Bahadur Sedashiva Ballal Gannday, Conciliator, Mr. Keshava Paundurang Godbole, Master, Mission School, Mr. KupuSwami Vizyarangam Mudliar, Landlord, Mr. Ramchandra Govind Sapkar, Proprietor of the *Dnyan Chakshu* Press and Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Framji Dorabji Ghaswala, Government Contractor, Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, Editor of the *Quarterly Journal Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* and Mr. Shivarao Hari Sathse, Secretary of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha. X

Colonel Henry Stracey, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Governor ushered the deputation into the ante-chamber adjoining the great hall, and a few minutes after His Excellency the Viceroy, accom-



panied by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir James Fergusson K. C. M. G. and some Members of their respective staffs came into the ante-chamber and courteously acknowledged the respectful salutations of the gentlemen of the deputation and took his seat on an ottoman. Mr. H. W. Primrose, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, introduced Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar, Chairman of the Committee of the Sabha, who before reading the address made a few preliminary observations regarding the constitution and the aims and objects of the Association. He said that the Association was established ten years ago, and that unlike similar other associations, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha had its members elected by the people, and that the aims and objects of the Association were to represent to the Government the wants and wishes of the people. The Rao Bahadur was just on the point of bringing his preliminary remarks to a close, when His Excellency Sir James Fergusson interrupted him and requested him to confine himself to the address. The Chairman courteously replied that he had no intention of unnecessarily encroaching upon the valuable time of their Excellencies. Afterwards having finished his preliminary observations the Chairman read the following address with the permission of His Excellency the Viceroy.

To,

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G., P. C., G. M. S. I.,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,

POONA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

We, the Members of the Sarvajanic Sabha, consisting of Sirdars, Land-holders, Sowcars and other representatives of the people of the Deccan, heartily embrace this opportunity to welcome Your Lordship's visit to the capital of the Maharashtra, and to testify our loyalty and pay our respects to you, the august and worthy representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India.

The frank assurance graciously vouchsafed by Your Lordship in the course of your eloquent speech on the occasion of the Grand Darbar at Lahore, to the effect that it would be your constant endeavour, during your administration of Indian affairs, to walk in the

footsteps of the late lamented Lord Lawrence and to apply his principles, has given universal satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country. The honoured name of that eminent and illustrious statesman has been intimately associated above all others with the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of independent states on and beyond the frontiers of the British Indian Empire; and Your Lordship's declaration of your thorough adhesion to those principles has been everywhere looked upon as an earnest of the peaceful intentions of Her Majesty's Government both in England and India. As justly observed by an eminent Indian authority, masterly inactivity abroad means masterly activity at home; and we, therefore, hail with delight the termination of hostilities with Afghanistan, as the renewed peace will enable Your Lordship's Government to turn your attention to those reforms of domestic importance, which are conducive to the moral and material prosperity of Her Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects. As on a former occasion we have already drawn Your Lordship's attention to some of these needful reforms, we shall not take up your valuable time by enumerating them again.

The statement made by your Lordship during the course of one of your speeches in your recent Viceregal tour through the Panjab and Sind, that you were commanded by our gracious Sovereign to specially look after the Municipal institutions in this country, as it was there that the natives of the country could be trained in the art of self-government, has given the greatest satisfaction especially to the communities of those advanced cities, advanced in intelligence and public spirit, which, like this city of ancient renown and glorious traditions, hope at no distant date for the gracious concession, under the auspices of the local Government, of an elective franchise in respect of the nomination of their Municipal Commissioners. The splendid success that has attended the concession of similar privileges in the Presidency Towns is one of which the British Indian Government may be justly proud. The gradual extension of the same privileges to other cities and towns is, we humbly think, the surest and most effectual way of loyally discharging the sacred trust imposed upon the British Government by the Almighty Providence, namely, the regeneration, political social and moral, of this ancient country.

The Sabha have learnt with great satisfaction that Your Lordship

is an advocate of high-class education, both Western and Oriental, a happy combination which alone, while it will conserve everything that is valuable and important in the study of oriental languages, can elevate the different nationalities of India, and can be the most effective means of the political fusion of those races. As Your Lordship is aware, India is a vast continent in itself, inhabited as it is by various nationalities which differ from each other in religion, in language, in manners and customs. And a fusion of all the races from a political point of view is a *sine qua non* of the regeneration of the country in the sense in which that term is popularly understood. This desirable end can be accomplished more by the growth of high class English education than by anything else. The Sabha have always held high class English education to be one of the most effective civilizing influences at work in India, and it was, therefore, with feelings of un-mixed satisfaction that the Sabha learnt that Your Lordship will, in respect of the educational policy of Your Government, follow the time-honoured policy initiated by illustrious statesmen like Lord Metcalf, Lord Macaulay and others too numerous to mention and subsequently confirmed in the great Educational Despatch of 1854.

The sound, sympathetic and encouraging advice which Your Lordship at the command of Her Majesty the Queen Empress gave to the Princes and Chiefs of India during the course of Your Darbar speech at Lahore to administer their respective territories in a manner to promote the progressive welfare of their subjects, impressing at the same time upon their minds the wholesome truth that the British Government measured the greatness of a state, not by the brilliance of its court, nor even by the power and perfection of its army, but by the happiness and contentment of the people of every class, evinces the solicitude of Your Lordship as well as that of the British Government for the progressive welfare of the subjects of native states. The British Government as the Paramount Power in India has no doubt every right to take every legitimate means for the promotion of the progressive welfare of the subjects of native states; and it is to be sincerely hoped that the rulers of those states along with their responsible advisers will always bear in mind the wholesome advice given by Your Lordship.

The Sabha beg to tender their heart-felt thanks to Your Lordship's

Government for having, so soon after your accession to the exalted office, directed the district authorities not to enforce the provisions of the Arms Act too rigorously and also to issue licenses without fees to agriculturists who are most exposed to the attacks of wild animals. We sincerely hope that Your Lordship's Government will in course of time see your way to repeal that Act altogether, in as much as its existence on the Statute book is a slur on the loyalty of the people of the country, loyalty which both Your Lordship and your illustrious predecessors have on various occasions recognised in appropriate terms.

In conclusion we pray that God may grant you health and strength, peace and prosperity, and enable Your Lordship to govern India with firmness and beneficence.

We beg to subscribe ourselves Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants.

**SHRINIWAS RAO PANDIT PANT PRATINIDAI,**

*President of the P. S. Sabha.*

**GANPAT RAO HARIHAR KOORUNDWADKAR,**

**MADHAVA RAO BALLAL FADNEES.**

**TOOLAJI RAJE BHOSLE.**

*Vice Presidents of the P. S. S.*

**KRISHNAJI LAXMAN NULKAR, Chairman.**

**HARIHAR RAO VINAYEK.**

and others.

His Lordship then replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I beg to thank you for the address you have presented me. I can assure you it has been a great satisfaction to me to have been able, under the auspices of the Governor of this Presidency, to visit Poona, and make myself acquainted—slight as the acquaintance must necessarily be—with the interests of the city and district. I am glad to find, gentlemen, from that address, that various remarks which I have made since I came to India, have commended themselves to your approval. The time at my disposal is too short to allow of my entering into any lengthened reply to the several matters touched upon in your address, but there are one or two points upon which I should like to say a few words. I was very glad indeed to observe

that, in speaking of higher education, you are, in the first place, entirely alive to the great importance of the spread of education throughout the country and I would say that I trust that it may not be higher education alone which will be spread more and more in India; but that we may in future have more done than has been done in the past for the education of the masses of the people. It gave me great pleasure to hear the terms in which you referred to the despatch of 1854 in your address. I have always looked upon that despatch as the charter of Indian education; and, gentlemen, it is upon the lines of that despatch that I should desire to found my educational policy in this country, at the same time, having regard to the changed circumstances of the advancing times in which we live. Gentlemen you have also alluded to some remarks which I made at the Durbar at Lahore in addressing the native princes who were present on that occasion. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that that the policy of the Government and the Queen Empress is founded firmly and unremittingly upon the principles laid down in the proclamation of Lord Canning, and which were embodied in the *sanads* that he granted. We fully recognise that it is a great advantage not only to the Chiefs themselves but to the British Government, that there should be Native States in India, but at the same time, gentlemen, the era of peace which English rule has established throughout this country under the Government of the Paramount Power, of itself renders it necessary that we should from time to time remind those who dwell under its shadow, that they are bound to show that the administration of their States is good. Gentlemen, I will not enter into the further points which you have raised. I do not think that the Viceroy of India ought to be given to much speaking, and, certainly, I for one would much prefer that when my term of office comes to an end, the people of India should be able to say "Well, he has on the whole been better than his word," than that they should say, "He has used large sounding and big phrases, but has done nothing to give them a tangible shape," (Hear, hear). It seems to me what India wants at the present moment is peace and rest, that she may devote herself to the advancement and progress of agriculture and commerce. Of course in such a country as India, it is certainly necessary that the Government should take a considerable part in the development of its resources, but I hope and trust that the

people of India will more and more show that they can look to and help themselves in these matters, and then with the co-operation and help of Government you may hope thoroughly to develop the resources of this great empire.

After this the Deputation thanked His Lordship for the courteous reception accorded to them and withdrew.

## INDIAN VERNACULARS AND UNIVERSITY REFORM.

THE entire exclusion of the modern Vernaculars of India from the present programme of higher studies of the Bombay University suggests an educational problem of considerable importance to the future of intellectual progress in this country. In the accompanying Note on the Vernaculars of India, it is attempted to state this problem as clearly and concisely as possible, and to offer a solution. These remarks are based on Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India (Introduction), Hoemle's Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages (Introduction), and Caldwell's Comparative Dravidian Grammar (Introduction).

1. The modern languages of India are 13 in number, of which 7 belong to the Sanskritic stock, and 6 to the Dravidian. The Sanskritic group comprises Hindi, Bengali, Brija, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujerathi, and Marathi; while Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalum, Tulao, and Coorg are the members of the Dravidian family.

2. The rise of these languages was almost synchronous with that of their modern European sisters. It was about the 9th or 10th century that the Sanskritic Vernaculars began to separate themselves from their parent classical, and assume their modern analytical form. Hindi, the most advanced of them, was the first to develop itself as an independent language by casting away the Sanskrit cumbrous system of inflexion and declension. Panjabi and Guzerathi followed next in order, and Marathi reached the analytical stage about the 12th century. Bengali and Brija, originally dialects of Hindi, separated themselves from that speech, the one about the 15th, and the other about the 17th century. Little is known about Sindhi.

The epoch of the development of the Dravidian

group is uncertain; but Tamil, the head of the family, is believed to have been a full-grown Vernacular long before the 8th century.

3. The languages of the Sanskritic group cover an estimated area of 717,000 English square miles, and are spoken by 144 millions of souls, as will appear from the table given below:—

Language.	Area in Eng. sq. miles.	Population in millions.
Hindi. ... ..	248,000	60-70
Bengali. ... ..	90,000	36
Brija. ... ..	66,000	5
Panjabi. ... ..	60,000	12
Sindhi. ... ..	90,000	2
Gujerathi. ... ..	50,000	6
Marathi. ... ..	113,000	13
Total. ...	717,000	134-144

Dr. Caldwell gives the following figures for the Dravidian family, including "the Dravidian inhabitants of Ceylon, and the Dravidian immigrants in Burma, the Eastern Archipelago, Mauritius, and Demerara (Page 41, Introduction).

Language.	Numbers.
Tamil. ... ..	14,500,000
Telegu. ... ..	15,500,000
Canarese. ... ..	9,250,000
Malayalum. ... ..	3,750,000
Tulao. ... ..	300,000
Coorg. ... ..	150,000
Total. ...	43,450,000



4. These languages are full-grown languages, each with its own Grammar and settled idiom, and are as thoroughly nationalized in their respective provinces as any of the modern languages of Europe.

5. Literature, in the sense of written works, we have in all these languages, Sindhi and Tulao excepted.

It must be admitted that our Indian Vernacular Literature has not had the healthy growth of the modern European Vernaculars. During the greater part of the existence of our Indian Vernaculars, conditions essential to literary progress were unhappily absent, and the dark period of lawless mis-rule and chronic insecurity was not propitious for a vigorous literary start. Men's thoughts were absorbingly taken up with the physical necessities of their social and political situation, which often left them no middle course between passive acquiescence in the tyranny of the ruling class, and open resort to physical force. The nations did not breathe freely, and in the oppressive gloom of the general situation there was little on which contemporary poetry would love to dwell, or of which contemporary prose would leave a record.

The Hindu races, however, though they were unable to resist the first shock, were not prostrated by it; Rajpoot, Maratha, and Jat chivalry nobly strove to resist the torrent, and the struggle called out all the best energies of the nations. The pulse of national life began to beat high, and in the end the Mahomedan tyrant learned to temporize, and respected the national feeling, and employed Rajpoot Governors and Hindu statesmen to conquer and rule and settle the country. Serious thoughts and feelings were stirring in the national mind, and they found expression in the works of the representative men of the period. These two classes of works constitute our modern Vernacular literature of the early and later Mahomedan periods.

It is at first the literature of a conquered nation, groaning under the weight of its burdens; later on it is the literature of a nation, which, though conquered,

makes slow efforts to rise, speaking the language now of despair, now of patience, finally of hope and defiance. For us it has a special interest as embodying the thoughts and sentiments of our immediate ancestors who nobly struggled, against heavy odds and for a long period, to maintain amidst the general wreck the traditions and aspirations of a happier and a freer age—the *nucleus* of an independent nationality. The literature of this period must ever be to us an object of loving regard and care, whatever may be our view of its philological and other value.

As in all other countries, verse rather than prose, was, in the first instance, the chosen vehicle of expression. Whether this choice was due to its melodious impressiveness or traditional veneration, we know not; but at a time when there were no printing presses in the country to multiply, cheapen, and immortalize works, when there was no system of national education to produce a large reading public, when there were no public libraries with works available for general reference, when, in short, memory had largely to be trusted to keep fresh sound notions in the popular mind, it was well that it was so. Later on, when the more energetic nationalities, Maratha, Jat, Sikh, and Rajpoot, threw off the yoke of conquest, and established independent states on the ruins of the Moslem power, literature aspired also to be more free and diversified and popular in its scope and expression.

Turning next to the several departments of literary activity, the position of the Vernacular Literature of the pre-British period may be thus briefly sketched :—

(a) *Physics.* We have no literature on this subject, worth the name in our Vernaculars, if we except works in Tamil on Medicine, Alchemy, and Astronomy, which appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries. There was no advance in this direction in the country north of the Tungabhadra. The Tamil country, however, having

been long exempt from the blasting Semitic influences, could show a *normal* advance. The *Sittar* school especially "cultivated alchemy (*Rasayana*) as sedulously as the Arabians." "One of their number is said to have visited Arabia, and another refers to the Franks" (Vide Caldwell's Grammar Introduction Page 146 the anti-Brahmanical cycle).

(b) *Politics*. There is at first a lamentable absence of works in this department. A deadening absolutist uniformity reigned throughout the land, allowing no room for argument, no scope for reason. Appeals might, indeed, have been made at intervals and in various parts of the country to happier traditions of a chivalrous or patriarchal age; but in the absence of authentic records, we must suspend judgment. Later on as the nations recovered their integrity after the confusion of the first shock, there is a perceptible progress in healthy activity. We commend to public notice in this connection Raja Jesvant Sing's letter to Aurangazib on the Jezia, (preserved at Kollapur as Shivaji's production, (Vide Grant Duff, Vol I, page. 160). Whether conceived and written by Jesvant Sing or Shivaji, the letter is a remarkable political paper, a vigorous protest against the traditions of prostrate servility, and a powerful appeal to wiser and nobler precedents. It serves to show that the political spark was fully kindled in the nation. We might also mention the constitution of Shivaji, the statistics of his military organization and his hill forts, the exhortations of Ramdas and the other Swamis, the short speeches of Maratha Sirdars in the great councils of Shahu, and the numerous state-papers written by our Maratha statesmen and generals to which Grant Duff so often refers in his work, and from which he derives so much of his information. When published, they would form a contribution to our politico-historical literature of no mean value.

(c) *History*. In this department we have a bright opening. Chandbardi, the Chaucer of Hindi,

who lived at the court of Prithiraj, the last Hindu ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th century, wrote a splendid epic, styled the Prithiraj Rasan, recounting the exploits of that monarch. Here also we may refer to a vast body of unwritten poetry of the bards of more or less historical value in Panjabi and Sindhi. Lastly we have numberless Rajput Chronicles, and the songs of the Charans and Bhats. No progress, however, appears to have been made by these Northern races beyond this stage of lyric or heroic history.

On this side of India, however, during the brief sun-shine of Maratha *Svarajya*, the Decan mind awoke and for a full century and a half Maratha statesmen and generals, Maharastra Pandits and poets, and religious teachers, and Chroniclers were recognized as the leaders of national thought and activity thought India. Bakhars were written, and Powadas and Lawnyas were composed, both interesting and useful to the student of Indian history. While no systematic effort has, as far as we are aware of, yet been made to save the latter, we are glad that the former are being collected and printed. It would be too soon yet to say what their merits are as historical works; but we may mention "the story of the Panipat disaster 1761" brought out by a Poona Society, which appears to be a fine work of its kind, whether we consider the touching simplicity of its language, or the fulness and connectedness of the narrative.

Beyond these limits, our historical literature, properly so called, does not go. But love of history is natural to the human mind. From the spectacle of a general ship-wreck all round, men during the earlier and darker period of Indian history turned with relief to brighter and happier memories of a remote past. The Puranas were largely drawn upon; and versions of the Mahabharat and Ramayana appeared in most of our Vernaculars. These versions have enjoyed great popularity and wide currency, as they eminently

satisfied the wants of the age. Semi-historical, semi-religious, they at once satisfied the popular craving for history, and met the requirements of a decaying priest-hood. We would particularly mention the following works :—

The Ramayana of Tulsidas (1541-1624 A. D.) in Hindi.

The Mahabharat of Kasidas (17th Century) in Bengali.

The Pauranic works of Upendro-Bhanj (16th Century) in Brija.

The works of Shridhar, Waman, Moropant, Eknath, Amritrao, Raghunath Pandit (1600-1800 A. D. ) in Marathi.

After these Pauranic works, we would notice chronicles of saints and devotees, such as the Guru-charitra and Mahipati's Bhaktivijaya.

(d) In other departments, we have a copious literature in our Vernaculars.

(1) *Linguistic*. We would mention the following:—

Nannaya's Telegu Grammar (12th cent.)

Keshava's Canarese Grammar (1170 A. D.)

The Tol-kappiyam, a Tamil Grammar (10th century.)

Sendamar's Tamil Dictionary, styled Divakaran.

[*N. B.*—These works show that, in the Tamil country, the languages took a healthy start under normal conditions. There are scarcely any standard works in this department in the Sanskrit Vernaculars, which have had a more troubled existence.)

(2) *Philosophical*.

[In the Tamil country, many philosophical works "in explanation of the Vedantic and Saiva Siddhant doctrines" appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries under Pandya rule.]

The following deserve notice under this head ;—

1. The Vethi-Verkai of Ati-Vira-rama, the poet king (1565-1605) in Tamil.

2. Dnyaneshvar's Dnyaneshvari (13th century), and Mukteshwar's and Waman's works in Marathi.
2. Din-Krishnadar's Bhagvat-gita (16th century) in Brija.
4. Ramdasa's Dasabodha (17th century) in Marathi.

[N. B.—Our works in this branch yield to none in illustrative richness of thought and method of treatment.]

(3) *Moral.*

1. The Naladiyan by a Jaina in Tamil (12th century.)
- (2) Vemana's Moral aphorisms in Telegu (14th-15th century.)
- (3) Din-Krishnadas's Rasu-Kalholā (16th cent.) in Brija.
- (4) Ramadasa's works (17th cent.) in Marathi especially his *Samasa Atmarama*.

(4) *Devotional.*

The literature under this head is abnormally copious. It is the literature of the great devotional movement, represented by Chaitanya in Bengal, Kabir in N. W. India, Tukaram in the Deccan, and Ramānanda in Southern India. It is colored all through by a gloomy view of human life, and a deep sense of man's helplessness, and marked by a general tone of despair. As illustrative of the social condition of the period which induced such a view of man's life on earth, it is historically invaluable.

A conviction of helplessness seems to have settled on the national mind when no efforts availed against the prevalent evils. Despair of amelioration here by earthly means and by earthly agents seized on the national heart; prayers to earthly magistrates failed, and were naturally followed by prayers addressed to Heaven. These thoughts, being ventilated and purified by a strong religious current, which at such time always sets in, assumed, we believe, the form of devo-

tionalism in India. Life was not worth living ; and the prevailing sentiment among the suffering masses of Indian peasantry might not be incorrectly described in the touching words of the persecuted Stoic of the declining Roman Empire, who cried, "Life would be intolerable were it not for death !"

" Turn your thoughts from evanescent life here to eternal life here-after ; turn away from the deceitful pleasures of this world to seek by acts of devotion true happiness in heaven ; rely on God's help ; resign yourself to His Omni-potent will ; place Faith in Him ; centre your mind and heart at the feet of Vithoba or Vishnu ; and then you shall be absolved from the thousand and one miseries of a second life on earth."—This in short is the burden of the teaching of our great devotionalist writers. That this teaching became so popular is a fact pregnant with meaning to the historical inquirer. In another view also these works are full of interest. They represent the vein of what may well be called the Hindu Protestant thought, a protest against tradition and ritual, and a recognition of the spirit as opposed to the letter of religious teaching.

The following works may be mentioned in this connection :—

- (1) Chaitanya's works in Bengali (14th cent.)
- (2) Tukarama, Ramdas, Dnyan Deva, Namdev, Eknath, Shridhar, in Marathi (17th cent.)
- (3) Nabhja's Bhakti-mala in Hindi (16th cent.)
- (4) Manikya Vacha-kshara's Saira Hymns (14th cent.)

6. In the preceding brief sketch of our Vernacular Literatures, we have not taken into account, as said before, the publications of the British period. With regard to these, we would only remark that though they are not as original, varied, or good as they ought to be, considering the changed conditions of the situation, they mark a decided and gratifying improvement both in tone and in style. The progress

of the Bengalees is described as the most rapid and striking in all fields of literary effort. In regard to Marathi, the progress has not been equally striking; yet it has got a Dictionary and Grammar of its own in this period, and the Marathi literature of the British period consists of translations from the classical standard works, especially the drama, a few histories, and biographies, medical treatises, some original compositions in dramatic and poetic literature, and prose essays on detached subjects, making in all about 1000 new works in all departments.

7. Our modern Vernacular Literature would thus appear to be not only respectable but useful, and therefore worthy of the critical study of the Indian scholar; though it cannot compare either in quantity or in extent with the enormous development of the literatures of modern Europe.

8. From the foregoing introductory remarks it appears,

(1.) That our Vernaculars are not the crude dialects they are often supposed to be, but are as full-grown languages as any of modern Europe :

(2) That they are spoken over wide areas and by large numbers, and are the perfectly nationalized languages of their respective provinces :

(3.) And that they have valuable and interesting literatures.

9. These are, in our humble opinion, very strong claims to their admission to the courses of the University. But their claims are unfortunately ignored in the present arrangements. No place is assigned to our living languages in the higher curriculum of the Bombay University; the candidate's Vernacular comes in *only* for the Entrance Examination, and even there only as an alternative language to a classical. The exclusion of our Vernaculars is thus almost thorough; and we see its reflex effect in their un-natural and un-scientific dis-sociation from their parent classical, which is a notable feature of our present school



and college courses of study. Wherever Sanskrit is taught, the Vernaculars are not; wherever the Vernaculars are taught, Sanskrit is not.\*

10. It is to this exclusion of the living native element from the linguistic courses of the Bombay University, as at present arranged, that we request special attention in the following remarks.

11. The question for consideration is, Is or is not this exclusion an anomaly and an evil?

12. We consider that it is *both* an anomaly and an evil, and we shall proceed to state, as clearly as we can, our grounds for this opinion.

To begin,—(1) Languages both ancient and modern, History, Mathematics, and Physics are admittedly the chief factors of liberal culture: but no system of liberal training seems worthy of the name, that is not calculated to create and strengthen in the young mind a feeling of solidarity with the present, a feeling of continuity with the past, deductive accuracy of reasoning from generals to particulars, and a firm inductive belief in the invariability of Nature's Laws. These four co-ordinate branches of liberal study, accordingly, find, if we are not much mis-informed, ample re-cognition in the courses of the Universities of modern Europe: The Bombay University, however, takes a line of its own in opposition to the whole current of modern thought and progress, and, while allowing the claims of the last three and to some extent of ancient languages, all but excludes the modern languages from its schemes of higher studies.

(2) As things stand, the only linguistic requirement of the Bombay University consists of a knowledge of English and a classical. No other language finds a place as a necessary branch even for the special linguistic degree.

Now, English deservedly holds a prominent place, as the language of the rulers of the land, as the

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\* The Training Colleges alone form a remarkable exception, where Sanskrit is taught along with the Vernaculars.

language of advanced civilization, and as the language of communication between the East and the West. Without it, Europe would be a sealed book to us. So again, a classical, be it Sanskrit or its sister Persian, or any other, has a title to the place assigned to it in the higher courses, as the language of ancient thought and ancient civilization. A knowledge of both these languages is undoubtedly of great value to the University graduate. By his acquaintance with English, he is in a position to know how Europe thinks, feels, and acts; by his knowledge of a classical, he is able to read the thoughts and feelings of a remote past by which those of the present are directly or indirectly moulded and colored. But we would respectfully ask, what means has our graduate under the present arrangements, of studying through *their own literatures* his brethren in other parts of the country, except through the at best imperfect and refracting medium of a foreign tongue? We see none.

(3) The poverty of modern Vernacular literature is sometimes alleged as a reason to justify the exclusion of the modern languages of the country from the curriculum of the University. Now, without denying the allegation of the poverty of modern Indian literature, we would submit, that so far from being a reason for their exclusion, it is a strong argument for the admission of our vernaculars to the programme of higher studies. In this connection it is important to mark the difference between the vernaculars of a country and foreign languages; for while we study the latter for the cultivation of our thought and sentiment, we learn the former to some extent for their own sake.

Our vernaculars are a part of our national inheritance to which we have succeeded, they have been preserved in their present state by the energetic efforts of our ancestors, and we assert, without fear of contradiction, that it is our *solemn*, as it must be our *loving*, duty to hand them

down to our successors improved and enriched, if possible, under the altered conditions of life under British rule, or at any rate unimpaired. We should, therefore, be extremely jealous of everything that impedes the successful cultivation of our Indian vernaculars. On this, if on no other, ground, we think we may justly complain of an arrangement which ignores their claims, casts them into the back ground, and prevents their due appreciation and critical study.

(4) This exclusion of our Vernaculars, moreover, is opposed both to the letter and the spirit of our Educational Charter,—we mean, the great Education Despatch of 1854, which strikes the true key-note of the whole question. In para 32 of this Despatch we read “It would greatly encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India, if Professorships should be founded for those languages, and perhaps, also for Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the Vernaculars of the greater part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in these languages; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindustan, and, is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammar of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are the points to which the attention of these Professors should be mainly directed.” We commend this remarkable para of our Magna Charta of higher education to the thoughtful attention of our readers. How sound is the principle it enunciates, how correct the conception on which it is founded, and with what telling force it speaks against the exclusion of our Vernaculars from the University course and their consequent dis-sociation from their parent classicals, we would leave the reader to judge for himself without seeking to spoil the effect by any feeble comment of our own.

13. These and such other considerations lead us to think that the exclusion of the modern native element from the higher University course is a wide departure from sound principles, and a strange anomaly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

14. A study of the effects of this exclusion will convince the reader that the anomaly is not only *not beneficial*,—which, by the way, were it so, would be its ample justification,—but positively *fatal*,—fatal to the cause of liberal education, fatal to intellectual progress, and fatal to the highest interests of the nation. We proceed to mention some of these :—

(1) The study of a classical language is deprived of half its interest and value, when separated from the languages of which it is the parent, for the philological connection of the two is thus wholly kept out of view. Sanskrit, for example, is, we think, studied in our schools and Colleges much more for its justly valued literature than for its affinity to the seven Vernaculars which are spoken from the southern ridges of the Himalayas to the banks of the historical Tunga-bhadra.\* Some, we fear, do not even mark the connection, and are struck with surprise when it is remarked that “Hindi is the eldest daughter of Sanskrit.” The classical grammars, again, on which so much time is spent by our students, are not put to much philological use in the elucidation of the forms and idioms of the living languages of the country. But what is worse, this enforced separation from their parent classical greatly retards the improvement of our Vernaculars, and prevents the growth of an expansive Vernacular literature.

No doubt, a beginning has been made,—thanks to the patriotic exertions of our scholars,—in developing the Vernaculars both in their literary and philological aspects. But as far as we can judge from Government Reports on Publications in British India, (Vide for instance the Report for Bengal for 1877-78) we feel inclined to think that the start is not so vigorous as it

might have been under more normal conditions.

(2) The comparative study of the modern languages of India has hitherto been almost entirely confined to European scholars. But, we would ask, is this not a field of research peculiarly our own,—a field in which it is possible for us to attain to special excellence,—a field, moreover, in which our scholars like Vararuchi of the pre-Semitic period once distinguished themselves so much? Our reputation, inherited from a by-gone age, as lovers of Grammar and philology, of logic and method, is indeed great; but it is painful to reflect how little we have done to sustain it, with our superior advantages during the three and twenty years which have elapsed since the foundation of our Indian Universities. Surely, as long as our modern languages are excluded from the scheme of higher studies, we see no reason to hope that many native scholars will ever be able to enter this field under a system of training which does not even make a beginning in the study of comparative Philology. Native Hoemles and Caldwells must be rare phenomena under the present arrangements.

(3) Our Vernacular literatures though cast in a peculiar mould in consequence of the exceptional circumstances attending their development, deserve careful study for purposes both of philology and history. We shall illustrate the point by remarking, without meaning offence to any of our University-graduates, that not even one in twenty of them knows, or has ever read, of the immortal works of Chand-bardai, Nannage, or Ati-vira-rama. This being so, can it be thought strange that Indian History has not yet been studied in a philological or comprehensive spirit? What else, we ask, can we expect from a system under which our students read more of Milton, Racine, and Goethe than of Ramdas and Tukaram.

(4) However much we may deplore it, it is an undeniable fact, that the gulf is widening by slow degrees between the educated classes and the masses in the coun-

try. Several causes might be assigned for it ; but it seems to us not a little owing to the anomalous exclusion of our Vernaculars from the courses of the University. While our University-men, trained under a system of linguistic studies, at once exclusive and unhistorical, disconnect themselves from the history of the country, the vernacular masses, who have little else to stand upon except the traditions of the past, set their faces firmly against the abstract lectures we read to them, feel no sympathy with our unhistorical descants on national degeneracy, and give us little help in our theoretical projects of reform.

(5) The Vernaculars of the country being excluded from all higher schemes of study, there is absolutely, as things are, no direct medium of intercourse between the educated classes of our several Indian provinces. Sanskrit is not now what it once was "a password to the hearts and understandings of all the learned in the land," and does not serve, as it once admirably did, as the medium of inter-provincial communication. Owing to the absence of such a general *Lingua Franca* no direct intellectual intercourse has yet sprung up between the educated classes of the several parts of India. A Marathi or Guzerathi graduate of the University of Bombay, accordingly, as soon as he steps beyond the Marathi or Guzerathi area, finds himself, unless he has transformed himself by subsequent study, a perfect stranger unable to speak or understand the language of those around him; nor does he ever care to know of his Bengali or Panjabi brother anything beyond that he worships the same gods, and bathes in the same sacred waters with himself, living in peace and comfort under the British raj. What would be thought, we ask, of an Oxford-graduate, should he find himself in that predicament across the Channel ; or of a Berlin graduate who should be in the same awkward position beyond the Alps ? And yet such is the case with the graduates of the Bombay University generally. There are honorable exceptions ; but we are speaking of the

class as a whole.

(6) Linguistic barriers are being slowly erected, separating the several Indian populations, which, we fear, would in course of time stiffen into provincial barriers, harder and less passable than physical barriers, if nothing should be done in the mean-while to arrest the progress of the evil. We pointedly emphasize this effect of the exclusion of our Vernaculars as a very serious one.

(7) Lastly, we would draw attention to a sad political consequence of the present system of linguistic studies. Creating and confirming *separatist* tendencies, so fatal to a nation's compactness, it appears to us positively to hinder the formation of broad sympathies, the unification of advanced Indian thought, and the organization of Indian public opinion, which are all important political factors. As a consequence, under the present arrangements, what in Europe is called a feeling of solidarity cannot grow among the different populations of the Indian peninsula.

15. Considering these and such other evils, directly or indirectly traceable to it, we contend that the exclusion of the modern languages of the country from the programme of higher studies is not only an anomaly, but an evil of considerable magnitude.

16. We trust our educated classes will see reason to join with us in this contention, and press firmly and unanimously the claims of our Vernaculars upon the attention of the University of Bombay.

17. The whole question is of very great moment, especially in its political bearings. How much this element of modern languages in the courses of the European Universities has done for the rise and growth of the European nationalities, is known to every student of European History. If only allowed a fair trial in India, does not analogy encourage, and what is there to forbid, the hope that it could do quite as much for our great Indian nationalities?

18. It is time, therefore, that we should fight

once more the old 'battle of the Vernaculars.' Ten years ago this battle of the vernaculars was fought, but lost chiefly through native apathy and indifference. Let us again 'take the field,' and success will depend upon the unanimity with which we act. An unanimous and emphatic protest against this exclusion enforced by native public opinion will, we feel sure, compel attention to the subject; and the displacement of the Vernaculars, which was only effected by a sort of surprise, will cease to be the one great blot of our educational charter.

19. The task is indeed a hard one, but it is worth attempting. If we are to fail, as we unfortunately did ten years ago, let us fail with the consciousness of having done our duty. But we see no reason to despair. The fight now is not between Vernaculars and the classical languages as formerly, but for allowing vernaculars a place by the side of the classical. There is ground for hoping that the claims of our Vernaculars will be considered and recognised, if only strongly supported by public opinion.

20. When this fatal anomaly of the present programme of higher linguistic studies is once widely admitted, the threshold is crossed. And then, the question for consideration will be, what proposals should be re-commended to the University to remedy the evil, and remove the anomaly?

21. The problem we shall then have to solve may be stated, in other words, as follows:—

How to arrange the linguistic courses of the University, without unduly adding to their difficulty, so as at once to recognise the philological connection between the Vernaculars and their parent classicals by admitting the former along with the latter, and to secure what may be called linguistic and national solidarity.

22. If this statement of the problem is not inaccurate, it suggests its own solution.

23. The two groups of our Vernaculars are so



constituted that one language in either may well be regarded as the *representative-intermediary* of the rest. By a language *representative-intermediary*, we mean a language which represents in its main lines the structural development of the entire group, and which at the same time stands midway between the parent classical and the other languages derived from it, as their intermediary. Which language is such a representative-intermediary language in either group is an open question, on which opinions might differ, but the existence of such a one in each of the two groups is admitted, and forms the basis of our solution.

24. According to Mr. Beames and Mr. Caldwell, Hindi in the Sanskritic group, and Tamil in the Dravidian are such representative-intermediary languages.

25. In the opinion of the learned author of the "Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan Languages of India," Hindi is the oldest, the richest, and the finest language in the Sanskrit group. It stands first in perfection of structure as in the date of its formation. It is the language of that Indian home and radiating centre of Aryan civilization,—we mean the upper Gangetic Valley. It is "the eldest daughter of Sanskrit." From it as an intermediary, are derived Panjabi, Guzerathi, Sindhi, Bengali and Brija. Marathi too has, according to Molesworth, largely borrowed from it. "It is ..... the legitimate heir of the Sanskrit," says Mr. Beames (Vide Grammar Vol 1, page 31) "and fills that place in the modern Indian system which Sanskrit filled in the old." Lastly it is the *Lingua Franca* of the Indian Continent.

26. So, again, Tamil is, as Dr. Caldwell says in his learned Dravidian Grammar, (Vide page 9 Introduction), "probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion, and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms." It seems, therefore,

to stand to the other members of the Dravidian group in the same relation in which Hindi stands to the other languages of the Sanskritic group.

27. We base our solution of the question stated above on this peculiarity of our Vernacular groups, and recommend that these two languages, Hindi and Tamil, representative-intermediaries in their respective groups, may be proposed for admission to the courses of the University with free option allowed as between them, coupled with the Candidate's Vernacular. Hindi and Tamil, being typical of their own groups, would give the candidate access to, and command over, the groups themselves, and would thus form the element of solidarity in our linguistic courses; while the Candidate's Vernacular, coming in along with one or the other of these typical languages and its parent classical, would find its proper place in the system of Indian linguistic studies. The admission of the three, Sanskrit or other classical, Hindi or Tamil, and the vernacular of the Candidate would be a substantial recognition of the claims of our Vernaculars as a whole.

28. The admission of the Candidate's Vernacular alone as a necessary subject for the degrees does not seem to us to meet the requirements of the case; for it realizes only half of the main idea, and fails to give us that element of solidarity which we most require.

29. We propose at first to reach only those of our University Candidates who take up languages for the degrees. Accordingly, we suggest below changes only in the special linguistic courses of the University. The scope of our proposals has been thus advisedly narrowed by us as a commencement, because no scheme can have the least chance of acceptance that proposes too wide a departure from the existing system.

30. For the sake of easy reference we give below two tables, the first of which, Table A, gives our

proposal in detail, while the second, Table B. sets forth the extent of change suggested and our reasons for the same. We earnestly request a critical perusal and consideration of the scheme submitted and of the arguments advanced in its support.

TABLE A.

Linguistic courses, as at present arranged. (Vide U. Calendar 1890-81.)	Changes suggested.
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MATRICULATION.

- I. Languages.—two papers.
1. English.
  2. One of the following :—  
Sanskrit, French, Hindustani, Greek, Portuguese, Persian, Latin, Marathi, Sindhi, Hebrew, Gujarathi, Arabic, Kanarose.  
(Vide page 53.)

- I. Languages.—Three papers.
1. English.
  2. One of the following :—  
Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian.
  3. The Candidate's Vernacular.

THE PREVIOUS EXAMINATION.

- I. Languages.—4 papers.
1. English—2 papers.
  2. One of the following.—2 papers.  
Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian.  
( Vide Pages 55-56 ).

- I. Languages.—4 papers.
1. English—2 papers.
  2. One of the following :—  
1 paper.  
Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian.
  3. History of the growth and literature ( I paper ) of the classical taken up by the candidate.

FIRST EXAMINATION FOR B. A.

- I. Languages.  
II. Mathematics.
- 
- I. Languages—4 papers.
1. English.
  2. One of the following.—  
Sanskrit, Latin Arabic,

- I. Languages.  
II. (a) Mathematics  
or  
(b) Languages.
- 
- I. Languages.
1. English.
  2. One of the following :—

- Greek, Hebrew, Persian.  
 II. Mathematic.—2 papers.  
 Euclid, Conic Sections.  
 Statics, Trigonometry &c.  
 (Vide page 57.)

- Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic,  
 Greek, Hebrew, Persian.  
 II. (a) Mathematics (Euclid,  
 Conic Sections &c.)  
 or  
 (b) Languages (2)  
 (1) The candidate's Vernacular and  
 { (1) Hindi or Tamil } with  
 or } Rudiments  
 (2) French or German. } of Philology.

## SECOND EXAMINATION FOR B. A.

- I. Languages.  
 II. One of the following groups :—  
 A. Languages and Literature.  
 B. History and Political Economy.  
 C. Logic and Moral Philosophy.  
 D. Mathematics.  
 E. Natural Science.

- I. Languages.  
 1. English.  
 2. One of the following :—  
 Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic,  
 Greek, Hebrew, Persian.

- II. Groups.  
 A. Languages and Literature.  
 1. English.  
 2. One of the six classical  
 (Vide page 81.)

[ N. B.—For the linguistic degree,  
 English and a classical come  
 in twice over.

- I. Languages.  
 II. One of the following groups :—  
 A. Languages and literature.  
 B. History and Political Economy.  
 C. Logic and Moral Philosophy.  
 D. Mathematics.  
 E. Natural Science.

- I. Languages.  
 1. English.  
 2. One of the following :—  
 Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic,  
 Greek Hebrew, Persian.

- II. Groups.  
 A. Languages and Literature.

1. Hindi or Tamil, { with Philology  
 and  
 History of Vernacular Literature.  
 or  
 2. French or German. { with Philology  
 and  
 History of European Literature  
 (a) }  
 (b) The Candidate's Vernacular.

## M. A. EXAMINATION.

One of the following.

- I. Languages.  
 II. History and Philosophy.  
 III. Mathematics.

One of the following :—

- I. Languages.  
 II. History and Philosophy.  
 III. Mathematics.

IV. Natural Science.

I. Languages.

1. English.
2. One or more of the following.  
Sanskrit, Latin Arabic,  
Greek, Hebrew, Persian.  
( Vide page 81.)

IV. Natural Science.

I. Languages.

1. English.
2. { (a) One of the following :—  
Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic,  
Greek, Hebrew, Persian  
  
or  
(b) As an alternative to (a)  
1. { A. Hindi or Tamil  
or  
B. French or German.  
2. The Candidate's  
Vernacular.

TABLE B.

Extent of Change.	Reasons for the changes suggested.
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MATRICULATION.

Three languages are suggested in place of two. The Candidate's Vernacular is added to English and a classical.

The proposed addition of the Candidate's Vernacular is intended to bring out in prominent relief the philological connection between it and its parent classical. It would stiffen the course a little, but would form a sound basis for Indian linguistic studies.

It is no new proposal ; it was recommended by two Directors of Public Instruction.

Sometime ago the Candidate's Vernacular was taught in the High Schools up to the seventh standard of the course ; it is now suggested to carry it up to Matriculation. As things stand at present, the dis-sociation between the Vernaculars and their parent classical begins in the fourth Standard of the High School-Course. [when the learners are scarcely 15] and tells prejudicially on their appreciation of either.

## THE PREVIOUS EXAMINATION.

History of the classical taken up is added to the course.

The critical study of a language can at best be difficult and dry without an insight into its growth, and a general survey of its literature.

The additional branch (viz History) proposed would give the linguistic student the historical stand point which he would not otherwise attain to, and ultimately would stimulate original re-search in a field as yet but imperfectly explored. By way of compensation we propose to diminish the number of prose and verse books from two in each set to one. This would not make the course much harder, and would add to the interest and value of it.

## FIRST EXAMINATION FOR B. A.

A new branch is proposed as an alternative to Mathematics, viz. Languages.

(1) The Candidate's Vernacular. and

(2) { (a) Hindi or Tamil with rudiments of philology. }  
 { (b) French or German }  
 or

Mathematics to the extent studied as a necessary subject for the Previous Examination appears enough for the purposes of a liberal course; and what is prescribed for the First B. A. is a preparation for specialistic study in that branch. As there is no reason why Mathematics should alone have the whole field to itself to lay the foundation of a special course, it is proposed that, as an alternative to it, a linguistic branch should be put in for the course as the first stage of special linguistic studies.

The new branch is not an addition to the requirements of the course for the examination, as it comes in only as an alternative. It might even be considered as lightening the course, being the more attractive study of the two, and therefore calculated to draw away candidates from Mathematics. But this is no objection to its addition; for what we at present most urgently want is not Mathematics, but the more liberlizing study of modern languages.

Under the head of 'Languages' Hindi or Tamil is proposed coupled with the Candi-

date's Vernacular, they being the representative-intermediary languages of their respective groups, and as such giving each access to, and command over, its own group, so as to ensure solidarity. Their study would make a sound beginning in Indian linguistic studies.

French or German is put in as an alternative to Hindi or Tamil for the convenience of Latin or Greek students. These two languages are the most important in the European group, both in point of development and quantity and extent of literature, and need no further justification for the place assigned to them in the proposed course.

The Candidate's Vernacular claims, and claims justly, a place in the special linguistic course proposed. By way of compensation we would here also limit the course to one prose and one verse book in each language.

#### SECOND EXAMINATION FOR B. A.

Under the Head of Languages (Group A) a new study is recommended. In place of English and a second language (one of the six classical) which already come in as necessary subjects under Branch I of the course, Hindi or Tamil, or French or German, is suggested, along with the Candidate's Vernacular.

The proposed study of Hindi or Tamil, or French or German, along with the Candidate's Vernacular is intended to avoid the unscientific doubling of English and a second language,—a doubling which involves repulsive monotony without any adequate gain in breadth, and at the same time to maintain the continuity of the special course in languages begun for the First B. A.

The proposal varies and thereby improves the linguistic section of the course for the Examination without adding in any way to the difficulty of it. For the number of books here also will be reduced from two to one in each language.

#### M. A. EXAMINATION.

The study of Hindi or Tamil, or French or German, together with the Candidate's Vernacular, is proposed as an alternative to that of a classical.

It is not intended to narrow the field of the classical which the Candidate may choose, but only to allow him the option of a study of modern languages. The alternative study, though more useful and interesting as being of more modern interest, would attract only those scholars who might have a special liking for

the study, as it is harder than the classical, being coupled with the Candidate's Vernacular, and need not, therefore, rouse the fear of the classical scholars. The study completes the special course of languages commenced with the F. E. A. and carried through the second B. A.

### REMARKS.

The scheme, as tabulated above, seems to meet the requirements of the problem proposed, in so far as it secures the admission, without shutting out the classical, of the Vernaculars and modern languages to the courses of the University, and ensures linguistic solidarity in the courses.

It necessitates a radical change of principle, viz the admission of the Vernaculars of the country to the higher courses of liberal study, but involves no extensive changes, nor even any wide departure from existing arrangements.

It does not add sensibly to the difficulty of the linguistic courses of the University, except at the entrance-stage, and thus avoids the risk of driving candidates to take up other subjects than Language.

It requires only a slight addition to our present teaching power, a Tamil reader alone being wanted for our Colleges.

It might be objected to this proposal that it sacrifices depth for what it gains in breadth. The objection is just as far as it goes; but the reply is, (1) that, in linguistic studies especially, what we at present want is breadth rather than depth as the basis of a liberal education, and (2) that depth could be more easily attained than breadth by subsequent study.

The progress of the student under the proposed programme might be thus briefly sketched. We shall suppose him to have taken up Sanskrit. As the courses are now arranged, he can take the M. A. de-



gree in Languages, without going an inch beyond English and Sanskrit. He may well forget even his own Vernacular, he generally knows little of its literature, and in fact he does not know a single fact about the other living languages of his country.

This scandalous ignorance would be impossible under the changes proposed. The student would begin Sanskrit in the fourth standard of the High-School-course; but he would have to study his Vernacular along with it. He would be required to study *together* Adam's Elements, Professor Bhandarkar's Primers, and Dadoba's Grammar. And thus on to the close of his School-course, he would read English, Sanskrit, and his Vernacular as coordinate branches of linguistic study. Under intelligent direction he would begin to lisp the conclusions of Bopp and Grimm before he enters the threshold of a college

After passing the Entrance Test of the Bombay University, let us suppose him to join an Arts College. Here he would be introduced to Sanskrit literature proper. To enable him to get a fair start in the new study, he would be allowed for one whole year to lay aside his vernacular books and devote his energies to the study of Kalidas and Valmiki. But he would be required, at the same time by way of relief, to master the principal facts of the history of the growth and literature of that classical.

By the end of his first college year, he would have thus read, partly at School and partly at College, enough of English, Sanskrit and his Vernacular, to be able to enter on a special course of linguistic studies.

In the second year of his stay at College, his field of study would be enlarged. The linguistic *Trivium* would be changed into a *Quadrivium*. He would be called upon to choose a typical vernacular in addition to English, Sanskrit, and his own Vernacular. Let us suppose our young friend to take

up Hindi. During this year, he would have his time and attention too fully occupied with the element of the new language to do much in a philological direction, though he would be taught the rudiments of philology.

With the dawn of the third year of his College career, there would come a welcome change. Instead of being cooped up as now with the literature of a foreign language and a dead classical, he would read works of more present, direct and national interest. We might well conceive him studying Hooker and Milton, Chand Bardai, and Tulsidas, Dnyaneshwar and Ramdas, Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, all together. What splendid opportunities would thus be offered to the young scholar to note, and to his professors to point out, parallelisms of thought and sentiment between writers, so widely divided in space and time? Nor would his gain be less from a purely literary point of view. He would take note during his progress of linguistic connections, verifying and illustrating in a striking way the laws of Philology.

During his fourth and last year at College, he would still further prosecute his new and interesting studies, and get a firmer hold of the thread of philological connection. From his study of the history of Vernacular literature, he would acquire the command of a literary and a historical insight such as he would not otherwise possess.

Our young friend would, at the end of the fourth year, take the M. A. degree in Languages, and leave college to enter the literary arena with advantages certainly superior to those possessed by our present University men.

*Results*—Thus, the proposed scheme of linguistic studies would give us a new and a superior class of scholars. With a fair knowledge of English, a classical, and two Vernaculars, the new class of graduates would work as a powerful leaven in the Indian literary world. They would be the

medium of intellectual inter-communication between the several sections of the Indian Nationality. A new direction, or at least, a new stand-point, would be given to the labors of our scholars : India and Indian history would be better studied : and thereby the Indian graduate's field of living interest and of solid sympathy would be expanded. He would then learn to take more lively interest, and feel more sincere pleasure, in studying the quiet progress of Indian Administration than in divining the mysterious horoscope of Turkey in Europe.

As more direct and immediate results, our University men would be able to enter, with adequate qualifications, on a comparative study of the Indian Vernaculars ; a new literature in the Vernaculars, of a character more expansive, and less exclusive, would be created ; the Vernacular Grammars would be improved ; and Vernacular Etymology, the most neglected and the worst taught subject in our schools, would be cultivated with a success and with an interest hitherto unknown. But, above all, the study of Indian History,—a study which must in a great measure determine the future progress of our nation, would secure a new hold on the affections of our graduates, by reason of its liberalizing and national character.

To conclude. These hopes might appear to many, as chimerical and doomed to disappointment. But to show that they are within the limits of reason and possibility, we need only appeal to the history of European thought and progress during the last 300 years. The history of European Science bears a striking testimony to the great influence which the study of modern languages exercises over the progress of thought in Europe.

The most learned and philosophical Grammar of the English Language has been written by Professor Maetzner of Berlin. The International Medical Congress, sitting in London, with its 3,000 members assembled from various parts of Europe and America,

is in a position to listen, with profound attention and interest, to the German address of Professor Virchow of Berlin, to the French address of Professor Pasteur of Paris, and to the English address of Professor Huxley of London. So, again in the sphere of politics, John Stuart Mill's economical theories are quoted in the French Chamber of Deputies; the political speech of Mr. Gladstone at the Lord Mayors' banquet is reproduced in the German papers, and is widely and eagerly read; M. Gambetta's utterances are discussed in the political circles of England, Germany, and Italy, with an interest of which we can have no idea.

Facts such as these which can be mentioned by the hundred are, we believe, possible in Europe, mainly, if not solely, because of the "study of modern Languages." In fact, no thinker of note, no statesman of mark, no writer of eminence can afford, in modern Europe, to be ignorant of the 'modern languages.' "Not to know French or German is to be blind of one intellectual eye."

Let us now leave Europe, and coming nearer home look about us. The scene changes at once, and completely. Look through our Vernacular publications, read the works of our graduates, listen to their speeches and lectures, and it will not be at all beyond the mark to say, that you will not find even one in forty of our present writers and speakers, going in his quotations and references, beyond the groove of English and Sanskrit works, and beyond England and his own province.

All this, however, would change when our Vernaculars would be "studied by our educated classes, as French, German, Italian, English, are studied by the educated classes all over Europe." A new life would be infused, and a new movement of thought would begin in the Indian literary world. The progressive tendencies of the Aryan mind seem to warrant the hope that the Indian continent, once stirred

into literary activity by the well-planned and properly-directed action of our Universities, would one day be what Europe is now,—a world full of the active conflict of many minds in many lands advancing thought and eliciting and confirming truth. This hope, resting as it does on the un-equivocal testimony of European history and progress, is, we firmly believe, fairly within the bounds of possible realisation.

## LAND LAW REFORM AND AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

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THE discussion in regard to the agrarian problem of the Deccan Districts has received a new impetus during the last few months from the judicial condemnation pronounced by the Honorable Mr. Justice West upon the special legislation which has commended itself to the counsels of Government. Like every thing else which proceeds from such a high authority, this note of warning and alarm will not fail to excite general attention, and incline Government to pause before it reaffirms its faith in the principles which found favour with the Legislative Council two years ago. The conversion of Mr. Justice West, half-hearted as it is, to the views which we have all along entertained on this subject is a most agreeable surprise to us; for, if we mistake not, in his pamphlet on the "Rent and land of India," published a few years ago, he gave utterance to ultra-radical and communistic views which were rejected by Government because of their too sweeping and revolutionary character. Mr. West proposed as his solution of the agricultural problem to abolish entirely the power of free alienation by the Ryot of his lands, even to the extent of excluding temporary mortgages or leases without the sanction of the Revenue officers, who were expected to see that, in the exercise of this power under such limitations, the Ryot did not improvidently deprive himself of the minimum required for his subsistence. It was by way of practical compromise between this extreme suggestion and the absolute freedom till then enjoyed by the Ryot in the disposition of his land, that the Legislature sanctioned the middle course represented by the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in some of its most important provisions. The disappointment which has resulted from the working of this modified compromise in such a revulsion of feeling must have convinced

Mr. Justice West of the utter hopelessness of securing any relief to the Ryots by reducing them to the condition of land-serfs, with no other right of property except a license to work on the state domain from year to year, and pay the highest economic rent which could be screwed out under the absolute monopoly of land enjoyed by the Government, and the entire absence of all competing industrial resources. While giving full credit to Mr. Justice West for that rare virtue among Indian civilians, the courage of avowing his honest convictions, even when they belied the irresponsible ideals of his most cherished thoughts, we must at the same time frankly confess that his onslaught is only vigorous on its destructive side, and lacks the strength derived from a fertile and constructive suggestion by way of remedy for evils which are too real to be overlooked, and must be grappled with and not shirked. The misery and helplessness of the agricultural classes in the Deccan districts is not a problem of today, though until recent years the scandal was not publicly acknowledged to be a blot upon the otherwise fair fame of British Indian statesmanship. If there were no other way open, we could reconcile ourselves to accept thankfully the doubtful blessings of the Relief Act at present in force, as at least furnishing a visible index of the solicitude of Government to do its duty to this long neglected class of its subjects. It is our consciousness of the fact that a safer course is open to Government, which adds to our regret that Mr. Justice West has not lent his advocacy in recommending a positive remedy along-side with his negative criticism with the weight which his words will always command with the highest Indian authorities.

Fortunately there are other workers in the field, who are proceeding upon the right track, and leading the forlorn hope against great odds in the shape of Philistine prejudices and self-satisfied confidence

with the existing order of things. Among such workers we must allow Mr. Wedderburn the foremost place in the rank of practical philanthropists, who forget their service connections in the earnest solicitude to promote the welfare of the unfortunate Ryots over whom Providence has set them to rule. In his proposals for a modified permanent settlement for the Deccan Districts, as well as in his later suggestions about the feasibility of the establishment of agricultural banks in these Districts, he has worked under many disadvantages his way to a clearer perception of the causes which have reduced many millions of people in two generations to such a hopeless plight. In one of our earlier numbers, while discussing from our stand-point the true solution of the Agrarian Problem, we found occasion to express our opinion of the scheme of settlement proposed by Mr. Wedderburn, and we hope to review in the course of the following observations his proposals in regard to the land-banks scheme. Whatever differences of opinion we may be led to entertain in regard to these proposals, there can be no room to doubt that Mr. Wedderburn has fairly grappled with the difficulties of the question, and, while agreeing with Mr. Justice West in the expression of his disappointment with the methods of relief which have found favour with Government, his suggestions have the rare advantage of presenting a constructive alternative scheme, which cannot fail, with larger experience of the failure of all other plans, to find before long a hearing at the hands of Government and the public.

It will be necessary at the outset to present a few figures illustrative of the existing economical and social condition of the population in the four Deccan Districts more immediately under consideration. Without the basis of such detailed information, the best thought-out schemes have too often the appearance of visionary utopias which fail to carry any real conviction to the mind of the most earnest inquirer,



and he is too often bewildered in the mazes of optimistic or pessimist views which are placed before him with such exaggeration, as to lead him to suspect that the arguments urged are shaped by foregone conclusions. The four Districts of Poona, Nagpur, Sholapoor, and Satara form, so to speak, the very heart of the Deccan, and were once the home of the Maratha confederacy. Their total area is 21,029 square miles, and the population of these districts as ascertained by the Census of 1872 was 3,460,209 souls. Throughout this territory, there are only 37 towns with a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants each. The total of the urban population is 479,329. The number of inhabited villages on the other hand is 4,552 with an estimated population of 2,980,880 souls. The proportion of the urban to the rural population ranges from 80 percent in the Poona District to 90 percent in the Satara District. The importance of these figures will be better understood when they are compared with Gujerath, which is the most prosperous province of this Presidency, and with the Konkan which ranks lowest in material wealth. In Gujerath there is one town for every 288 square miles, the proportion in the Deccan is 1 for 502. Gujerath towns have between them a population of 6 lacs against a rural population of 22 lacs, which gives the proportion of 1 to 3½. This same proportion sinks to 1 to 6 in the Deccan, and in the Konkan it is 1 to 11. Again the number of houses per square mile is 27 in the Deccan as against 76 in Gujerath, and of these houses the better sort, that is the tiled houses, are 1 to 20, while in Gujerath the proportion is 1 to 3. Of the thirty-four and half lacs of the population, 1,710,721 are males. The proportion of children to adults is 36 per cent. With this deduction, we find that the adult male population of these four Districts is between eleven and twelve lacs. The Brahmins and the Banias, the only intelligent and thrifty classes, are about 8 per cent of the whole population, and

the percentage of the male population able to read and write ranges from 7 (Satara) to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  (Poona). The proportion again of the agricultural to the non-agricultural population is 57 to 43 in every 100, which deduction results in the fact that of the male adults estimated to be between 11 and 12 lacs,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lacs are adult male agriculturists in these four Districts. Of this number, more than  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs are what are called peasant proprietors, the rest, about a lac, are either tenants or labourers on the farms. These  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of agriculturists pay by way of land revenue to the state about 53 lacs of rupees a year. The total acreage of arable and unarable lands in these four Districts is  $132\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, of which nearly 27 lacs are Inam, and the rest about  $105\frac{1}{2}$  lacs belong to Government. Of this the occupied land is about 78 lacs of acres, the rest are either unoccupied or unassessed. It will thus appear that about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of male adult agriculturists own between them about 78 lacs of Government lands, and pay by way of land revenue about 53 lacs of rupees every year. Adding to this figure the incidence of the salt tax, seven pence per head, and the Local Cesses we get a total of nearly 60 lacs of rupees as the limit of the Government demands from the agriculturist classes in these four Districts. Each agricultural head of a family thus pays about 9 rupees per head for the privilege of cultivating about 10 acres of Government land. — It is impossible in the absence of accurate statistics to state exactly the value of the agricultural produce raised in these four Districts. The Famine Commissioners, however, have furnished an approximate total of 350 millions sterling as the value of agricultural produce in British India, with a population of 190 millions. Seeing that most parts of India are better situated in respect of climatic and soil conditions than these arid districts of the Deccan, where the soil is poor, and the rain scanty and irregular, this estimate of the Famine Commissioners is more likely to be favourable than

otherwise in regard to these districts. The estimated yield of agricultural produce on this basis of calculation for a population of 35 lacs is about 7 crores worth of produce, of which  $\frac{1}{3}$ th or more than one crore is taken up by the seeds, cattle fodder and wastage, leaving 6 crores worth of produce for consumption and export. Of this total produce,  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds or 4 crores represent the consumption of the producing classes, at the very moderate figure of 20 rupees a head per year for 20 lacs of people, leaving about 2 crores of produce as the available store out of which the Government demand of 60 lacs has to be satisfied, and all other charges paid. The Government demand absorbs thus nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the net gains of cultivation, and under these circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise that uncertain rain-fall and changes of price force the cultivating classes to borrow under great disadvantages. It has been estimated that there are some 22,000 persons engaged in the business of money lending and retail sale of goods to the agricultural classes in these four Districts. This is a much larger proportion than what is found all over India. Throughout British India, with a population of 190 millions, the number of money-dealers, including Bankers, money-changers, and money-lenders, is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, or 1 in 700 of the population, while in these Districts the proportion is 1 in 150. Along with these facts, it is to be noted that there is an utter absence of all thriving commercial and manufacturing industries, and that the resource of available arable land is admittedly exhausted in these Districts. We have thus a poor soil afflicted with scanty and irregular rains, inhabited by a sparse population, for the most part agricultural and uneducated, with no openings for labor save an exhausted soil, with average holdings of less than 10 acres per each head of family, burdened with a payment of state demand which represents  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their net gains, forced to be content with a hand-to-mouth subsistence represented by a maximum

of 60 rupees for a family, and involved in heavy bonds of debt under circumstances beyond their control to a numerous mass of small creditors, largely foreign in their domicile, and not prepared to take up the cultivation of land on their own account. These are the salient features of the social and economical condition of the people which it is necessary to bear in mind, while discussing the question of the best method of relief.

It is no wonder that people so circumstanced have made little or no progress during the last 30 or 40 years that they have enjoyed peace under a settled Government. The best and most unfailing test of prosperity is that afforded by the increase of population, and their ability to bear up against bad years. The results of the recent census as compared with the census of 1872 afford a safe basis of comparison of such a character that no exception can be taken to it. If this test be applied, it will be seen that in the four Districts with which we are at present concerned, the loss of life and decrease of population during the last famine is something frightful to contemplate. The following statement of figures will convey this impression more adequately than it is in the power of words to express.

Name of District.	Popula- tion. 1872.	Popula- tion. 1881	Decrease.
Poona. ... ..	907,235	859,088	48,167
Nagar. ... ..	773,938	742,038	31,900
Sholapoor... ..	662,986	578,155	84,831
Satara. ... ..	1,116,050	1,010,385	105,665
Total...	3,459,509	3,189,656	240,563

These figures show that there has been a loss in these four Districts of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of souls, and if to these be added the loss represented by the absence of the

normal growth in ten years which would be  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or nearly 80 thousand, we have a decrease of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  lacs, or 10 per cent of the population in 10 years. The other Districts of the Deccan show equally sad results, as will be seen from the following statement.

Name of District.	Popula- tion. 1872	Popula- tion. 1881	Decrease.
Belgaum. ... ..	938,760	834,705	104,045
Dharwar. ... ..	988,037	926,680	61,357
Kaladgi. ... ..	816,037	667,309	148,728
Total...	2,742,824	2,428,694	314,130

These figures are for entire Zillas, and represent the average of the several Talukas. The proportion of the arrested growth will be best ascertained from the figures of those districts where the pressure of famine was not felt, as in the Konkan Districts of Ratnagiri, Kolaba, and Tanna, which had a total population of 2,216,965 in 1872, and are now found to have this number increased to 2,278,703, or an increase of 62,000, which represents an increase  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent every year in the poorest of the Districts. Owing to the famine, there has been thus a loss or decrease of 7 lacs of souls in the whole Presidency, and including the Native States, the total loss to be set to the account of famine comes to about 10 lacs. on our side of India. This is not a pleasing picture to contemplate, at the same time there is nothing to be gained by hiding the truth.

The loss of cattle which represents the only tangible wealth of the agricultural classes has also to be taken into account. For some reasons not yet satisfactorily explained, the last census, unlike its predecessor, did not include the statistics of cattle. We have, however, the records of the Survey De-

partment which furnish these figures for many Talookas, where the re-assessments were introduced after the famine. In the Dharwar Talooka, for instance, while the population showed a fall-off from 84,872 in 1848 to 79,414 in 1879, the loss of agricultural cattle and milch-cows was respectively 29 and 52 per cent in 30 years, the figures being 22,646 agricultural cattle and 42,333 cows and buffellows in 1847, as against 15,920 and 20,073 in 1879-80. In the old Nurgoonda Talooka, the fall-off in population was from 21,431 to 16,208, the loss in agricultural cattle was 33 per cent, and in non-agricultural cattle it was 66 per cent; the detailed figures being 3,775 of the former and 5,471 of the latter in 1859-60, as against 2,546 and 1,819 respectively in 1879-80. In Moolgund Peta, Dumbal Talooka, the loss of human lives in 18 years was 12 per cent, while the loss of agricultural and non-agricultural cattle was nearly 60 per cent. In the Mishricote or Kalghati Talooka, the loss of agricultural cattle was 33 per cent in 30 years. These Talookas are selected from the Dharwar District, which is justly regarded as being the most prosperous portion of the Presidency, and the heart of cotton producing districts. As regards the sheep, ponies, and horses, the fall-off has been, if possible, still more marked, being in many places tantamount to the total extinction of these forms of agricultural wealth. These figures for Dharwar, which happen to be the only ones available for purposes of comparison, justify the most gloomy anticipation for the much poorer districts of the Deccan proper, and the reluctance of Government to furnish statistics in regard to the loss of cattle, though injurious to its best interests, can be to some extent explained by reason of the frightful decrease which detailed statistics would have revealed.

No wonder that a peasantry so situated is inextricably involved in debt. In 12 villages of the Parner Talooka of the Ahmednagar District, it was

found after detailed inquiry instituted by the Decan Riots Commissioners on the spot, that while the revenue of these villages was about 25,000 Rs., the debts of the cultivating classes approximately reached the total of 2 lacs. In the villages of the Satara collectorate, with a total of 15,000 Rs. as annual revenue, the debts came up to Rs. 180,000. These figures represent the state of things as it existed before the famine. The Riots Commissioners have unanimously stated that about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the agricultural population was hopelessly involved in debt, the average indebtedness being estimated at 18 times the assessment on the holdings. Since then, the land has been visited by three years' famine, and it can easily be anticipated that the miserable condition of the Ryots must have been greatly aggravated by the horrors of that time. We cannot be, therefore, far wrong in estimating the present situation to be fairly represented if we calculate that at the least from 50 to 60 per cent of the Ryots, or from 3 to 4 lacs of peasant proprietors are hopelessly involved in debt, which would, according to the Riots Commissioners' estimate, amount to a total of nearly 4 crores of Rupees, being considerably more than the total gross value of their agricultural produce for one year.

We hope thus to have shown, as far as official figures accessible to the public enabled us to do, what the exact economical condition of the country at the present moment is. From 50 to 60 per cent of the agriculturists are involved in debt to about 5 per cent of the Brahmin and Bania classes, the amount of the debt is four crores of rupees, and the assets, as represented by the net gains of agricultural industry, are about two crores, from which the Government assessment and other state demands, being about 30 per cent of the net gains, are to be paid. All other avenues for industry are closed under foreign competition, and even the resource of agriculture is, under present circumstances, exhausted by reason of the absorption of the

waste lands, and the loss of cattle. Relief measures to be effective must take account of all these diverse conditions. During the debates on the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Bill in 1879, all these circumstances were fully brought out before the Legislature and the Executive Government, and the highest authorities held out a hope that along with the legislative remedy, confined chiefly to the action of the judicial courts, great administrative reforms would follow, and complete the remedial work. It is needless in this place to re-capitulate the solemn pledges and assurances held out by Lord Lytton's Government in the course of those debates. Our position in regard to the measures of judicial relief set in operation two years ago has always consistently been to the effect that, while judicial reform was welcome as far as it went, it would be practically ineffective for good if administrative relief on the lines sketched out in the discussions of the bill was not attempted. The malady in its worst forms lies deep in the heart of the political system, and no mere external alleviations or dressings of the surface skin will really prove of any avail. What the country wants, equally with or even more than, cheap and equitable justice, is a diminution of the state burden on the land in a form which will encourage the investment of capital on a large scale, an investment on more advantageous terms to the cultivators of the soil, and a diminution of the pressure of the agricultural population on the land by the opening out of new avenues for labour and industry and surplus capital. We shall examine more in detail what has been done by Government under each of these three heads, and shall point out what remains to be done if full relief is to be given to remedy the helplessness and the crying wants of the country.

First in regard to the reforms of judicial procedure, we do not agree with Mr. Justice West in condemning wholesale the principles and the practical re-



sults of the working of the new Act. The Act is admittedly a heroic experiment to be judged by the same standards of public policy which have found recognition in the enactment of a similar measure for the relief of the Irish tenantry this year. Its sole justification consists in the fact that the ordinary law assumes an equality of advantages and intelligence between the insolvent and uneducated Ryot and the thrifty and intelligent Sowkar, which equality as a matter of fact does not exist. The assumption of equality was entirely a fiction of artificial legislation, and as it led to great abuses, it was time enough to correct the mischief by a return to the old conservative native traditions in favour of the protection of the weaker party. Being intended as an experiment, and to some extent an admitted leap in the dark, it must be judged on its own merits after a sufficiently fair trial, which certainly it has not yet received. Judging from our recent sad experience, every one will acknowledge that the modified restrictions on alienation, implied in the abolition of the power to sell lands in the coercive execution of decrees on simple money bonds, is a step in the right direction, so also is the exemption of Ryot's houses and agricultural cattle from liability to sale, and of the Ryot's person from imprisonment for debts. These measures are in conformity with the old native traditions, and may be safely extended to the other provinces also. The requisition of the defendant's attendance in all cases, where formerly the dispensing of it was so scandalously abused in the form of *ex-parte* decrees is also a step in the right direction. The appointment of honorary Moonsiffs for small village areas and of intermediary Conciliators for Talookas is correct in principle, though there are serious defects in the practical working of the provisions relating to them which will be corrected in the course of time by the results of additional experience. There is one evident direction of improvement, already suggested to Government, by some of its most com-

petent advisers, which seeks to raise the status of the Moonsiffs and Conciliators to that of the old Pauchayats and Arbitrators of facts, leaving questions of law, which seldom arise in small disputes, to be dealt with by a special professional agency. The principle underlying these institutions is a sound one, as it seeks to associate the better classes of the population in the work of administering justice, and discourages recourse to law without an effort being made to bring parties amicably to face each other before a tribunal of their neighbours. The powers of equitable interference in the matter of allowing instalments both before and after decrees, as well as of cutting down exorbitant rates of interest, will command approval of all who are alive to the actual wants and uncertain resources of the Ryots. The fact is the usury laws were abolished too soon in this country. These laws were out of date in England with its development of trades and manufactures, and yet it took nearly 50 years of agitation before Parliament could be brought to recognize its duties in the matter. Here with no similar preparation, usury laws were abolished under circumstances which were entirely different, and Government has had to retrace its steps with some violence, but without practical injustice, as the courts have ruled that from 12 to 24 per cent interest are reasonable rates. Even the peculiar mode of taking accounts by going behind the bonds to the first transaction is found in actual working to be not so revolutionary a step as one is led to think from first impressions. Properly worked, the provision is found to be practically not unfair to both parties, though it leaves too much discretionary power in the hands of judges for individual mischief in sundry cases. The substitution of revision for appeals, and the exclusion of Vakeels are both questionable reforms, but they are not by any means essential parts of the scheme, and after the first experimental years, the suitors in our Courts may safely be left to their old guarantees for final justice, if

they so prefer it. The extension of limitation in agricultural suits is a return to the old law which may safely be made general in its scope all over the country. The provisions regarding insolvency, being unsuited to the habits and instincts of the people, are harmless because they are inoperative. The same may be said about the provision regarding the receipts of payment and periodical accounts. They will continue to be inoperative as long as the percentage of scholars attending schools is so low as one in one hundred of the population. The compulsory registration of all bonds has been so mismanaged that the provisions regarding it might safely be expunged without detracting from the benefits of the general law. We have thus noticed all the more important provisions of the Relief Act. The dislocation and disturbance of credit, attributed to it in anticipation, and to some extent realized in practice, must be admitted to be a serious draw-back, and it can only be hoped that it will be transitory in its operation. Although there is little evidence that this transitory effect has made itself manifest on a large scale, we can well suppose that in a country where credit was already so low, the worst will happen unless Government retraces its steps in respect of its land policy, and by a diminution of its burden and the encouragement of foreign capital, rehabilitates the Ryots with a fresh accession of credit. We have, therefore, no sympathy with those who decry the Act *in toto*, and deny that it is based on any sound principles. At the same time, the mistake that appears to us to have been made by the Government in its original inception is, that too much stress was laid upon its working. The country did sadly require a more elastic and less rigid and costly system of adjudication, but this was only one, and the least crying, of its wants, and it is a public misfortune that the whole energies of Government were devoted in this direction, and no room was left for the appreciation and proper management of the more pressing needs of the country,

represented by the absence of capital seeking investment, not only in agriculture, but in other industrial pursuits, and the necessity of lightening the burden of the state demand on land.

That the country sadly needs an accession of capital is a fact admitted on all hands, and the need is so obvious that it strikes even the most superficial observer. Our chief complaint against the relief measures adopted by Government is, that it ignores either expressly, or by implication, this great want of the country, and attributes the mischief so patent exclusively to the improper dealings of the Sowcar. The Deccan Riots Commissioners' Report exhaustively discussed this question, and laid down finally that the profits of the money lender did not appear to them to be any way abnormal or disproportionate to the risks. Where 60 per cent of the population are inveterate borrowers, it can serve no purpose to pass a law against borrowing, which, in the main, is the attitude of Government as represented by its remedial Act. For every single transaction which comes into the civil courts, there are and will be a hundred transactions which will be kept out of court, not that the pressure on the debtor in these hundred cases is more bearable, or the conditions of the loans more equitable, but because the inevitable necessities of their position prevent the more sensible of the Ryots from questioning these dealings, which their good sense teaches them, must be borne with to escape greater evils. The beneficial interference of the Government must, to be useful, direct itself to the provision of facilities which will lighten the pressure of these hundreds of cases which never come into court. The statistics we have furnished above show that the great want of the country is more capital. Excluding the Presidency town, the returns of assessed taxes show that accumulations of surplus income from year to year are measured by lacs when they should be as many crores, under such a settled rule as that which the country now enjoys. One percent income tax on

the English scale is estimated to yield one crore of rupees for the whole of British India, which shows that the taxable income is about one hundred crores of rupees for the whole country. For the four districts of the Deccan, with no large towns and no manufactures or trades, and with a poor soil and uncertain rains, the taxable income cannot be more than a crore of rupees, and of this the portion available for wages must be still more insignificant. The four crores of debt referred to above are mostly of the nature of paper debts, which oppress the solvent Ryot while the insolvent goes scot-free. In this connection, the question will suggest itself what, under these circumstances, can the Government hope to do beyond what it is at present doing in the shape of its great public works and its free customs, and an appeal will be made to theoretical maxims of political economy which prohibit Government interference beyond its proper work of preserving the peace. Our answer to this suggestion is that the Government of India should do what every other Government, which is at the same time intelligent and national, and which does not burden itself with responsibilities which the Government of India has undertaken, is found to do all the world over. The Government, for instance, of England through its Board of Land Commissioners in Ireland has undertaken in its Irish legislation of 1870 and 1881, to advance state funds to enable Irish tenants to buy up on favourable terms waste lands, or the interests of their land-lords with a view to improve their status. Mr. Wedderburn has in his recent communications to the *Bombay Gazette* thrown a flood of light upon this question by summarising from the Blue-Books the results of the experiments made within the last 20 or 50 years in Turkey, Egypt, Russia, Greece, Austria, Prussia, Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden, in fact in all the bigger and smaller states, by the national Governments to improve the status of their agricultural classes by extending

their credit and countenance to private efforts in the shape of rent charge—banks, credit fonciers, credit-agricole, Caisse hypothecaire, mortgage-banks, and mutual land credit associations. It cannot be said that in this country there is no capital available in private hands for such enterprises. The steady demand for Government loans at 4 per cent and the stock quotations show that there is a considerable amount of floating capital available, if only Government will lend its countenance to private efforts during their early and experimental existence. Throughout India there are between two and three crores of rupees in deposit in Government Savings Banks, and at least twenty crores of Rupees of Government loans are held by natives. The Port-Trust bonds at 4 per cent have found a ready demand in Bombay. It cannot, therefore, be said with any justice that there is no available floating capital in the country. However, owing to the land policy of Government it is not found convenient by the capitalist classes to risk their savings on investments in the improvement of land by advancing loans to the agriculturist classes. In the words of Mr. Wedderburn, (we quote from memory) we have on the one hand a burnt-up soil panting for every drop of water, and side by side with it we have dark thick clouds eager to burst with their treasures. The state however, with its land policy sets up a huge mountain barrier preventing the clouds from reaching the lands lest per-adventure its monopoly of land might be endangered. This obstructiveness is in its own permanent interests a very suicidal policy. The scheme of establishing agricultural banks for the Mofussil has been before Government for more than 20 years. During that interval, the self-governed countries of Europe have worked wonders, although the condition of the agricultural classes there did not stand so sorely in need of such help as its poor tenantry in India require. The Public Works undertaken by Government are good of their sorts, but unless they are backed up

by agencies which will increase the credit and status of the Ryots, the spectacle of canals running waste for the Ryot's inability to use them with advantage, which so astonishes the stranger in India, will be too common to excite surprise. Every industry is starved for want of capital which will enable Indian labour and Indian materials to organise themselves so as to compete on equal terms with more advanced countries. The working of the Relief Act in its exemption of agricultural suits wholly or partially from Court Fees, and the charges of its new Courts and additional establishments represents a net loss of between 3 or 4 lacs of rupees a year of Government Revenue in the four Deccan Districts. With the same money as a guarantee fund, the Government might safely calculate upon enabling private capitalists to advance between one or two crores of rupees at moderate interest, so as to extricate the Ryots from their present difficulties, and start them on their own feet. The usual rate of interest which obtains at present in the dealings between the petty Sowcars and the Ryots to whom they are accessible, is abnormally high chiefly because the wages fund is so low, while the demands upon it are so numerous. If this capital were doubled or trebled as it might well be, it would lead to a fall of interest, and if its repayment were spread over a long term of years, it would be easy to provide, besides a moderate interest, a sinking fund, and extricate the Ryots from their load of debts. The Government has, as a first step, sanctioned inquiries into the existing debts of the agricultural classes with a view to their amicable settlement on a wholesale scale before the parties go to law. The defect of the present Act is that it takes up the individual Ryot and the Sowcar when their disagreements drive them into the Courts. These are generally hopeless cases, where no amount of judicial adjustment on correct principles can prove of the least use, for the Ryot has not the

money wherewith to pay the just amount due, and having quarrelled with his long-standing creditor, he finds no resource left to him between becoming insolvent to which he is disinclined, and throwing himself into the hands of a more unscrupulous dealer. This is a radical defect, and it cannot be remedied by any manipulation of the Act. The inquiries undertaken by Government must end in disappointment, because while the Sowcar is ready to accept a settlement if cash were offered to him, he is naturally unwilling to throw up his chances for no immediate advantage. In two villages where such inquiries were undertaken it was found that 178 Ryot families obtained from their land gross produce worth nearly 20,000 Rs., and they had to pay out of this some 500 Rs. for the expenses of cultivation, thus leaving 15,000 Rs. as their net gain. Of this money, they had to pay Rs. 4,600 as government assessment or nearly one-third of their net gains and the rest was all swallowed by the interest charge on 50,000 Rs. of their secured and unsecured debts. What is wanted under these circumstances is, that Government should encourage, and even guarantee private effort wherever it is willing to undertake the loan business with agriculturists on less exacting terms so as to have a margin for the Ryots subsistence. Government cannot directly undertake this business for itself, as the experience of the failure of the Tagai system has abundantly demonstrated. The principle of guaranteeing private efforts for a time is recognised by the Indian Government in its dealings with railways and canals, and its subsidies to the great overland and coasting steamer companies. With three or four lacs spent for the first few years to ensure private loan companies against risk, a most wholesome change will be brought about. The business of money-lending will continue pretty much in the same hands as now. Small Sowcars would borrow from the Banks the funds they required on easier terms, and this would regulate their loans to the agriculturists. All that the Government



need do is to ascertain in a rough way the existing debts of its tenantry. When the debts were so ascertained, the guaranteed private banks would advance the sums settled to the Ryots on terms varying from 6 to 12 per cent, and Government would thus be able for such a small consideration to provide easily loans to thousands of people who should thus be better enabled to pay off from year to year the instalments fixed over such a long term, as to ensure the discharge of the debt in most cases without fail out of the sinking-fund payments. The margin between existing and possible rates of interests is sufficient to allow of this operation. The advantages of substituting a wholesale settlement in the place of individual inquiries now undertaken by the courts, mostly in very bad cases, have been abundantly illustrated in the settlement of alienations and boundary disputes. For a long time, and hopelessly Government contented itself with the piece-meal system of inquiry into Inams and disputed boundaries. The work made no progress. The cost of establishments more than covered the gains, and the results were so unsatisfactory as to fill the whole land with heart-burnings and discontent. A change of policy occurred after the mutinies, and Government found that the work of settlement, when it anticipated disputes by a moderate compromise, was much more thorough and effective. A debt settlement commission working with full powers, and with due regard to fixed principles, will lead to a similar result by ascertaining the amount of existing indebtedness for whole Talookas and Districts, without waiting for the time when disputes arise, and demoralize both the Sowcar and the Ryot. In the absence of such an inquiry, the piece-meal method of working now in vogue may go on to the end of time without any body being the better for it; for as soon as a Ryot is white-washed, he is again driven into debt by his necessities, and the process has no end. With the results of such an inquiry to guide them, both

Government and the lending and borrowing classes will know exactly how they stand, and this knowledge will encourage foreign capital to seek investment in land by advancing loans to the Ryots on more advantageous terms. Besides guaranteeing against risks and ascertaining the existing debts, the Government will only be called upon to facilitate the recovery of the instalments agreed upon by the same agency which collects its land revenue, and under the protection of the same processes to ensure punctual payments. These are not exorbitant concessions looking to the great interests at stake. The present times especially are favourable for such an undertaking. Even if Indian capitalists prove unable to advance all that is needed, there is an abundance of capital in England which will come to our rescue if only the guarantees before mentioned were secured. The Government of India has become fully alive to its duty of encouraging home industries. Money is cheap beyond all former precedent, and the advisability of taking immediate action in this direction has commended itself to the highest authorities. We have the best authority to state that the matter has attracted the attention of the Secretary of State, and it has been referred by him to the local Government for practical consideration. The history of what has been attempted with success in other countries has now been placed fully before us, and the bill to amend the Relief Act is before the Legislature. There are capitalists in Bombay who have expressed their willingness to advance one crore of rupees in the establishment of Agricultural Banks, if Government on its part is prepared to ascertain existing debts, to guarantee 4 per cent interest, and afford facilities for recovery. These favourable circumstances will never recur again. It is not only agriculture which stands in need of such help. Every other industry, especially in the mofussil, stands more or less in need of similar help. The difficulties, however, in the way of directing joint-stock private agencies in these channels, and at the

same time ensuring them against all risks, are at present very great owing to the absence of skill and knowledge, and the fact that Government is the sole customer for stores, and its own departments carry on the great Public Works of the country. There is no doubt, however, that the impetus given to agricultural pursuits will in the end communicate itself to other industries, and lead to a many-sided development of the country's resources in a way which can not at present be anticipated.

Just as mere judicial reform has been shown to be likely to end in disappointment, as long as the crying need for more capital is not recognised and attended to, it must be laid down that no action that Government might take in this latter direction will lead to any permanent beneficial result as long as the pressure of land revenue under the existing system of assessment continues unabated. Notwithstanding what political economists in their love of doctrinaire thoroughness may assert to the contrary, it has been found by bitter experience that no country has hitherto made the least progress in civilization where the land was not held in full proprietary right by the people to whom it belonged. Indian traditions under British rule have departed widely from old native customs in this respect with the results which we now deplore. The state monopoly of land and its right to increase the assessment at its own discretion are the two most pre-eminent obstacles in the way of the growth of our material prosperity. Cultivated land everywhere owes all its advantages as much to human efforts as to natural resources, and the tendency everywhere is to increase the one and diminish the other. The Government of India, however, has for a long time resolutely set its face against all proposals which in the most distant way might loosen its hold upon the land. Between 1862 and 1865, the Secretary of State in Council had made up their minds that the time had come for the extension of the permanent settlement to all the more set-

tled districts of this Presidency, where nearly the whole available land has been brought under cultivation. These Despatches of the Secretary of State were set at naught by the passive resistance of the Government of India, resting presumably on the ground that it would lead to a loss of prospective revenue, the temptation of which the Government could not forego. Twenty years have elapsed since then, and the cry from all quarters of the country, from Oudh, from the N. W. Provinces, from Madras, and notably from this Presidency, has the same burden of lamentation and misery. We have for the last fifteen years, in good and in evil report, exposed the failure of the present system, and advocated a permanent settlement of land as the only alternative open to Government, by the side of which reform all other agencies sink into insignificance. The only guarantee against excessive enhancement, which is found effective where land is held in private right, is the competition of the land-lords among themselves. There is no place for this guarantee under the Indian system, because the land is the monopoly of the State, single and individual. The absence of such a check has resulted in wholesale enhancements all over the country to an extent of which the Government itself is now ashamed. All the prophecies about the permanent continuance of the country's agricultural prosperity have been falsified, and the sad fact has to be faced that the land has lost all value as an investment, except in a few favoured localities. The inconsistency of official advocacy in this matter was never better illustrated than by the fact, that the same Government which opposes the permanent settlement as regards lands held by its native subjects, is ever willing to afford every facility to the English settlers by allowing them to purchase the fee simple of their lands in Assam and in other parts of India, and by bringing its pressure to bear upon the Maharaja of Mysore to grant a similar boon to the Mysore planters. Hu-

man nature is everywhere the same, and it cannot logically be maintained that the same incentives and guarantees, which the English planters require in their own interests, are out of place in the case of Native farmers. If possible, these latter, wanting as they do sadly in the spirit of pushing enterprise and cool forethought which distinguish the European, need to be more gently dealt with by a Government which seeks with paternal solicitude to elevate its subjects. We are sick of the cry so invariably raised on such occasions about the habitual improvidence, idleness, and thriftlessness of the Indian peasantry. The inquiries undertaken by the Deccan Riots Commission have established the fact beyond all doubt that the Ryot cannot be fairly charged with these defects of character. As long as the precariousness of the seasons and the rack-renting policy of the settlements continue to damp all their energies, what can be expected of a peasantry which finds, taking bad and good seasons together, that the revenue demand absorbs  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their net gains. Although the good intentions of the Secretary of State were frustrated for the time by the passive opposition of the Government of India, yet the hard necessities of the case have at last prevailed and succeeded, in securing a recognition for the unwelcome fact that the revenue policy of the Government is responsible to a great extent for the present condition of the agrarian classes. Even before the Riots Commission made their report, the Government of Bombay were forced to admit their mistake, and reduce the enhanced assessments which they had sanctioned only a few years before. The effect of these reductions was minimised by the manipulation of the Survey Department, which persuaded the local Government against its own conviction to screw up the enhancements in the Southern Maratha Country in the same unconscionable manner, as though nothing had happened to disturb the success of their work. The Deccan Riots Commissioners' report

at last opened the eyes of the Government of India to the enormity of the mistake which had been committed, and the latest correspondence on the subject between the Indian Governments, local and Imperial, and the Secretary of State contains distinct admissions that the survey system of assessment is radically defective, and that the enhanced assessments erred on the side of being over-excessive. During the debates on the Relief Bill, distinct pledges were given that, along with judicial reform, a great change of system in the Revenue arrangements would be inaugurated. Like too many pledges given by the same Government, this solemn assurance remains to this day unfulfilled. The only concession made in this direction is a promised reduction of the enhanced assessment to a maximum limit of 20 per cent for three years, and even this Resolution has not yet been acted upon. Coming as it does after the strict enforcement of famine arrears by the Government of Sir Richard Temple, this promised relief will not reach many thousands of poor Ryots who have been sold out of their lands and homes. No such half measures will suffice, however, under present circumstances. The Government must make up its mind to be generous for once, and by conceding the benefit of a permanent settlement make some amends for its past mistakes. The fear of losing its hold on prospective revenues need not fetter its hand; for by guaranteeing a permanent settlement fixed in kind, and commutable into money at long intervals according to permanent changes in prices, the Government will not have to forego the smallest fraction of their just claim. If on account of general prosperity, there is a rise of prices, the money commutation of its grain assessment will also rise in the same proportion. If prices fall, the assessment in money will also fall in amount, and thus will not press very hard upon the Ryots. There will be no violent change of system and disturbance of existing institutions; at the same time, the Ryots and the middle classes will look upon their lands as

their own property, which under present circumstances it is found impossible to induce them to do. All improvements in husbandry suggested by science and experience pre-suppose a great expenditure of capital to be invested in land. The magic of property can alone induce people to incur such expenditure. Neither private Sowcars, nor joint-stock land-banks, will venture to advance capital to sink wells, or use manures, and throw dams across streams, unless the Ryots to whom these advances are to be made possess full proprietary rights over their lands. If the land-banks have succeeded in other countries so well, most of this success must be undoubtedly laid to the credit of the fact that the peasants in those countries are not tenants of the State, but own the lands they cultivate in absolute right. Without such a guarantee of full property, all endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the Ryots must fail to produce any but a temporary benefit.

Judicial reform, increased banking and loan facilities, and the guarantee of a permanent settlement, these are the three-fold elements in that organic re-constitution of our agricultural economy which, as they hang upon each other, each receiving strength and coherence from the other, will alone rescue the country from its present sad plight. The Government has too long allowed itself to be blinded to the iniquity of an arrangement by which more than the full weight of its burdens is made to fall upon the least helpful and the most suffering of its subjects. The easy facilities of collecting a large revenue have lulled its conscience into oblivion, and persuaded it to regard that the millions who clamour for bread will be satisfied with the gift of stones in the shape of legislative enactments intended to patch up the surface rents without infusing new life blood and strength into the system which is gaping with its deep wounds. Now that the stern irony of fate has dashed its day-dreams aside, it may be hoped that the fresh insight Government has obtained into the real nature of the disease in the body,

politic, will induce it to make one great effort to remedy past wrongs, and restore contentment and prosperity to a part of the country which has such claims upon its consideration. For nearly two hundred years the Deccan Districts were the home of all that was great and hopeful in the decaying fabric of the old Empire. The spirit still remains intact, and though its outward symptoms are too often mistaken by superficial observers for restless ambition, its people have a great future before them in the coming times. All that they demand is freedom from the oppressive dead-weight of revenue settlements, which paralyse their energies, and dissipate their strength in the hopeless struggle to better themselves in the social scale. Let the weight of this heavy hand be lightened, and the inner springs, activity, and elastic power, will surge up in an upward movement of material well-being, which will heal all past sores, and bind the Deccan in the golden chain of gratitude to a power that helped it to accomplish a permanent liberation from its present sad condition.



## CURRENT LITERATURE.

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THE report on the political administration of the territories included within the Central India Agency for 1878-79 is heightened in its interest by the fact stated at the commencement of it that it professes to be the last report by General Daly, and contains a *resume* of his administration of the Central India Agency for a period of more than ten years. During that interval the face of the country has been changed by the opening up of thorough Railway communication with the great guaranteed lines by the construction of the Holkar State Railway between Khandwa and Indore, and of the Scindia State Railway which connected Gwalior with Agra on one side and Neemuch on the other. The Western Rajputana State Railway also skirts the Agency territory on the West and North, while the projected Bhopal and Itarsi Railway will establish a central connection. This opening up of the country forms the chief feature of General Daly's administration. Next in importance to it is the foundation of the Rajakoomar College at Indore. The college has already sent out several chiefs qualified by their education to rule over their territories of Dewase, Ratlam, Jawara and many smaller states. The progress of education throughout large and small States has been the second great feature of the Agency administration during the last decade. The growth of the opium trade from 341,412 chests exported in 1869 to 405,094 chests in March 1879 constitutes the third great step towards the development of Central India. The British Indian revenues have benefitted by the addition of nearly 4 crores of Rupees to its own revenues from the export trade in opium from Malwa. The Central Indian States of Indore and Gwalior have benefitted largely from this growth of opium cultivation. While wheat land pays from 12 annas to Rs. 3 per Bigha as land revenue, the opium lands yield

from 10 to 40 Rs. per Bigha to their respective states. A very readable summary, almost the first of its kind, of Scindia's administration in Gwalior, is attached to this report. We gather, from it that the Gwalior territory has an area of 33,119 square miles, with a population of 25 lacs, chiefly Hindu. The ruling race, consisting of Marhatta Brahmins and the numbers of the Military class are set to number only 15,000. The majority of the Hindu population is Rajaput in birth and feelings. The total revenue of Gwalior is one crore of Rupees, including payments from tributary Rajas. Of this sum 50 lacs represent the Durbar expenditure, about 12 lacs are spent on the house-hold and public works and charity, 14 lacs represent the cost of the administration and about 10 lacs represent payments made to certain stipendiary nobles &c., thus leaving a balance of about 10 lacs, which is absorbed by the remissions and advances granted to agriculturists. The revenue administration is carried on by Kamavisdars who are paid salaries varying from 100 to 150 Rupees, acting under Subhas or District Officers who are paid from 400 to 600 Rupees. The Kamavisdars have no judicial powers, while the Subhas on the other hand exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. There are three Sir Subhas or Commissioners of whom the Oojani Commissioner is the chief. Under the Kamavisdar the hereditary village officers are held responsible for the revenue management of their villages. Where these functionaries have disappeared, farmers get leases for terms. There are 16 courts of justice in Gwalior exercising both criminal and civil power. The police administration costs about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lacs a year and gives employment to 7,423 men of whom 3,000 are drilled Najeeds. There are also 6,000 undrilled troops employed on police duty. The army consists of, and is limited by treaty to, 6,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry and 48 guns. The departments of State are 7 in number, Civil Justice, Criminal Justice and Police, Revenue, Military, Karkhana or Public Works, Residency and

the Legislative Department, each under the charge of a Naib Dewan or Deputy who are all responsible to the Dewan. The charge of the Public Works Department is under Sir Michael Filose. Maharaja Scindia has accepted the new policy of the British Government in the matter of salt. For an annual payment of 312,000 Rs. he has opened his territory to British salt, and has stopped home manufacture. There are 92 public schools in the whole of Gwalior territory distributed over 17 towns or Districts, attended by 2,777, pupils and costing 25,692 Rupees per annum. There is a technical School attached to the palace which is attended largely by the young Military officers for the study of fortification and survey. There are 5 Dispensaries where 19,119 persons were treated, at an annual cost of about 10,000 Rupees. The reports relating to the other states present no particular points of interest. Next to Gwalior the leading state is Indore in this Agency. The third in rank is Bhopal. Under the Agent to the Governor General there are 9 subordinate officers in charge of single States or collections of States. In a review of Mr. Mackay's work published in this Journal about two years ago we have given the particulars of the different Agencies, and the present report contains nothing of any importance in relation to them beyond the usual annual statements.

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#### INDIA IN 1880. X

Sir Richard Temple has turned his enforced leisure to account by presenting a *resume* of the present political, material and social condition of India in a very readable form for the education of the English public. His undoubted powers of grasping the salient features of every controverted Indian subject are shown to great advantage in the studiously deliberate and well balanced consideration which he has bestowed upon every part of the vast subject before him. Sir Richard Temple was pre-eminent-

ly a time-server with no special convictions of his own to maintain, and the ready advocate of all that was for the moment, in favour of Anglo-Indian society. Next to his time-serving proclivities the prevailing character of his mind was optimistic in the extreme. All that is best may be inscribed on every page of this laboured narrative. This trait in his character was not due to any narrowness of vision, for he was endowed in a measure denied to most of his class, with the gift of seeing all the different sides of a question in the same view, but his singular weakness was the shallowness of his conviction. There was no serious side of moral purpose in his character and the man who was a Liberal under a Liberal Government became a Conservative under Conservative leading. An advocate of non-interference, under Sir John Lawrence, and of liberal rations under Lord Northbrook, he persuaded himself to be an advocate of the forward policy in the Afghan war, and of the one pound ration in the Bombay famine. While descanting glibly, as the Governor of Bombay, upon the duty of supporting Indian Manufacture, he felt no compunction in passing himself as an extreme partisan advocating Manchester interest in the abolition of cotton duties. His picture of India in 1880 lacks all the honesty and integrity of purpose which alone, when joined with varied information, can make permanent impression upon the recent age. The chapters on the material and moral progress of India and on the land settlements and the Afghan war, full as they are of varied information, leave on the mind a painful impression that such talents as those displayed in marshalling the arguments for and against every conceivable view of the question discussed, should serve no other purpose than that of self glorification. The book will, however, be always consulted as an authority for reference in regard to the detailed information scattered through-

out the chapters. To us its chief interest consists in its summary of results of the Census of 1872 and of the latest administration reports. A brief *re-sume* of these statistics will interest our readers.

The total area of India is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions square miles, inhabited by a population of 25 crores of people. One-third of this area, inhabited by about 50 millions of people, belongs to Native States of which there are in all about 450 ranged in three classes, the Independent States, the Feudatory subsidised or Treaty States, and the Smaller Thakoors, Jahagirdars and Talookdars. British India consists of eight great divisions with 224 Districts, 494,000 villages, 44 towns with a population exceeding 50,000 and 1,358 towns with a population exceeding 10,000. The total population of 20 crores consists of 14 crores Hindus, 4 crores Mahomedans, nearly 2 crores aborigines, 12 lacs Sikhs, and 10 lacs Christians. The number of inhabited houses exceeds 37 millions. Of 62 millions of male adults 38 millions are agriculturists, 8 millions labourers, 8 millions artizans,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions traders,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions professional men,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  domestic servants. The Government service gives occupation to more than 12 lacs of people throughout India. There are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of money dealers,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  lacs beggars, 8 lacs cattle dealers, herdsmen and shephards. The total area of cultivated and unarable land comes up to 500 millions of square acres. Of this nearly one half is unarable, and about 100 millions of square acres forms the limit of arable but uncultivated land. Of 145 millions acres of cultivated land 25 millions are under irrigation. The canals for irrigation cover a length of 34,000 miles, constructed at a cost of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees, and yielding a net return of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees per year. Of the cultivated land while 27 millions are devoted to the production of non-food crops the rest grow food crops. The total value of food and non-food crops is estimated at 350 crores of Rupees per year. The number of Zamindars in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa is estimated to

be 130,000. In the Central Provinces the land is owned by 28,000 Malgujars. There are 24 lacs of peasant proprietors in the Madras Presidency of whom more than half pay less than 10 Rupees each year. There are nearly 14 lacs of Ryots in the Bombay Presidency of whom more than half own less than 10 acres of land each. The Police force which keeps peace throughout British India consists of 6 lacs of men, of whom  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lacs form the rural Police, and the rest are more or less organised. About 9 lacs of criminal offences are inquired into by the Magistrates every year, involving 10 lacs of persons of whom  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lacs are discharged and the rest convicted. There are 211 prisons, and 386 lock-ups. The average number of prisoners sent to the Jail is about 12 lacs of whom half a lac are females. The number of civil suits decided every year comes to about 16 lacs of which 11 lacs are for less than one hundred Rupees each. The number of hospitals and dispensaries throughout British India is 1,150. These afford relief to 65 lacs of out-door patients. The number of lunatics in 22 Lunatic Asylums is about 3,500, while the number of persons vaccinated annually reaches the total of 35 lacs. There are in all about 900 Municipalities governed by 7,700 Commissioners of whom about 6,000 are Natives, the rest being Europeans. The income of all these Municipalities comes up to nearly 2 crores of Rupees, and the population subject to them is about 14 millions. There are 66,500 educational institutions of all grades attended by about 20 lacs of scholars. Of these institutions there are 82 colleges attended by about 9,000 scholars, 155 normal and technical schools attended by 7,000 Scholars, and 104 European Schools attended by 9,000 Scholars. Of the total number of schools 14,500 are maintained by Government and are attended by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of students, 25,500 schools are aided by Government and attended by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of students, while the number of other schools is 23,500 attended by 7 lacs of students. There are

5,500 Post Offices which bring in a revenue of 66 lacs from private correspondence, represented by 131 millions of letters and covers. There are 240 Telegraph offices and 16,000 miles of telegraph lines belonging to Government representing a cost of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees in their construction. The number of private messages was 12 lacs and of state messages 5 lacs a year. There are now 8,600 miles of Railways open for traffic; of this length 6,100 miles belong to the guaranteed Companies, 2,400 to the State Railways, and 175 to the Native States. (According to Mr. Juland Danvers' recent Report the total number of miles of Railways open for traffic is stated to be 9,325.) The Railways carry  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores of passengers, and 8 millions tons of goods. The construction charges of these Railways come up to 125 crores of Rupees. The gross earnings come up to 11 crores and the expenses to 6 crores. There are in all 63,299 holders of Railway Stock, of whom only 301 are natives. The deposits in Savings Bank range between 2 or 3 crores of Rupees. Of the total public debt 138 crores, about 19 crores are held by Natives. The sea-borne trade of British India consists of 60 crores of Rupees of exports, and 36 of imports. Sixty percent of the foreign trade is with the United Kingdom. The excess of exports over imports is 16 crores and the value stores imported by Government is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores. The coasting trade comes up to 70 crores of Rupees. The coastal line exceeds 9,000 miles with 300 ports. There are 12,500 vessels engaged in the foreign trade with a tonnage of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. Of this number 2,000 vessels are steamers with a tonnage of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million. Eight-eight percent of the shipping belongs to British owners. The land trade of India on its Northern and Eastern borders exceeds 5 crores of Rupees. Of exportable articles the chief produced in India are tea 34 lb millions valued at 3 crores, Coffee  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cwts. lacs valued at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores, wheat  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cwts. million, Rice 21 cwt millions. There are 53 spinning

and weaving companies with 10,500 looms, and 12 lacs spindles, representing a capital of nearly 5 crores of Rupees. One million tons of coal represent the capacity of Indian mines, of which 5 lacs of tons are actually produced and consumed locally, and 5 lacs are imported from England. The collieries give employment to 60,000 labourers. The total area of preserved and protected forests is 68,000 square miles, of which about 24,000 are preserved. Of 54 million tons of food raised in India 38 millions are locally consumed, 9 millions are taken up by seeds, cattle fodder and wastage, and about 9 millions are available for exports. The army in India consists of 183,400 men and about 62,000 Officers. The incidence of taxation in India is estimated to be 2 Rupees per head on the whole population. The landed classes pay 44 annas per head, the agricultural labourers pay 14 annas, the artizan classes 16 annas, and the trading classes 26 annas each. The total amount of bullions sent to the mint in ten years (1868 to 1878) was 52½ millions sterling, of which nearly the whole was made-up of silver. While the total national debt including the Railway and public works loans has increased considerably during the past 20 years, the interest charged on the same shows but a slight increase. The taxable income of the better classes of the population liable to the income tax is estimated at 100 crores of Rupees. There are 10 Protestant Mission Societies working in India, giving employment to 5,000 missionaries, Native pastors School teachers &c., and expending about 30 lacs of Rupees every year. The total number of native Protestant Christians is 4 lacs. These facts and figures which we have extracted from Sir Richard Temple's Statistical chapters, certainly present totals of such vast magnitude that they may well excuse the grand eloquent conclusion with which the author sums up his review of the present condition and future prospects of India. There is no dispute about the greatness and hopefulness of the promise foreshadowed by



these figures; at the same time it is to be borne in mind that taking the extent of the country and the number of its population which lie at the back ground of these figures, their greatness dwindles down to very insignificant proportion. With such a rule as India has been blessed with for the past hundred years and more, these figures afford no satisfaction. Sir Richard Temple has done his best to throw a glamour of excessive light on his picture. So far, however, from dazzling the vision, the coloring only brings into more prominent relief the darker shades of the picture. True statesmanship is not content with the contemplation of the good that has been achieved, but seeks to grapple with the evil, and remedy the manifold defects of the existing order of things. During the last decade 50 lacs of men died from starvation and want, the growth of the foreign commerce has shut up all the avenues of industry to the Natives except that of supplying raw produce to foreign markets. The land itself is deteriorating in its capacities, the standard of life and comfort is being lowered with millions living from hand to mouth, the number of persons able to read and write is still a miserable percentage of the population. There is no growth of literature of public spirit, of artistic excellence. The people are still treated as children and not consulted in what concerns them most. The ruling classes hold themselves, if possible, still more aloof from the people. They gag the Press, disarm and demartialize the people, and allow them little or no liberty even in Municipal matters. The shipping, the trade agencies, the banks, the public stores are all of foreign origin and in foreign hands. The most legitimate native ambition is cramped and warped by outside jealousy and control till all originality has died out and the country is, if possible, outside and inside more helpless for self defence than ever it was before. It is these and such other problems which the statesmen of today have to face. Sir Richard Temple has

not a thought to spare upon them and this blindness measures the decadence of true political insight which one hundred years have brought about in the man whom the wheel of fortune placed in the charge honored by the Elphinstones and Metcalfes in the early part of this century.

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Mr. Dacosta's latest publication setting forth the effects of periodical revisions of the land tax of India, and advocating a permanent settlement of the land revenue as the one great reform which will ensure a prosperous future for British India, appears at a most favourable juncture. The land question is likely to be both in India and Great Britain the burning question of the day, deciding the fate of administrations and exciting general interest in all classes of the population. The settlement of it in Ireland cannot but be temporary. With the exclusion of England from European markets under the protection systems obtaining on the Continent the cry for fair trade and land reform will gather strength every day. Already there has begun a stir in Scotland, and in England too Mr. Gladstone has himself prophesied an early agitation. In India also, the question agitates the Deccan, Bengal and other Provinces. At such a time as this, therefore, it may well be hoped that the persistent cry of all the Provinces of India may secure a favourable hearing. We agree with the chief conclusions set forth in this small pamphlet. Mr. Dacosta is perfectly correct in his general position that the land revenue is really inelastic, but the ten years' figures he quotes do not suggest his inference that on the whole average of years, government has realized less revenue than it would have done if it had granted a permanent settlement in 1869-70; for this average is vitiated by the famine years 1876-78, when more than two millions of revenue were not realized. Mr.

Dacosta shows that in Madras the portion which enjoys a permanent settlement showed no fall off in its revenue even during the terrible famine. The rest of the country blessed or cursed with short leases suffered in loss of revenue, loss of population and loss of cattle to an extent which the mind can not conceive without being stunned with horror. In the Bombay Presidency, similar results followed similar causes. Mr. Dacosta, however, does not appear to have got any of the more recent facts. He contents himself with quotations from official papers of 1873-75 as far as this Presidency is concerned. In regard to the North-west Provinces Mr. Dacosta quotes Mr. A. Colvin's remarks on the vexation, caused by recurring revisions and re-settlements. The slow rate and disproportionate cost what characterise settlement operations, is only one of the most endurable of its manifold evils—the value of property depreciated, credit affected, heart burning and irritation, on all sides, suspicions of the intentions of government, a host of official underlings scattered broad cast over the country. Nothing can equal the injury inflicted by a slow uncertain settlement dragging its length along, obstructed by conflicting orders, harassed by successive administrations. This sad tale of woe and misery which contrasts sadly with the prosperity of Bengal suggests the moral, that if we wish to have well-fed, well-clothed and prosperous independent and comfortable peasantry, we must carry out the policy of the great despatches of 1862 and 1865, when the Secretary of State decided that the advantages reasonably expected from a permanent settlement, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community gene-

rally were sufficiently great to justify the government in incurring the risk of a prospective loss of land revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity was a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India and to insure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in that country.

For 1880-81 and 81-82.

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### NOTICE.

A desire has been expressed by several European and Native well-wishers of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha that its proceedings should be published regularly in the form of a quarterly publication so as to be easily available for purposes of reference. The Managing Committee of the Sabha have accordingly resolved to try the experiment of such a periodical publication of the proceedings of the Sabha. Besides publishing the proceedings, it is proposed to take advantage of such a publication to insert independent communications, reviewing and discussing the more important political questions of the day. There are many topics upon which public opinion has to be created and formed before any formal action can be taken in respect of them by the Sabha. Such topics will find a fitting place in the independent section of the proposed quarterly journal.

The services of a competent Editor have been secured and contributions have been promised by many writers of established reputation.

The journal will consist of about 48 pages royal octavo to be priced at four rupees per annum to be paid in advance or one rupee and a half for each separate number, besides postage charges, and it will be published in the months of July, October, January and April.

As the Sabha has undertaken this work at considerable risk and expense and as the publication will supply a long-felt want, the Managing Committee of the Sabha trusts that the public and the Princes and Chiefs in India will give their most cordial support to the scheme.

Names of intending subscribers can be registered at the office of the Dnyan Prakash Press.

All communications should be addressed to Mr. Sitaram Hari Chip- lonkar, Editor and Manager of this Journal.

SIVARAM HARI SATHÉ,

Secretary Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

THE  
QUARTERLY JOURNAL  
OF THE

**Poona Sarvajani Sabha.**

Vol. IV.]

[No. 3.

JANUARY 1982.

UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

-EDITED BY

**S. H. CHIPLONKAR.**

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### Current Literature.



# 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.

NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## SUGGESTIONS TO HIS HIGHNESS THE GAIKWAR OF BARODA REGARDING THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF BARODA.

No. 363 of 1881.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,  
NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

*Poona 20th September 1881.*

To,

HIS HIGHNESS

MAHARAJA SATAJI RAO

SENA KHASKHEL SUMSHER BAHADUR & C. & C.

GAIKWAR OF BARODA

BARODA

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS.

The Poona Sarvajanic Sabha has heard with unfeigned pleasure and satisfaction that the time is not distant when your Highness will assume the full rights and privileges of sovereignty. The people of the Deccan have always cherished Baroda and its Princes with loyal affection and pride, and have been watching with anxious interest and fond hopes your Highness' progress in liberal education and in the acquisition of useful knowledge under the careful guidance of the able and accomplished English gentleman appointed by the Government of India to superintend the same. Under the peculiarly favourable circumstances in which your Highness finds yourself placed as compared with your Royal ancestors, it is but natural for your Highness' subjects and countrymen who have been hopefully and anxiously waiting to see your Highness assume the full powers, privileges, and responsibilities of your exalted position, to expect that on such an auspicious occasion your Highness will carefully lay the foundation of a reformed and progressive system of administration on enlightened principles which will, with increased experience and maturing judgment, gradually tend towards the consolidation of a constitution containing within itself all the good that is to be found in indigenous institutions, improved and corrected from time to time, in consonance with the notions of a civilized government, as the progress of your Highness' subjects in intelligence and education may enable them to desire and appreciate such improvements and reforms. The public officers of the State will no doubt

give the benefit of their own opinion to your Highness as to the best form of the provisional arrangements for the administration of the State to be made after your Highness shall have been invested with full administrative powers. And as the Sabha has always been anxious to see constitutional government introduced in Native States, and as it has for some time past devoted its serious attention to the consideration of such a constitution, it has deemed it to be its duty on such an occasion as the present to respectfully submit for your Highness' consideration a few suggestions regarding the best form which the administration of Baroda under your Highness' rule should assume. Towards this end, the first step which appears to the Sabha to be necessary is the formation of a Council of State under your Highness' personal superintendence composed of a Dewan and official and non-official members, the latter selected from influential and respectable families connected with the different Subhas or Mahals of the Kingdom. The Dewan's office is of the most vital importance in the State and should be filled by a Native gentleman of mature age, of liberal education, of administrative experience in the affairs of Native States, and above all of high character for conservative patriotism as regards the rights and privileges of Native Princes and for independence, honesty, integrity and judgment. As it is also of the highest possible importance that the Dewan should possess the unreserved confidence of your Highness, he should be selected by yourself, with the advice and help of your Highness' friends and well-wishers, including the Resident at your Highness' Court for the time being, if your Highness feels inclined to consult him. The Dewan should be liable to be removed at the pleasure of your Highness. The Sabha would, however, beg to remind your Highness that reasonable security of tenure is always more beneficial to the master than the servant, and a Prince who establishes a character for keeping long in his service a good servant, when he has got one, is more sure of attracting to his court honest and able men than one who acts otherwise. The Sabha will not enter into the details of the mode of administration under the Council of State. The Council should frame rules regarding the business of Government, executive and legislative, which ought to come under its cognizance or emanate from itself, and such rules, when approved and assented to by your Highness, should strictly guide and regulate the transaction of business before the Council. Your Highness, governing with the aid of the Council of State, should always be the highest appellate and legislative authority in the State.

2. Your Highness may remember that the duties and responsibilities of Native Sovereigns are in these days far more arduous than they were in former times. The work of government can no longer be carried on efficiently without a due division and subordination of

the great functions of administration, and keeping them in proper order by means of external checks implied in the independence of judicial Courts, and the organization of local bodies. In these respects a good example has been set in British Indian territory which may recommend itself to your Highness' judgment as worthy of imitation, with necessary modifications, as far as may be possible. The reign of law, the separation of the Royal Khasgi from the State finances, the independence of judges, a sacred regard for the liberty of person, and security of property, the moderation of all revenue demands or taxation, the extension of works of public utility, the progress of education of the people, the encouragement of local and Municipal organizations, the bestowal of official appointments under certain prescribed tests indicating the fitness of the incumbent for the work he is called on to discharge—these are some of the cardinal points of a good and progressive government, and should form subjects of the anxious deliberations of your Highness and the Council of State.

The foregoing suggestions submitted for your Highness' consideration may admit of further modifications according as they meet with your Highness' approval acting in consultation with the Council of State. The Sabha is fully aware that your Highness' exclusive sovereign rights and privileges are formally guaranteed by the treaties entered into with the Paramount Power, and by the traditions, which have confirmed those treaties. Against the express terms of these guarantees the British Government can have no desire or intention to interfere with the internal administration of your Kingdom. But your Highness may bear in mind that an improved and progressive system of government not only enhances the credit of the ruler and increases the happiness of his subjects, but also incidentally has the effect of disarming adverse criticism and of preventing all external interference.

We have the honour to be,

Your Highness'

Most Obedient and humble Servants,

**KRISHNAJI LAKSHMAN NULKAR,**

*Chairman of the Managing Committee,*

**SHIVRAM HARI SATHE,**

**S. H. CHIPLONKAR,**

*Secretaries Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.*

No. 364 OF 1881.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,  
NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

Poona 22nd September 1881.

To,

HIS EXCELLENCY RAJA SIR T. MAHADEO RAO K. C. S. I.

Dewan of Baroda.

Your Excellency,

There has been for some time past a general and apparently well-founded impression that in view of the direct assumption of power by His Highness the Gaikwar in January next, His Highness' advisers are recommending the adoption of certain provisional arrangements for the future government of the State on settled principles. In the absence of correct information, much apprehension is felt by the public generally as to the real nature of these arrangements. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha has for some time past been paying some attention to the question of a reformed constitution for Native States generally, and it has always intended to offer its respectful advice on the subject to His Highness on the eve of his assumption of full powers. The absence of reliable information on the subject has hitherto prevented the Sabha from carrying out its intention. After carefully consulting the views of all those Native Stateamen whose advice was available to the Sabha and who have practically thought upon the matter, and have had experience in various Native States both under good and indifferent rulers, the Sabha feels constrained to admit that, however well-intentioned and admirably drawn up it may be, a complete cut and dry scheme of a constitutional government must fail to take root unless the ruler and his subjects are qualified, by experience on the one side and by intelligent desire on the other, to cordially cooperate in lending their mutual support to the same. At the best every such scheme is an exotic, and would, at the outset, require the fostering and intelligent care on the part of a ruler of far seeing experience, mature judgment, and rare decision of character. These qualities have yet to develop with age and experience in the youthful Maharaja, and with a people peculiarly wedded to old ways and prone to dislike and oppose all change and innovation as such, the Sabha believes that His Highness will be placed in a position of peculiar difficulty and embarrassment, if he is prematurely committed to the introduction of a system of government at once novel and distasteful to all his surroundings. The Sabha, therefore, thinks on mature consideration that instead of at once imposing upon him such an impossible task, His Highness' friends and advisers should help him to form a Council of State com-

posed of a Dewan and a certain number of official and non-official members whom His Highness should consult on all matters connected with his government. All other suggestions for the improvement and reform of indigenous institutions, though necessary in their time, are of minor importance, and they should be deliberated upon in this Council presided over by His Highness, and be gradually introduced as the progress of the people in education and in civilization creates a desire and enables them to appreciate the same. Such a Council of State, if carefully selected with the free will and consent of His Highness, and worked judiciously, ought to prove as a nucleus round which such popular elements of self-government as may grow with time and progress of intelligence, might be allowed to gather to sustain and strengthen it into a steady growth of constitutional monarchy under which the ruler will have his powers and prerogatives, and the people their privileges, both assisting each other in the work of the progressive government of their country. With this object the Sabha has addressed a letter to His Highness the Maharaja and beg to enclose a copy of the same for your perusal, hoping that the advice and suggestions of the Sabha will have your sympathy and support. If the suggestions therein made meet with your approval, we trust that you will kindly recommend them to His Highness' favourable notice. If further explanation or discussion be desired on any important point, the Committee of the Sabha will be glad to meet His Highness' wishes. We shall also feel obliged by your communicating to us your own views on the subject should there be no objection to your doing so.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servants,  
SHIVARAM HARY SATHE,  
S. H. CHIPLONKAR,

*Secretaries Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.*

---

N. B.—Similar letters with copies of the address to His Highness the Maharaja were sent to Mr. P. S. Melvill C. S. I., Agent to the Governor-General for Baroda, and to Mr. F. A. H. Elliot C. S., Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja.

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DEWAN'S CUTCHEE

*Baroda, 13th. October 1881*

To,

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE AND  
THE SECRETARIES OF THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA

POONA.

GENTLEMEN,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated

22nd. Ultimo, together with its accompaniment.

2. This accompaniment I have perused and considered with great interest.

3. I will only observe at the present stage of affairs that I think there cannot be two opinions as to the necessity of a set of sound fundamental principles and rules for the steady and continuous good government of Native States. A good Consultative Council to advise the Ruler is, in my opinion, indispensable.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most Obedt. Servant.

T. MADOW ROW

Dewan

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MOTI BAGE, BARODA

25th. September 1881

GENTLEMEN,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 364, dated the 21st. instant, forwarding an address to H. H. Sayaji Rao Maharaj Gaekwar of Baroda.

With reference to the concluding sentences of the letter in question I should like you to understand that I am precluded by my position from offering His Highness any advice on purely political matters.

As a well-wisher to His Highness and to the State over which he is shortly to rule I shall be glad to see him adopt such measures as will from the outset strengthen his government, then rapidly spread a feeling of security among all classes, and finally form a basis on which gradually to establish a constitution.

Many of the measures set forth in your address are of the desired stamp and most certainly have my cordial sympathy. I entertain the confident hope that they have not escaped the notice of those who are both able and willing to aid the Maharaja with their advice at this juncture.

I have, Gentlemen,

the honour to be

Your obedient Servant

F. A. H. ELLIOT.

To the Secretaries of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

## AN APPEAL.

The Executive Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha have for many years past been anxiously concerned to find that, notwithstanding the facilities of communication that have been established between India and the rest of the civilized world, so very few of our rising generation visit foreign lands for purposes of study and the satisfaction of a healthy curiosity. Religious and social prejudices, and the comparative poverty of our people, will always necessarily limit such intercourse, but these causes by themselves do not afford a full explanation of the remarkable inaptitude and backwardness shown in this respect by all classes of the population. China and Japan under their own Native Governments have, notwithstanding their numerous disadvantages, during the past twenty years made organised efforts to send their youths to acquire knowledge at the great seminaries of learning in the West, and their young men are found in every capital City of Europe or America, apprenticed to the different trades and arts, and serving in the armies and navies of the great States of Europe. Every year the Governments of those countries send increasing numbers on this noble mission, and the youths so trained and disciplined by actual experience are now largely employed in reviving the decaying industries and State Departments in their countries. The good that has resulted from these far-sighted efforts in those countries is simply incalculable, and the contrast which these rising countries present to the helpless condition of this country is humiliating in the extreme. Year after year, while our people under the influence of peace increase in numbers, all trading and industrial outlets are being closed against them under the stress of foreign competition, and their own comparative inaptitude and absence of enterprise, while the area of available land, fit for cultivation by the increasing numbers of a pauper peasantry undisposed to migration, is well nigh exhausted. The economical results of such a change operating all over this wide continent are of a character which cannot be contemplated without dismay, and the time has surely come when those who realize the full import of this increasing helplessness should strive, ere it is too late, to stop this atrophy of the social system. Stray efforts made here and there to start joint-stock cotton mills, though welcome as far as they go, cannot be said to furnish in any appreciable degree a compensating ground for consolation. These concerns, the mechanical and Engineering Depart-



ments of them, are entirely dependent on imported skill for their very existence. They can never be said to have taken root in the soil till we have a race of men among ourselves fully trained to plan, establish, and work every department of manufacturing and trading with efficiency and cheap native skill.

The Government of India has been laudably anxious of late to do its best to find a local supply for the demands of stores consumed in its state departments. Ten years ago under the influence of a noble impulse, it initiated a scheme of nine Government Scholarships for those who ventured to go out of their country to acquire superior qualifications. For one reason or another, the scheme was however not allowed a fair experiment, and it collapsed under adverse influences. The success, however, of similar measures undertaken by China and Japan recommend the wisdom of this policy, and though it may be impossible to persuade the Government of India to revive the scheme, there is no reason why the plan inaugurated under such auspices should not be taken up on its own independent merits by the great Chiefs and the enlightened Ministers of our native states, and the rich millionaires of our capital Cities. Owing to the growth of liberal education, the prejudices which once rendered success hopeless, if not impossible, have now well nigh vanished, and there are many young men every way qualified who are eager to go out of India on such a mission, and have applied to the Committee of the Sabha for help and advice. In view of the urgent necessity of organized action in this important movement, the Executive Committee of the Sabha has accordingly issued this appeal, and it is willing to undertake the responsibility for the successful execution of its proposals if they find general favour and support in those quarters whence it expects help and sympathy.

1. It is proposed to send out ten Native youths every year without distinction of creed and race to England, France, Germany, Russia, and America, one or more to each of these countries, bound by their articles to stay in those countries and study their languages and literature, their arts and manufactures, practically and on the spot for a term of three years, or more, as they may be required at the instance of those who send them.

2. It is estimated that each student so sent will require a sum of Rs. 3000, a year or in all the whole batch will require a sum of thirty thousand rupees, including all expenditure on outfit, voyage, and boarding and education charges.

3. It is hoped that the ten first class Native States of Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Nepal, Cashmere, Jaypoor and Pattiala, representing all the different nationalities and provinces of India, will graciously consent to patronize one or more of such students, and sanction an annual expenditure of between three and six thousand rupees on this account for a term of fifteen years, so as to allow the experiment a fair trial. In fifteen year's time, 150 youths well qualified to take their part in every trade and industry, and serve in every department of state, will thus return to this country at an estimated expenditure of less than five lacks of rupees. The impetus thus given, it is expected, will either perpetuate itself, or its place will be supplied by voluntary agency at the end of that period.

4. As the Executive Committee of the Sabha cannot count on unfailing support in every one of the quarters named above, it appeals for supplementary help to the rich millionaires of Bombay and the Zemindars of Bengal to lend their support by making up the deficient number to ten as stated above.

5. The money paid to the students during their apprenticeship period will be regarded as an advance to be recovered on the return of the candidate, with nominal interest, by easy instalments, when his circumstances permit of such recovery. In this manner it is expected that the funds once collected will renew themselves year after year after an interval of fifteen years, and the investment will to some extent perpetuate itself without any additional charge on the patronizing states or individuals.

6. The patronizing states or individuals will be at liberty to select their own candidates, and to dictate the choice of country, and the place of study, and the line of it, according to their own perception of their relative advantages and necessities, and the students will be required to conform themselves to such directions and wishes.

7. Every student so sent out will be bound by his articles to serve for a definite period (from 3 to 5 years) the patronizing state or individual in any capacity for which his training may have qualified him, and on terms which will be settled between the parties.

The Executive Committee of the Sabha feels great confidence that these proposals, with such modifications as further discussion may suggest, will commend themselves to the counsels of those

states and rich patrons to whom this appeal is addressed. If further explanations are desired in any quarter, the Committee will most willingly respond to any call for inquiry. The undertaking is a national one, and the scheme proposed above combines all the elements of safety and success, while its dimensions and responsibilities are limited within a strictly manageable and practicable sphere. A nation's destiny for good or for evil hangs on its rising generation, and when the best of them are trained and qualified by a rich experience of all that is noble and powerful in the civilised world, India under such leadership will certainly be rescued from its present helplessness, a new life will beat in the old decaying members of the social body, and a day will dawn, which it will be a privilege to have lived to see, as it will retrieve for us our lost place in the world's great activities of thought and action.

**KRISHNAJI LAKSHMAN NULKAR,**

*Chairman of the Managing Committee.*

**SHIVARAM HARI SATHE.**

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*Secretaries Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.*

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN QUESTION.

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THE Cosmic forces which shape the material world into form and activity have their consequences in the political arrangements of men and determine political conditions under a stern fatal necessity which human art can not overrule. If the American continent had not been discovered in time, the fate of China by this time would have been totally different. The energetic surplus population of Europe would have established themselves on the banks of the mighty Chinese rivers, developed a civilization, and by its activity transformed the face of Asia. As it was, small Russian princes of mere Tartar origin energized in Moscow and its neighbourhood about two hundred years ago, and by processes of absorbing, encroaching upon, and conquering tribes and nationalities, have now succeeded in developing into a great power, likely to affect the destiny of unnumbered tribes and nationalities in Asia, if not in Europe. The Autocrat of all the Russia's rules over territory, in geographical extent, about 8,444,766 English square miles, and peopled by about 85,685,945 human beings. If civilization is to be gauged by postal arrangements, by a railway-system, and a telegraph-system, and by activity in the department of Public Works, by commercial enterprise, manufacturing success, and success in developing the resources of the country or countries and people who seek progress and enfranchisement, by an army-organization, and by the formation of a navy, and by attempts at public instruction, and political progress, and political aspiration and initiation in "diplomatic study," and by a care in arranging, adjusting and organizing a fiscal policy, and in financing, we are compelled to disregard all the statements made by Britons or Baboos, and to declare that there is much about Russia which we can admire and imitate. The Central Asian question discloses a two-fold activity—I. the enlargement of Russian Em-

pire, and II. the extension of Russian commerce in Asia. About 200 years ago, Russia and England entered Asia, the former took an overland route; and the latter, a sea-route. The one has all along aspired after commercial prosperity, sought it, and commercial prosperity has eluded its grasp. The other was declared some twenty years ago to have attained to the height of commercial and manufacturing prosperity. Conscious, however, of the power which her commercial policy has created for England, determined to secure for herself political prestige and the opulence from which political prestige is inseparable, patient in mastering a political situation before it, and if needs be, receding or advancing, and skilful in waiting for, and laying hold of, a proper opportunity, Russia is now about to succeed in opposing an overland route which she can exclusively use against the sea-route which is now controlled by Great Britain. Now that Russia has concluded a politico-commercial treaty with China, now that the energetic correspondent of the *Daily News* is drawing the attention of the political reader to the Khanates to the North of Afghanistan, and now that important despatches are exchanged by the Courts of White Hall and Peterhoff, we believe that an examination and a statement of the Central Asian question will interest our readers.

All the Russian activity admits of a division into three groups of facts. Her operations in relation to the Chinese Empire; her operations in relation to the Khanates of Samarcand, Bhokhara, Khiva and others; and her operations in relation to the Shah of Persia.

In the reign of Ivan IV. known as the Terrible, and compared to Nero by Russian historians, and about the middle of the sixteenth century, an event took place—an event, the political importance of which is now about to be realised, because it is feared that that event has created a political situation, bidding

fair to affect the destiny of India : Siberia was annexed to Russia.

Petty Tartar tribes, who inhabited the regions to the South of the lake of Baikal, never knew settled peaceful life. They fell out with each other. They moved from pasturage to pasturage. The whole of Asia beyond the walls of China and the Himalayas presented a scene in which human beings constantly formed new combinations, constantly shifted their spheres of activity, constantly moved onwards and backwards, until at length Russia succeeded in bringing the whole of Northern Asia under her sway, and Siberia began to be governed on certain principles. The inhabitants of Siberia profess that form of Buddhism which is prevalent in Thibet, and is known as LLama religion. The priest-hood of Thibet and of Tartary beyond it exercised a great influence on those Tartar hordes, who had formed settlements in the Russian Territory to the South of the lake of Baikal. They were taught in Buddhistic schools. In aspiration and religious custom, they were allied to the Tartars dwelling in the Chinese Territory. They visited either every month or every year the sacred Buddhistic places, and hordes of them passed from the Russian into the Chinese Territory, and their internecine quarrels were a constant source of irritation to the government of Siberian Russia.

In the mean time a powerful Tartar Khang-hi succeeded in securing the Chinese throne and organizing a strong government. He early noticed the encroachment of the Russians beyond the river Amur. In 1680, when Shah Jehan ruled in India, and when Shivaji had fairly succeeded in rousing the Mahrattas into political activity, and when the East India Company only struggled in defending its mere factories, China went to war with Russia.

Russia at this time was involved in confusion. Brigands like Stenka Radzin threatened to supplant the reigning prince. The Russian Prætorian guards or the

Strelitz were disaffected. The Russian nobility, insulted and deprived of its heraldic records, was in open opposition. Ladies like Sophia intrigued at the Court for power. Adverse as these circumstances were, Russia persisted in forcing her way to the sea of Okotsk, and in resisting the Chinese army on the banks of the Amur.

The Chinese in their way pushed their outposts, enlarged their empire, and changed its boundaries. They colonised this part of Chinese Tartary, and thus establishing themselves permanently, strengthened their own government.

Peter the Great sent envoys to the Chinese Court. Though involved in trouble with his own people and nobility—trouble aggravated by the power of the Prætorian guards, though ambitious of giving an impulse to the progress of his country in civilization, and determined to organize a Russian polity, though engaged in mastering the details of ship-building at Amsterdam in the garb of a shipwright, though waging a war with the Swedes in the North, and with the Turks and Tartars in the South, Peter organized an embassy to the Court of China, and succeeded in concluding a politico-commercial treaty in 1692, by which Russian trade with China was constituted a close monopoly.

The Government of Siberia was totally disorganised. Corruption among the high officials, torture and oppression among the lower or Government underlings, were rampant. The Czar at one time dismissed hundreds of officials in Siberia, and reformed its government. Those, that are afraid of the voice of a pretentious bureaucracy, ought to begin to admire Russia for aspiring to administer justly the government of remote Siberia, and that at a time when the rapacious servants of the East India Company oppressed the mild Hindu, and enriched themselves most unscrupulously. It is Anglicism to malign every nation except the English alone.

The treaty of 1689 simply fixed provisionally the boundaries of the two empires, but it developed the plan by which Russian youths were trained for the government of Chinese Tartary and for assisting in the Russian trade with China which the monopoly greatly promoted. A number of Russian youths were sent to Peking where they were taught Chinese and trained in commercial business.

At this stage of our enquiry into the Russian politico-commercial situation, it is necessary to study the route by which the overland trade between Russia and China was carried on, and the distance of 10,015 miles was traversed. The map annexed will afford some aid.

The monopoly and the route were further developed by the treaty of 1727. We shall summarise the conditions of this treaty, so that the Russian politico-commercial situation in connection with the Central Asian question may be understood, as it was developed at a time when the East India Company was engaged in working out its politico-commercial polity in India, but when it had not fought out its battle.

The first article fixed the boundary of the Siberian Russia. The work of delimitation and demarcation occupied a considerable time. The Chinese plenipotentiary demanded the whole country to the South of the lake Baikal; and the Russian envoy displayed that diplomatic subtlety and firmness which generally distinguish the Russian political officials. The Chinese plenipotentiary came round, and the arduous task of fixing the land-marks was amicably performed.

The second article stipulated that the fugitives of both the empires were to stay where they had settled, and that if any passed the boundary line, they should be punished. The third article is important: it settled that the commercial depôt, which was intended to regulate and work out the commercial monopoly, should be fixed at Kiakhta. Kiakhta has continued to be a place of great commercial activity



and has given a name to that soft and agreeable tea, which the Chinese grow and which is imported into Europe by the overland route we have shown in the map. The fourth article constitutes the monopoly. (a) Only two hundred traders—a number not to be exceeded under any circumstances were allowed to go to Peking every three years. (b) They are to pass the boundary of either empire under a chief traveller who is at once their master and their foreman. (c.) When on the frontier, the caravan so marching should give a notice in writing to an officer who superintends the commerce of the depôt of the monopoly, and no impost whatever is to be levied on the goods carried by the Caravan. (d.) Smuggling, clandestine or contraband, is prohibited; (e.) depôts and factories, surrounded by hedge and palisades, are specially directed to be built so that in remote Kiakhta such houses as the Dutch and the British merchants built in Surat, were reproduced. The fifth article provides for a college for the education of six Russian youths learning Chinese in Peking, for the maintenance of a Church in Peking at the expense of the Chinese government, and of a chief Russian priest with assistant priests. The Russian youths are to be permitted to learn Chinese and to return to Russia, the Russian youths already well-grounded in Russian and Latin. Thus Russian diplomacy secured a Resident at the Chinese Court without rousing suspicion and without wounding the national feeling of the Chinese. Our Imperial policy of India could not admit of a humble and quiet proceeding like this at the Court of the Ameer of Cabul. Cavagnari must needs parade his importance and his power as the Residents at the Indian Native Courts do. The sixth article lays down rules about the transmission of official correspondence to and from St. Petersburg and about the extradition of prisoners and brigands—Kiakhta being recognised as the central place of political and commercial action. The seventh

article states that a post marking the boundary line near the river Oude is to be maintained as it was, and it is competent to the officers of the empires to punish those who pass into or from the Chinese territory from or into the Russian territory. The eighth article states that commanders of either empire ought not to overlook the interests of their own governments through selfishness. The ninth article bears on the way in which ambassadors of either empire are to be received and officially treated. The tenth article provides for the prevention of all desertion, marauding, brigandage and for their due and prompt punishment.

The line of demarcation begins in the West near the river *Bouk-tourma* and ends in the East on the shore of the Okotsk. It is not merely a line. It is a dam of more than five fathoms in breadth, and it has been watched in the way the Indian preventive customs line was watched before Sir John Strachey abolished it. At different points guard-houses are built and watchmen stationed, and in inaccessible places ropes of horse-lines and posts are fixed; in short, because in these parts there is a great scarcity of population, the greatest care is taken to prevent the subjects of one empire from passing over into the territory of the other empire. Nay, all communications between the border tribes is totally prevented. Mogul horsemen who are Pugges, that is, sharp at tracing the foot-prints of thieves, regularly patrol along the boundary-line, and thus it is effectively guarded. The guard-houses are stationed at convenient distances, no thief, no animal, no subject can pass over without being detected. None is punished unless officers, both Russian and Chinese, come together, and are satisfied after investigation.

The following table shows the trade of the depot at Kiakhta as established by the treaty of 1727.

The year	Value of im-ports from China.	Value of ex-ports to China.	Duties collected.	Remarks.
1777	1,484,712	1,313,621	481,460	Because there is much contra-band trade, these are mere approximations, the real figures may rise to four millions of roubles.
1798	4,000,000 of silver roubles.	4,000,000 of silver roubles.		
1813	5,407,300 of silver roubles.	5,407,300		
1816	6,000,000 of silver roubles.			
1818	3,169,116	31,69,116	2,969,226	
1819	4,142,485	41,42,485	4,369,336	

On the subject of this trade conflicting statements are made. When the averages are taken, it appears that 40 lacks may be considered as the value of the imports and exports of a year.

The articles which the Russians take to Kiakhta are :—furs, peltry, sea-otter, fox sable and squirrel skins ; Russian, Polish, and German woolen cloths ; metals, cattle and Corn ; gunpowder and bullion. Russian merchants purchase English articles on the continent of Europe and send them on to Kiakhta. They are :—Cotton, Woolen Cloths, Camlets, bombazets, (all these amount to about 400,000 yards) muslins and white Manchester velverets (40,000 yards).

The articles which the Chinese depot at Kiakhta supplies are :—tea ( 66,000 chests ; each chest of 74 pounds), There are two kinds of tea, black and green. The first sells at 420 roubles a chest : the last at 500 to 600 roubles. On a pound of tea, a rouble is paid for duty to the Russians. Rhubarb and musk, taken from their Mogal subjects, are bartered also. The Chinese sell to the Russians the following :—silk manufactured ( raw is prohibited ), silk and cotton goods, porcelain, sugar candy, and tobacco.

All the trade-transanctions are carried on by means of barter. A great fair is held at Kiakhta commencing in the month of February and lasting for

two months. All the features of this fair are entirely Indian. Booths are erected in rows; carts loaded with commodities are brought in, and the goods are spread out or piled up in the booths. Alleys of shops irregularly grow up into fine streets. Chinese officers walk about enquiring into the quantity of goods brought in, and the duty to be paid to Government. The merchants noisily settle the prices of the articles bought and sold somewhat in this fashion: "Here are my cottons or porcelain" says a Chinese trader. "Here are my camlets," replies a Russian, and the bargain after much higgling is settled without the use of money. The pick-pocket plies his trade. The Policeman swaggers and bullies. A Chinese grandee, perhaps the Governor of Kiakhta himself, makes a progress through the immense bazar. Hotels and refreshment rooms, coffee houses and tea-houses, are irregularly and higgledy-piggledy scattered all over the ground, and occupied by traders clothed in various garments; Tartars, Pathans, Chinese Moslems, Tartar Russians, and Siberians salute each other, and camels blubbering every where aggravate the Babel of tongues which the representatives of different races raise.

On the boundary stand two towns opposite to each other. The one belonging to the Russians is called Kiakhta, and the other to the Chinese is called Mai Maichin. The arrangements made at these depôts show that both the Chinese and the Russians believe in the permanence of this trade, and of the route by which it is carried on. Near the two depôts two columns are raised, the Chinese column bearing the inscription Mai ye tchtu, which means a place of selling. Their town called Mai Mai tchin is regularly built, and is divided into squares. Nice gardens are laid out. In the centre, towers the palace of the Governor. Arrangements for bringing pure water from a distance have been made, as the water of the stream of the name of Kiatche is very muddy. On a large column notices are posted up.

Bells and pieces of metal are suspended on the edge of the roof. A soft breeze moves the bells, and produces a music of harmonious sounds which delights the passers-by. Though the houses are closely located, they are ventilated from the ceiling. The Chinese possess good business-like habits, though, as is usual with Europeans disposed to malign the Asiatics, the Chinese are considered to be cunning. The Chinese offer tea and sweet-meats to a stranger when he is seated in the drawing room, and the hospitality of the Chinese is noted everywhere. The houses have no glass-windows, but in the place of glass, paper and mica are used. On the whole, the Chinese, whether living alone or with their wives, keep their houses neat and clean, and decorate them with strange devices of their own, imprinted on the walls in bright colours which produce a pleasing effect. A great deal of business is quietly done in the yards of houses guarded by dogs, who, if not controlled carefully, will tear a stranger to pieces. Some of the Chinese know the Russian language well. Religious wants are not left unsupplied. Temples are built, at once commodious and well decorated, where the Buddhistic prayer is offered—*Om Ma Nyde*. During the day, there is free communication, but as soon as it is evening, a drum is beaten at Kiatcha, and also a fire-ball is raised in the yard of the Chinese Governor, when the gates of the depôt-town are closed, and every body retires home.

The Russian depôt-town is also in the form of a square. Towards the South there is a Chinese gate where the guard house, the Governor's residence, and the barracks, are located. A bazar built of wood occupies the centre. A chapel built of stone supplies the garrison's religious wants. The whole town and its suburbs are surrounded by a parapet wall. A special gate is appointed, and all merchandise is ordered to pass through it. In this respect, great circumspection is exercised. The Russians are careful in supplying adequate accommodation to all merchants, no matter to

what nationality they belong, and *serais* or places for the accommodation of strangers are built. In India the native passengers are treated in an off-hand way, and suffered to welter in mud and dust, while special accommodation is provided for Europeans, in the shape of traveller's Banglows. But such a distinction is not known in the Russian town of Kiatcha. Various tribes gather promiscuously in the suburbs, and transact their business of buying and selling undisturbed. The Russians are particular in their deference to the leaders of the different tribes.

In this way, commerce between China and Russia was carried on for about 30 years on the principle of a close monopoly. But in the year 1762 Catherine II. at once charming, bold, intriguing, and accomplished, made an attempt to abolish the monopoly. In the reign of Ivan IV, Siberia was annexed to the Russian empire. Thus for a period of nearly two hundred years, Russian activity was brought to bear on Siberia, and the Russians were early enough accustomed to boast that their country was the granary and dock-yard of Europe, because traders went to St. Nicholas and Archangel to purchase their grain, timber, hemp, and caviare, and that, without their aid, Europeans would die of hunger and of cold. Peter I. gave a new impulse to all departments of Russian polity; but the following extracts from his will are significant:—"We must be careful to keep up our commercial alliance with England, for she is the power which has most need of our products for her navy, and at the same time may be of the greatest service to us in the development of our own. We must export wool and other articles in exchange for her gold, and establish a permanent connection between her merchants and seamen and our own." Again, "We must hasten the downfall of Persia: push on to the Persian gulf; if possible, re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse with the Levant through Syria, and force our way into the Indies which are the

store houses of the world." We shall show further on how this policy of enlarging the empire and of extending its commerce was persistently and yet noiselessly carried out by Catherine II., when the monopoly system was given up. The energies of the Emperors, Paul, Alexander I, and Nicholas, were, though otherwise engaged, steadily directed to the establishment of Russian influence in Asia, till at last Russia reached the Western boundry of Chinese Tartary.

China recently waged a war with the Tartars in her usual way, planting trees, and establishing colonies, and she succeeded in recovering and rectifying her Northwestern frontier scientifically. She came at this stage in contact with Russia, after she had succeeded in overcoming the Tartars of Yarkand and Kasgar, and had reached the mountain range that shoots off from the Altai-system, and joins the Himalayas. Russia in her way sought to check for a time the progress of China by diplomacy, till at last the treaty of Kulja settled all the questions between the two empires. The treaty of Kulja can be easily summarized. The province of Kulja, it is true, was recognised as a Chinese possession. But China had to pay an indemnity of nine millions of metallic roubles, and agree to admit Russian traders within the great wall of China, and to conserve the interests of Russian trade. Russia can now station her consuls at all the important places to be named by herself over the whole of Chinese Tartary. The duty on Chinese tea imported into Russia is to be reduced. The reader will easily perceive that the commercial and political centre has been thus changed from Kiatcha to Kulja. It is from Kulja that Russia now distributes her articles of commerce, and it is from Kulja that she now imports Chinese commodities.

Thus the first large group of facts which constitutes the Central Asian question, namely the policy of Russia in relation to China, is presented to the reader.

Khiva, Khogend, Samarcand, Kokand, Tashkand, and other Khanates are now recognised Russian possessions, garrisoned by Russian troops, paying taxes to Russian officers, and looking up to St. Petersburg as their metropolis. The Russian operations which have achieved the enlargement of the Russian empire in this direction, constitute the second group of facts in this Central Asian question. We will briefly summarise their history so that their politico-commercial significance may be easily realised.

While Lord Auckland was engaged in carrying out the conditions of what is known as the tripartite treaty between Shah Suja, Ranjit Sing, and the British, and invading Afghanistan, General Perofski attempted to penetrate to Khiva from Orenburg in 1840. The distance between Khiva and Orenburg is only 400 miles of salt desert. The General marched at the head of 6,000 infantry. He had with him 10,000 baggage camels. The Russians had erected in 1839 a military station at the Ac Boulak about 100 miles from the Emba. This army suffered from cold, and the camels could not march through the snow. The troops were constantly overwhelmed by hurricanes, and did not reach Khiva. The British Government on their side were not slow in dogging the footsteps of Russia. Two British agents, Stoddard and Conolly, went to Bokhara, and were murdered in 1841.

In 1844 Czar Nicholas paid a visit to England. Lord Aberdeen, Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington were ministers at that time, and to them the Czar declared that what was even then called the Neutral Zone would be respected by Russia.

In the year 1857 the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara sent ambassadors to St. Petersburg to congratulate Alexander II., who had but recently become the Czar and autocrat of all the Russias, upon his accession to the throne. This opportunity was laid hold of, and the great general and statesman, who has lived long enough to play an important



part in Russian diplomacy both at Peking and in Constantinople,—General Ignatieff, led the second expedition to Khiva and Bokhara. The expedition marched from Orenburg, and passed by the west of Lake Aral, and penetrated to Khiva, but it failed ultimately to achieve its real aim, and was exposed to much suffering in its return journey. The Russians displayed great political and military activity in the years 1857-59, when India was involved in troubles of her own. Besides the military expeditions referred to above, two parties of exploration started from two different places,—the one from Orenburg under Verevkin, and the other from Semipalantisk under Tchernaiief. The object of these explorations was to join the Siberian road to that of Orenburg. While Ignatieff was engaged in diplomacy at Constantinople, Kaufmann carried on important operations between Orenburg and Samarcand. This excited the jealousy of England, and an angry correspondence passed between the Governments of England and Russia in 1869. Kaufmann's policy was continued by Skobelev, and when for political reasons, Skobelev was recalled, he was succeeded by Rohebergh, who has established his head-quarters (to use a military phrase) at Askabad. Russia now rules over Khiva, Khojend, Samarcand, Kokand and Taskand. What was called the Neutral Zone is now narrowed to the two small Khanates of Bokhara and Merv. Since the fall of Goek Tepe and the surrender of the Akkal Tekes, both these possessions are virtually under Russian protection. When the chronology of the military operations of Russia in Central Asia is analysed, it is seen first, that Russia has always been quiet till it discovered that the hands of the British rulers were tied, and their attention engaged in some war or other, and secondly, that each fresh advance has occurred generally at the interval of 12 years.

The civilization, the economy, and the political condition of these Khanates—are all mere continua-

tions of those of Sind under the Ameers. The tribesmen are always engaged in inter-tribal wars, and plundering raids. Small townships consisting of huts are owned by Ameers and Khans, who kennel with their horses and camels within their mud-walls. The climate is either extremely cold or extremely hot. Ignorant of the external world, and not aware of scientific warfare, they boast in their tribal meetings or Majlis that they are the most powerful rulers in the world, and barter away the products of their land in fairs held every week near their large towns or camps. Russia, therefore, can well boast that she undertakes a mission in conquering these Khanates, because self-aggrandisement and conquest are now-a-days politically justified as acts of benevolence. The conquerors seek only to ameliorate the condition of the conquered, and civilize them, though these last are practically demartialised, demoralized, and impoverished.

The third group of facts which constitute the Central Asian question in its relation to Persia can be easily summarised. As early as 1689, Peter I. led an expedition against Persia, but it failed to achieve any success. As soon as Nicholas became Czar in 1825, war was declared against Persia. After the usual vicissitudes incident to all wars, the treaty of Turkmantchai was concluded in 1828, and Russia enlarged her empire in the direction of Persia. The conditions of the treaty show clearly what the acquisitions of Russia were in this quarter.

1. Persia paid all the expenses of the war.
2. The provinces of Erivan and Nukhchivan were ceded to Russia,—an important fact, because Russia was thereby enabled to close in round the Caspian sea, and convert it into a lake entirely under her own control.
3. The fortresses of Erivan and Abbasabad were delivered into the hands of the Russians.
4. The river Arrass was fixed as the boundary between Russia and Persia.
5. Persia was bound to maintain no navy on the Caspian sea: the exclusive right of having a

navy on the Caspian was claimed as belonging to Russia *ab antiquo*. Thus the question of the command of the Caspian sea, and the independence of the Caucasian provinces between the Caspian sea and the Black sea, was finally disposed of. The acquisition by Russia of the Caucasian provinces established a connection between the Central Asian politics and the well-known Eastern question, because Russia could at any time penetrate into Asia Minor from this side. But Russia is also a near neighbour, to the Persian frontier on the eastern side of the Caspian sea. This frontier at first simply touched the Persian territory at a point. But Russian diplomacy, backed by the Russian Cossacks, has extended the point into a line. The river Atrak now forms the boundary between Persia and Russia,—a fact which exposes Meshed to Russian influence. Krasnovodask, a Russian sea-port on the eastern shore of the Caspian sea, was formerly used by Russia for penetrating into Central Asia, and acting on the flanks of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. It has been recently given up. Another sea-port of the name of Michailowsky is preferred because it is more contiguous to the Persian frontier. It directly leads to Kisil Arvat, and commands an interesting plateau, intersected by small perennial streams watering fertile townships, likely to grow into towns of commercial importance, when they are whistled into activity by the railways which Russia contemplates. The Atrak which forms at present the boundary between the Persian and the Russian territories, and which falls into the Caspian sea, takes its rise in this plateau. Numerous small streams flow hence in the direction of the river Oxus. The country between Teheran and Meshed is described as fertile and healthy. The Khanates of Merv and Bokhara with their dreary deserts are thus wholly turned aside. A route is chalked out, a new route which passes through a fertile country under the entire control of the Russians, and leading direct-

ly to Herat and the Afghan frontier, and which can command the trade of the Russian towns of Khiva, Khojand, Samarcand, Kokand, Tashkand, and Kulja. This is preeminently Central Asia, which touches at different points Turkey, Persia, Russia, China, and India,—the original plateau from which the Aryan races in remote antiquity spread out, and colonised Europe, Asia Minor, Persia, and India. History is repeating itself. The Indo-European races, flanked by the Turks and the Chinese, are preparing to fight once more the battle of civilization,—a battle which involves the highest interests of India, and which bids fair to quicken nationalities, dormant for centuries, into life again, and to include them within the area of European activity and progress.

The Central Asian question is an important factor in the political and commercial situation of India. India maintains an embassy at Teheran, and pays 1,00,000 Rs. a year towards its expenses, and Persia is directly affected by the aspirations of Russia. Anzenkoff's proposed railway passes through the north-eastern side of Persia to Herat. This railway line is the shortest and the most conveniently situated in relation both to the Orenburg line proposed by Lesseps, and the long-talked-of Euphrates valley-line. Ideas and conceptions travel faster and more directly by rail than by sea. Already the Moslem subjects of Asiatic Russia come in contact with the Indian Mahomedans, when they undertake a journey to Mecca via Bombay. We are assured by these pilgrims that the yoke of Russia is light, and is not vexatious. The Czar maintains a large military establishment in the Asiatic provinces, but leaves the indigenous internal economy of his Asiatic subjects intact, even to the police-arrangements. The Russian Moslems express their inability to understand the Anglo-Indian system of Government, which meddles in the internal economy of every town and village, and which imposes a vexatious and oppressive police upon the mild Moslems and Hindoos of India.

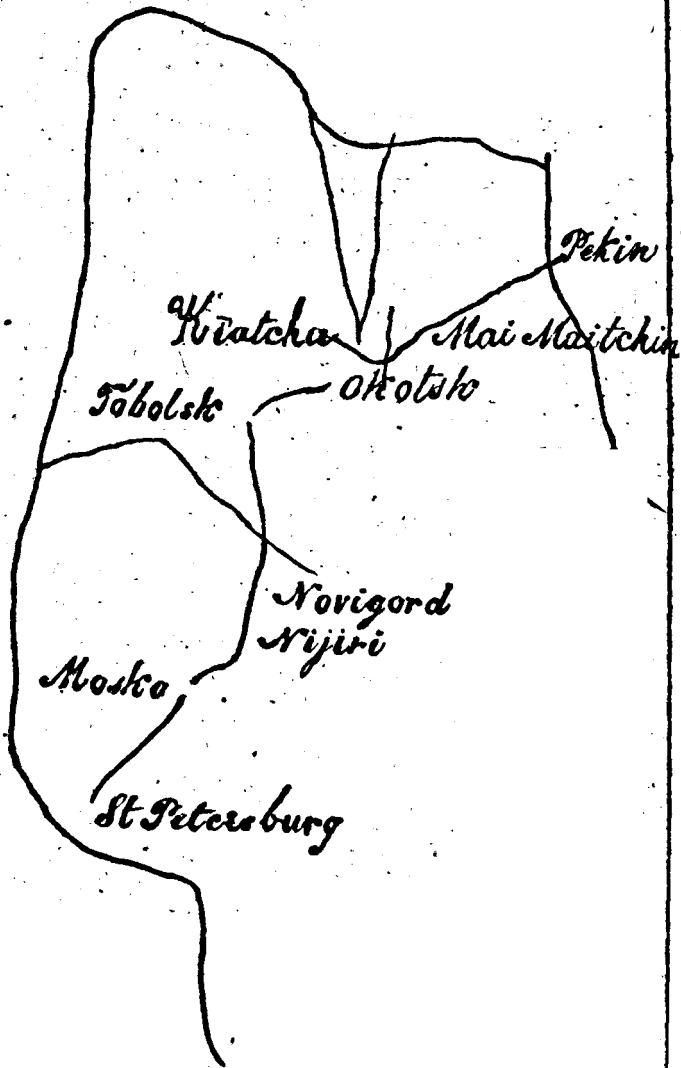
Persia grows opium, and Irani opium as distinguished from Kistvari, the opium of India, has begun to compete in the Central Asian markets. India exports many articles through Sind, and conveys them to the Khanates of Samarcand and Bokhara, where Hindu Baniyas of Shikarpoor have established themselves. Raw products, manufactured articles, and articles from Europe, are conveyed from the Indian frontier, and delivered to the inhabitants on the banks of the Oxus and its tributaries. Thus Indian cotton piece goods and manufactured silk find a market in Central Asia. India exports her indigo, her rice, and her tea, though, so far as tea is concerned, she has to compete with China. Refined sugar, brass, copper, and iron of foreign countries pass through India into Central Asia. Indian Baniyas manage this carrying trade, and find it profitable. Annenkoff's railway, which starts from Michailowsky on the Eastern shore of the Caspian sea, and proceeds to Kisil Arvat, and which has also a branch line penetrating into Persia, will communicate a new impulse to this trade, and develop it enormously. A Central Asiatic Bazar—opened in a locality which can command the Chinese route from Kulja passing through the Khanates, and at the same time easily bring together the commodities exported from India, and which can also command Persia, —will successfully compete with the European export and carrying trade. To such an event the Russians are looking forward with an earnest longing. The *Golos* once stated that the Russian overland-route would in time supplant the sea-route by which England trades with Asia. What was once a most unlikely contingency has in a short time almost become a reality.

Under these circumstances, we are gratefully thankful that our rulers feel disposed to review their Indian policy, and to reorganise their system of Indian Government. The old policy of blustering, and of assuming imperial airs, and of devising plans to humiliate and weaken the natives of India, and of excluding them from all consideration as if they were "dumb

driven cattle," has now been wisely abandoned. The time has come when the shackles of India should be relaxed, and when the Natives should be taken into confidence, when their proposals for conserving and improving their commercial and political condition should be carefully considered, when their aristocracy, which necessarily and naturally leads them, should be respected, and when the police arrangements and the Municipal and local Government of India should be placed on a better footing. India has now learnt to look about herself, to examine, to improve, and to aspire. With the accession of the Liberals into power, and the deputation of Lord Ripon and Major Baring to control the destinies of this country, the dawn of a better order of things has filled the land with hopefulness, and dispersed the gloom of war and humiliation. Having lost its own independence, India feels no miser's pleasure in seeing her neighbours deprived of their autonomy. But while her sympathies are with the suffering races, the great lessons of past history cannot be easily ignored. Asia must pass through the Caudine Forks of a surrender, temporary but complete, to the discipline of European forces, if she anxiously aspires to emerge into the fullness of her own great destinies in the near future. No great civilization has lasted long on its own indigenous resources. It is the conflict of stronger races which leads to the survival of the best and the fittest. Russia, and England, and in a remote way America and France, these are the great masters of the Asiatic, or rather the world's, situation for many hundred years yet to come, and the sooner their territories come into close contiguity, and are thrown into the whirlpool of national emulation in peace and war, the earlier will be the future deliverance. With the whole resources of England to back us, we, as the first-born of the converted Empires, must lead the van. Japan and China may segregate themselves into isolation for a time, but they in their turn must submit to the common doom. It is this hope of final deli-

verance which reconciles the millions of this land to their present situation, and spurs them on to higher and nobler activities, to be prepared to take advantage of the day now drawing so near, when we shall have civilized neighbours all round our borders, and railways shall penetrate the Himalayas, the Hindu Koosh, and the Caucasus mountains, and abolish the distinction of race and civilization which now separates Europe from Asia. This is the great moral of the Central Asian question, and both the rulers and the ruled will do well to lay it to heart, and gird up their loins for the coming struggle by conceding and meriting modified local independence, and disciplining the martial and moral strength of their respective subjects.

*Appendix to accompany*





## THE NATIVE CIVIL SERVICE CORRESPONDENCE.

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Now that, under the influence of liberal ideas, earnest efforts are being made to make amends for the reactionary measures and the tortuous policy adopted by Lord Lytton's Government, we think it is time to draw public attention to the insidious nature of the compromise effected by the late Government in the matter of the agitation for opening up the Convenanted Civil Service as a career for native ambition and talent. The correspondence on the subject of the Native Civil Service has not yet been officially published for general information. We have however obtained a sight of the papers, and we can well understand the reasons of state policy which deter the Government from publicly confessing its adherence to many of the views and suggestions contained therein. The fact was, that Lord Lytton and his colleagues, under the influence of imperialist ideas, sought eagerly for opportunities to reverse both the foreign and domestic policy which till then had been invariably professed, and to some extent carried out, by successive Viceroys, ever since the days of the great Mutiny, the policy of governing India in the interests of its own people, instead of subordinating them to the interests of the English governing class. The abolition of the cotton duties, the gagging of the Vernacular Press, saddling India with the responsibility and the cost of the Afghan War, the misappropriation of the famine insurance Fund, the proclamation of the Imperial title with pomp and ceremony at Delhi, while the fairest provinces of the Empire were devastated by famine and cyclonic eruptions, the enforced negotiations with the Native States in the matter of the salt and opium monopolies, all these measures were dictated by the same set of motives, which, if they had been openly avowed,

would have found but little support or justification in the moral sentiment and the political wisdom of the English people. They were all the vicious faults of a narrow bureaucracy which sought to govern one-sixth of the human race not in their own interests, but in the interest of its own selfish aggrandisement. This selfish bias was, however, never more clearly manifested than in the way in which Lord Lytton and his colleagues discarded the pledges and the promises of successive proclamations and Parliamentary Acts in regard to the concession of real equality to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the distribution of official patronage. The withholding of this equal recognition is a matter of small consequence by itself, but the motives which dictated this reactionary step have a far-reaching influence, and the correspondence on this subject is chiefly valuable as throwing light upon these hidden secrets of Imperial policy.

We propose in the following pages to give a precis of this correspondence without any lengthy comments, as we feel sure that its bare perusal cannot fail to carry conviction to all hearts without the help of any remarks of our own. As every body knows, the Civil Service was for the first time opened to Native ambition by the East India Company's Charter of 1833, which distinctly laid down that "no Native of India shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, colour, descent, or any of them, be disqualified from holding any place or office or employment under the East India Company." The Court of Director's interpretation upon this clause was to this effect. "The Court conceives this section to mean that *there shall be no governing caste in India*, that whatever other tests of qualification be adopted, distinction of race or colour shall not be of the number, that no subject of the Queen whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent shall be excluded, either from the posts usually filled by unconvenanted servants in India, or belonging to the covenanted service itself, provided he be other-

wise eligible." The charter, read in the light of this comment upon it, is quite explicit enough. In laying down that there shall be no governing caste in India, and that no post of the Covenanted Service itself shall be fenced round against Native ambition, it proclaimed a principle of policy of the highest consequence in the moral and political elevation of this country. The defect of this provision was that it did not fix any *modus operandi* by which the pledge could be practically enforced in respect of Native claims. This defect was supplied in 1853 when, for the first time, the Covenanted Civil Service was thrown open to public competition, to which all classes of Her Majesty's subjects were admissible under the same regulations. In 1858, the old pledges were renewed in the Proclamation which announced Her Majesty's will that "so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed shall be freely and impartially admitted to all offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge." Between 1858 and 1861, the Local Indian Governments made certain appointments of Natives to Covenanted posts, in contravention of Act XXXIII of George III., which reserved these same appointments to the Civil Service. This illegality was protested at the time by the members of the Civil Service, and in 1861 an Act of grace was passed legalizing these appointments, and permitting the Government in India under certain restrictions to appoint any person who had resided seven years in this country to any of the reserved posts.

It will be thus seen that the monopoly of the Civil Service was broken through in two different directions in the interests of the Natives of this country, first by open competition, and secondly by special nomination. The influence, however, of vested class interests was then, as it is now, too powerful to make it possible for the best intentions of English statesmen to result in any practical action out here in India. The appoint-

ments that had been made, though legalised, were shortly after cancelled, and as regards the door of open competition, no native of India obtained any admission for the first 12 years after the service was thrown open. In 1867, Sir Stafford Northcote had to observe with regret that no steps were taken to remedy the great administrative evil by which Native ambition in the service is at an early period of life shorn of all incentive to exertions by the bar set to further promotion. The Government of India in reply stated that they were fully alive to the urgent political necessity which the progress of education has created for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of their country. The creation of the posts of Extra Assistant Commissioners &c. had benefited the Europeans only, and not the Natives, as no native was advanced beyond the grade of Extra Assistant. The Government of India expressed its readiness to provide a larger scope for native ambition in the non-regulation Districts by promoting qualified natives to the rank and emoluments of Assistant Commissioners and Small Cause Court Judges. In regard to the regulation districts, the Government of India pleaded that its hands were tied down by law, and that Native administrative officers found it difficult to deal with independent Europeans within their jurisdiction. Sir Stafford Northcote, in his reply to this representation of the Government of India, observed that in his view there was ample room for carrying the principle of equality in official promotion into effect even in the regulation districts, and he directed the Indian Government to provide native officers in the service with higher and better paid appointments both in the regulation and non-regulation districts.

The question of official promotion rested in this condition for another ten years before it was taken up and distorted into a tortuous direction by Lord Lytton's Government. Meanwhile, the competition system was

bearing unexpected fruits. In 1864, the first Native candidate for the Civil Service passed the test, and came out to India two years after as a member of the Covenantant Civil Service. His success prompted others to follow in his footsteps. Notwithstanding the artificial barrier which was introduced about this time in the shape of a reduction in the age of the candidates, and some alterations in the subjects of competition to the prejudice of Native students, twelve more candidates succeeded in passing the test during the next 10 years. With a liberality and foresight which is still gratefully remembered, the Government of India, in the closing year of Sir John Lawrence's rule, devised its famous scheme of nine scholarships intended to help picked natives to complete their education in England by a course of three year's residence and study. Of these scholarships, three were opened to public competition in each of the three Presidency towns, and the other six were to be filled by direct nomination with the object not only to afford facilities for obtaining the University degrees and passing the Civil Service, but also to help the candidates to pursue the study of law, engineering, and medicine, or otherwise to enable the candidates to prepare themselves for the exercise of a liberal profession. The nomination scholarships were an important feature of this scheme, for the Government of India observed that in the present state of education it was not advisable to award all the scholarships by competition, as it was deemed to be a matter of great social and political consequence to give to the sons of Native gentlemen of rank and position a larger share of the advantages now offered than they would be likely to obtain under the competition system. It was sought by this combination of the competitive and nomination methods to solve finally the difficulties of the problem, and to satisfy all interests without encroaching upon the legal rights of the English candidates. It was indeed a most noble settlement, which did credit to the liberal

instincts of the conservative Government of the time which sanctioned, though late in the day, this partial adoption of the Chinese and Japanese system of training the Natives of this country in the arts and sciences of the West, and if the scheme had only been allowed to work uninterruptedly for a score of years, or even for a decade, it would have ensured results of the highest permanent value.

But this was not to be. The Duke of Argyll, representing in this respect the bureaucratic feeling, put his veto upon this scheme under the plausible pretext that it did not secure all the advantages which the Natives had a right to expect, and later on he directed the suspension of the scheme within a year from its first promulgation. The Duke urged that the only justification for the scholarship scheme was found in the fact that the Civil Service Regulations practically denied admission to the Natives into the higher administrative service of their country. This unfavorable condition of things would change for the better if the Government of India was empowered by law to admit Natives of proved merit and ability to offices exclusively confined to the Covenanted Service. For the first time the doctrine was officially broached that, though education in England and success in public competition were good tests for Europeans, they were not equally applicable in the case of natives, for among them races, most backward in education, are superior in vigour and courage in administration to the more intellectual races. For these reasons it was asserted that England's duty towards India in this connection must mainly be discharged in India by careful selection and promotion of men of tried ability and experience to the Covenanted posts. Such selections would be least beset with difficulty, and would be a competitive examination of the best kind. It must be said to the credit of the Government of India that it protested against the suspension of the scholarship scheme, and represented that this interference with its working would

disappoint the expectations of large classes of the people, and give occasion to much misrepresentation of the motives of government, which was a result to be deprecated on many accounts. The Duke of Argyll gave no heed to these protests, and only intimated that the proposed Legislation would satisfy all just expectations, and at his suggestion his Bill was passed into law in March 1870, by which men of proved merit and ability were declared eligible to fill all posts in the Covenanted Service to which Government might appoint them, under rules which were to be prepared with that view by the Government of India.

In 1872, the then Secretary of State inquired if the Government of India had made the rules contemplated by the Act of 1870. The principles on which these rules were to be made were stated at length in this Despatch from the Duke. They were (1) that natives should not be eligible alike to all posts, (2) that a large proportion of official posts should be always filled by Europeans, (3) that the proportion of the natives should be different in the judicial and in the Executive Service, being larger in the one and smaller in the other than the average fixed, (4) and lastly, that the pay of Native incumbents should not be the same as that of the Europeans. The Government of India took no action in respect of these rules till May 1878, when Lord Lytton for the first time turned his attention to this subject, and gave a direction to it which was not contemplated by any of the authorities in India or in England during the past twenty-five years.

After referring to the previous correspondence, Lord Lytton expressed himself to be in favour of a scheme proposed by Sir Ashley Eden who was then, as he is now, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The principal points of Sir Ashley Eden's scheme may be thus summarised.

1. A close Native Civil Service should be

established to which a proportion of the posts now held by the covenanted service should be transferred, and the number of admissions to the Indian Civil Service in England should be reduced by a similar proportion.

2. To this close Native Service the higher appointments in the uncovenanted departments should also be transferred.

3. The appointments to this close service should be made by nomination, and not by competition. For the first few years old servants of government might be posted to these appointments, but afterwards the service should be strictly closed against all outside admission.

4. Posts held by Natives should be paid less than the corresponding posts held by Europeans.

5. The nomination should be made by the Local authorities, though the final appointments should rest with the Viceroy.

Lord Lytton, in recommending this scheme to the notice of the Secretary of State, observed that the appointment of Natives of proved merit and ability to covenanted posts, which alone was contemplated by the Act of 1870, did not suffice to meet the object which the Government of India had in view, as it excluded untried persons whom, from a political point of view, it was desirable in the public interest to attract to British rule by offering them a career. It was further observed that appointments by open competition or nomination into the Indian Civil Service created opposition in the English members of the Service. It was therefore suggested that the two services should be separately constituted, and no possible occasion left for friction. It was accordingly proposed to reserve 15 per cent of the Covenanted Service posts, and from 10 to 20 percent of the uncovenanted service, for the new and close Native Civil Service. This was in Lord Lytton's opinion the only way to redeem the pledges given to Natives without disappointing Europeans in



their just expectations, and at the same time recognizing the Imperial necessity of employing Europeans exclusively in the higher posts.

Both Sir Ashley Eden and Lord Lytton contemplated that the creation of such a separate service would justify Government in closing the covenanted service to native competition in England. And this measure was accordingly recommended in the strongest terms as being correct in principle, and useful in practice, for it was urged that it was highly objectionable to encourage natives to enter a service which ostensibly offered them, as legitimate objects of ambition, the chance of occupying posts which, neither at present, nor for centuries to come, they can be safely entrusted with in the interests of foreign rule. Leaving this door open to native ambition only created an uncertainty which tended to foster a growing dissatisfaction on the part of the Natives, and chronic irritation on the part of Europeans, who could never be expected to serve cheerfully under Native superiors. These difficulties would cease if the competition in England were closed to the Natives, and their admission here into a separate service was regulated by nomination. The Government of India was fully aware that their proposals ran counter to the Legislative and Executive promises first given in 1833, and subsequently repeated in 1853, 1858, 1861, and 1870, and therefore suggested that their proposals should be carried out by express legislation.

The Secretary of State in his reply stated that, while he concurred generally with the leading features of the scheme as proposed by the Government of India, he would not take upon himself to ask Parliament to undo all previous legislation, as it was impossible that any Parliament would consent to repeal its own deliberate acts. He however suggested that the objects of the Government of India could be carried out equally well without recourse to legislation. There was nothing in the Act of 1870 which limited the field

of selection to such natives as had proved their ability in subordinate service. It was quite competent to the Government of India to appoint any number of natives in the first instance as probationers, and reduce the Civil Service indents by that proportion. The Secretary of State was of opinion that the measure would be popular with the Natives, as it would place them on a footing of social equality with the Covenanted Civil Servants, without clashing with the vested interests and expectations of English officers. It would moreover avoid the necessity of raising the salaries of uncovenanted posts, and secure an efficient system of official training, which was found so useful in the public service of India. With regard to the objection urged by the Government of India that it would be impossible to enforce proper subordination on the part of European officers towards their Native superiors, the Secretary of State observed that this difficulty was not experienced in other countries, such as Turkey, and Egypt, and he might have added China and Japan. In these countries, Englishmen of the highest character were found willing to accept subordinate positions under native authorities, and discharged their duties without friction. The right of admission into the service gave no claim to any particular office, and every appointment must be regulated by a due regard to public interests. With regard to the difference of salaries, which was one of the recommendations of Lord Lytton's scheme, the Secretary of State observed, that it would be invidious to make any distinctions dependent on race or color, at the same time it was due to the European members of the service that they should get more pay for expatriating themselves. It was therefore suggested that these conflicting considerations might be reconciled by fixing the permanent salaries at the same amount, and allowing to the Europeans an addition to their salaries under some neutral denomination in consideration of their serving in a foreign country.

It will be seen from this reply of the Secretary of State to the representations of the Government of India, that the authorities in England were in every way more actively alive to the responsibilities of their position than Lord Lytton's Government. It was their interference which alone prevented a reversal of the pledges and guarantees, so often repeated in Proclamations and Acts of Parliament, about the equality of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the matter of official preferment. It is true the same Secretary of State who penned this Despatch carried out the views of the Government of India in a more indirect and insidious manner by sanctioning a further reduction of age to a point which made it morally impossible for any native candidates to secure their admission by public competition into the Indian Civil Service. This reduction of age was carried out and persisted in notwithstanding the protest of India's friends in Parliament, and the great educational authorities in England. Out of more than one hundred persons whose views were consulted on the point both in India and in England, an overwhelming majority declared themselves against the policy of further reduction as prejudicial to the best interests of both countries, but these remonstrances produced no effect, and as a matter of fact for the last four years no Indian candidate has found it possible to appear with any chance of success at the so-called open public competition. Though the views of the Government of India have been thus carried out by an adroit manœuvre, we are free to confess that it would have been a greater public misfortune if the suggestion of the Government of India openly to close the competition to native ambition had been carried out in its original form, as it would have legalized both in practice and in theory the hateful government by caste, against which the Court of Directors had so emphatically pronounced fifty years ago.

We now come to the close of this correspondence. The Government of India in May 1879 passed their

final resolution on the subject. In deference to the views of the Secretary of State, they professed to have abandoned the idea of creating a separate service, which would have involved the prospect of raising the pay of a large number of uncovenanted posts. They fixed the proportion of Native Civil Servants at one-sixth of the new admissions by competition every year, and the indentments upon England were reduced by the same proportion. The new Native Civil Servants nominated by Government were to serve on probation for two years, and after that period were eligible to fill all appointments except the posts of District Magistrates, Divisional Commissioners, and Secretaries to Government. The candidates were to be selected chiefly for family considerations, though educational and professional attainments and official experience were not to be entirely kept out of view. The actual selections made for the first year by Lord Lytton's Government were principally regulated by a regard for family status and position, and the same consideration has influenced the last two years' nominations. The question of salaries has been provisionally, though not finally, settled by a deduction of one third from the pay drawn by the corresponding grades of the European officers. Sir A. Arbuthnot and Sir Andrew Clarke gave in their adhesion to the suggestion made by the Secretary of State, that the salaries of both European and Native officers should be uniformly fixed at this proportion of two-thirds of their present pay, and that the English officers should draw one-third more during their stay in India as remuneration for their living in exile. This suggestion does not appear to have met with the approval of the other members of Lord Lytton's Government. Finally, the Government of India expressed themselves to be unfavourable to the plan proposed by the Secretary of State of requiring the Native probationers to go to England to complete their qualifications. This final resolution of the Government of India was approved by the Secretary of State, and the

long delayed rules were accordingly framed to give effect to its provisions. These rules contained an express clause that the Native Civil Servants should be ineligible to fill the posts of Secretaries to Government, District Collectors, and Divisional Commissioners. The Secretary of State found it again necessary to interfere by vetoing this rule, as he deemed it undesirable to exclude natives from any particular offices by law. Under the rules so amended, the nominated native Civilian must be a native of the country as contemplated by the Act of 1870. He must be as a rule below twenty-five years of age, must serve on probation for two years, and thereafter if he gives satisfaction, and passes the examination tests, may be promoted to any post, generally in the same province in which his selection is made, subject however to exclusion from the service if found disqualified.

This despatch from the Secretary of State closed the correspondence on the subject, and for the last three years the question has been allowed to rest on the basis laid down in this despatch. Counting our gains and losses, it will be seen from the most cursory attention to the subject that the losses more than counterbalance the gains, and that but for the timely interference of the Secretary of State, we were in imminent danger of forfeiting even the appearance and profession of equality which has been the distinguishing characteristic of the administration of British India during the past century. The solution, such as it is, has failed to satisfy Native aspirations, and it has practically saddled the country with the government of a ruling caste, with all the inequalities in rights and privileges which political caste brings in its train. A few scions of the old nobility of the country have been provided with subordinate posts, and draw between 200 and 300 rupees a month. Against this questionable gain, we have to set the loss in the moral and political status of the candidates, involved in the reduction of pay and privileges,

while the public competition in England has at the same time been practically closed on account of the reduction of age. The Natives of India did not ask for any exceptional favours, their prayer has always consistently been that they should be treated on a footing of perfect equality with Englishmen, subject to the same chances and risks. Englishmen who pass their examinations in England stay two years then as probationers qualifying for Indian service. These two years are superfluous in the case of Native candidates, and might safely be added to the minimum of age, so as to raise it to 21, which was the period for admission four years ago. If this minimum be raised as suggested before, and the examination be held at the same time in India and in England, subject to the same tests, all Native grievance on this subject will be removed once and for all time. Nominated candidates, chosen for family considerations, will never come up to the highest standard of efficiency required in the interests of public service, and the method of selection is itself so liable to abuse, and is fraught with so much demoralization, that we do not wonder Lord Lytton's solution of this question has failed to give satisfaction. It will be a considerable improvement upon the present plan if the selected candidates are required to proceed to England, and stay there for two years to complete their education. Being born and brought up in India, these men, however favoured by nature and social status, will never attain the moral stature of Englishmen, unless they pass some years in the healthy and free atmosphere of English society. We feel sure that, before many years elapse, the ruling authorities will find out their mistake. The precis of the correspondence we have summarized above more than justifies the hostile attitude assumed on this question by the unanimous public sentiment of India. Bureaucracy has had its triumph once, and may triumph again, but the day of reckoning will soon come. No alien Government can afford to rule long over a whole continent on the principle of caste exclu-

sion. Religious as well as political caste is doomed, and the day cannot be far off when the free traditions of England will dispose the great English nation to acknowledge the justice of the claim urged on behalf of India in the interests of equality and civil emancipation.

## CURRENT LITERATURE.

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'INDIAN Problems for English consideration' is the title of a very thoughtful letter addressed to the Council of the National Liberal Federation by Mr. Digby, the well-known retired Madras Editor, and Honorary Secretary to the late Indian Famine Relief Fund in the Southern Presidency. It is a very honest and outspoken exposition of the present condition of the country, and unlike similar attempts which have proceeded from the world trotters' superficial notes of travel, or the professional apologists of the existing condition of things, it enters into the very root of the questions which agitate this country, and ends with a practical proposal to solve once for all the Gordian knot of Indian misery. By a strange irony of fate, the party, which secured the triumph of civil liberty in England, has under the leadership of the old aristocratic Whigs, too often been identified in British Indian history with notable advances in absolute power, and one's first impressions are not very favourable to a movement which appeals to liberal instincts to accomplish the work of Indian reform. There can be no doubt, however, that the Liberal banner unfurled by such men as Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett has been the beacon of hope and the torch of light to guide Indian aspirations into the path of progress and national regeneration, and the reversal of Lord Lytton's policy, brought about by the accession of the Radical Liberals to power, justifies the expectation that the old anomaly will never recur again to disturb the harmony which should exist between those who strive for liberty in India, and their great masters who have won the struggle in England. The key-note of Mr. Digby's advocacy is struck in his frank acceptance of the great maxim of Indian policy, more often honored in the breach than in the observance, namely that British rule has no moral justification in India, except so far as it seeks to elevate and prosper India.



and promote the interests of her people. Judged by this standard, the history of British rule is not such a glorious record of success as optimist politicians of Dr. Hunter's and Sir R. Temple's type in vain strive to make it out. The good that has been accomplished is the minimum of what might have been achieved, and even that little has been due more often to chance and unconscious influences than to settled deliberate purpose, and there is a heavy set-off on the other side of the account. Mr. Digby's exposition of the present condition of India and of its people is masterly in its thoroughness and accuracy of details. After paying a noble tribute to the law-abiding, patient, thrifty, sober, and kindly nature of the people in all ranks of life, he enunciates three great facts of recent history attested by official records, which startle one by the grim truth of their unrelieved desperation;— (1) that 40 millions of people in India are insufficiently fed, and do not know what it is from year's end to year's end to have their appetites fully satisfied; (2) that during the last 20 years, nine millions of people have died from want of food; and (3) that the national debt, and with it national taxation, has doubled or trebled during the same period. The contrast between England and India in their economical arrangements is forcibly illustrated in this connection. Ninety per cent of the Indian population is agricultural and rural, while the corresponding proportion in England is less than 40. This vast population, so entirely thrown for their very livelihood upon the land, is dense beyond conception when compared with the agricultural resources of a poor husbandry. This population, moreover, is growing steadily poorer, with the exhaustion of the soil, the decay of manufactures, and the increase of taxation. The rate of wages has not kept pace with the rise of prices, and the standard of life in the matter of food, clothing, and living is undergoing a steady deterioration. As a consequence of these conditions, famines and famine mortality have

become normal conditions of life in a way never known before, and model provinces are ruined and depopulated under a so-called scientific system of settlement and administration, and heavy recurring deficits have to be faced every two out of three years. The taxes have been nearly doubled in thirty years, and the drain on the life-blood and savings of India has risen by the same ratio. This is the hard shell of the great Indian problem, which is made harder still to crack because of the entire absence of fellow-feeling on the part of the rulers towards the ruled. In the absence of this understanding, no efforts, however honest and enlightened, can help to bridge the chasm which separates success from failure. The Indian people in the ranks of its agricultural, mercantile, professional, and educated, classes has a vitality of power and a susceptibility to nobler influences, which if they were only called out to the help of the rulers, could achieve apparent impossibilities. Mr. Digby thinks that the English public opinion errs from lack of information. No doubt to a great extent this is true, but our own diagnosis of the real malady is that they err because they do not feel sufficient interest in the well-being of their greatest dependency. Whatever may be the true explanation, the remedy is identical. No great reform has the smallest chance of success in India, unless the English public opinion rouses itself to take a lively and intelligent interest in Indian matters, and this it will not do while India is governed on the principle of *no party*. English political sentiment has been so long accustomed to move in party grooves, that unless Indian questions find a place on the English platform, and become the watch-words of party struggles, the full flood of light and earnest attention will never be turned in the direction of India to the exclusion of local and borough interests. We therefore heartily endorse Mr. Digby's recommendation to the Liberal Federation to inscribe "Justice for India" on its militant banner, and vigilantly watch Indian affairs, and keep itself well informed on

Indian matters by free correspondence with, and affiliation of, Indian Political Associations, and secure the intelligent co-operation of English electors, and bring their pressure to bear upon the House of Commons. A mixed standing Committee of both Houses, with power to audit the measures of the India Office, has also been suggested as an alternative to the existing Indian Council. We do not sympathize with this latter suggestion. We think the better plan would be to enlarge the Indian Council by the admission of Indian representatives, and permitting these Indian delegates to have a voice, though not a vote, in parliamentary debates. Ten representatives from India will not disturb the balance of the English House of Commons. And even this risk might be avoided by finding room for these Indian Representatives in the House of Lords. We however freely confess that we do not build our future on this distant hope. The real struggle will have to be fought out in India, and it is in the enlargement of the Indian Legislative Councils that all our hope for a better future is centred. Mr. Digby proposes to have a Council consisting of the ex-officio executive councillors, supplemented by the addition of the ex-officio Collectors, and a due proportion of nominated and elected European and native members. We do not approve of the suggestion regarding the ex-officio Collectors. The District Local Fund Committees, enlarged and liberalized under the new decentralization schemes, will be in a position to send their representatives to the Council. This will supply the conservative element, and the liberal element will be effectively supplied by the representatives of the large City Municipalities. These two elements, with a due admixture of the ex-officio and nominated members, will be for a long time to come a sufficient representation of all interests. For instance, the eighteen districts of this Presidency, excluding Sind, will furnish eighteen members, the large City Municipalities of Bombay, Poona, Sholapoor, Surat, Ahmedabad, and Nagar,

will furnish ten, and the Government will be at liberty to have an equal number of its own official and nominated members. A House of about 60 members, will be a very respectable assembly of notables. These should have no power over the details of administration, except so far that the members should have a right of interpellation in regard to executive questions. New taxes, and new legislation should not be sanctioned without full discussion in this assembly. Such a concession will soon work a revolution in the present stagnation of Indian affairs. The suggested reform is safe and practical, and will teach the people of India the great lesson of identifying themselves with the Government, and the self-reliance and solidarity, engendered by the growth of this feeling, will be the salvation of the country against internal disorder and foreign invasion.

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#### BUTLER'S METHOD OF ETHICS.

Professor Selby of the Deccan College has published his notes of lectures on Butler's Analogy and Sermons in a pamphlet form, and while we admire the independence of spirit shown by the learned author, we cannot but regret that the young students of the Deccan College are fed on such sceptical pabulum in the most plastic period of their life. Professor Selby evidently belongs to the most advanced school of English speculation on moral philosophy, and it goes without saying that in such hands Butler's Sermons and Analogy are entirely misplaced. Professor Selby, from his points of advanced thought, looks down upon those who believe in immutable principles of right and wrong, as labouring under a delusion. There are according to him no such principles. He goes further, and proceeds to lay down that our conscience is a varying quantity, and is the result of inherited experiences of what makes or does not make for happiness. The next step to this, and Professor Selby makes no secret of his views, is to deny

that God, as revealed in nature and man, is a perfectly good, wise, and Almighty Being, as Hindus and Christians, Musalmans and Parsis, have for thousands of years believed him to be. The moral government of the world by a system of rewards and punishments in the present and future states of existence is of course also a hallucination of faith. Mr. Mill's dilemma of God being either deficient in goodness or power is accepted by Professor Selby as unanswerable, and equally unanswerable is the conflict between human freedom and divine goodness in the explanation of the origin of evil and sin. There is no ground to hope that our souls do not perish with the body. Man is not made in the image of God, and while it is a fallacy to argue about the divine nature from human analogies, Professor Selby throws out a suggestion that human knowledge must in its nature be relative, and can have no absolute standard of correctness. We are thus landed on the dreary alternative of agnosticism, which the young students are taught to accept as the final word of science on the grave mysteries of life and thought, and man's hopes of personal communion with God are laughed away to make room for an inane faith in evolution, and the law of collective developement and progress.

We do not feel disposed to question Professor Selby's right to his own honest convictions, but it is certainly a matter of regret with us that his position as teacher in one of our leading institutions should give him unusual opportunities to sap the foundations of his students' faith in matters of such grave import. Neither in his Analogy nor in his Sermons did Butler announce a complete theory of morals and theology. His object was to demonstrate the unreasonableness of a certain class of thinkers, who were satisfied with a certain measure of certitude in practical life, and were disposed to be more fastidious in exacting greater certitude in respect of the foundations of religion and morals. Butler argued not so much from his own

positive stand-point, as from the stand-point of his opponents, and showed that on their own principles, their own and absolute morality were matters of reasonable certainty, sufficient for the purposes of the understanding and for practical conduct. With this limitation Butler's position is unassailable. To seek to assail it on the ground that Butler did not possess the historic sense, and that his knowledge of physiology was not so complete as that of Professor Bains, appears to us to be an entire misapprehension of the purpose and scheme of Butler's writings. The empirical school of moral philosophy seems to us to take no account of the fact that the moral sense in men was a living fact long before society in its most rudimentary form existed; and even if by some conceivable mischance mankind were ever reduced in numbers to such an extent as to leave only two intelligent human beings on earth, morality would have as absolute a scope as it is allowed to have in the present day. On the theory of the greatest happiness school morality would have no place in a society composed of two members only, for if the loss of one was exactly balanced by the gain of the other, the distinction between virtue and vice would have no foundation. The fact appears to us to be that both the absolute and the empirical schools of moralists represent half the truth, and that while, on the one hand the moral sense is a rudimentary germ with which man is endowed as a part of his social nature, on the other hand its peculiar development is dependent on historic conditions. Transmission by heredity and accumulated experience is admitted even by the empirical school to have made the moral sense an intuitive and absolute guide for conduct, which was the great purpose Butler had in view. This concession furnishes a sufficient foundation for his system. Whatever the origin or the historic explanation of it may be, conscience is admitted by both the schools to be an authoritative monitor and arbiter in matters of duty, and there is no exaggeration in saying that it is

the divine voice in man's heart. Even Mr. Mill has been compelled to admit that there are differences of kind, and not of degree only, between selfish and unselfish satisfaction, between the pleasures of the sense and the pleasures of virtuous conduct. Belief in the moral government of a perfect Being, and in the immortality of the soul, have made civilized man what he is at present found to be, and whatever may be the case with a few great thinkers, mankind generally can only be saved by this saving faith.

Professor Selby's second lecture is devoted to the consideration of Butler's theory of Life according to Nature, and is to a large extent merely an abstract of Mr. Mill's Essays on Nature. We have little fault to find with this discussion of the fallacy involved in the use of a misleading phrase. At the same time, both Mr. Mill and Professor Selby appear to us to overlook the fact that nature, as here understood, is not the inert mass of matter, nor the animal propensities in man. It is the higher nature which makes man human, that is, his social nature, which is the rule of conduct prescribed for guidance by Butler and those who think with him on this point. It is the human part of man's nature, which, in its highest development, constitutes his conscience, as understood, by Butler. This is the key to the whole series of Butler's Sermons, and is the foundation of what he has rightly called the constitutional government of the heart. Brutal appetites, enlightened selfishness, generous benevolence, and lastly the sense of duty, all these form so many gradations of power, each weaker in strength, but higher in authority, in the order mentioned above. It is their harmonious action, not in proportion to their strength, but in proportion to their authority, which constitutes the essence of moral conduct. Historically, all these gradations of power may possibly be traced to the same simple feeling of self-defence. But this simple explanation, however valuable in theory, fails as a guide in determining the practical conduct of a

fully developed social man, and the guidance of practical conduct was the great end and aim of Butler's system. Man may have been developed from the ape or the baboon by a principle of natural selection and the survival of the strongest, but for our present practical purposes, the two varieties of ape and man are essentially distinct. We cannot crawl on our bellies, nor hop like birds, nor wag our tails, nor can bird, reptile, or beast, speak or laugh or think as we do. We have lost some powers, and others have become our natural birth-right. In the same way, absolute morality may be a development or evolution dependent for its growth upon the social environment, but, the growth of conscience being accomplished, it must be recognised as a fact of our nature, and dealt with accordingly. Hindu students especially need the strengthening influence which faith in God, and in conscience as His voice in the human heart, alone can give. The national mind can not rest in agnosticism. The experiment was tried once on a large scale by the greatest moral teacher of this or any other age. The failure of Buddhism is a warning that such teaching can have no hold on the national thought. At least young men in their school and College days are not fit subjects for such an experiment. Agnostic and atheistic teaching is certainly out of time at the most plastic period of youth, and can only result in a perversion of the understanding and the decay of all moral earnestness. The keen perception of this national danger is our only excuse for reviewing these lectures in a political periodical. The young men of each generation have in their hands the making of their country's future. Our Colleges are already cried down as places of godless education, and if the neutrality of the Government system of instruction is turned to account for the propagation of agnostic teaching, this charge will be to a great extent substantiated. We trust both professors and students will bear this view of the matter in their



mind, and avoid all overt occasions for such an outcry.

The Travancore Administration Report for 1879-80 is, like its predecessors, a most business-like record of the uniform prosperity and progress with which this remote part of the country has been blessed during the last twenty-five years. The Report records the last year's work of Diwan Nanu Pillay's Administration, Before the end of the year, the old Maharaja was gathered to his fathers on the 31st May 1880, and, as the rightful-heir apparent was incapacitated by mental disorder, was succeeded by the next Prince H. H. Rama Varma on the 17th June 1880. The Diwan's office also changed hands about the same time. It reflects the greatest credit on the administration that these changes took place without the least disturbance, and as a matter of course. No flourish of trumpets announced the events, even the record of the accession to the throne of the new Prince is relegated towards the close of the year's narrative of administrative results. Travancore has been specially favoured in respect of the choice of its rulers. The old Maharaja ruled for 20 years in undisturbed tranquillity, and, in the words of the report, the country under his rule enjoyed unexampled prosperity, and made rapid progress in all directions. His relations with the Paramount Power continued friendly to the last, and the *Fort St. George Gazette* in its obituary notice testified the sense of the Madras Government when it characterized his "reign as having been marked by the development of wise and enlightened principles of administration, which have placed Travancore in the first rank of Native States." The present ruler combines an equally high sense of duty, and of the responsibilities of his exalted position, with unflagging zeal and devotion to public interests. His full title sets forth in a short compass the long history of this ancient Hindu State. His Highness Rama Varma is Shree

Padmanatha Das, ( the slave of God ), Vanchi Boula ( apparently a Malayalam title ), Kool Shekhara ( the ornament of his line ) Kirtipati, ( the Lord of glory ) Munay Sultan ( a Mahomedan title ), Raj Rajah Maharaj Ram Raja ( King of Kings, and like King Ram ), Bahadur Shamsheer Jung ( a Mahomedan title ), Maharaja of Travancore. On his accession to the throne, this Prince repeated the well-known words of Lord Ripon that " it did not become him who putteth on his armour to boast or make large promises. He preferred that their judgment should be pronounced intelligently and fairly upon his conduct when they had been able to judge of him by his acts." These acts of H. H. were eminently noteworthy of the generous nature of the man. In commemoration of his accession to power, he remitted 8 or 9 lacks of arrears of revenue which were long left to hang over the heads of the ryots, unnecessarily encumbering the accounts, and affording opportunities for exactions on the part of inferior officers. He lowered the import duty on Coimbatore and Jallna tobacco to discourage smuggling and prevent demoralization. He increased the salaries of those public servants who received inadequate remuneration, refunded judicial deposits which had been unadjusted for years together, and appointed a committee to codify the laws. These forms of commemoration are certainly more welcome than the nine days' wonder of a profuse hospitality and feasting of strangers which has found favour in certain other quarters.

As we have reviewed at length the details of Travancore finance in one of our previous numbers, we do not think it necessary here to set forth the same particulars. Suffice it to say that Travancore has a revenue of about 65 lacks, and an expenditure of 60 lacks, leaving 5 lacks as an annual saving, which swells the total of past years' balances to 51 lacks. The land revenue shows a total of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  lacks, or about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the entire receipts. Salt revenue is the next large item,

and realized nearly 15 lacs, tobacco duty yielded nearly 9 lacs, the cardamum monopoly 5 lacs, customs returned  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, stamps 3 lacs, liquor excise 2 lacs, timber and miscellaneous revenue 8 lacs, and interest on government paper realized one lac. Out of these receipts, about 10 lacs were spent on the Devasthan and charitable institutions, about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lacs represented the palace expenditure, 8 lacs were paid as subsidy to the British Government,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  lacs were spent on Public Works, the civil establishments cost about 9 lacs, while the Nair troops showed an expenditure of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lacs on the military establishment. Pensions absorbed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lacs, while education, science, art, and medical hospitals, were provided for by an expenditure of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lacs. There are not less than 50 hospitals and dispensaries in the state, where nearly a lac of in-door and out-door patients were treated and cured. Nearly 30,000 boys and girls were educated in 584 state and aided Vernacular Schools, and it is a noteworthy fact that of this number, more than one third were Native Christians, and about an equal number were Shudras, while only 5 per cent were Brahmins. Besides these Vernacular Schools, there were 11 High Schools and 22 Anglo-Vernacular district schools, and one College. The trade of Travancore by land and sea was represented by the respectable figure of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of Rupees, of which figure nearly 85 lacs were exports, and 47 lacs imports. There are 15 ports in the state where vessels touch, and the number of vessels engaged in the coasting trade was 616, with a tonnage of 177,102 tons. We must bring this brief review here to a close. H. H. the Maharaja is shortly expected to visit these parts on his way to Benares, and we are sure all classes will join together to accord a hearty welcome to a ruler so highly endowed, and also representing such a glorious line of ancestors.

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# 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.

NAGARKAR'S WADA, NEAR VISHRAMBAG.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

## AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO POONA.

As previously arranged His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore arrived at Poona by special train on the morning of Tuesday the 7th February last. The train was late, as though timed to arrive at 8-30 A. M. it did not arrive till shortly before 10 A. M. Mr. Newnham, Agent for Sirdars in the Decan, Mr. Robertson, Commissioner, Central Division, and a few other officers, including Rao Bahadur Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Mr. C. W. Richardson, Mr. Wamon Abaji Modak, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Mr. Kyte and Rao Saheb Narso Ramchandra Godbole, were present on the platform to accord His Highness an official reception. Besides this a select deputation from the Sarvajanic Sabha, consisting of Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lakshuman Nulkar, Chairman of the Sabha, Rao Bahadur Sirdar Viziarangam Mudliar, Mr. Sirdar Trimbakrao Narayan alias Tatia Saheb Rajmachikar, Honorary Magistrate, Mr. Sirdar Vinayak Rangrao Purandare, Honorary Magistrate, Mr. Sirdar Moreshwar Vishwanath alias Aba Saheb Natu, Mr. Hari Raoji Chiplonkar, Mr. Dorabji Dadabhoy Boottee, Mr. Adarji Dorabji Ghaswalla, Mr. Abdul Vayad, Mr. Narayan Chintamon Phadtare, Rao Bahadur Sirdar Chintamon Rao Hari Deshmookh, Mr. Balkrishna Savanna, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Gopal Hari Deshmookh, Mr. Becher Amolik, Mr. Babaji Krishna Gokhale, and the two Secretaries, was present on the platform. Introductions having been made, His Highness proceeded to his camp in a carriage and four, and was followed by the deputation. The usual salute was fired at the appointed time.

In the evening shortly before 5-30. P. M. His Highness drove to the Town Hall ( Heerabag ), accompanied by his Dewan, the Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramiengar C. S. I. A select assembly had already gathered there at the invitation of the Sabha to accord His Highness a hearty reception. The Town Hall with its spacious grounds was beautifully decorated. On the entrance door an arch was set up, having two mottoes, one on each side, " Welcome to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore," and " Long Live His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore." A profusion of bunting was also hung up. The grounds were also illuminated. On the arrival of His Highness at the flight of steps leading to the Hall, he was received and conducted to the seat prepared for him on a raised dais, all the gentlemen present standing in the meantime. After His Highness had taken his seat, Rao

Bahadur Nulkar addressed the Maharaja in a brief speech. He said that there were present among those assembled the leaders of the different sections of the native community, including the majority of the non-official Municipal Commissioners. Unlike their prototypes in the West, Municipal bodies in this country were not elected and therefore not representative in the proper acceptation of the term, and hence the difficulty of moving these bodies to accord fitting receptions to distinguished princely visitors. A fairly representative body, however, existed in the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, whose members were elected by the people themselves. The Chairman then proceeded to say that as His Highness was probably acquainted with the nature of the work the Sabha has been doing for the past twelve years of its existence, he would not detain him long by explaining it at length, and he concluded by calling upon the Honorary Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, to read the address. Mr. Chiplonkar, then having bowed to His Highness, proceeded to read the address as follows :—

To,

HIS HIGHNESS SHRI PADMANABHA, DASA VANCHI BALA, RAMA  
VARMA, KULASHEKHARA, KIERTIPATI, MANE-SULTAN, MAHARAJA  
RAJA RAMARAJA BAHADUR, SAMSEER JANG, MAHARAJA OF  
TRAVANCORE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS

ON behalf of the public of the city and station of Poona and of the inhabitants of the Deccan generally, the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha begs leave to approach Your Highness with this expression of our respectful esteem and thankful satisfaction for Your Highness' kind consideration in visiting this city on your way to Benares. Although your Highness' territory lies at the extreme end of the Peninsula, for many generations past representatives of our race have been honoured with high preferment in Your Highness' dominions, and have played a distinguished part in helping the material and moral progress of your territory. Independently of this consideration the noble House from which Your Highness claims descent is distinguished above all Princes and Chiefs in Southern India as a representative of an ancient illustrious stock, presenting an uninterrupted record of a purely Hindu State ruled by Hindu Sovereigns for many hundred years past, and surviving intact, though with strange vicissitudes, all the aggressions of foreign conquest. Ancient forms of Hindu polity and manner, ancient and patriarchal institutions, as also the old reverence for

learning and purity of life; these are nowhere found in a purer and less adulterated form than in the dominions of Your Highness which has been the beacon and warder of Aryan civilization and religion in the extreme south of this continent. During the last 100 years Travancore has been blessed in its alliance with the British Crown, which has shielded it from danger and conquest at great sacrifices. The illustrious roll of honours set forth in Your Highness' Sanscrit, Malayalam, Urdu and English titles emblazon the undying record of your long and memorable ancestry. For several generations past your noble predecessors have been patterns of good rulers and protectors of their subjects' rights and possessions. Your Highness ascended the throne of your ancestors only two years ago and the unostentatious but sincere and earnest programme sketched out by you in the noble speech heralding your accession to the throne, and the liberal remissions of arrears and reduction of duties granted by Your Highness in commemoration of that event, have been received with profound satisfaction. You have been blessed with a singular union of great gifts and a keen sense of your great responsibilities. Almost alone among Native Princes Your Highness has received the benefits of a liberal education both of the Pandit and the Scholar. Your mastery of the Sanscrit and English languages, your cultivated tastes, your high sense of moral duty, your patriotism, your great anxiety for the industrial improvement of this country;—all these point out your Highness as one of our natural leaders and pioneers in the path of progress and regeneration on which this country has now entered. Your Highness will be honoured with grander and more brilliant receptions wherever in this distant pilgrimage your Highness condescends to stay, but we assure your Highness that Poona will not yield to the most flourishing cities of India in the sincerity of its welcome, and the loyal affection of its devotion. Your Highness knows well that this city was the virtual capital of India for the whole of the last century.\* The great work of national self-assertion against Moslem domination fell, under the dispensation of Providence, to the lot of the people of this part of the country, and how nobly that work was done is a matter of history. Though the extinction of the Peishwas' power put an end to Maratha glory, representatives of our race are still rulers of vast territories in Western and Central India, and our people are found everywhere intelligently working their way towards a higher destiny made



possible by the all-prevailing peace and order secured to the country by British arms, and the facilities for communication and the spread of liberal aspirations as the fruit of contact with the European civilization. We as the inheritors of their noble old traditions and the aspirants of a nobler future bid welcome with our humble means to your Highness in this place as one of our natural leaders in this great work. The educational institutions of this place, its Press, its municipal and political activity, the sites of ancient historical renown that surround us, these we trust will meet with your Highness' appreciation. It is not for us on such an occasion as this to suggest any reforms in native administration to a liberal ruler who like your Highness feels that power exists in his hands as a trust for the well-being of his subjects, and who fully recognizes the importance of his duty to train the people to cooperate with him in the work of administration. Your Highness is one of the few Princes of the present times upon whom the eyes of all the native population of this vast continent are directed; for it is under their auspices and sympathetic management that the people expect the noble efforts of the British Government in the direction of educating the people to habits of self-government to be supplemented.

In conclusion we beg to tender to your Highness our heartfelt and sincere thanks for your having condescended to receive this humble address of welcome at our hands. Wishing your Highness a happy and prosperous journey, we beg to subscribe ourselves your Highness' most obedient and humble servants.

Afterwards the Hon'ble Mr. Ramiengar read His Highness' reply thereto as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,

The magnificent and cordial welcome, which you have given me to-day on my arrival at this ancient Capital of the great Mahratta Nation, has been gratifying to me in the highest degree. Its cordiality is equalled only by its spontaneity. I accept it most gratefully. It was the great Mahratta nation that by its bravery and patriotic heroism stayed and hurled back the all-destroying wave of Mahomedan conquest, planting its standard on the walls of imperial Delhi itself, and snatching the glory of the Peacock Throne. Mahomedan aggression has done to the civilization of ancient India what that of the Goths and Vandals did to that of the Roman Empire.

In Europe there has been a revival of letters, a progressive culture of arts and sciences, after the prolonged darkness of the middle ages. Here in India, the advent of British rule may be considered as the first dawn of light after the long night of our middle ages. It has given peace and prosperity to the whole land, such as our remotest fore-fathers never knew, and such as only a strong and just Government can give. It has given us all at once the advantages of Western civilization, which is the gradual outcome of the growth of centuries of thought and learning, moulded by those master minds which have in all ages given a direction to human progress. Placed under these favouring circumstances, it would be censurable were we not to strive to the utmost to revive and cultivate our ancient learning and adapt it to the modern state of Society. Gentlemen, in the Sarvajanic Sabha which you represent I recognise one of the most conspicuous centres of such a movement, and I cordially wish it every success. It behoves Native States to help on that movement in their own territories and elsewhere, and for my part I can assure you that that help will be cheerfully rendered to the best of my resources.

I regret that my stay at Poona is so extremely short that it will be out of my power to inspect all its interesting institutions, but I beg you not to construe it into a lack of interest in them.

Gentlemen, you have been pleased to make a most complimentary allusion to myself and to my Government. While fully thanking you for it, I can only avow that I have been humbly but honestly endeavouring to do to the best of my judgment what I have conceived to be my duty.

I repeat, Gentlemen, my grateful sense of the handsome reception you have given me to-day.

This over, a few of the gentlemen present were introduced to His Highness after which garlands, pan supari, attar were distributed. While this was going on, Mr. Rama Shastri Apte and a Mahomedan gentleman addressed His Highness in Sanskrit and Urdu respectively, His Highness then left the Hall, and was conducted to the carriage in waiting.

The next morning at 11 A. M. His Highness left Poona by special train for Bombay. As on the previous occasion there were official and non-official representatives present at the station to bid fare-well to His Highness.

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## MR. BAXTER AND THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

On Wednesday the 15th February last a special meeting of the General Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha was held at the Town Hall, Heerabag for the purpose of according a fitting reception to the Right Hon'ble W. E. Baxter M. P. The Hall was crowded to excess over a thousand persons being present. In the absence of the Chairman of the Sabha, Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar, the Chair was occupied by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Gopal Rao Hari Deshmookh. Amongst those present were observed Professor Scorgie, the Revd. Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Small, the Revd. Mr. Beaumont, the Revd. Mr. and Mrs. Sarabji, Mr. Phillip, Khan Bahadur Nasarwanji Jamaspi Duntoor, Khan Bahadur Professor Hoshang Jamaspi Duntoor, Mr. Dorabji Dadabhai Boottee, Mr. A. D. Ezekiel, Mr. Trimbakrao Narayan Rajmachikar, Sirdar and Honorary Magistrate, Mr. Mahadeorao Yeshwant Raste, Sirdar, Mr. Moreshwar Vishwanath Natu, Sirdar, Rao Bahadur Shrinivas Sheshe, Mr. Gangaram Bhanu Mhaske, Mr. Babaji Krishna Gokhale, Mr. Kashinath Parasharam Gadgil, and almost all the leading native official gentlemen in Poona. Mr. Dorabji Dadabhai Boottee having introduced Mr. Baxter to some of the gentlemen present, the Chairman opened the proceedings of the meeting by briefly explaining the constitution and origin of the Sarvajanic Sabha, and the useful work it has done during the last ten years and more of its existence, and concluded by calling upon the Honorary Secretary of the Sabha, Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, to read the address prepared by the Sabha.

Mr. Chiplonkar then read the following address, containing a brief statement of those important questions affecting the people of India in which the assistance of Honorable Members of both the Houses of Parliament is necessary for their satisfactory solution.

To,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE W. E. BAXTER M. P.

HON'BLE SIR,

It gives us great satisfaction to have the privilege of welcoming you on behalf of the native public of this place. You have always been honourably distinguished by your adhesion to liberal principles and you have been one of that small band of Englishmen who have always evinced interest in Indian matters. Since the days of the Mutiny and the assumption of direct sovereignty over India by Her Majesty the Queen Empress the affairs of India have assumed their natural place in the thoughts of Englishmen, and however much the leaders of both parties in Parliament profess to regard Indian questions as out of the pale of party politics, during the last four or five years especially Indian

grievances and wrongs have furnished a considerable number of topics on which the Parliament and the public of England have felt themselves called upon to interest themselves as intimately as if they were purely English questions. Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of those who have India's welfare at heart to supply from time to time as occasion arises correct information of the views and wants of the people of this country, and seek to influence the English public through its recognized leaders in the English Parliament and the English Press. In this connection it is felt by us all to be a most fortunate circumstance that honourable members of Parliament avail themselves of the small leisure at their disposal to visit this distant country and make themselves practically acquainted with its material and moral condition. Official sources of information are always at your disposal, and we under existing conditions can hope but little to supplement it with accurate statistics and other detailed information. At the same time you can not but be fully aware that official authorities, however honest and painstaking, are seldom able to grasp all sides of the questions that come before them, and certain it is that they do not possess the same facilities to know where the official machine presses hard upon the people as intelligent representatives of the people themselves may be expected to do. The absence of any representative institutions, even of a consultative character, to control and modify the action of executive officers enhances the difficulty caused by the differences of race, religion and manners between the rulers and the ruled. It is, however, a hopeful circumstance that notwithstanding these difficulties India has made a fair progress in good government during the twenty five years that have passed since the Mutiny troubles. The force of Indian public opinion is, however, so small that it needs to be strengthened by the active sympathy and co-operation of India's friends in Parliament. It is with this view that we have troubled you with this call upon your valuable time, and we can not but express our heart-felt thanks for your accepting our invitation with such cordial readiness.

1. Allow us in the short time that is at your disposal to draw your attention to a few points on which we feel that in the interests of England and India the administrative machinery set up in this country fails to give satisfaction to the people, and requires to be carefully looked after with a view to adapt it to the wants of the present day. We freely acknowledge all the benefits which British Rule has secured to this country in maintaining undisturbed tranquility and guaranteeing its safety against foreign invasions, in encouraging education, in developing a system of useful public works and the other benefits incident to a high state of civilization. While in all these respects there has been great progress during the last twenty five years, the form of the administration and its direct action upon the people have

remained for the most part unchanged. It is true that Legislative Councils for the more advanced provinces were constituted in 1861; but their constitution is so one-sided and their powers so limited that in the hands of strong rulers they have almost ceased to possess any influence for good, and are too often made the instruments of registering official wishes without being able to represent outside opinion effectively. The attention of Indian reformers has of late been directed to this question, and various schemes have been suggested with a view to improve the constitution of these Councils. The absence of any local organizations which could be trusted with the power of electing representatives has been always felt to be a very serious want, but the extension of the decentralization policy by the present Government of India will, we trust, supply this want by the creation of self-governing Municipalities and District Local Boards. Mr. William Digby, for a long time the Editor of a Madras paper, has recently published a pamphlet in which he insists with good reason upon the urgent necessity of this reform as lying at the root of all other reforms in Indian administration. We are fully aware that constitutional habits and traditions take a long time to grow and can not be created to order. At the same time we can assure you that the establishment of some correlation between the views of the Indian public and the British rulers is a necessity which Parliament will have to direct its attention to, if the present progress is not to be retarded. The people of India will be satisfied at present with the establishment of a consultative assembly consisting of officials and non-officials, the latter representing the large towns and districts with a right to be consulted in matters of new legislation and taxation, and of interpellating executive officers with a view to elicit information upon administrative details.

2. Next in importance to the reform noted above is the liberalising of local administrations in the large towns and more advanced districts. The Government of India has already in a series of Resolutions expressed itself strongly in favour of extending local self-government. The official authorities, however, viewing the matter from their own stand-point will, it is feared, not co-operate with the same single-mindedness of purpose which earnest conviction alone secures. English opinion has alone the power to remove these obstacles, and we trust that those who have the ear of the English public in and out of Parliament will strengthen the hands of the Government of India to secure the success of their contemplated reforms.

3. It is not without reason that we have drawn your attention to the necessity which exists of English public opinion coming to our assistance. In the settlement of the much disputed land question the authorities in India as well as the Secretary of State as far back as 1862 definitively pronounced themselves in favour of extending the

permanent settlement in all the more settled districts of the country. Owing to local opposition, however, that despatch, though not formally overruled, has remained a dead letter to this day. The example of bad native rulers who enhanced the assessments arbitrarily at times has been turned into an argument to support the policy of periodical re-settlements, and a great deal too much is made of the concession of this modified system of conferring interest in land upon the peasantry. The fact, however, is that the best native rulers respected and recognized indefeasible property in land subject to a fixed charge, and what in England is called free-hold, was the common tenure of this country with the name of *Mirasi* as typical of the highest property that a man can possess. Whatever may be the theory, the Government assessment absorbs not a fraction of the rent proper but the whole of the rent and a portion of the profits of cultivation. As a consequence of this state of things the country is reduced to a dead level of poverty. Two Commissions appointed by Government (the Deccan Riots Commission of 1875 and the Famine Commission of 1878-79) have set forth the evils of the present system, and the independent members in those two Commissions have to a great extent endorsed the views we have long entertained on the subject. A modified permanent settlement, which will secure its due share to Government in the land revenue, is as important to the future growth of this country as the settlement of the Irish Land question in Ireland.

4. Another question in which the people of India have always evinced the greatest interest and have repeatedly memorialized Parliament for the redress of their grievances, is the question of the admission of natives on equal terms with Englishmen into the ranks of the Covenanted Services. The Covenanted Civil Service was thrown open to public competition in 1853, but it was not till 1864 that the first native candidate passed the test. Soon after the limit of age was reduced from 23 to 21, but it did not materially interfere with the chances of native candidates finding admission into the service. And in ten years from 1867 to 1877 about twelve more candidates passed the test. In 1878 the limit of age was still further lowered to 19 from which time no Indian candidate has found it possible to appear at the examination. This limit of 19 was, we understand, disapproved by a large majority of the authorities consulted and is found very inconvenient even in the case of English candidates. Indian opinion, while insisting upon the test of examinations and the advantage of residence in England, only asked that the examinations should be held in India and in England subject to the same tests. This prayer was refused and in its place the late Viceroy has sought to satisfy native claims by the creation of a subordinate native service distinctly marked as separate from the governing body by differences in pay, prospects and promotion, and not chosen by competition but by nomination from

considerations of family connections. This we regard to be a distinctly retrograde step, and native public opinion will not be satisfied till a return is made to the old liberal rules. Next to the Covenanted Civil Service the largest opening to native ambition is furnished by the rules of the Medical Service. We trust there is no foundation for the report that English authorities contemplate the abolition of these examinations and substituting in their stead a system of direct nomination from the medical schools in England. The admission of natives into the ranks of the Military Service has long been felt to be a desideratum, especially in the case of the scions of the noble families for whom this career would furnish a healthy occupation. The late Army Commission has recommended the partial adoption of this reform in the case of Bengal and the Panjab, and we trust that Indian friends in Parliament will press this subject upon the attention of the authorities till this invidious distinction between bias and class is removed.

5. The threatened abolition of the Cotton Duties and the necessity which will soon be forced upon the Indian authorities of surrendering some portion of their Opium Revenue in deference to the Anti-Opium agitation, renders the position of Indian Finance so unstable that notwithstanding the anticipated surplus of this year it will be impossible to make both the ends meet without effecting retrenchments in all departments. The highest military authorities who were represented in the Army Commission suggested a reduction of one and a half million sterling in the Army expenditure. An equal sum might be saved by the larger substitution of Native for European agency in the Police, Public Works, Medical, Educational, Post Office and Account Branches in which there are at present no vested interests to conserve. In this connection the reduction of the Home Charges by a more equitable distribution of the Indian Army expenditure in England, and the purchase of the stores in the local markets will also commend themselves to you as requiring immediate attention. If in addition to these reductions England guarantees the interest on Indian public debts as it is bound to do in its own interest, the total reductions will amount to about five millions sterling which will be a great relief and might enable India to bear with equanimity the partial loss of the Opium Revenue and the total loss of the Cotton Duties. We need hardly urge upon your attention that there is little or no room for additional taxation in this country, where the people are so poor that the chief necessary of life has to be taxed a thousand-fold to the great inconvenience of all classes, and that an income tax on the English scale is expected to yield only one million sterling. The existing License Tax has been condemned for its invidious incidence and also for the poverty of its return, while the other heads of revenue are already fixed at their highest pitch. The reduction of expenditure is thus not a question of choice but of necessity for the success of Indian Finance.

6. In the same connection we are glad to note that the question of the dis-establishment of the Anglo-Indian Church has already engaged your attention. The services of Army Chaplains must be secured under any circumstances; but the same necessity can not be pleaded for the diversion of public funds for the support of the four Bishopricks and a large number of Chaplains who minister to the spiritual wants of the wealthy amongst the European civil population. Having due regard to the promises contained in the great Royal Proclamation of 1858 the natives of this country must demand that this abuse of State funds shall be put a stop to forthwith; and we trust that when the time comes, you will support our prayer for the abolition of this anomaly before Parliament.

7. In submitting the foregoing observations on this occasion we are fully conscious that the questions indicated therein have complex bearings, and the point of view from which we look at them must be modified by other considerations which commend themselves to the Indian authorities. It seems, therefore, to us to be very necessary that all the bearings of the questions should be sifted by an independent Commission of Inquiry. In the last session of Parliament Mr. Fowler and Sir David Wedderburn made a motion to this effect, and we have good reasons to believe that but for the Irish distractions the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India would have accepted a limited inquiry. We trust that when the arrears of home business are cleared, you and the other friends of India will re-open this question. Periodical inquiries into the working of the Indian government have produced good results in the past, and the time appears to us to have come when such an inquiry might be expected to lead to similar results in the future.

8. We hope to be excused for the length over which these observations have extended. The Liberal Party at present in power and of which you are so distinguished a member, pledged their word at the late Elections to accomplish certain reforms in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people of this country. They have given us peace on the frontiers; they have set a noble precedent in defraying a portion, though a small one, of the cost of the Afghan War from the English revenues; they have sent His Excellency the Marquis of Ripon to rule over us, and deputed Major Baring to manage our finances. These Indian authorities have earned a title to the confidence of the country by stimulating private enterprise, and encouraging the consumption of articles of indigenous manufacture, and by setting free the Indian Vernacular Press, and laying down a scheme for the extension of local self-government. These generous concessions have laid the people under great obligations to the Leaders of the Liberal Party. We request that you will convey this expression of our gratitude to the Right Hon'ble Mr. Gladstone, the Right Hon'ble the Marquis of Hartington, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Bright and the Right Hon'ble Professor Fawcett for their noble endeavours to promote the best interests of this country.


Mr. Gangaram Bhan Mhaské then in a vigorous and eloquent speech dilated at some length upon some of the points noticed in the address. Outside those points he also drew the prominent attention of the honoured guest of that evening to some of the well-known invidious distinctions between Europeans and Natives as sanctioned by the prevalent criminal law of the country. Afterwards Mr. Baxter, who on rising was received with applause, replied as follows:—



Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—It affords me great pleasure and satisfaction to meet such a numerous and influential assemblage in this Town Hall to-day, and to listen to observations on topics deeply affecting the welfare of India. Let me congratulate you, gentlemen, on your having a Governor-General of great ability and prudence (Cheers), honest as the day, determined to perform his arduous duties conscientiously, and who, I believe, is devoting himself to the study and consideration of all the matters which are uppermost in your minds, specially of that subject of land tenure which you have so prominently brought under my notice (Hear, hear). He has a just and well-balanced mind, and I am sure you may rely on his impartial treatment of questions connected with the extension of the representative privilege, changes in the Civil Service and others referred to in your thoughtful address. It is gratifying to know that the people and Parliament of Great Britain are now taking more interest in India, and I have no doubt that in future years a greater number of members of the Imperial Legislature will visit your shores and try to obtain some knowledge of your condition, wants, and requirements. My impressions on the whole are decidedly favourable. There are evils to remedy, abuses to be got rid of, and institutions to reform, but the way to bring about beneficent changes is not by unreasonable requests and violent language, but by a calm, constant, and truthful representation which in the end must commend itself to the governing power (Hear, hear). The memorial refers to the severity with which all your taxes press on the population. The impoverishment of the masses is the most striking phenomenon to any stranger visiting the country, (Hear, hear) and surely their taxation should be reduced to the very lowest point consistent with financial equilibrium (Cheers). This cannot be done if fancy frontier wars are to be carried on (Laughter). It can be done by a Government whose policy is peace, not military glory, and whom, therefore, I beg you to support with all your moral power. (Cheers). The ecclesiastical question referred to in your concluding sentences is not in point of money a large one; but the present system of paying chaplains out of the public revenue who minister, not to soldiers, but to rich merchants and planters, must be altered. I am quite willing to endure the scolding of those people who by and by will have to pay for their own clergymen (Laughter), and the choice language of their friends of the press, in the hope and belief that our little meetings will help to put an end to a state of things derogatory to Christianity, (Hear, hear) unworthy of the congregations themselves, and contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Proclamation (Cheers). You have done me, gentlemen, great honor by convening this assembly, and I will endeavour to the best of my ability to make your sentiments known to men of influence at home (Prolonged Cheers).

After he had resumed his seat amidst prolonged applause, Mr. Barter again rose and suggested that copies of the address presented to him should be sent to the Viceroy and the Governors of other presidencies, as it was calculated to prove of great use to them in the solution of the intricate problems indicated therein, and concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his having kindly presided on the occasion. Mr. Gangaram afterwards on behalf of the meeting moved a vote of thanks to the honoured guest himself, who was afterwards served with a garland of flowers, &c. The meeting then dispersed.

## ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

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“No man should be insensible to public opinion who has to discharge a public trust. No man should be insensible to the value of the good opinion, if you like, the applause, of his fellow-countrymen. But there is a consideration far higher than that. It is the satisfaction of your own conscience, the knowledge that you are following the promptings of that still small voice which never, if we listen honestly to its dictates, misleads or deceives—that still small voice whose approval upholds us even though men should condemn us, and whose approval is far more precious than the honour or applause we may derive, no matter from what source,—that voice whose approval makes us walk by day serene, and makes our pillow smooth by night.”———Lord Chief Justice Cockburn.

It gives us unfeigned pleasure to find that some of the leading expectations which were formed when on the overthrow of the Government of the late Lord Beaconsfield at the general Elections the Liberal Party under Mr. Gladstone and the Marquis of Hartington acceded to power, have been already realized or are in the course of being realized. The very presence in the new Ministry of such noble-minded statesmen of broad views and cosmopolitan sympathies, as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright and Professor Fawcett, was a valuable guarantee that questions of the reform of Indian domestic administration would not be neglected as in days gone by. And the result so far as it has gone, has no doubt amply justified the expectations. The very first measure which the Government of Mr. Gladstone accomplished,—a measure which has had no parallel in British Indian history; nay, which was in fact opposed to the traditional policy of England towards India of nearly two centuries duration,—we are of course alluding to the substantial contribution towards the expenses of the

late Afghan War,—we say that that single measure gave us an earnest of what the Liberal Government intended to do for India. The true significance of that measure lies in the fact that a traditional policy of nearly two centuries old of making India pay the expenses of England's foreign policy in the East has been for the first time reversed. That was a good beginning, and the Marquis of Ripon,—than whom a more illustrious and single-minded Viceroy certainly never occupied the Viceregal chair, and who before coming out to India occupied more than once the position of a leading Cabinet Minister,—has, with the assistance of his able and accomplished colleague the Hon'ble Major Baring C. S. I., energetically and cheerfully supplemented a liberal policy inaugurated under such auspices. The series of resolutions on the stores question, calculated as they are to give an impetus to the decaying manufactures and indigenous industries by directing all the local Governments and administrations to purchase all the available stores in the local markets, and the resolutions on the subject of financial decentralization and local self-government, were issued from Simla in the autumn of last year. As regards the action of the Government of the Marquis of Ripon in the stores question we do not propose to notice it in this paper. We propose to confine ourselves only to the subject of financial decentralization and local self-government, but more especially to the latter, and that too so far as the new scheme affects the Bombay Presidency. Before we proceed further and dilate upon the subject we have proposed to ourselves in this paper, we shall notice briefly what the Government of the Marquis of Ripon has already done in other directions to redress some of those grievances which were crying for redress at the time when the noble Marquis assumed the reins of the Government of India.

Peace has now been restored by effecting a com-

plete and thorough evacuation not only of the Northern but the Southern Afghanistan also. The presence of our army there was financially destructive to us and also menacing to the liberties of the Afghan nation, liberties which that race of hardy mountaineers appears to this day to appreciate and value as strongly as ever. The stringency of the Arms Act, has been relaxed by an executive order, though the Act itself still remains in force. The construction of railways by private enterprise has received the closest attention of government, and Major Baring has already induced two private companies to undertake the construction of two railway lines in Bengal, one of them without any guarantee whatever. The question of educational reform also has already engrossed the attention of the Government of the Marquis of Ripon, and a Commission under the presidency of the Hon'ble W. W. Hunter L. L. D., C. I. E., has already commenced its work. And the last but not the least, the Vernacular Press Act has been totally repealed without, as it was apprehended, any changes being introduced into the existing provisions of the Indian Penal Code as affecting seditious publications. The illustrious statesman, under whose auspices so much has already been done, and under whose auspices much more is still confidently expected, certainly deserves to be warmly thanked by the multitudes committed to his fostering care. We have no doubt that the name of the Marquis of Ripon will be for ever cherished with loving gratitude by the people of India.

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## PART I.

### DECENTRALIZATION AND DEPROVINCIALIZATION.

The policy of financial decentralization and the grant of administrative freedom to the various local Governments and administrations under the Government of India owes its introduction to the late lamented Earl Mayo, whose attention was forcibly directed to the subject

by the ugly and unpleasant disclosures regarding the financial condition of India in 1869. A huge deficit all of a sudden presented itself to the view of Earl Mayo's Government and the astonished public, which necessitated both stringent economy in expenditure, and an increase in the burden of additional taxation on the people. An entirely novel course, without any precedent in the past history of British India had to be adopted, and it was found necessary to re-impose the Income Tax in the middle of the financial year, and also to enhance the salt duty in Bombay and Madras. It was under these circumstances that the attention of Earl Mayo's Government was forcibly and prominently directed to the financial responsibility of the various local Governments and administrations. Before Earl Mayo's time, the revenues of the whole of India went as it were into a common purse to which all the subordinate administrations looked with wistful eyes, and each longed to receive therefrom the lion's share, and all ran a race in earnest and repeated importunity to press their claims on the Government of India. The distribution of the public income under such circumstances between the various claimants naturally enough degenerated into something like a scramble, in which the most self-assertive had the advantage over less importunate rivals. If local economy leads to no local advantage, the inducement to avoid waste is as a matter of course reduced to a minimum, and so in the same way if the local growth of the general income does not of necessity lead to an increase of the local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues is of necessity brought down to the lowest level. Such a state of things could not last long, and the credit of having first applied an effectual, though partial, remedy thereto belongs to Earl Mayo. By a Resolution of the Government of India dated 14th December 1870, the last seven paragraphs of which we are told were written with his own hand,—

so deep was the personal interest he took in that reform,—the following departments were decentralized:—Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services (except Medical Establishments), Printing, Roads, Civil Buildings and various Public Works, and Miscellaneous Public Improvements and services of many sorts. The receipts and expenditure of these departments were made over to the subordinate Governments with a fixed yearly consolidated grant to cover the excess of expenditure over the receipts of the said departments; and the local governments and administrations were informed that as the sums they saved under their new financial responsibility would be their own, so they would have to raise by increased local taxation any additional funds required for local purposes. The policy thus inaugurated by Lord Mayo in 1870 has stood the test of ten years' experience and was extended in a more sweeping way to certain Provinces of India in 1877, and it is now proposed by the Government of the Marquis of Ripon to further develop the same policy throughout the Empire. What the features of this new development of that policy are, will presently appear. But before proceeding further we must here remark that in the practical execution of Earl Mayo's policy, the principal object thereof would appear to have been altogether lost sight of. The only result of that policy, so far as we can see, has been, that the Government of India was enabled to divest itself to a large extent of its former financial responsibility, which was thus transferred from one shoulder to the other. It did not accomplish anything more than this, though if the Resolution of 14th December 1870, which has been described by some to be "the Charter of the Provincial Governments," is to be believed, it was intended to accomplish far higher purposes than a mere transfer of financial responsibility; that in short the ulterior object of the Resolution of 1870 was the development of local self-government and the enlistment of the

active assistance, or at all events, of the sympathy of the people of the country. We quote below two paragraphs\* of the Resolution of 1870, (which in the first place are from amongst those which were written by Earl Mayo with his own hand) which set forth his views regarding the ulterior object of his new financial scheme, and laid down in unmistakable terms that the primary object in view was nothing more or less than "the instruction of many peoples and races in a good system of administration." Now we wish to know if any honest attempt was made to give practical effect to the noble intentions of Lord Mayo's government during the last ten or eleven years. So far as we can see, no such honest attempt appears to have been made. Municipalities and Local Fund Committees, which may be safely regarded as the base units of the representative system of government in British India have not been strengthened by enlisting "the active assistance or, at all events, the sympathy" of those classes who, previous to the Resolution of 1870, took "little or no part in the work of social and material advancement." During the last ten or eleven years the administration in these two respects has gone on pretty nearly on the same lines on which it had proceeded before December 1870. In the same way another very im-

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\* "But beyond all this there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical Charity, and Local Public Works. The operation of this Resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of self-government, for strengthening Municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs."

"The Governor-General in Council is aware of the difficulties attending the practical adoption of these principles. But they are not insurmountable. Disappointments and partial failures may occur; but the object in view being the instruction of many peoples and races in a good system of administration, His Excellency in Council is fully convinced that the Local Governments and all their subordinates will enlist the active assistance, or at all events, the sympathy of many classes who have hitherto taken little or no part in the work of social and material advancement."—Res. Dec. 14-70.

portant injunction of the Resolution of 1870 has been more honoured in the breach than in its observance. Another paragraph of the Resolution of 1870 directed the Local Governments that their financial exposition "should, where possible, be made before the Local Legislative Councils, analogous to that annually made in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General." During the last ten or eleven years that have elapsed since the issuing of that memorable Resolution, we do not remember of any Local Government having laid its financial exposition before the Local Legislative Council except on those occasions,—and even then the exposition was not thorough,—when legislative sanction was necessary for the imposition of some additional taxation. It will be thus seen that while the Resolution of 1870 increased the powers and responsibilities of Provincial Governments in purely provincial matters, the Provincial Governments in their turn did nothing or next to nothing to give practical effect to the noble intentions of Earl Mayo's government by extending the powers and responsibilities of their subordinate Municipalities and Local Fund Committees, and absolutely nothing to enlarge the sphere of usefulness of their respective Legislative Councils wherever they were established. This, however, is not all; for so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, we know it to our cost that during the last four or five years systematic, because studious, attempts have been made to impair the usefulness of our Legislative Council by ostracising as it were the really independent non-official element from the Council, and substituting in its stead persons whom a well-known Bengali gentleman characterized the other day as "magnificent no-bodies." It will be thus seen that during the last ten or eleven years the people in the Bombay Presidency have made absolutely no progress whatever in self-government, with the exception of the inhabitants of the Presidency Town of Bombay itself, who were for the first time in 1873



allowed to elect the greater portion of their Municipal Corporators. By the expression "the development of local self-government" we understand the association of the representatives of the people in the administration of their affairs. And when viewed from this stand-point, our foregoing observations will not be deemed to be unjustly severe. The local authorities being very averse to giving new privileges to those under them not only were no new privileges conceded to the people, but in several well-marked directions they were even deprived of the semblance of such privileges which they had previously inherited and enjoyed for a considerable length of time. Our meaning will appear clear from the following illustration. To those who may not be aware of it, it will indeed be a most startling news that before the Bombay District Municipal Act ( Act VI of 1873 ) came into force in the early part of 1875, the General Body of the Poona Municipality, in itself composed of ex-officio members and non-official members appointed by Government, had enjoyed for several years previously the right of electing their executive body or the Managing Committee as it is called,—a right which the Collector-President of the Municipality coaxed the first nominees under the new Act to surrender, and to consent to altogether eliminate even that semblance of a *psuedo*-representative element from our Municipal administration. Since that year, the Poona Municipality has made repeated attempts to recover its lost power, but to no purpose; for though the general body on one or two occasions passed a resolution to that effect by an overwhelming majority, the Commissioner of the Division whose sanction is necessary before any existing rule or bye-law can be repealed or modified, or a new one passed, steadfastly refused to restore the *status quo ante*. This single instance, though in itself of local interest only, has a wider application, and serves to illustrate the attitude of Provincial Govern-

ments and their executive officers towards the introduction of any popular or quasi-popular element into the administration, even of purely local institutions. They always wish to keep the people in leading strings, just in the same way as over-fond or despotic mothers tie their children, even when grown up into youth, to their apron-strings.

Earl Mayo's noble intentions have been thus frustrated by the passive resistance of the local authorities, and even the Government of the Marquis of Ripon appears to have realized this fact to itself to a considerable extent; for in its Resolution of 20th September 1881, announcing the further development of the decentralization policy, we read:—"At the same time, it must be admitted that there has been greater inequality of progress in the direction of self-government attained in the various Provinces than their respective circumstances can be altogether held to justify." The meaning of this sentence is clear; for it tells us that the local governments have not enlisted the active assistance in their local administration of the people even of those places whose special circumstances would have clearly justified them in doing so; that in short the local governments have been slow in appreciating to the fullest extent the advantages of associating the representatives of the people in the administration of their own affairs. So much for what has been done during the last ten or eleven years that have elapsed since the inauguration of the policy of financial decentralization by the government of Earl Mayo in December 1870. It is only sufficient to repeat our remark that besides the transfer of financial responsibility from the Imperial to the Provincial Governments, nothing more has been hitherto accomplished. We shall now proceed with our observations on the further development of the same policy as now contemplated by the government of the Marquis of Ripon.

The proposed development of the decentralization

policy is based upon the general application of the principle followed in 1879 by the Government of Lord Lytton in the case of British Burma. This principle is that "instead of giving Local Governments a fixed sum of money to make good any excess of provincialized expenditure over provincialized receipts, a certain portion of the Imperial revenue of each Province should be devoted to this object," certain heads being reserved as exclusively Imperial, and certain as exclusively provincial, and the rest almost equally divided between the two services. Even after such an adjustment if it be found that the balance of transfer is against the local governments, it is proposed to restore the equilibrium between provincialized receipts and provincialized expenditure by the grant of a fixed percentage of the Land Revenue in each Province, which percentage will vary in each case. The most important feature of the proposed system, which indeed will secure an early establishment of a decentralized administration in all the Provinces on a uniform and extended basis, is that, while under the former system of 1870, the Provincial Governments felt a direct interest in developing those branches of the revenue only which were provincialized, they will now feel under the proposed system a uniform interest in all the branches of revenue; for the development of their own revenues will greatly depend upon their efforts in developing the general revenues. This is no doubt a decided improvement on the scheme of 1870, and we have no doubt it will eventually prove a success. For upon the success of this measure depends the realization of the political ideal of confederate states which will do away with the necessity of a central Imperial government in India. Such a scheme was formulated many years ago by no less a man than Mr. John Bright, and we are not disposed to regard it only as a dream. The scheme is feasible enough, though we think that the country is not altogether

ripe for it just now. The decentralization scheme of 1870 was the first step in this direction, while the present one brings us almost within a measurable distance of it. The problem of self-government is, as has been justly observed in the Resolution of the Government of India of 20th September last, most intimately connected with the general scheme for the decentralization of finance, for local self-government is incompatible with the notion of an Imperial central administration.\*

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\* The two paragraphs from Mr. John Bright's speech of 24th June 1858 on the occasion of the consideration of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons, where his scheme has been clearly set forth, are given below for the sake of easy reference:—

“I would propose that we should have Presidencies, and not an Empire. If I were a minister, which the House will admit is a bold figure of speech, and if the House were to agree with me, which is also an essential point, I would propose to have, at least, five Presidencies in India, and I would have the governments of those Presidencies perfectly equal in rank and salary. The capitals of those Presidencies would probably be Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, and Lahore. I will take the Presidency of Madras as an illustration. Madras has a population of some 20,000,000. We all know its position on the map, and that it has the advantage of being more compact, geographically speaking, than the other Presidencies. It has a Governor and a Council. I would give to it a Governor and a Council still, but would confine all their duties to the Presidency of Madras, and I would treat it just as if Madras was the only portion of India connected with this country. I would have its finance, its taxation, its justice, and its police departments as well as its public works and military departments, precisely the same as if it were a state having no connection with any other part of India, and recognized only as a dependency of this country. I would propose that the Government of every Presidency should correspond with the Secretary for India in England, and that there should be telegraphic communications between the office of the noble Lord (Lord Stanley) and every Presidency over which he presides. I shall, no doubt, be told that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of such an arrangement, and I shall be sure to hear of the military difficulty. Now, I do not profess to be an authority on military affairs, but I know that military men often make great mistakes. I would have the army divided, each Presidency having its own army, just as now, care being taken to have them kept distinct; and I see no danger of any confusion or misunderstanding, when an emergency arose, in

According to the arrangements contained in the proposed scheme the following items of revenue have been exclusively handed over to the Provincial Governments with the corresponding items of expenditure :— Provincial Rates, Post Office, Minor Departments, Law and Justice, Police, Education, Medical Charity, Stationery and Printing. The following items of expenditure are divided equally between the Imperial

having them all brought together to carry out the views of the Government."

"Now suppose the Presidencies established, the Governors equal in rank and dignity, and their Councils constituted in the manner I have indicated, is it not reasonable to suppose that the delay which has hitherto been one of the greatest curses of our Indian Government would be almost altogether avoided? Instead of a Governor-General living in Calcutta or at Simla, never travelling over the whole of the country, and knowing very little about it, and that little only through other official eyes, is it not reasonable to suppose that the action of the Government would be more direct in all its duties and in every department of its service, than has been the case under the system which has existed until now? Your administration of the law, marked by so much disgrace, could never have lasted so long as it has done, if the Governors of your Presidencies had been independent Governors. So with regard to matters of police, education, public works, and every thing that can stimulate industry, and so with regard to your system of taxation. You would have in every Presidency a constant rivalry for good. The Governor of Madras, when his term of office expired, would be delighted to show that the people of that Presidency were contented, that the whole Presidency was advancing in civilization, that roads and all manner of useful public works were extending, that industry was becoming more and more a habit of the people, and that the exports and imports were constantly increasing. The Governors of Bombay and the rest of the Presidencies would be animated by the same spirit, and so you would have all over India, as I have said, a rivalry for good; you would have placed a check on that malignant spirit of ambition which has worked so much evil; you would have no Governor so great that you could not control him; none who might make war when he pleased; war and annexation would be greatly checked, if not entirely prevented; and I do, in my conscience, believe you would have laid the foundation for a better and more permanent form of government for India than has ever obtained since it came under the rule of England."

and the Provincial Governments :—Forest, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Stamps, and Registration. The only items of revenue which are exclusively reserved for itself by the Imperial Government, of course with the corresponding items of expenditure, are :—Tributes, Opium, Mint, Imperial Post Office, Telegraph, Army, Ajmere and Coorg, the Guaranteed Railways, and the East Indian, Frontier, Rajputana and Central India State Railways, and the gain by exchange on transactions with London ; and lastly in the case of the remaining departments the receipts and expenditure are divided between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments in varying proportions. In the case of two items of these receipts, Salt and Customs, Burmah, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay alone share the receipts in varying proportions with the Imperial government, the other local governments getting nothing whatever. The Land Revenue assignments to the various Provincial Governments bear the following proportion in each case to the gross revenue :—Bengal 28 per cent, Madras 26 per cent, Bombay 58 per cent, North West Provinces and Oude 22 per cent, Panjab 43 per cent, Central Provinces 48 per cent, Assam 49 per cent, and British Burmah 33 per cent. Such are the details of the revised scheme of financial decentralization which is to come into operation from the commencement of the new financial year.

There are, however, two reservations provided for in the revised scheme, on the occurrence of any one of which the proposed arrangements will be temporarily disturbed. These are, firstly, war or any other "disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources, and to necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvements throughout the the Empire," in which case only the Imperial Government reserves to itself the right of making a demand on the Provincial Governments and their reserves and resources; and secondly, famine in which emergency only the Provincial Governments will be entitled to look for

special aid from the Imperial Government, after they shall have exhausted all their current revenues, including the annual Public Works grants, and also their reserves to the extent of two thirds only of their total. These reservations too appear to us to be fair under present circumstances, and certainly no reasonable objections can be taken to them on the ground of their being onerous to the Provincial Governments. It should be here observed that the Imperial Government has already repaid to the several Provincial Governments the amount of their respective contributions to the Imperial Treasury during the recent Afghan War.

We now come to that part of the Government of India's Resolution of 20th September 1881 which treats of the extension of local self-government. At the outset we are told that the several Provinces have not made since 1870 that progress in the direction of local self-government, which their respective circumstances would have justified. In some of these Provinces, local bodies are not entrusted with that work which they are best fitted for, while they are saddled with a portion of the expenditure of a department like the Police in the administration of which they can take no part. The Government of India, therefore, now propose to relieve all the Municipalities of the heavy contributions for Police purposes, hitherto compulsorily levied from them, so that they might be able to devote that money towards primary education, medical charity, and minor public works. Themselves now largely endowed from Imperial sources, and their powers and responsibilities vastly increased, the Provincial governments are expected in their turn to similarly endow local bodies from Provincial sources, and to increase their powers and usefulness. The Government of India desire that all such items "should be generally made local as the people are most likely to be able to understand the use of, and to administer well." The financial details of de-provincialization, represented by

the transfer of funds to local and municipal bodies are in themselves not so very important as the question of the reconstitution of these bodies, of course wherever possible, by infusing into them a really strong and representative non-official element. As regards the de provincialization or transfer of funds to local and municipal bodies, a sound and reasonable limit is laid down by the Government of India in enjoining that every item of receipt and expenditure which the people are apt to understand the use of, and capable of administering efficiently, should be handed over to them for administration. Primary Education, Medical Charity, Minor Public Works, Registration of Vital Statistics, Model Farms, Vaccination, and Sanitation, can all of them be entirely transferred to local control without in any way endangering their efficiency and usefulness. In fact these are the departments which will gain more than they will lose by being deprovincialized, in that they are all matters which the people are well able to understand, or, if they are not already sufficiently advanced, can be soon taught to understand the use of. In addition to the departments we have already mentioned, there especially is one which we think ought to be deprovincialized if possible. The Excise Revenue which the government, if its utterances and declarations are to be believed, is supposed to be raising with the greatest reluctance, and which it professes to be prepared to sacrifice altogether, could it thereby check the total consumption of spirituous drinks, is a trade as it were in people's vices. Upon the plea of checking all illicit consumption of spirituous drinks, liquor shops have of late been opened in every direction, and their number is annually increasing to the great astonishment of those who are aware of the openly avowed intentions of government. Since this branch of revenue is in charge of a special department, whose interest it naturally is to augment its income by every possible means, it is no wonder that, notwithstanding the repeated professions of go-



vernment, to the contrary,\* great activity is being displayed in extending the consumption of spirituous liquors. The Department of course explains away the extended consumption on the ground that contraband consumption is being gradually replaced and supplanted by the lawful one. This explanation, however, is believed by few outside the department, and certainly not by the non-official public. More than a year ago the Poona Municipality, through its working body, unanimously passed a resolution deprecating the extended consumption of spirituous drinks in the city of Poona, which they traced naturally enough to the vastly increased number of liquor shops in the city, and prayed the authorities concerned to reduce the number of shops. This the authorities concerned refused to do, assigning as a cause for their refusal that they believed the number of liquor shops in the city to be in no way disproportionate to the legitimate demand. And now mark the real value of this opinion. The Municipality consists both of official, and non-official members, and, what is more to the purpose, the working body which unanimously passed the resolution in question

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\* "It can not be too strongly urged upon the Collectors that the object which government has in view is to restrain, and if possible to correct and diminish, the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end will be repaid a hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habits among the people." *G. R. No. 3459 September 17th 1833*

"Government would very willingly relinquish all revenue from this source could it thereby abate the increasing vice of drunkenness. This however being impracticable, the next object of government is to check it by enhancing the price of intoxicating liquors." *G. R. No. 2065 June 22nd 1844.*

"The greatest activity should be encouraged in the prevention of smuggling, \* \* \* but no officer should be allowed to believe that it forms part of his duty to throw temptation in the way of the people with a view to increase the revenue of his district." *The Court of Directors' letter No. 17 June 14th 1843.*

We can multiply these extracts *ad libitum*, but the above are quite sufficient for our purpose.

at the instance of a leading member of the general body, consisted of two official and four non-official members, one of the former two being the full power City Magistrate himself. And the opinion, unanimously arrived at by such an influential body was set at naught by officials interested in the growth of the revenue itself!!! Certainly no Government officials can be in a better position to take care that people do not abuse their liberties in the matter of intoxicating drinks than the people themselves, especially when these people have by tradition a religious horror for this vice. We propose, accordingly, the deprovincialization of a portion of the Abkari Revenue; in other words that portion of the revenue which is derived from the retail of spirituous drinks and narcotic drugs should be handed over to the Municipal and local Boards. The income derived from the tax on trees and the import and still head duties would remain as now an Imperial one, and its proceeds shared half and half between the local and Imperial governments. This system of fiscal policy appears to us to be "most in accordance with popular opinion and sentiment." We also hold that a limited clandestine consumption is a lesser evil than a wide-spread legalized consumption. Under the arrangement proposed by us, each local community will have the power of controlling the further growth of this pest of western civilization, and we doubt not that in such hands, the license fees and other duties would be raised to such a pitch as to render indulgence in spirituous drinks and narcotic drugs an extremely costly luxury. We have it on the testimony of Mountstuart Elphinstone himself, that there is so little of a natural propensity among the natives of this country for intoxicating drinks, that the absolute prohibition of spirits, which used to exist in most native states, was sufficient to keep down drunkenness. And we have not the slightest doubt that if the Abkari Revenue were to be partially deprovincialized, the desired result would be accomplished without any very heavy loss, to the Trea-

surey.† And even if there be a slight loss, surely a government which, in its solicitude for the welfare of its subjects, has actually repealed *in toto* the import duties on cotton goods, ought certainly to be prepared to sacrifice the interests of revenue to what is unquestionably a nobler object, namely, the emancipation of the people from moral degradation and ruin. The Anti-Opium party in England would give a more practical direction to their agitation if they would take up this question, and first of all force the hands of the Indian Government to abstain from trading in the vices of their own subjects, or to speak more accurately as being nearer the truth, to abstain from gradually initiating their own subjects into vices for which they have inherited no natural propensity.

We have thus given our opinion as to what items of revenue should be deprovincialized. But as we have already observed at the outset of this section of our article, the question as to what items of revenue should be deprovincialized is a minor question, compared with the other which regards the reconstitution of the local bodies and the enlargement of their powers. The Government of India themselves appear from their subsequent resolution on the subject of local self-government, to have attached the highest importance to this question of the reconstitution of these bodies and the enlargement of their powers. In the ninth paragraph of this Resolution we are told that "it would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-government, if local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail; and the respective powers of government and of the various Local Bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to Local Bodies." This statement of the views of the Govern-

ment of India on the subject of the development of self-government was supplemented in several important particulars by the noble Marquis during the course of his speeches at Delhi and Agra in reply to addresses of welcome from the Municipalities of those places. At Delhi the noble Marquis said :—“ I look upon the extension of self-government as the best means at the disposal of the Government of India at the present time to promote and extend the political education of the people of this country. \* \* \* Patience is necessary in the beginning of all things ; it is necessary in the conduct of all public affairs, especially where a more or less numerous body of men have been brought together, and I would remind those, whose favourite schemes may be thwarted or opposed, that the establishment and development and practical working of self-government is of itself a great benefit to the country. That it is not only an end to be pursued, but a great object of political education to be attained, and therefore we may well put up with even disappointments and annoyance rather than sweep away those principles which are calculated in the end, as they become better known, and as the people become more accustomed to work them, to confer large benefits upon the community in general. I, therefore, desire, and my colleagues desire with me, to see the powers and independence of local bodies increased and extended as opportunity may offer. We desire to see the principle of election extended, wherever it may be possible, although we are aware we can only proceed gradually and tentatively in that direction. I have ventured to detain you upon this topic, because it is one to which I personally attach very great importance, and because if I should be able to feel at the close of my career in this country that I have done something to develop local self-government in India, I should esteem it a great honour and distinction.” It is evident from the foregoing that the question of the development, and extension of local self-government is considered by the

Government of the Marquis of Ripon as more important than the mere deprovincialization and transfer of certain funds to local management. Bearing this in mind we propose to make certain suggestions to the Governments of the Marquis of Ripon and Sir James Fergusson in regard to certain changes which are, in our humble opinion, necessary in the Bombay Presidency to give practical effect to the noble intentions of the Government of India concerning the development and extension of local self-government in India.

## PART II.

### MUNICIPALITIES AND LOCAL FUND COMMITTEES.

As we have already stated above, Municipalities and Local Fund Committees are the two base units of popular representative government in India; and it is these two bodies whose status and constitution must be improved in the first instance before any higher development of popular representative government can be safely and successfully attempted. They are as it were the foundations upon which the superstructure is to stand, and it is a trite observation to remark that unless the foundations are well laid, the superstructure must of necessity tumble down sooner or later. Municipal institutions in India are the creation of the British Government, and it is the same with Local Fund Committees, which in other parts of the country are known as Local Boards. In the Bombay Presidency the original Municipal Act was Act XXVI of 1850, now supplanted by Act VI of 1873; and most of the existing Municipalities were first established under the former Act. Thus most of them have been in existence for a considerable time, some of course even for a quarter of a century. During this interval considerable progress has been made by a great portion of these Municipalities, and it is high time, therefore, that the status of the more advanced of these Municipalities should be advanced.

We have in this Presidency two classes of Muni-

cipalities, the City Municipalities and the Town Municipalities; in the former the power and responsibility for carrying out the purposes of the Act are vested in the Municipal Commissioners collectively, whereas in the case of the latter it is finally vested in the President or the Vice-President, who can at times set aside the views of the majority of the Commissioners, and act upon their own responsibility. Of the 160 Municipalities in this Presidency, excluding of course the Presidency Town of Bombay itself, only ten are first class Municipalities, and the non-official Commissioners in all the 160 Municipalities are nominated for Government, by the Commissioners of the Divisions respectively. The following statement gives the names of the ten cities, where first class Municipalities have been in existence for a long time, with their population and annual income.

No.	Name of the District.	Name of the City Municipality.	Population according to the Census of 1872.	Annual Income exclusive of the balance 1879-80.
1	Ahmedabad ...	Ahmedabad ...	116,873	244,751-3-9
2	Broach ...	Broach ...	36,932	65,071-13-6
3	Surat ...	Surat ...	107,149	236,172-8-1
4	Poona ...	Poona ...	90,436	171,619-1-5
5	Ahmednagar ...	Ahmednagar ...	32,841	51,066-5-5
6	Sholapoor ...	Sholapoor ...	53,403	278,220-6-0*
7	Karachi ...	Karachi ...	56,753	307,644-2-6
8	Hyderabad ...	Hyderabad ...	41,152	109,919-6-1
9	Shikarpur ...	Shikarpur ...	38,107	77,604-11-3
10	Do.	Sukkur.	13,318	123,707-14-1

\* Includes a loan of nearly two Lakhs of Rupees for the water supply works.

The forementioned ten cities have for a long time enjoyed first class powers, without any complaints as regards their working on the part of the District authorities, and under their management the revenues too have swelled to a respectable extent. It is high time, therefore, that these ten Municipalities should be advanced a step higher, and that in their case the principle of election should be applied largely in the appointment of non-official Commissioners. As will be seen at

a glance from the foregoing table, the annual income of these ten Municipalities is too large to be entrusted to the sole management of Government nominees. Since the enactment of Act VI of 1873, Section 7 Clause 2 of which authorizes the Governor in Council to allow all the non-official Commissioners in City Municipalities or a portion of them, as he may be advised, to be appointed by election, the people of Poona, Ahmedabad, Sholapoor and Nagar have memorialized the local Government, praying it to confer upon them the right of electing their own Municipal Commissioners. •The citizens and rate payers of Poona submitted their petitions, most numerous signed, three or four times during the last eight years, and the fact that on each occasion they were refused the prayer, has restrained the people of other cities from preferring similar petitions. . . But the attitude of the Government of the Marquis of Ripon on the subject, as indicated in the recent resolutions and in the speeches of the noble Marquis, has naturally given rise to fresh hopes, and not only the people of Poona, but those of Sholapore and Ahmednagar also, have renewed their agitation on the subject. We trust that the three cities in the Northern Division, and the four cities in the Sind Division, which have already got City Municipalities will follow in the footsteps of their countrymen in the Central Division. We think that it is high time that all these ten Municipalities should have among their members a due portion of the duly elected representatives of the rate-payers. In Poona, Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi and Sukkur, this portion should be one half of the total number of Commissioners, while in Sholapoor, Ahmednagar, Broach, Hyderabad and Shikarpur this portion might fairly be fixed at one third. As a preliminary measure, the proportion we have indicated above will be sufficient for the purpose, care being taken to raise it as soon as experience shows that the tentative experiment has proved successful. We have no doubt what-

ever that the people of the ten cities mentioned above are sufficiently advanced in intelligence and public spirit, to justify the tentative experiment we have proposed. As regards the qualification of the electors there will be no difficulty whatever in devising some suitable test, varying perhaps in each case. The principal test should, in our opinion, be the payment of Municipal taxes above a certain minimum limit. This will ensure a due responsibility to the rate-payers. On the principle followed in Bombay, we think a check should be provided by a due representation of intelligence also, and the Assessors' list and University degrees would furnish this test to a large extent. The seats to be reserved for election should be divided in a proportion of two to one between the property men and those of advanced intelligence.

It would not be impertinent to the subject in hand to observe that Sir James Fergusson and his colleagues, though apparently sympathising with the Government of the Marquis of Ripon in its new policy of local self-government, are not likely to willingly and readily apply the principle of election in the appointment of Municipal Commissioners in any of the fore-mentioned towns. We infer this from a statement Sir James made at Pandharpur, in November last, and at Ahmedabad in January last, in reply to addresses of welcome presented by the two Municipalities. Moreover his statement at Ahmedabad was quite uncalled for, because the address itself contained no allusion to the new policy of decentralization and local self-government; and it is this fact which has led us along with many others to infer that possibly Sir James is reluctant to have elective local bodies in this Presidency. He said, though not in so many words, that because the people were in no way dissatisfied with the present nominations, but on the contrary approved of them and were likely to choose the same set of men if they had the choice of election, there was no reason why the power of nomination should be transferred from the government



to the people themselves. Now, properly speaking, if this argument is allowed any force whatever, the inference, that ought to be drawn from it is not the one which Sir James has drawn, but quite the opposite of it. If the people have really so far improved in their intelligence and public spirit as to have patiently acquiesced in the choice made for them by the government, this very appreciative recognition proves them to have completed their nonage or minority, when they can reasonably expect to be allowed to choose their own servants instead of their being chosen for them by others. Fancy for an instant a rich ward on his having attained majority being told by the government, who had managed his estate during his minority through an administrator, that as he had not gone out of his way in finding fault with the choice of administrators appointed by the Government,--nay more, as he himself had tacitly by his silence recognized their fitness, he should hereafter consent to have his stewards nominated by government,--what would be said of such an argument? But as a matter of fact we deny that the nominations hitherto have been always unexceptionable, or that they have never been complained of. The nominations have been open to serious objections, and more often than not the people selected have been admittedly very incompetent to hold the trust. The Government of Bengal has pleaded guilty to this charge,\*

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\* The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his circular letter to the Divisional Commissioners, calling for suggestions regarding the practical application of the principles enunciated in the Government of India's resolution on the subject of the extension of local self-Government, writes as follows regarding the nominations to the local bodies in his province:—"The Lieutenant Governor has reason to think that *in many cases appointments to these bodies have been made with reference to other considerations than the capacity of the selected individual for the management of affairs.* The opportunity should now be taken of weeding out all non-effective members, and appointing a really strong working board in each district." If the heads of other local Governments were to equally ease their conscience of the load weighing upon it, what startling revelations would not be disclosed?

and there is no reason to think that other Provincial Governments have not done that which the Government of Bengal confesses to have done. The authorities have clearly abused their privilege in days gone by, and it can not certainly be right that in the case of the more advanced cities at least, Government should be allowed the same power hereafter; for what guarantee is there that they will not abuse it in the future in the same way as they have done in the past? It is, therefore, meet that they should deprive themselves of this power, partially at any rate, and that for two reasons:—firstly, because the people of the ten cities mentioned above, having advanced in intelligence and public spirit, as evinced by the condition of their Municipal arrangements, have an inalienable right to choose their own Commissioners and to have an influential voice in the administration of their large local revenues, and secondly, because the government itself has not admittedly made hitherto a judicious use of the powers entrusted to them by utilizing the best available material.

As regards the remaining 150 Town Municipalities, the great majority of them are as yet in a state of infancy, both the population living within their jurisdiction and their annual income being very small. But even amongst these 150 Town Municipalities, there are several which ought to be advanced a step higher, that is, which ought to be made City Municipalities. These towns have a large population, and their annual Municipal revenue also is too large to be placed at the mercy, as it were, of the official members of the Municipalities, or to speak more accurately, at the mercy of the President or the Vice President. The following tabular statement contains the names of such towns in the Bombay Presidency with their population and annual income, as can justly claim to be raised a step higher, sooner or later. We think it is even very difficult to know why some of them were not promoted long before this.

No.	Name of the District.	Name of the Town Municipality.	Population according to the Census of 1872.	Annual Income exclusive of balance for 1879-1880.
1	Ahmedabad	Dholka *	20,854	10,651-0-5
2	Do.	Viramgaum *	19,661	28,633-14-0
3	Kaira	Kaira	12,681	8,759 3-6
4	"	Nadiad *	24,551	22,122-11-5
5	"	Kapadvanj	13,982	8,702-10-2
6	Broach	Ankleshwar	9,289	10,973-3-8
7	"	Jambusar	14,924	4,437-13-11
8	Surat	Rander *	10,280	17,647-10-4
9	"	Bulsar *	11,315	13,118-11-9
10	Tanna	Tanna *	14,299	18,113-0-6
11	"	Kalyan *	12,804	12,295-12-1
12	"	Bhivandi *	15,607	11,189 0-1
13	"	Basein	9,356	8,227-14-2
14	"	Bandora	11,067	11,622-4-8
15	Khandeish	Jalagaum *	8,406	18,833-6-6
16	"	Dhulia *	12,489	23,582-3-3
17	Nasik	Nasik *	22,435	41,335-11-0
18	"	Yeola	7,461	11,279-2-10
19	"	Malegaum	9,701	8,318-1-0
20	Satara	Satara *	23,903	36,135-2-10
21	Sholapur	Barsi *	15,140	15,971-0-9
22	"	Pandharpur *	16,275	47,291-15-10
23	Retnagiri	Viugurda *	9,000	15,077-4-7
24	Dharwar	Dharwar *	27,176	20,511-8-5
25	"	Hubli *	37,961	31,041-14-9
26	"	Gadag *	9,035	14,529 7-0
27	Kanara	Karwar *	13,263	10,108-15-5
28	"	Kumta	10,932	9,030-2-8
29	"	Sirsi	5,245	9,607-9-4
30	Belgaum	Belgaum *	26,947	28,481-11-5
31	Karachi	Kotri	7,949	13,536-9-11
32	"	Tatta	7,951	11,594 6-3
33	Shikarpur	La khana *	10,643	22,476-12-6
34	"	Rohri	8,780	14,247-1-7
35	Frontier Sind	Upper Jaesabad *	5,232	21,402-5-8

The thirty-five Town Municipalities mentioned in the foregoing tabular statement are the leading ones. All of them deserve to be raised sooner or later to the status of City Municipalities, but those against whose names we have put an asterix, ought to be the first to be invested with increased powers and independence. There are thus twenty-two towns in the Bombay Presidency, the inhabitants of which can fairly claim to have the status of their Municipalities raised at once. In

a Resolution, of the local government No. 1631 dated 11th June 1874 it is stated that government will not create City Municipalities without clear evidence that the population in general, and their representatives, the existing Municipal Commissioners, have by their intelligence and adoption of sanitary and other improvements, established a claim to superior powers of self-government. From the careful inquiries we have been able to make, we gather that the twenty-two towns in question have done all they could for improving their sanitary condition, when their scanty resources are taken into consideration; in fact the Divisional Reports for the year 1879-80 contain no comments from the executive officers regarding any of the towns we have named above which cast any slur upon the efficiency of the non official element in the present local management. Such being the case, we think the best way to further improve the sanitary condition of these towns, and to otherwise carry out the necessary reforms, is to allow the people a larger voice and increased powers in the administration of their Municipal revenues, the consequence of which will be that they will more readily bear additional burdens of taxation when imposed by a committee the majority of whose members are their own representatives, than when imposed by a committee wherein, though the salaried and non-salaried officers are in equal proportion, the salaried or official element as a general rule preponderates and can at times overrule the non-official members. But it must be further remembered that the improvement of the sanitary condition of any town is not the whole and sole object of Municipal institutions; the primary object of such institutions is far higher and nobler than that. The Resolution of the local government No. 1770 dated 4th June 1881, in which the Municipal administration reports of all the Divisions for the year 1879-80 are reviewed, says in its 17th paragraph that "Municipalities have for their object not only to improve the towns in

which they are established, but to *train the population to habits of self-government, of self-reliance, and to an appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of administrative freedom.*" The Marquis of Ripon was still more emphatic when during the course of his speech at Delhi his Lordship tendered the following advice,—we should say a very wholesome and necessary rebuke—to our district authorities :—“ I have no doubt that there are in India just as there are in England municipal bodies that are not always wise, who are sometimes found to obstruct measures of importance, and possibly even seriously to neglect their duties. I very well recollect a few years ago the late Lord Palmerston telling the House of Commons, when he was advocating sanitary reform that there was always in every town in England a clean party and a dirty party,—a party that was in favour of good water supply and good drainage, and a party opposed to measures of that kind. I have not the least doubt that there is a clean party and a dirty party in the towns and cities of India, and I can quite understand that to men zealous of improvement it may be often trying to see important schemes calculated to confer great benefits on a large community postponed, or marred, or laid aside through ignorance, or apathy, or indifference; but I may venture to say to those who may feel not unnaturally impatient at such untoward occurrences, that they should not allow their impatience to run away with them to the extent of allowing them to obstruct or abandon the principle of self-government.” Having due regard to this salutary advice of the noble Marquis, we think we are fully justified in suggesting that the Municipalities of all the forementioned twenty-two towns should be advanced a step higher, and invested with increased powers and independence. The population of every one of these twenty-two towns with the exception of a few,—and here it must be remembered that the figures we have given above are taken, from the Census returns of 1872—is or exceeds, ten thousand,

and it can not certainly be found difficult in so large a population to find the requisite number of really competent men to discharge the responsible duties of Municipal Commissioners of a City Municipality in a way alike creditable to themselves and to the government.

As regards the deprovincialization or transfer of funds to local bodies, we need only observe that Municipalities and Local Fund Committees do not really much differ from each other. What Local Fund Committees do or ought to do for the rural population of a district or a sub-division of a district, Municipalities do or ought to do for the urban or semi-urban population of cities and towns. We therefore propose that all those purely local items of revenue which we have specified in the first part of this article should, along with their corresponding expenditure, be transferred to Municipalities, so far as they fall within the limits of their jurisdiction. The Government of India having been pleased to relieve them of Police contribution, we have not the slightest doubt that in course of time Municipalities will spend far larger sums upon primary education, and in support of medical dispensaries. They should be also allowed annual fixed allotments to restore the equilibrium between deprovincialized revenue and deprovincialized expenditure, requiring them to raise by local taxation whatever additional funds they might deem necessary.

Before closing this chapter of our article, we can not conveniently pass over or ignore the attempt recently made by the Municipality of Pandharpur in the Sholapoor Collectorate to have its status and powers increased. On a recent occasion when His Excellency Sir James Fergusson Bart visited Pandharpur during the course of his tour of inspection through the Southern Maratha Country, the Municipality of Pandharpur on behalf of the people of that town welcomed His Excellency in a right loyal manner, and presented him with an address of welcome. In the concluding portion of this address the prayer

is thus expressed in an extremely modest language :—  
 “The inauguration of the present enlightened policy of the Imperial Government with respect to local administrations, emboldens us to hope that our Municipality will soon be raised to the rank of a City Municipality, and we need say no more on the subject, as the question is of too delicate a nature to be dwelt upon in this address.” The Municipality of Pandharpur is no doubt entitled to be invested with increased powers and responsibilities, and we are sorry that His Excellency did not condescend to give any specific reply to this extremely modest prayer. But be that as it may, we should think it to be quite on the cards that Pandharpur will be one of the first among the twenty-two towns to get a City Municipality. Our object, however, in referring to this instance specifically is to draw the attention of the people of the twenty-two towns mentioned above to the necessity of memorializing the local government on the subject. Bureaucratic governments will do little of their own motion, and people must never cease to be importunate in their representations and demands, for that is the only way in which they can succeed in attaining their object. We trust, therefore, that the people of the twenty-two towns concerned will imitate the example set to them by the people of Pandharpur, and will bear in mind the farewell advice given by Sir Philip Wodehouse to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and through them to the people of the Bombay Presidency generally. We repeat his very words “Agitate, agitate, agitate, until you succeed in accomplishing your ends.”

One word more. The Bombay District Municipal Act is for the present all that can be desired, and the eulogium passed upon it by the government of India in their Resolution on the development of local self-government is not quite undeserved. What is required is only that the local Government loyally acts up to it. The suggestions we have made above regarding the application of the principle of

election in the case of the ten cities named in our first tabular statement, and regarding the elevation of the Municipalities of the twenty-two towns to the higher powers of local self-government, are within both the letter and the spirit of the existing Municipal Act; for while Section VII Clause 2 empowers the Governor in Council to apply the principle of election in the case of City Municipalities, Section IV empowers the Governor in Council to establish a City Municipality in every town whose population is 10,000, if he only chooses to do so.

We now come to Local Fund Committees, which as we have already said at the outset, are the second initial unit of popular representative government, and which do in no wise differ from Municipalities. The Local Fund Cess was first established in the Bombay Presidency in 1863 during the administration of Sir Bartle Frere. Captain Davidson, Mr. J. D. Inverarity, and Sir George Wingate first suggested the imposition of this cess for providing the means of education and internal communications in all rural districts of this Presidency as they came under the Revenue Survey. For six or seven years the cess was levied without any legal sanction, and was also administered by the District authorities without the co-operation of the people, although the Government Resolution No. 3115 dated 16th September 1863 laid it down as a cardinal principle "that the tax-payers should have an influential voice in the disposal of the funds." Act III of 1869, however, legalized by a retrospective effect the imposition of the cess throughout the Presidency, excepting Sind, for which another Act was passed earlier, and then for the first time Local Fund Committees were appointed in each collectorate of the Presidency. The Act in question, however, appears to us to be extremely defective, and incredibly loose in its wording and it leaves to the executive more discretionary power than is ever advisable in the interests of good rule. We find, in the Rules made by the local Government from time to time under the provisions of Section XII of



the Act, important matters dealt with, which, properly speaking, ought to have been dealt with by the Legislature itself. Now take for instance Rule 29 which is as follows:—"The Collector, as President, shall forward a notice to every Inamdar in the district (entered in the Government books as holder of an alienated village), or to his manager or agent, requiring him before a fixed date, which shall not be less than one month, from the date of the notice, to elect an Inamdar of the district as a member of the District Committee. The electors shall give their votes in writing, to be delivered by post or otherwise to the Collector before the date fixed. The person who shall have received the most votes shall, (unless any sufficient reason exists for excluding him), be declared elected, and his name forwarded by the President for insertion in the *Government Gazette*. If the Inamdars do not make a return by the time specified, the President may nominate." A similar Rule (No. 31) provides for the election by the Inamdars of a Taluka of a member to represent them in the Talooka Local Fund Committee,\* with this radical difference that if an Inamdar is not available for being elected as a member, the electors may choose any other person to represent them. Now in the first place nothing is said in the Act itself about either the Inamdar member or his election by his peers. Such an important matter as this ought certainly to have been dealt with by the Legislature itself, and not left to the Executive to be dealt with according to its caprices for the time

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\* The Talooka Committee is, we think, in its institution *ultra vires*; for according to rule 31 it consists of seven members only, while Section 2 of Act III of 1869 says that the members of a Local Fund Committee "shall be not fewer in number than eight, inclusive of the President." The justification of Rule 31, which relates to the establishment of Talooka Local Fund Committees, probably is that they are simply ancillary in their nature, and only assist the principal bodies by advice. True, but we think that if the principal bodies themselves had been made strong by the appointment of more non-official members, there would have been no necessity for these ancillary bodies.

being. Another point in connection with this subject, to which we attach greater importance because it is also applicable in the case of the members appointed by Government to represent the proprietors or holders of land, is that, neither in the Act itself, nor in the Rules made thereunder, is any limit fixed to the tenure of office by the members once nominated or elected as the case may be. A member once appointed may hold on till the end of his life without undergoing the form of renomination, provided he can so far overcome his scruples, as to "servilely adopt every suggestion made by the President or the Vice President" as the case may be. To say nothing of the members appointed to represent the proprietors or holders of land, we know of instances in which the Inamdar members appointed in 1869 still continue in their office, and that none of the Inamdars are aware of their ever having been called upon to elect a member under Rule 29 or Rule 31. The right of election is scarcely worth having, if one is not to exercise it afresh after the lapse of a reasonable interval. Fancy for an instant that the Parliament elected in April 1880 was to perpetuate itself to the end of the century, and that its successor was to do the same for an equally long or longer period; in the case we have supposed, we put it to an Englishman, whether the inevitable result of such a procedure, if repeated for a generation or two only, would not be to destroy popular representative Government, and to efface all traces of it, not only in England, but in any other country, where a similar procedure might be followed. It is just the same case with Rules 29 and 31 under Section 12 of Act III of 1869. These Rules were first made in 1869, and their very existence was so far unsuspected by almost all those whom they concerned, that when they were published last year in the local *Government Gazette* with slight modifications, they were jubilant because they thought a new right was

conferred upon them!!! We cannot in fairness and reason hold the Inamdars responsible for this astounding ignorance of their rights. The fault lies principally, if not solely and wholly, at the door of government, who in the absence of a Rule authorizing the election to be recurring every third year or fourth year, might as well have left these Rules unmade.

We now come to another point, namely, the numerical strength of our Local Fund Committees, which we think is much smaller than it ought to be. Before we proceed further we have to direct the pointed attention of the reader to the following tabular statement\* which will help him to understand rightly what we have to say in the sequel.

\* A comparative statement showing the Municipal and land revenue proper, Inams, Local Funds revenue &c.

No.	Name of the District.	Total population according to the Census of 1872.	Total Municipal population.	Remainder being rural population.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Ahmedabad.	8,29,637	1,90,526	6,39,111
2	Kaira.	7,82,733	67,019	7,15,714
3	Panch Mahals.	2,40,743	22,113	2,18,630
4	Broach.	3,50,322	61,145	2,89,177
5	Surat.	6,07,087	1,33,040	4,74,047
6	Thana.	8,47,424	96,682	7,50,742
7	Kolaba.	3,50,405	23,753	3,26,652
8	Khandesh.	10,28,642	1,25,126	9,03,516
9	Nasik.	7,34,386	66,862	6,67,524
10	Ahmednagar.	7,73,938	46,735	7,27,204
11	Poona.	9,07,235	1,45,992	7,61,243
12	Sholapoor.	7,18,034	93,313	6,24,721
13	Sattara.	10,61,002	99,167	9,61,835
14	Belgaum.	9,38,750	73,994	8,64,756
15.	Dharwar.	9,88,037	1,30,812	8,57,225
16	Kaladgi.	8,16,037	34,704	7,81,333
17	Kanara.	3,98,406	38,258	3,60,148
18	Ratnagiri.	10,19,136	40,987	9,78,148
19	Karachi.	4,23,495	94,240	3,29,255
20	Thar and Parkar.	1,80,761	9,004	1,71,757
21	Hyderabad.	7,21,947	80,789	6,41,158
22	Shikarpur.	7,76,227	95,371	5,80,856
23	Upper Sind Frontier.	69,935	5,232	64,703

From the last column of the foregoing tabular statement it will be seen that, with the exception of the four districts, Panch Mahals, Kolaba, Thar and Parkar, and Upper Sind Frontier, the Local Fund receipts of every one of the remaining nineteen districts exceed Rs. 50,000 annually. Now it ought to be borne in mind that Local Fund Committees discharge towards the rural population of districts the same duties which Municipalities discharge towards large centres of urban or semi-urban population; and a reference to the two tables in the earlier part of this chapter of the present paper will show that no town whose annual Municipal income exceeds Rs. 50,000, is without a City Municipality. In City Municipalities as rural population in each district of the Bombay Presidency, its

Gross Land Revenue for 1879-80.	Inams for 1879-1880.	Remainder being Government Revenue for 1879-80	Local Fund Receipts for 1879-80.
6	7	8	9
19,74,804	5,32,494	14,42,308	96,944
27,28,499	7,78,913	19,49,585	1,30,053
3,53,123	95,014	2,58,108	48,841
28,66,451	6,13,356	22,53,095	1,52,736
27,61,726	4,26,455	23,35,270	1,59,609
15,27,581	1,46,295	13,81,286	1,51,824
7,97,016	50,142	7,46,874	48,338
34,96,204	3,23,479	31,63,528	2,03,279
16,74,591	2,83,234	13,91,357	91,794
16,05,344	2,95,748	13,09,595	86,504
15,17,506	3,22,869	11,36,179	1,57,836
11,97,980	1,52,153	9,79,691	74,172
23,41,550	7,51,162	15,53,948	1,17,940
17,49,593	5,14,957	12,34,636	82,897
28,86,192	5,49,716	23,34,542	1,55,511
15,96,894	3,83,839	12,12,904	79,239
9,85,043	4,806	9,90,236	72,412
10,17,354	79,754	9,37,600	60,480
7,76,214	78,272	6,97,942	1,04,932
2,46,844	3,352	2,42,992	27,855
15,18,899	1,97,256	13,21,504	1,82,242
17,93,600	1,34,358	16,58,211	1,88,629
2,97,915	9,768	2,88,147	22,287

at present constituted, the strength of the non-official element is never less than double that of the official element. Such being the case, we fail to see why when the majority of our Local Fund Committees have to administer a much larger revenue, the non-official element in them should be so weak, as it is at present, the proportion of the two elements at present being six ex-officio to seven non-official members. In some districts, such as Khandeish, the strength of the official element is probably greater than that of the non-official element, owing to several Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors being under Rule 29 entitled to have a seat in the Committee. The argument in favour of increasing the strength of the non-official element in our Local Fund Committees derives additional force and importance from another circumstance which can not be altogether lost sight of. Of the ten first class Municipalities we have in this Presidency, the City Municipality of Ahmednagar has the smallest income, which is about Rs. 51,000 per annum. Now the population of the town of Ahmednagar, according to the Census of 1872, was 32,841, with about twenty non-official representatives to take care of its local interests as against nine official representatives. Let us now cast a glance at the other side. The Local Fund receipts of the Ahmednagar district amounted in 1879-80 to Rs. 86,504 exclusive of the balance from the previous year; and the rural population of the district, according to the Census of 1872, excluding of course the Municipal population of the City of Ahmednagar and other Municipal towns in the district, was 7,27,203. And yet the local interests of so large a rural population are supposed to be duly taken care of by only seven non-official representatives!!! A cursory glance at the fourth, fifth and ninth columns of the foregoing tabular statement will at once bring conviction home to the mind even of the most sceptic, that if our Local Fund Committees are ever to prove a success, they

must forthwith be strengthened by the infusion into them of a more numerous non-official element. The final result of all this neglect has been that the principal object and justification of the existence of such local bodies have not been fulfilled. This object and justification has a twofold aspect; there is firstly the consideration as to the way in which the local business itself can be best done, and secondly we have to see how its transaction can be made most instrumental to the nourishment of public spirit and the development of intelligence. In both these respects, the principal object has been defeated, simply owing to the well-known reluctance of the executive to allow the people any real voice in the administration even of their local affairs. It must be borne in mind that the Local Funds money is admittedly raised and administered as the property of those by whom it has been contributed; and it is, therefore, only reasonable to expect that the executive shall not interfere with the administration of the said money except by advice only. But as a matter of fact, the executive has hitherto had its own way in the administration of these Funds, the so called representatives of the rate-payers being, owing to their numerical weakness, powerless for any good, and too weak to resist any misdirection of their Funds. We adduce the following official testimony in support of the statement made above. Mr. E. P. Robertson, the present Commissioner of the Central Division, writing in 1878 on the subject, states that in his opinion "it is absolutely impossible, and would be absolutely unfair, to make a division or district separately responsible for its own famine expenditure," and then proceeds to say:—"One ruinous step in this direction has already, it is most deeply to be regretted, been taken. Heavy famine charges have been thrown on Local Funds; and most Local Funds are now bankrupt, their usefulness being crippled for years to come, and all this done for a very paltry saving to the regular famine charges.

Till the Local Fund system was established, *government did next to nothing for the country.* No roads were made or repaired, no schools or dharmashalas built, no wells or tanks were repaired; *in fact, neglect of the most glaring description was the order of the day.* \* \* \* \* \* Now that Local Funds have been so severely crippled by famine charges thrown on them, advance must in a great measure stop for some years to come. I earnestly pray that the error that has been committed in the above instance may not, with greater chances of evil, be repeated." The instance given by Mr. Commissioner Robertson is, however, not the only instance of the misappropriation of Local Funds. The expenditure recently thrown upon Local Funds in connection with improving the breed of horses is another instance pointing in the same direction; and we learn from a reliable source that though it was objected to not only by the non-official members of our Local Fund Committees, but even by the district authorities themselves, Government turned a deaf ear to their solicitations, and imposed the new item of expenditure upon them. We can point to many other instances of the same character, but we refrain from doing so, because those already mentioned are enough for our purpose, even if there be none others in the back-ground.

Now all this is the legitimate consequence, firstly of the inadequate representation of the rate-payers in our Local Fund Committees, owing to the numerical weakness of those who are appointed to guard their interests, and secondly of the vast powers which Government possesses under the present Act. Under its loose and ill-defined provisions Government is encouraged to interfere with the administration of those bodies more frequently than is advisable in the interests of self-government. Such being the case, the remedy for the present evil lies in strengthening the non-official element in these bodies, and in curtailing considerably the present ill-defined powers of Govern-

ment. Moreover the argument in favour of strengthening the non-official element derives still greater force and importance from two other considerations, namely, that under the proposed scheme the resources at the disposal of these local bodies are to be considerably increased by transferring to them some minor heads of revenue and expenditure of purely local interest, and also that in the course of what we believe is not a distant future, these bodies will, in addition to their being simply administrative boards, be taxing bodies also like our present Municipalities. These two considerations, in addition to the one already dilated upon, render it absolutely necessary that the present strength of the non-official element in these bodies should be considerably strengthened in a manner which will give the rate-payers a really influential voice in the administration of their local resources.

Now the question is how our Local Fund Committees should be constituted. Before we give the sketch outlines of the constitution as it occurs to our mind, it will be necessary to make some preliminary observations. It will, we believe, be readily admitted by all that though deprovincialization in itself is a thing most to be desired, local self-government being impossible without it, there is nevertheless a certain limit beyond which deprovincialization should not go. We think a district ought to be the last independent unit, beyond which the scheme of deprovincialization should not be pushed. We think a Taluka or other sub-division of a district should not have any independent existence, but should be merged into the district, so far as the administration of the local resources is concerned. It was evidently a mistake, when the local Government, acting under the provisions of the Local Funds Act of 1869, had ruled that local funds should be spent *Talookwar*. It is now over four years since the orders requiring local funds to be spent *Talookwar* were cancelled, not with the intention of depriving any Talooka of its fair share



of expenditure on public works, but with the intention of preventing the frittering away of the resources on useless small works, (*Vide G. R. No. 499-A-1503, dated Nov-5-1877*) Since that date the Talooka Committees have been completely merged into the District Committee, and the former bodies now fulfill no other function than that of being mere ministerial agencies with the right of representing their wants to the central body. Having regard to all these circumstances, we propose to do away with the Talooka Committees altogether. They serve no useful purpose, but are in the position of a fifth wheel to a four-wheeled carriage. In our forthcoming proposal, therefore, a Talooka has no independent existence for administrative purposes. This would, however, necessitate making provision for giving every Talooka a fair representation in the Central Committee. We propose accordingly, that every Talooka should have in the District Local Fund Committee one member who should be elected by those who pay Rs 100 in the shape of land assessment or any other tax on which the one anna cess is levied. Besides this body of electors, Inamdars, or holders of alienated villages, should be entitled to elect two members out of their own body to represent them in the District Committee; and in the same way two seats should be allowed to the educated classes, represented by the list of jurors and assessors of the district, the graduates of the University resident within the district, and the pleaders practising in the district. Government should then nominate half as many more to represent the non-official classes, and the ex-officio members should be one third of all the foregoing members or one fourth of the entire body. We think that the true interests of self-government in this country demand, for the present at least, not only that the President of the District Local Fund Committee should be one of the official representatives of government, but also that that official representative should be none other than the Magistrate-Collector of the District.

The multifarious nature of the duties of his office as the administrative head of the district in all its branches, far from being any disqualification, eminently qualifies him to discharge the duties required from the President of such a local board. There are only two alternatives possible, the Magistrate Collector of the District must either be the President of such a board, or he must be excluded from it altogether. For it is plain enough that if the Magistrate-Collector, instead of being the President, is only a member, he will not on that account exercise any the less influence on the non-official members. If the non-official members, whether elected or nominated, be not independent enough to vote according to their sense of duty and the dictates of their conscience, and strong enough to resist any influence which the President, whether he be a Magistrate-Collector or any other government officer, might bring to bear upon them, it is hardly worth the while to have non-official representatives in these local bodies. To be of real use, these non-official members must have the courage of their convictions; and if in a body where they will be in the majority, they can not command their influence we doubt very much if they will show the necessary qualification, even when the President be some government officer other than the Magistrate-Collector, as suggested by the British Indian Association of Calcutta. In short, much would depend upon the election and nomination of proper men,—men who have an aptitude for the work expected of them. The District Local Fund Committees, once so constituted, should hold power for five years only, and the government should have in reserve the power to dissolve the Committees at any time within that period, and requiring fresh elections and nominations.

The necessity of allowing every Talooka a representative in the District Committee will not be questioned by any one alive to the importance of the reform and to the great object to be kept in view in

the establishment of such local bodies. The only question is whether these Talooka members should be elected by the people themselves, or should be nominated by Government. We are in favour of election, and the arguments we have advanced in favour of extending the elective system to first class Municipalities hold good in this case also. The constituency we have proposed is also limited, and will not be difficult to manage, in as much as the minimum test we have proposed above will practically be found to give the voting power to those only among the occupancy holders who may be safely taken to represent the whole class, and who will be found intelligent enough to make a proper use of the privilege. At the commencement some difficulty may be experienced, but that is the fate of every new experiment, and ought not to deter the Government from giving it a fair trial. As the Marquis of Ripon said at Delhi the other day, patience is necessary in the commencement of all things, and we have no doubt that if the local Government has patience enough and to spare, the experiment we have suggested above will in course of time prove a decided success. There is also another reason why we have proposed election instead of nomination in the case of the Talooka members in our Local Fund Committees; hitherto Government have admittedly not made a judicious and impartial use of the powers possessed by them in respect of the nomination of these members. The Government of Bengal has in plain terms admitted this fact, and there is no reason to suppose that other local Governments, including the Government of Bombay, have in this respect acted in a manner different from that of the Bengal Government.

As regards the Inamdar members in the District Committee it is necessary for us to say a word or two. In their case the existing rules are sufficiently liberal in so far as their election is concerned, and we have nothing to suggest by way of improvement upon them. The innovation we have suggested above has reference

chiefly to the number of Inamdar representatives, for we propose that the Inamdars of every district ought to have two members in their District Committee instead of one. These Inamdar members do not represent the class they belong to so much as their tenants who to a great extent have eventually to pay the Local Fund Cess. Again a reference to the sixth, seventh and eighth columns of the foregoing tabular statement will show what proportion the alienated revenue bears to the government revenue proper, and it is evidently just that this important and influential interest should have two members to represent it. The Inamdars moreover as a class, but more especially the larger ones among them, are an intelligent body and are the natural leaders of their respective local communities. Having regard to all these circumstances we do not think it is too much to ask that they shall be in future represented by two instead of one member only.

We now come to the representation of the educated classes in the District Committee. Hitherto the importance of allowing this class a separate and independent voice in the local Committees was not recognized; but having regard to the declaration made by the government of the Marquis of Ripon that the charge of primary education with its financial management should be entirely handed over to local bodies, it will be necessary to allow the educated classes an independent representation in these committees. The same reasons which make it necessary to allow the Educational Inspector or his Deputy an ex-officio seat in these bodies, also justify the further concession that the educated classes should have non-official representatives also in these Committees to take care of the educational interests of the District. We have proposed two seats for the educated classes, and we think that they are not more than the actual requirements of the case justify. These classes represent the intelligence of the district, and have special apti-

tude and an anxious desire to make a proper and intelligent use of the right of election. According to our scheme, the different interests in the district will be equally balanced. For, including the ex-officio members and their nominees from amongst the non-official classes, Government will have half the Committee nominated by itself, the other half only being elected by the rate-payers. Government will, moreover, have the advantage of having its leading representative in the district as the President of the Committee, who by his casting vote will always secure a majority to government on those few occasions when government may reasonably feel that, in the interests of the people themselves, the unanimous opinion of their local representatives should be for a time set aside. Under the present circumstances of the country, we hold that, whatever may be said against it on the ground of abstract theory, practically government for a long time to come must possess the power alluded to above, and on occasions exercise it in the interests of the people themselves, and also in those of self-government. If not properly tended and watched, these interests are sure to be endangered rather than furthered by any premature action. We need hardly add that this conservative force represented by government appears to us to be a necessary ballast to steady our progress in these matters. It is the sense of the importance of this agency which has reconciled us to limit for the present election to one-half instead of three fourths of the local Boards as suggested by the British Indian Association. The substance must precede the form, the desire to possess power and the intelligence to exercise it responsibly must be strengthened before free institutions can be fully conceded.\* It will not do to make too wide a departure all at once, and disturb the balance. We claim for our scheme that while it lays a stable foundation for a wholesome

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\* See Buckle's History of Civilization in England Vol. II Chapter VIII.

reform, it will not interfere with the efficiency of local administration.

When the District Committees are once constituted on the principle laid down in the foregoing scheme, they should not be interfered with in the details of administration by the provincial government. As in the case of City Municipalities as at present constituted, the entire power and responsibility of carrying out the purposes of the proposed Local Funds Act should be vested in the members of the District Committees collectively, the interference of the Provincial government being confined to general supervision and advice only. As the late John Stuart Mill says, "the authority which is most conversant with principles should be supreme over principles, while that which is most competent in details should have the details left to it. The principal business of the central authority should be to give instruction, of the local authority to apply it. Power may be localized, but knowledge, to be most useful, must be centralized; there must be somewhere a focus at which all its scattered rays are collected, that the broken and coloured lights which exist elsewhere may find there what is necessary to complete and purify them."\* Hitherto the central authority has been in the habit of interfering most vexatiously in the details of administration, and rendering the existence of these local bodies a mere sham. The official testimony of Mr. Commissioner Robertson, which we have quoted in the earlier part of this chapter, shows the vexatious character of this interference, and we have additional proof to the same effect in the fact which we have learnt from a very reliable source that a Magistrate-Collector in the Southern Division of this Presidency, in reply to a circular letter from government calling upon all the district Collectors to give their views as to the best means of giving effect to the principles laid down by

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\* John Stuart Mill. "On Representative Government" Chapter XV. "On Local Representative Bodies."

the Government of India in their recent resolutions on the development of local self-government, is reported to have stated, that if the government was really anxious to concede independence it should itself refrain from interfering in the details of administration and leave the local bodies free in that respect. The truth is that even the district authorities, bureaucratic as they are, severely smart under the pressure put upon them from above, with a view to their coercing the non-official members in these local bodies to register the edicts of the central authority. In short, the powers of the central authority must be clearly defined in the same way as the powers of interference of the Government of India with the action of Provincial Governments are clearly laid down in the Government of India's Resolution of September last. How this power of interference should be defined and limited is a question of detail; but we think nevertheless that these powers should certainly not be larger than those at present enjoyed by government in connection with City Municipalities, because what we most desire to have is not an imitation of the mere British forms of administrative independence, but to absorb their substance and spirit. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that decentralization is not a foreign institution. India has been from time immemorial decentralized both in local and imperial matters to an extent which constituted its weakness. Under British rule, this tradition was violated, and the pendulum swung to the other extreme. The value of the present reform is that it establishes the mean decentralization in local matters, and centralization in imperial affairs. This inspires us with a well founded hope that the experiment, if judiciously worked, will prove a success.\*

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\* We contend that a British Government ought to govern on British principles; not by British forms—God forbid. For if ever there was a case in which the letter kills and the spirit gives life, it would be an attempt to introduce British forms and the sub-

There only remain two points to be noticed in connection with the District Committees. The first relates to the Chairmanship of the executive council of the District Committee. We have already said that the Collector-Magistrate of the District should be the ex-officio President of the District Committee, but the Chairmanship of the executive council should not be confined to ex-officio members, and the Chairman should as far as possible be not a member of the executive service. The Chairman of the executive council should be elected by the general body along with the executive council itself, and it is this council which should dispose of the entire business of the District Committee subject to the control and supervision of the President and the General Committee. This executive council with its Chairman should be appointed at the end of every year. This arrangement is necessary in the interests of self-government. As matters at present stand, the District Collector as President of the District Committee manages the whole business, now and then sending round the papers for the opinion of the members of the Committee who, when they find that the initiative is taken by the President himself, seldom, if ever, oppose his wishes, but simply content themselves with a laconic ditto. This arrangement is far from satisfactory, and ought to be discontinued at once. The President, as the local representative of the central government, ought to be the supervising, and not the executive officer, so far as the functions

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stance of despotic principles together into any country. No, we call for that spirit of equity, that spirit of justice, that spirit of protection, that spirit of lenity, which ought to characterize every British subject in power. \* \* \* \* We think it necessary to declare that the laws of morality are the same everywhere, and that there is no action which would pass for an act of extortion, of peculation, of bribery and of oppression in England that is not an act of extortion, of peculation, of bribery and oppression in Europe, Asia, Africa and all the world over. This I contend for, not in the technical forms of it, but I contend for it in the substance.—*Burke*.



of the local bodies are concerned; in other respects he should be nothing more than *primus inter pares*. The Chairman of the executive council, assisted by the Secretary to the Committee, should give effect to the orders of the executive council. In short, the arrangements in these respects should be based upon those followed in our larger Municipalities generally.

It will be objected to the proposal we have made that, even in the case of Municipalities, the arrangement set forth above has not proved quite successful; that the members of the executive committees seldom if ever, take any active interest in the executive work; and that if such be the case with those who have to work within the limits of their own town, it will be almost, if not altogether, impossible to find really useful members to work in the executive council of the District Committee, whose jurisdiction will extend over the wide area of a district. The objection is not altogether idle, and we believe it has some solid foundation. To remove this objection, therefore, we would propose that members of the executive council of the District Committee ought to be allowed some kind of remuneration in the shape of allowance for attending each meeting of the council. Members of the Town Council of Bombay are paid such an allowance, and we do not see any reason why the members of similar executive councils in the Mofussil should not be paid. This system should also be followed in the case of the larger Municipalities. The small amount of money that will be spent in this way will be more than compensated for by the greater responsibility enforced, and the keener interest that will be consequently evinced in the work of the Committee.

### PART III.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

When the two base units of representative government in this country, viz, the Municipalities

and the District Committees, will have been placed on a sound and firm basis, the way will be cleared for making our Legislative Council also representative in its turn. We have already exceeded the limits we had proposed to ourselves, and we can not, therefore, dilate at great length upon this part of the subject. It will be sufficient if we only briefly sketch the outlines of the changes we would propose in the Legislative Council. We would for this purpose divide the Presidency into five divisions as follows :—(1) Maharastra, (2) Gujerath, (3) Karnatak, (4) Sind, and (5) the Town of Bombay.\* We would allow four members to Maharastra, three members to Gujerath, two members each to Karnatak and Sind, and one member to the Town of Bombay. These divisions so formed can be fairly supposed to have a community of interests. The great recommending feature about them is of a twofold nature; firstly that they are good geographical divisions, each having distinct historical traditions, and secondly they so exactly coincide with the linguistic divisions. These twelve non-official representative members in the local Legislature should be elected by the members of the Municipalities and of the District Committees in each division. The Governor with the three members of his executive council will be ex-officio members of the Legislative Council as at present, and in order to give a working majority to government it should have the power to nominate eight

\* The following tabular statement shows the population and gross Land revenue of each of the forementioned divisions :—

Names of the Division.	Population according to the Census of 1881.	Gross Land Revenue.
Maharastra ... ..	76,02,410	Rs. 1,51,15,126
Gujerath. ... ..	28,57,731	Rs. 1,06,84,603
Karnatak. ... ..	23,07,254	Rs. 72,27,723
Sind. ... ..	21,13,823	Rs. 45,33,472
Bombay. ... ..	7,73,196	... ..

more members. Thus constituted, the Legislature should continue in power for a period of three years only, after which there should be fresh elections and nominations.

We hope the above modest proposal without which the decentralization scheme can not be perfect, will recommend itself to the government of the Marquis of Ripon and to the leaders of the great Liberal Party now in power at home. The leading feature of our scheme, which is in our opinion its greatest recommendation, is that while, in the present state of progress in India, it will give an adequate representation to the people in their government, it will be far from democratic in its character and results. This double process of election is equivalent to filtering as it were the popular suffrage through intermediate bodies. The masses of the people themselves are, in the present state of their civilization, incapable of choosing the fittest men to be their representatives in the Legislature, but those who manage the local affairs of these masses, and who possess their confidence, ought undoubtedly to be in a position to choose as deputies for the people generally the fittest men to be their representatives in the Legislature. Government too can reasonably feel no objection to give this power of election to these local bodies; for those who, in their limited sphere of jurisdiction, are entrusted with vast responsibilities, can surely be relied upon to make an intelligent use of this privilege also, which is not more important than that of managing the local affairs. Under any circumstances, there can certainly be no doubt that the non-official members of the Legislature so elected will be better men than those now appointed by government. With such a consultative Council of notables at hand, government will feel that it wields its enormous strength with an easy conscience, and its pre-

sent responsibilities will be greatly lightened.\*

Among other powers which they will have in virtue of their position as members of the Legislature these non-official members, whether elected or nominated, should have the power of interpellating the members of government on executive matters of importance. The annual budget also should be submitted to the Council for criticism, even though no changes in the fiscal policy may be contemplated by government. The decentralization policy to be true to itself means increased local taxation in course of time. The several provincial governments have been distinctly told that any resources which they required, in addition to those already secured to them by the new policy, they would have to find by fresh local taxation, and if this new policy is not to bring to the people of the province actually concerned any new rights,—in short if the people are not to be allowed an adequate representation in the council of their provincial government,—the change brought about would be from bad to worse. It is for this purpose of completing the edifice of a reformed administration that we have suggested the im-

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\*The case in which election by two stages answers well in practice, is when the electors are not chosen solely as electors, but have other important functions to discharge, which precludes their being selected solely as delegates to give a particular vote. The combination of circumstances exemplifies itself in another American institution, the Senate of the United States. That assembly, the Upper House, as it were, of Congress, is considered to represent not the people directly, but the States as such, and to be the guardian of that portion of their sovereign rights which they have not alienated. \* \* \* The elections, thus made, have proved eminently successful, and are conspicuously the best of all the elections in the United States, the Senate invariably consisting of the most distinguished men among those who have made themselves sufficiently known in public life. After such an example it can not be said that indirect popular election is never advantageous. Under certain conditions, it is the very best system that can be adopted. But those conditions are hardly to be obtained in practice except in a federal Government like that of the United States where the election can be entrusted to local bodies whose other functions extend to the most important concerns of the nation.—*Mill*

provement of the Legislative Council. It should be here borne in mind that the native government of Mysore has in this respect set an example,\* which not only the other native states but even the British Indian Government itself would do well to imitate. The interesting proceedings of the representative Council at Mysore in October last show, that the experiment promises to be a complete success in course of time. When native states under the guidance of their liberal

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\* We give below the Resolution of the Mysore Government inaugurating the new policy.

No. 4394-4401—G. 120, DATED BANGALORE, 25TH AUGUST 1881.

ORDER.—His Highness the Maha Raja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative land-holders and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration, and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehensions in regard to the views and action of the Government, and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people.

2. This annual meeting will be conveniently held at Mysore immediately after the close of the Dasara Festival, which occasion will offer an additional inducement to those invited to attend the meeting. For the present, the Local Fund Boards of the several Districts will be asked to select from among themselves and others of the District the persons who are to be deputed to represent their respective districts at the meeting. In order to represent the landed interests of all the Talukas, as well as the interests of trade, there should be sent one or two cultivating land-holders from each Taluk, possessed of general information and influence amongst the people, and 3 or 4 leading merchants for the District generally. A list of them should be sent beforehand to this office, in order to arrange for their accommodation at Mysore. They may be allowed a small sum from the Local Funds to meet the actual expenses of their travelling.

3. The attendance at the meeting is intended to be entirely voluntary. In making the selection, therefore, the wishes and convenience of the persons invited should be consulted.

rulers are taking the lead and setting such a noble example, it would indeed be a shame to the British Indian Government, if it hesitated to tread in those paths where the former are boldly treading; and it is specially on this account that we once more entreat the government of the Marquis of Ripon and the leaders of the great Liberal Party at home to give their best consideration to the proposed reform.

Before concluding it will be convenient for the sake of easy reference if we summarize our proposals serially. Our summarized proposals are.—

- (a) That Primary Education, Medical Charity, Minor Public Works, Registration of Vital Statistics, Model Farms, Vaccination, and Sanitation should be altogether deprovincialized, and handed over to Municipalities and District Local Fund Committees within their respective jurisdictions.
- (b) That that portion of the Abkari Revenue which is derived from the retail of spirituous drinks and narcotic drugs should be deprovincialized, also and should be handed over to local bodies.
- (c) That the people of Poona, Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi, and Sakkar be allowed to elect one-half, and those of Sholapoor, Ahmednagar, Broach, Hyderabad and Shikarpur be allowed to elect one third, of the total number of their Municipal Commissioners;\* further that the seats reserved for election should be subdivided into

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\* Since the above was written, the Local Government has, by its Resolution in the Financial Department No. 1093 dated 25th March last, ordered that the people of these ten cities be allowed to elect one-half of the total number of their Municipal Commissioners. We have reasons to believe that the Local Government has for once gone in the case of some of these towns farther than the district authorities recommended, and also what the people expected. The principle underlying our own recommendation can be at once guessed by a reference to the tabular statement on page 21 of this paper.

two sets in the proportion of two to one, the former set being reserved for property men, and the latter for the intellectually advanced classes.

- (d) That the Municipalities of twenty two towns mentioned on page 26 of this paper should be at once raised to the position of City Municipalities, and be admitted to the enjoyment of higher powers of self-government, as this can be done under the provisions of the present District Municipal Act. (Section VI), prior to the people of those towns being conceded the elective franchise.
- (e) That the present Local Funds Act, being extremely loose in its provisions, and being calculated to sanction government interference in the details of administration, requires to be thoroughly amended.
- (f) That the present Talooka Local Fund Committees being illegal in their inception ought to be abolished altogether; the more so because, the orders requiring Local Funds to be spent *Talookwar* having been cancelled, there is no reason why a Talooka should have an independent Committee for itself, when it can not have the fullest control of its own funds.
- (g) That one central Committee for the whole district, if rightly constituted, ought to suffice for all practical purposes.
- (h) That such a district Committee should be formed as follows:—(1) One member for each Talooka of the district to be elected by those who pay Rs. 100 and upwards as land assessment or any other tax upon which the one anna cess is levied; (2) Two members to be elected by the holders of alienated villages in the district; (3) Two members to be elected by the educated classes, such as the jurors and assessors, and graduates of the University resident in the dis-

trict; (4) government nominees equal to half the number of (1), (2), and (3); and (5) ex-officio members equal to one-third the number of (1), (2), (3), and (4), or one fourth of the entire body. And that the Committee should be in power for five years only.

- (i) That the Magistrate-Collector of the district should be the ex-officio President of the district Committee, whose business should principally consist of watching and supervising the administration of the Committee, and of tendering advice whenever sought, or volunteering it whenever found necessary.
- (j) That each district Committee should have an executive Committee consisting of a Chairman and members to be elected by the general body, which executive Committee should be changed every year.
- (k) That the members of this executive Committee should be paid a certain allowance for attending each meeting of the Committee with a view to ensure greater care and responsibility.
- (l) That these local Committees should not be interfered with by the provincial government in the details of administration, unless any cardinal principle involved is at stake.
- (m) That the local Legislative Council of the Presidency ought to have among its members a due portion of the elected representatives of the people.
- (n) That the Legislative Council should consist of four ex-officio members, eight nominees of government, and twelve representatives of the people as follows:—four members for the Maharashtra, three for Gujerath, and two each for Karnatak and Sind, and one for the Presidency Town of Bombay,—these members to be elected by the members of Municipalities and of District Committees



in each division. And that fresh nominations and elections should take place every fourth year.

- (o) That the members of the Legislative Council should have the power of interpellating heads of departments on important executive matters, and should have every year an opportunity given them of discussing the provincial budget.

We are fully aware that the majority of our proposals will be denounced as purely visionary and radical by the bureaucratic mind. In all ages and in all countries the vested interests have been the strongest opponents of progress and reform. These opponents must, however, be met and overcome in a constitutional manner. And this can not be done unless a strong public opinion is educated and brought to bear upon the bureaucratic mind. We have thus ventured to lay our proposals before the public with a view to elicit criticism and raise discussion. We only hope in conclusion that they will be received in the spirit in which they are offered, and be the means at no distant date of introducing the needful reforms in the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

## OFFICIAL RETURNS AND THEIR CHARACTER.

We invite the attention of the public to the following correspondence, the publication of which we advisedly deferred until this time; and we have no doubt it will be read with great interest. It is now over six months since the correspondence has been with the government, and yet nothing is known as to what it has to urge in favour of the official returns proceeding from it, whose character for reliability has been questioned not only by ourselves but by the Secretary of State for India himself. With these preliminary remarks we reproduce the correspondence.

FROM

W. WEDDERBURN ESQUIRE, C. S.

TO

THE EDITOR

POONA SARTAJANIK SABHA QUARTERLY JOURNAL  
POONA.

*Ahmednagar 18th August 1881.*

SIR,

At page 7 Vol. II of your Quarterly Journal in an Article entitled "The Agrarian Problem and its solution," it is stated that "in the Bhimathadi Talooka alone, the number of defaulting ryots in 1873-74 was 4,341, the amount due from whom was Rs. 82,421. To realize this sum two lacs of acres of land assessed at Rs. 135,600 were sold, and realized Rs. 15,010 in the sale." This passage was quoted by me at page 4 of my pamphlet "A Permanent Settlement for the Dekkhan."

2. I shall esteem it a favor if you will kindly inform me from what authority these figures were obtained, as their correctness is denied by Government, and I have been called upon by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India for explanation on the subject.

3. I append 2 recent official statements of the sales in the Bhimathadi Taluka in the 5 years from 1872-73 & 1876-77, and the proportion of land sold to land in occupation.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W WEDDERBURN

Civil Service.

Years.	Land Sold.				Of which bought by private purchasers.								Bought in by Government.					
	Area		Assessment.		Area.		Assessment.		Arrears due.		Amount realized.		Area.		Assessment.		Arrears due.	
	A.	G.	Rs.	A.P.	A.	G.	Rs.	A.P.	Rs.	A.P.	Rs.	A.P.	A.	G.	Rs.	A.P.	Rs.	A.P.
1872-73	273	8	114	10 0	238	16	86	2 0	62	8 0	72	13 0	34	32	28	8 0	28	8 0
1873-74	903	21	521	14 0	644	8	356	14 0	329	9 0	364	7 6	259	13	165	0 0	159	8 0
1874-75	8,926	6	5,491	13 0	2,589	6	1,293	12 0	874	9 4	835	10 0	6,337	0	4,198	1 0	3,824	9 7
1875-76	5,244	20	3,129	1 0	1,593	16	1,019	15 0	797	15 5	1,002	6 2	3,651	4	2,109	2 0	2,069	8 8
1876-77	4,044	15	3,181	4 0	1,030	7	853	12 0	675	15 6	827	2 6	3,014	8	2,327	8 0	2,279	7 0
	19,391	30	12,438	10 0	6,095	13	3,610	7 0	2,740	9 3	3,102	7 2	13,296	17	8,828	3 0	8,361	9 3

Year.	Land in occupation.		Land sold for arrears of revenue.		Percentage proportion of land sold to land in occupation.
	Acres.	G.	Acres.	G.	Acres.
1872-73.	4,31,197	37	273	8	06
1873-74.	4,43,395	8	908	21	20
1874-75.	4,37,333	15	8,926	6	2.04
1875-76.	4,33,591	39	5,244	20	1.21
1876-77.	4,30,959	1	4,044	15	24

FROM

S. H. CHITLONKAR ESQUIRE  
 EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL  
 POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA

TO

W. WEDDERBURN ESQUIRE C. S.  
 AHMEDNAGAR

Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms  
 Poona 26th August 1881

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 18th Instant inquiring upon what authority a statement at page 7 of Vol II No. I of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha quoted at length in your letter, was made, I have the honor to inform you that the statement in question was made on the authority of a return for the Poona collectorate showing the result of revenue processes issued for the recovery of Government revenue from defaulting ryots for the three years 1872-73, 1873-74, and 1874-75, published at page 98-99, of the second volume of the Deccan Riots Commission's Report, entitled "Minutes by Mr. J. B. Richey, Mr. C. W. Carpenter, Mr. A. Lyon, and Mr. Shambhuprasad Lakshmilal, and Note on enhancement of assessments by Mr. C. W. Carpenter." The return shows that in the Baimthadi Taluka there were 4341 defaulting ryots in 1873-74 from whom Rs. 82,421-5-10 were due on account of the assessments for that year. To recover this sum an area of land measuring, 200,519 Acres and 12 Gunthas, bearing Rs. 135,646-1-0 as assessment, was attached, the sale proceeds whereof amounted to Rs. 1510-10-2. In the article on "the Agrarian Problem and its solution" this last figure was

by a misprint put down at Rs. 15,010. As the number of culturable acres in occupation in the Bhimthadi Taluka is stated in the second return appended to your letter to be 443,698 acres it is plain that according to this Return nearly one half of the area in occupation in that Taluka was under attachment on account of the arrears of revenue in the year 1873-74.

2. At pages 100-101 of the volume of the Deccan Riots Commission's Report to which I have already alluded above there is published another statement which shows that in the seventeen villages of the Bhimthadi Taluka, which subsequently became the scene of agrarian disturbances, on account of an outstanding balance of Rs 27,048-7-8, 3512 survey numbers, measuring 59,103 Acres, 39 Gunthas, and assessed at Rs 46,016-2-0 were attached and sold and realized Rs 445-5-2 in 1873-74. The detailed entries under the column of remarks in the same statement show that with a very few trifling exceptions, the whole of these holdings were bought in by government at a nominal price of one anna. Naturally in the next year these very seventeen villages became the centre of the agrarian riots which forced on government the special Commission of Inquiry. These seventeen villages represent about one third of the assessment of the whole Taluka. This statement, therefore, furnishes a corroborative proof, if any were wanted, of the general accuracy of the return for the whole Taluka referred to in para 1 of this letter.

3. Of the correctness of the two statements which accompany your letter - I have no means of judging beyond a comparison with those published under authority. The first of the two new returns shows that only 908 acres, 21 gunthas bearing Rs 521-14-0 as assessment were sold in 1873-74 in the whole Bhimthadi Taluka, and that of these 259 acres, 13 Gunthas bearing Rs 165 as assessment were bought in by Government. These figures must be viewed as unaccountably inaccurate, for the return for the seventeen villages referred to in para 2 of this letter shows that in six villages of which details are given in the column of remarks, an area of 25,849 acres bearing Rs. 20,299-9-0 as assessment was bought in by government at a nominal price of one anna. The acreage in the smallest village exceeds ten times the figure given for the whole Taluka in the statement appended to your letter. The Deccan Riots Commission visited during the course of their inquiry each one of these seventeen villages and made detailed lists on the spot and immediately after the troubles.

4. The Hon'ble Colonel Anderson, late Survey and Settlement Commissioner, in his answer to question 14, chapter I of the Circular Questions issued by the Famine Commission (Vide "Information and Evidence collected to answer the Questions issued by the Famine Commission 1874," Bombay Volume Page 64) complained that returns for the years before 1874-75, showing Revenue Defaulter's land bought

ia by Government are not available in the Secretariat Records. This naturally suggests caution in accepting the figures now given for years anterior to 1874-75. Colonel Anderson also furnished a tabular statement for all the districts of the Bombay Presidency excluding Sind, showing how much Revenue defaulters' land was bought in by Government from 1874-75 to 1876-77, both inclusive. This tabular statement shows that in 1875-76 an area measuring 3993 acres and assessed at Rs 2026 belonging to revenue defaulters was bought in by Government throughout the Poona Collectorate, while the first statement appended to your letter shows that in the same year 3651 acres, 4 gunthas, assessed at Rs. 2109-2-0 were bought in by Government in the Bhimthadi Taluka alone. Now these two figures can not possibly be reconciled, for the assessment of the lands bought in by Government in the Bhimthadi Taluka exceeds, though slightly, the figure given for the whole district by Colonel Anderson.

5. Under these circumstances I feel constrained to add that it is rather difficult to place much reliance in the statements of returns appended to your letter under acknowledgment, and the information collected by the Deccan Riots Commission on which the statements made in the article in the Quarterly Journal, "The Agrarian Problem and its solution" were based, is by far the most trustworthy information available.—

I have the honour to be  
Sir

Your most obedient Servant

S. H. CHIFLONKAR,

Editor of the Quarterly Journal  
Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.

The attention of the Marquis of Hartington having been drawn to the important question of the extremely stringent character of the land revenue administration in the Deccan by Mr. Wedderburn's well-known paper, "A permanent settlement for the Deccan," his Lordship invited the attention of the Bombay Government to the particular statement quoted by Mr. Wedderburn in his paper from these pages and called upon it to explain the same. The Local Government in its despatch in reply to the reference denied the correctness of the statement made by us, which was itself, as must have been seen from the foregoing, extracted from official papers submitted to Parliament. The denial by government of the accuracy of the statement in question was

made, it appears, on the authority of the District Officers in the Poona collectorate, who furnished the two tabular statements appended to Mr. Wedderburn's letter; and the Government of Bombay did not think it advisable on that occasion to refer the matter to Mr. Wedderburn or ourselves for explanation. The Secretary of State for India, the Marquis of Hartington, however, was it would seem not satisfied with this one-sided explanation, and accordingly his Lordship ordered the Bombay Government to send all the papers to Mr. Wedderburn for explanation.

After the receipt of the above correspondence by Government we hear that it was forwarded to the local authorities that they may explain the evident discrepancies in the two statements both of them proceeding from official sources. And the reader will be surprised to learn that though six months have elapsed since the date of the reference to the local authorities, no satisfactory explanation is yet forthcoming. Further comments are superfluous.

## CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE Report on Public Instruction in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for 1880-81 derives its chief interest from the fact that the native Director of Public Instruction, Rao Bahadur Narayan Bhai Dandekar, has been put upon his mettle by the adverse criticism of Mr. Commissioner Jones on the working of the Educational Department in Berar in the previous year. As we anticipated in our review of that year's report the Director of Public Instruction in Berar has been able to vindicate his policy on all points in which its principle was questioned, and its practice condemned, by Mr. Jones misled by superficial comparison with the results of educational activity in other provinces. The most notable feature of the year 1880-81 is that while the number of Government Schools has stood still, the number of scholars has increased considerably, and even the contraction of Government Schools is more than made up by a very satisfactory addition to the number of Schools and Scholars in the aided and unaided private schools. The total increase of schools under all heads is 25 per cent over the last year's figures, and the increase of scholars is nearly 14 per cent. The total numbers at the end of the year were 875 schools and 32,221 scholars on a population of 22,00,000 as estimated by the last census. These figures show a percentage of 13 for every 100 of the population. This figure by itself is larger than the the corresponding percentages in other parts of India more advanced in educational matters. The percentage of scholars to the population is, however, a very misleading test. The percentage should be calculated not upon the whole population but upon the male children of school-going age, for the female children must necessarily be left out of the account. These deductions leave a balance of nearly 200,000 of children out of whom 16 per cent were receiving instruction in the Government or private schools in Berar. The corres



ponding figures for this presidency come to 10 percent on the average of all the districts. The possible limit of instruction is nearly reached in the children of the higher castes, especially the Brahmins, in these parts where nearly 75 per cent of children of school-going age are under instruction in the elementary knowledge of reading and writing and accounts. Notwithstanding the decided success achieved in the department the system in Berar has still a great scope for improvement.

The first difficulties in the way of the Department have been removed when the people desire education as a boon and are willing to pay for the privilege. This willingness on their part is evidenced by the increased fee receipts and the contributions under all heads for school purposes. The total expenditure of the department under all heads exceeds Rs. 3,00,000, which represents a charge of nearly Rs. 10 a scholar. In regard to higher education Berar has done well during the past year. The Director very justly takes credit not only for the year's result but for the general efficiency of the High Schools, which succeeded in passing within the last nine years as many as 45 per cent of the students sent up for Matriculation notwithstanding the difficult nature of the test adopted in Bombay. Middle class schools in Berar are, as we remarked on the last occasion, the weakest point of the Berar system of education. — Their weakness throws more work on the High Schools which in consequence have always a very precarious hold on the province. The decadence adversely noticed by Mr. Jones in the quality of education even in the Berar Schools, as tested by the results of the number who passed the Standards, was so manifestly opposed to facts that the Director was compelled in self-defence to contrast the results of his province with those in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, and he has succeeded in showing that the percentages of presented and passed students was higher in Berar than in Bombay and

the Central Provinces. These latter provinces were cited by the Commissioner as a standard for comparison, and Mr. Dandekar has thus met his critics on their own ground. The Bombay and Berar standards for the different classes appear also to be more advanced and difficult than those adopted in the Central Provinces and other parts of India.

As regards Mahomedan Schools Berar seems to be very well posted. There are about 57 Schools attended by 2400 scholars which gives a proportion of 13 per cent of Mahomedan boys upon the total number of Scholars. The actual number of boys attending all classes of Schools is set down at 3570. More than a thousand of these boys do not attend the Urdu classes but learn the Marathi standard along with the children of other classes. This in our opinion is a very satisfactory feature. The advocates of Mahomedan education have, it appears to us, raised a false issue by contending that Mahomedan boys require to be taught Urdu in place of the vernaculars; but as a matter of fact most Indian Mahomedans are converts to Hinduism, and they conform in all respects with the usages and traditions of their Hindu neighbours. Except for a very small fraction Urdu learning has no possible use or interest. We wish the authorities in Berar to realize this fact and direct their efforts to associate Mahomedan boys in the Schools along with other castes.

The greatest want of Berar appears to us to be the absence of any agency for special education. Berar is rich and populous enough to support a provincial College of its own, and classes in Engineering, Medicine, and Law might usefully be attached to such an institution so as to make it popular in the province and supply its wants by pupils trained in these institutions. The scheme is quite practicable and any difficulty about funds might be removed by the amalgamation of the two High Schools and the Training College. One of these High Schools at

Akola barely answers its purpose and the money spent upon it may be well turned to other account for the benefit of the province. We recommend this subject to the Director of Public Instruction as a point on which he should exert all his efforts and overcome all opposition by persistent advocacy. His position as a native civilian imported from this presidency and working along side with military officers has its difficulty, but his present report furnishes ample evidence that he can hold his own against self-willed local dignitaries and vindicate his Department from unjust criticism. He has a virgin soil to operate upon and instead of anxiously watching for opportunities to cut down expenditure under small heads it would be satisfactory if he were to achieve within his limits a few of the reforms sketched above by extending primary education so as to become almost universal, by strengthening the middle class schools, by turning the High Schools into public Schools with resident Scholars, and lastly by establishing a college for special education on the lines traced above.

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The Administration Report of Pudukotta for 1880-81 presents within a short compass the leading features of the progress and prosperity of a native state under Native management. Nothing so emphatically marks the change of feeling which has now become so general in the Native administrations as their desire evinced in such publications to take the public into confidence by giving an account of their stewardship of the great interests committed to their charge. The example was first set by Raja Sir T Madhavrao at Travancore, and has been followed at Indore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Dhar, Jamkhindi and other places. The Pudukotta state is at present under the management of the Hon'ble Sheshia Shastri who is styled Sirkhele of the state. The Report does not disclose his actual relations with the ruler of the state. As far as we remember, the Raja has

not been altogether set aside by the British authorities, and yet the Dewan or Sirkhele addresses his report to the Political Agent, and the only mention of the Raja's existence is vouchsafed in a most distant reference to his presiding along with the Dewan over the highest appellate Court in his state. We trust the Dewan will endeavour to correct this oversight if there has been any.

Puducotta is preeminently the only Native State in the heart of the Madras Presidency which retains its old integrity. It is a fair representation of the old Hindu ideal of a state, which made the ruler only an administrator of a large endowment and charity in honour of God and for the comfort of man. For instance out of a total of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacks of acres belonging to the territory of this state about a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lack is waste land. Of the remaining  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lacks of arable land, Dewasthan and Chatraam lands represent more than a lack, Shrotriyam and Sarvinam come to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lack, and Service lands and Jahgirs about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lacks, thus leaving to the state proper for its civil purposes less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lacks of acres with a land revenue estimated at nearly three lacks of rupees, while the revenue of alienated lands comes to about 50 per cent of the whole revenue  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lacks. There are those who object to such large alienations, but the old system was self-supporting and secured to the Raja the services of Civil and Military departments at no direct cost, while the various interests of the state were assured against absolute power by their direct hold on land. The religious endowments looked to the spiritual and educational wants of his subjects, the Chatraams took up the medical, and poor law departments, the Jahgirs and Militia represented its Military resources and Civil functionaries. The net revenue was just sufficient to defray the cost of the Raja's personal establishments and to provide for contingencies. As might be expected from its situation in the heart of the Caveri valley Puducotta is very thickly po-

pulated. More than 3 lacks of people inhabiting 1200 villages own allegiance to it. It is very well watered and irrigated by more than 5000 small ponds and lakes, 11,639 wells, 47 anicuts, and 2172 channels. The total income of the state is about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  lacks of rupees chiefly made up of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lacks of land revenue, and 75,000 from other resources, of which the chief items were Mohtarpa tax 16,000 Rs., Abkari duties 10,000 Rs., and Court Fees 13,000 Rs. The whole of the annual demand of the state was realized in collections, but instead of giving credit for these payments in the year's accounts, the authorities of the state managed to credit more than a lack against past years' balances. We find that these balances date from before the famine and only a trifling portion of this money was remitted in the year. This sharp management appears to us unsuited to the instincts of a native rule whose charities alone come to about more than a lack a rupees a year. Sheshia Shastri ought certainly to insist upon the reversal of this stringent policy. Turning to the expenditure side, we find that the palace charges come to about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lack, the civil establishments, another lack, and the Public Works half a lack. The state maintains a High School at an annual expenditure from state funds of 5000 Rs. It seems to spend little money upon the other schools, though the fact that the religious endowments and chatrams are under state management, furnishes the Dewan with a splendid opportunity for diverting a portion of those receipts for the purpose of sanitation, education, local Public Works, and medical relief. As a matter of fact a small beginning has been made in this direction, for the charges of one of the hospitals are paid from the funds of a chatram. We wish this diversion of old charity funds to strictly charitable purposes as they commend themselves to the wants of our times would be persevered in, so far as a fair regard to vested interests can allow of it. The whole of the expenditure of the State was kept down a little over to 3 lacks of rupees, thus leaving a surplus of a

lack and a half. The report contains very imperfect information as to the manner in which this surplus is appropriated. It is likely the case that the surplus goes to pay off the Raja's debts, but there can be no good reason for secrecy on this head when the report gives such undesirable particulars as that 86 Rs. were added temporarily to the Raja's allowance and other sums were finally sanctioned for the petty ceremonies in the Raja's household. The petty details might safely have been lumped together, for the public is not much interested, and, it may be, is positively pained by their prominence, and in their place it desires that the Dewan should present an exhaustive balance sheet of all expenditure in connection with the departments of public service. The Registration department in this little state seems to be abnormally over worked. More than 10,000 instruments were registered in the course of the year relating a total valuation of 10 lacks of Rupees of property, of which 25 per cent were deeds of sale, 50 per cent mortgages, and 25 per cent simple money bonds. These proportions disclose a very unhealthy condition of things in a small native State, and we wish the Dewan would give some explanation of this anomaly in his next report. With regard to the working of the other departments there is nothing which calls for special notice. We have always entertained a very high opinion of the ability and far-sightedness of the Hon'ble She-hia Shastri and we make no doubt that under his management the difficulties in which the State may have been involved will soon be settled, and that some more tangible evidence of continued progress and prosperous management will be furnished in the next administration report of this ancient state.

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Professor Dadabhai Nawroji has followed up his investigation into the subject of the Poverty of India by a letter addressed to the Secretary of State containing an analysis of the crop returns in weight and

value of the Panjab Province, and has thus obtained an inductive confirmation of his well-reasoned deductive conclusions regarding the material condition of India on the strength of official figures. Those who are practically acquainted with the methods, or rather absence of method, in accordance with which these statistical crop returns are compiled from year to year, do not require to be told that they are always cooked up by the village authorities to suit the pleasures of the higher powers, and err generally on the side of being hopelessly in advance of actual facts. Such as they are, however, they have been made use of to support pet official theories, and Professor Dadabhai has done right yeoman's service in meeting the enemy on his own lists, and removing the veil from these mysteries of Indian administration. We wish Professor Dadabhai, as a Bombay citizen, had taken up the Bombay returns, but it may well be Professor Dadabhai judged better in grappling the bull by the horns, and demolishing the returns of the model Province, which also had the rare advantage of presenting most ambitiously complete information in regard not only to the agricultural, but the manufacturing and mining wealth of its inhabitants. The method observed by the Professor in this investigation may be briefly described as the method of averages. The acreage under each individual crop in the different districts of the Province is pretty accurately given in these returns. This acreage is multiplied by the average gross yield which varies from district to district and the total thus obtained is multiplied by an average of the prices which also differ from place to place. The final product gives the value of the crop. From

this total the Professor deducts first the percentage of seeds which vary with the crops, and he makes a further deduction for middle values, as the prices given in the official tables are always the dearest prices and of the best quality of the produce. With these deductions, the final valuation for each crop is arrived at, and these valuations are then added up. In the case of inferior grains which are for the most part raised as much for human as for animal support a deduction of two-thirds of the acreage is made in anticipation to prevent all mistakes. The fodder of cattle represented by the stalks and kadbi are excluded from both sides of the account. Professor Dadabhai takes no account of them as sources of national wealth, nor does he deduct anything on account of food required by the cattle maintained therefrom. This elaborate calculation results in the following startling figures. The total value of the gross agricultural products of the Panjab with an extent of 100,000 square miles in the 32 districts included in it and inhabited by a total population of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and paying a land tax of 2 crores of rupees is thus seen to be about 27 crores, which means an average yield of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per acre, the total being about 22 millions of acres under cultivation. The chief heads of the food crops or other agricultural produce of the Panjab with their acreage, quantities and values will be seen from the following summary.



**PANJAB 1876-7**  
**Summary of Produce of all Districts.**

Produce.	Acres.	Total Quantity.	Average Per Acre.	Total Value.	Average price per Rs. 1.
		lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	Rs. lbs.
Rice.....	708,699	541,492,369	796	2,25,35,693	20.42
Wheat.....	6,609,497	5,332,813,517	840.4	9,17,42,419	53.48
Makai (Indian corn).....	1,084,339	1,593,872,255	1500	2,33,01,265	60.4
Jow (Barley).....	1,874,217	883,781,444	503	1,06,78,175	82.76
Gram.....	2,272,236	1,417,173,807	645	1,86,74,194	75.89
Inferior grains.....	6,534,963	3,169,169,607	510.5	4,54,14,114	69.78
Poppy (Opium).....	12,348	154,550	12.51	3,86,375	4
Tobacco.....	71,867	60,804,785	846	48,33,541	12.58
Turmeric.....	4,130	677,320	164 (dry)	67,732	10
Coriander seed.....	6,934	2,288,220	330	1,43,014	16
Ginger.....	286	58,630	205	8,376	7
Chillies.....	28,518	3,800,700 (dry)	808 (green) 161.6 (dry)	4,75,100	8
Other kinds drugs and spices.....	35,074	11,574,420	330	8,26,744	14
Oil seeds.....	846,679	325,730,071	392	1,20,64,076	27
Cotton.....	668,876	70,013,890	105	1,23,54,344	5.66
Hemp.....	51,260	18,770,866	368	9,98,543	20
Kassamba (Safflower).....	24,708	988,320	40 (dry)	8,95,328	2.5
Indigo.....	129,465	4,070,941	31.44	30,53,205	14
Vegetables.....	256,800	1,068,002,055 78,966,000	4753 2460	1,06,80,020 25,47,290	100 Green vegetables. 31 Potato.
Tea.....	8,884	852,864	96	2,84,288	3
Sugar.....	391,630	237,881,405	646	1,58,55,427	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,616,420</b>			<b>27,72,56,263</b>	<b>15</b> { Average of 4 qualities.

{ 2 } Rs. per lb  
 { paid by Govt.

To this total of agricultural products Professor Dadabhai adds 4 crores of manufactured wealth, the valuation for which as given in the official statements is accepted by the Professor with the necessary deduction for the value of the material worked up in its natural condition, as this last is already included in the total of 27 crores. To avoid all risk of errors, the Professor adds  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores to these totals and finds that Panjab annually yields in gross produce to its 17 millions of inhabitants 34 crores of Rupees, or 20 Rs. a head of the population. The minimum cost of maintenance in bare food and clothing, barring all contingencies and luxuries, is ascertained by a careful analysis to be 34 Rs. per head, and we are thus brought to face the fact that in the model Province the average produce per head is 40 per cent. less than the minimum consumption. The two ends can only be met by the shift of enforced starvation, or living below the standard of necessary support, of a vast majority of the inhabitants.

We may as well notice in this place that the official calculations of gross value do not vary much from those elaborated by Professor Dadabhai. Including straw and grain used for the support of animals the total value of agricultural produce is put down at 35 crores, and the gross income of the agricultural classes is estimated to be 27 Rs. per head. The official statement, however, allows only 200 sheers of food as enough to maintain a native of Panjab throughout the year which comes sufficiently near the  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb ration of the famine regime. It is only on this calculation that it evolves a surplus profit of 15 crores as available in the hands of the agricultural population. Professor Dadabhai doubles the rate allowed by the official figures for necessary consumption and the result is that there is a heavy deficit instead of a fancied surplus. We shall extract in this place from the official return which is available to our hand a few illustrative figures regarding the agricultural wealth of this

Presidency. The total quantity and value of food grain crops in this Presidency is put down at 45 million maunds valued at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  crores, of non-food crops  $11\frac{1}{2}$  crores, of straw  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores, and of live stock  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crore. This means a total of 28 crores for a population of 16 millions, which gives a return of 17 Rupees per head of the population. Bombay has the unenviable distinction of not being able to produce food grains enough to maintain its own population at the comparatively low rate assumed by the officials of 225 lbs per head per year or less than  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb per day. This is less even than the famine ration. At the rate of one pound per head the produce is barely sufficient even to maintain the agricultural population estimated at 60 per cent of the total inhabitants. It is true the returns take no account of the alienated lands, which come to about 6 million acres and yield possibly a return of 6 crores of rupees. Even if this addition were made, Bombay would still show a considerable deficiency of produce over necessary consumption. The average income per head is only  $14\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. in this Presidency, while the land tax is on an average 9 per cent of the value of the total agricultural produce. Deducting the cost of seed and labour, and the maintenance of live and dead stock, the land tax would represent a charge of 25 per cent upon the net yield. Excepting the last deduction we have been simply quoting our figures from the official tables, and the picture they present of the miserable condition of our agricultural classes is too frightful to contemplate. Need we wonder that it takes away Professor Dadabhai's spirits out of him to dwell on the misery of this desparate condition of the vast majority of our population. Professor Dadabhai's letter naturally filled the India Office authorities with alarm, and Mr. Juland Danvers undertook to dispel the gloom. After questioning the soundness of the principle of averages, Mr. Danvers objected to the Professor's calculations on two distinct grounds, firstly that he made no allowance

for straw and the annual increase of agricultural stock, and secondly that the Professor took no account of the income of the shop-keeping, mercantile, and propertied and unproductive classes. Professor Dadabhai retorted on the first head that he did make some allowance for straw and cattle fodder, and that if full allowance was to be made on this head, it would only swell both sides of the account. As to agricultural stock there is no increase, from year to year the stock is decreasing owing to various causes, notably the contraction of waste lands, and the substitution of natural agents for pack animals. As regards the second objection, Professor Dadabhai replied that in an investigation of the annual income derived from the land, the income of shop-keeping, propertied and unproductive classes can possibly find no place. These classes produce no wealth, they only distribute with more or less fairness the wealth already produced. We subscribe our adhesion to the soundness of the principle thus enunciated. Even if Mr. Dahvers' objection be allowed, it is to be noted that in the general account which the adoption of his principle will necessitate, the drain of Indian wealth in respect of the home charges and remittances and interest representing at the lowest average 25 to 30 crores of rupees represented by the annual deficiency of our imports over exports will swallow all the surplus he can imagine, and leave still a wide chasm gaping at his feet. It is often urged that India gets in return the highest talent and integrity, and the cheapest capital for this sacrifice, and that the balance is restored in her favour. Professor Dadabhai notices this aspect of the case in a short but very suggestive paper on the moral drain of India represented by the fact that all the talent, organization, and integrity is withdrawn from it just when it is qualified by experience to prove most helpful. We trust these brief observations will suffice to recommend these papers to the thoughtful attention of our readers. It is a great relief to us that Professor Dadabhai who cannot be

suspected of any interested or partizan motives and whose qualification to speak with authority on this subject is too well known, should have with evident grief and reluctance been forced by the enormity of the evils to emphasize his exposition of the present system against which we have ourselves contended so long through good and evil report, and so hopelessly. Sooner or later the glamour of conquest and selfish advancement will cease to dazzle and blind the conscience of the English nation, and we feel that when the day of reckoning comes, the tale of past negligence will startle even the most optimistic complacency.