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THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established on the 1st of Chaitra Shaka 1792 i. e. 2nd April 1870
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.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

THE INSTALLATION OF THE MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR.

At the request of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha Rao Bahadurs V. M. Bhide and N. J. Kirtane and Messrs S. H. Sathe, Prof. G. K. Gokhle, N. B. Devdhar and G. B. Deval formed the Deputation of the Sabha that attended the Installation Ceremony at Kolhapur, on the 2nd of April 1894, to present His Highness the Maharaja with an Address. The following Address of the Sabha was read by Professor G. K. Gokhle, Honorary Secretary of the Sabha.

To .

HIS HIGHNESS

SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI,

MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

We have been deputed by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to respectfully approach your Highness on behalf of the Sardars, Jagagirdars, Inamdars and the gentry, who form the Sabha, to offer our hearty congratulations to your Highness on this most eventful occasion in your Highness's life. As the sole direct ruling representative of the dynasty of the great Shivaji, your Highness occupies a unique place in the hearts of the people of the whole Maharashtra and the Kolhapur Raj is now rendered doubly dear to us alike by the associations of the past and the expectations of the future. The past associations, which no Maratha can recall without deep emotion, carry us back more than 250 years, when the first foundations of the national life of the Marathas were laid by your illustrious ancestor, the great Chhatrapati Shivaji. Great changes have happened since then, but through all these momentous vicissitudes, the Kolhapur Gadi has continued to represent unbroken the traditions of Maratha glory. Our expectations of the future are based on the great care which has

been bestowed by the British Government on your Highness's education and the high qualities of both head and heart which your Highness is known to possess. The people of Kolhapur have good reason to rejoice that it has at last pleased Providence to gratify on this occasion, after a long interval, their legitimate desire to live under the rule of their hereditary Ruler and the Sabha shares their feeling of satisfaction that your Highness is so well fitted to discharge the duties of your high office with a due sense of responsibility. Thirty years have now elapsed since the time when your great grandfather, Chhatrapati Baba Saheb Maharaja, was similarly invested with powers by the British Government. Baba Saheb, however, did not live long to exercise these powers and those who succeeded him to the *Gadi* were carried off by cruel death before they could be entrusted with the charge of their State. Your own lamented father—the late Aba Saheb—had also his career as Regent of Kolhapur doomed to early termination by the same unfortunate cause. These successive disappointments had enhanced the eagerness of your people for the present installation and the Sabha deems it a privilege that it has been allowed to join with your Highness's loyal subjects in the festivities of this auspicious day.

The past 30 years have effected many and great changes in the Kolhapur State. The revenue has more than doubled, the population has also increased very largely. The educational advantages which have been secured to the people by the wise and sympathetic policy of successive administrators have made Kolhapur a centre of considerable enlightenment and intellectual activity. The resources of the country have been opened up by the great Public Works undertaken, notably by the Railway line which joins Kolhapur with the entire Railway system of British India. The city has been beautified by the erection of numerous noble-looking buildings, and by the construction of roads and water-works. The system of administration has been improved and strengthened in a manner which has insured ever-increasing progress in all directions to the people of the State. The relations with the paramount power as also with the Feudatory Chiefs have been marked by complete cordiality. A large number of schools are to-day imparting education to your Highness's subjects; hospitals are administering free medical relief; and Courts of Law are placing justice within easy reach of the rich and the poor.

It is in this condition that His Excellency Lord Harris has now handed over, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, the charge of the State to your Highness, and the successful manner in which the British Government has administered the trust during the past thirty years imposes an additional responsibility on your Highness, which, the Sabha feels confident, your Highness will not fail to adequately realize.

Though not directly subject to your Highness's rule, the people of the Maharashtra, whom we represent on this occasion, join with your Highness's subjects of Kolhapur in these rejoicings, first because, as we have already stated, we feel a common pride with them in the traditions of the Kolhapur Raj and secondly because well-governed Native States are a source of great strength to the people in British territory in their endeavours to achieve general progress. The opportunities to be useful and to render services to our common country, which the rulers of Native States enjoy, are now, if possible, even greater than they ever were, for we need hardly remind your Highness, the victories of peace are more glorious than those of war. Within the past 30 years, the great Native States of India have become sources, each in its own way, of light and progress, of strength and hope, to the whole Empire. Some of them are proving that the great administrative problems, which the British Government yet hesitates to handle, are after all not so difficult to successfully grapple with. In most of these States, Councils of Administration have been formed with great advantage both to the rulers and the ruled. There are now such Councils in almost all the great Rajput and Shikh States, as also in Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmere, Indore and Travankore. The rulers of some of these States have further established, of their own accord, Legislative Councils to deliberate upon new laws and upon great measures of State policy. Mysore has even gone further and now summons each year a representative assembly of delegates elected by the people, before whom the accounts of the State as also new legislative measures are placed by responsible ministers and discussion is invited. The tendency everywhere is thus towards gradually transforming pure personal rule into constitutional rule. This tendency, though in many respects undoubtedly new in the history of India, is, after all, not so entirely new, as is sometimes supposed, at any rate as far as the traditions of the Maratha Government are concerned. Your

Highness is of course aware how the great founder of the Maratha power had established a Council of ministers, each in charge of a separate department and all to conjointly advise him in all important State matters. All the more important classes were properly represented on this Council of ministers and herein Shivaji displayed the highest attributes of real statesmanship. Kolhapur still retains traces of this wise arrangement by which the work of Government was then lightened and facilitated, and happily the representatives of most of the Feudatory States are well qualified by their education to give effective assistance to your Highness in the discharge of your onerous and responsible task. Of course, under the altered circumstances of the situation, the functions of the rulers of Native States are not now the same as they once were and to that extent old arrangements must be modified that they may answer their purpose properly in these days. But division of work and of responsibility, with a due subordination of the several departmental heads to the central authority, represented in the person of your Highness as the fountain-head of all sovereign power in the State, is now as ever the very essence of good Government. During the last ten years the administration of the State has been very successfully carried on, to a great extent on this principle, by a Council and the Sabha humbly hopes that Your Highness will enhance the usefulness of this agency by strengthening it for executive and enlarging it for legislative purposes.

Among the subjects which must now engage your Highness's attention, none can claim greater importance than that of public education. His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda has set in this matter a very good example by encouraging free and general education and promoting the growth of native literature. In this connection the Sabha is glad to note that your Highness has already promised your distinguished support to a very laudable attempt, proposed to be made by some of your Highness's subjects in the field of Marathi literature and we make no doubt that under your beneficent rule Kolhapur will before long rank with the best seats of learning in India. One distinguishing feature of Kolhapur has always been the large alienations in the way of Jahagirs, Inama, Temple grants and charities which represent in money value a very large portion of the gross revenue of the State. There has been at times a tendency to look with jealousy upon these alienations and adopt stringent measures to curtail their amounts on the

plea that the holders have ceased to be useful in the way they once were. This is a feature of British Indian Policy which, the Sabha would respectfully point out, is very much out of place in Native States. It ought not to be difficult for Native rulers to find occupation, suitable and sufficient, for the holders of these alienations and to enforce that they should be qualified to render such useful service to the State as the altered conditions of the times may demand of them. By this means, the old bond of sympathy and of unity of interests between the 'sovereign' ruler and his most influential subjects will be maintained and this cannot fail to be a source of great strength to the State. A complete separation of the Khasgi and Dowlat Departments with a due subordination of the former to the latter, a more or less complete separation of Judicial, Executive and Police functions, a rigid system of keeping accounts and controlling finances, a liberal and far-sighted public works policy, an effective machinery for the spread of education and for dispensing medical relief and other necessary charities, and above all, a proper regard for the wants, wishes and feelings of the governed--these are among the more important features of civilized rule and though they involve some expenditure, they are on the whole more economical in the long run than a system of unduly centralizing all power and thereby failing to exercise it adequately in all directions. In all these respects, the Sabha ventures to hope that your Highness will prove a model ruler and will set an example which other rulers of Native States would do well to emulate. The industrial resources of the State have already received considerable attention at the hands of the Council of administration and an industrial survey has been attempted with some measure of success. The Sabha has long felt that in this respect the rulers of Native States have opportunities of rendering service to the country which are denied to those who are in authority in British India. The undeveloped industrial resources of Kolhapur are large and the Sabha begs leave to express a hope that under the watchful care of your Highness the industries of the State would develop, wages increase, trade and manufactures receive the encouragement they so much need and the people enjoy a far greater measure of material prosperity than they have hitherto done.

These are the considerations which the Sabha would respectfully urge on your Highness's attention at this most solemn moment in Your Highness's life. It was the privilege of the Sabha

to discharge a similar duty on previous occasions in the cases of their Highnesses the Maharajas of Mysore and Baroda as also at Delhi in 1877, when Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. But its satisfaction was never greater than on this occasion, for your Highness represents the traditions whose memory is so dear to the whole Maharashtra. May your Highness live long and live in health and happiness and may you ever realize that that royal life is best lived which is spent ceaselessly striving for the welfare of the subjects committed by Providence to its care, is the humble prayer of

Your Highness's Most Obedient Servants,

V. M. BHIDE,

Chairman, Sarvajanik Sabha.

G. K. GOKHLE,

S. H. SATHE,

Honorary Secretaries, Sarvajanik Sabha.

Then the Address was presented to H. H. the Maharaja.

Replying to the address His Highness the Maharaja said he was keenly alive to the heavy responsibilities of the new career which now lay before him and therefore he was all the more grateful to the Sabha for the administrative details which they had suggested. Many of them had been already introduced by previous administrations and such of them as were not, would receive his most careful attention. But it would be presumptuous in him at the very threshold of his administration to declare himself in favour of this policy or that before he had had time to study the advantages and disadvantages of either. As they said, the eyes of the whole of Maharashtra were now turned towards him and if he was to realise the hopes centered in him, he thought, he must proceed cautiously and carefully weigh every measure calculated to disturb the existing order of things or to introduce innovations.

When the Installation Ceremony was over, the Deputation returned after a couple of days to Poona.

THE SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

A PROTEST MEETING.

A public meeting was held at the Anandabhava Theatre in Poona City on Sunday the 24th June 1894 under the auspices of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, for the purpose of adopting a Memorial to the House of Commons protesting against the action of the Secretary of State and of the Indian Government in the matter of the Simultaneous Examinations Question. The theatre was crowded to its utmost capacity and such was the rush for seats that several policemen had to be stationed at the entrance to prevent overcrowding. The meeting was a large and an enthusiastic one, all the resolutions submitted being carried by acclamation.

On the motion of Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide, seconded by Rao Bahadur Sohoni, Rao Bahadur N. J. Kirtane was voted to the chair. The chairman having explained the object of the meeting, remarked that the fact that such large number had come to the meeting proved that the people were alive to the importance of the occasion. A crisis had overtaken the Indian people, and he might almost say a crisis had overtaken the Indian administration. The House of Commons had, in June last year, passed a resolution in which it said that henceforth Examinations for the Civil Service of India would be held simultaneously in England and in India, and that resolution, passed by the most august assembly in the world was about to be negatived. The question had been referred to the Government of India and the local governments and as was to be expected the Governments urged that to carry out the resolution would be disastrous both to England and to India. The Chairman said that this really meant that the scheme was not palatable to the official world of India. However, the House of Commons must look to its own authority and not allow itself to be overruled by its servants in England and in India. The Chairman said the resolution might be delayed but it could not be destroyed, as the House of Commons would not permit its servants to overrule its decisions.

Professor G. K. Gokhale then proposed the following resolution.

1. That in the opinion of this meeting the recent decision of the Secretary of State for India on the subject of Simultaneous

Examinations is, in the highest degree, unsatisfactory and disappointing and is moreover entirely inconsistent with the pledges given to the natives of this country by the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and Her Majesty's Gracious Proclamation of 1858.

Mr. Gokhale said that as he rose to move that resolution and looked around him, his mind went back to the meeting held in that very place some twelve months ago in connection with the very same subject which was now before them. On that occasion they had met to celebrate an event of great national rejoicing and their hearts then were warm with hope, for the House of Commons had adopted the resolution which the Secretary of State and the Government of India were now endeavouring to defeat. On the present occasion they had assembled to turn that rejoicing into a note of complaint. The Secretary of State had taken the most inexpedient step of addressing a despatch to the Government of India calling upon the latter to state its reasons against holding simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in England and in India. Mr. Gokhale divided his resolution into two parts. The first part stated that the decision of the Secretary of State was in the highest degree disappointing and unsatisfactory; and the second part set out that it was entirely inconsistent with the pledges given to the Natives of this country. There were more grounds than one for considering the Secretary of State's decision as unsatisfactory and disappointing. In the first place, it postponed the fruition of those hopes which the natives of this country had so long cherished, secondly, it introduced a new principle into the constitutional working of the administration of India; and thirdly, because for the first time the decision lays down that the vast majority of the Civil Servants in this country are to be Europeans always and for ever. They had grave reason to complain of the action of Her Majesty's present ministers. When the House of Commons passed the resolution, a howl was raised by the India Office, which is composed of Anglo-Indians who are always against the natives of this country. The India office therefore did its best to oppose effect being given to the resolution. When the Committee of the National Congress put some pressure on Lord Kimberley and on Mr. Gladstone they gave some hope of the resolution being carried out. They said that the despatch to the Government of India was particularly worded in the way it was because they wanted to ask the Government of India to state in what manner effect could be given to the resolution. The only

question therefore was as to the mode in which it was proposed that effect should be given to the resolution. Then again Mr. George Russell, when he was Under-Secretary for India, deliberately went out of his way to say that though he had opposed simultaneous examinations being held when the proposition was brought before the House, it was neither his intention nor the intention of the Secretary of State, the House having passed the resolution, to thwart effect being given to it. That statement they rightly construed into a distinct promise on the part of the Secretary of State to carry out the resolution. Regarding the second reason for considering the decision of the Secretary of State as unsatisfactory and disappointing viz. because it introduced a new principle into the constitutional working of the administration of India Mr. Gokhale said that if the Government of India could set aside a resolution of the House of Commons in the way they proposed to do, the only safeguard against absolute despotism they now possessed would be taken away for the people of India. It was declared that a large proportion of the appointments in the Civil Service must be held by Europeans, and it was laid down that after the limit of 18 per cent had been reached, the Civil Service was to be closed to the Natives of India. No matter what tests the natives might be prepared to pass, they were doomed to hold that subordinate position in the administration for ever. The equality promised by the Queen's proclamation could not therefore be realised in practice for the cream of Service was to be reserved for ever for Europeans. It was said that if Simultaneous Examinations were instituted Bengalees would preponderate, and that the Bengalees would have been despised by those who would have to serve under us. Mr. Gokhale denied that this would be so, and even if the Bengalees did beat the other classes they would as gladly serve under Bengalees as they have served under Europeans, and Bengalees were Natives of India. Under a pretence of protecting the backward classes the Government wanted to continue the present system. The second part of the resolution was, Mr. Gokhale said, even easier to prove. They all knew that under the enactment of 1833 it was laid down that thereafter there was to be one test and only one for the public service, and that was a test of fitness. That was reiterated in the Proclamation of 1858. It was argued specially by the Bombay Government, that holding the Examination in India was no disqualification to any one and therefore it was not incon-

sistent with the promise held out to the people of India. The Government of Madras, however, had pointed out that holding the examination 6,000 miles away amounted to what might be regarded as a race disqualification. The very fact that the Civil Service Examination was held simultaneously in England and in India the Indian Government were afraid that if the Civil Service would be swamped by Natives, was an indirect admission that the Natives were terribly handicapped under the present system. They need not, however, Mr. Gokhale urged in conclusion, be unduly depressed regarding the future. There was a great struggle before them and they should remember that a victory was not worth having which had not to be fought hard for. Mr. N. N. Bhole having seconded the resolution it was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation.

Mr. M. R. Namjoshi then proposed :—

"That this meeting hereby desires to give expression to its emphatic conviction that the recently constituted Provincial Service falls far short of the legitimate expectations of the Indian people and that the holding of the Civil Service Examination simultaneously in India and England will alone satisfy their just aspirations in the matter."

Mr. Namjoshi urged that the Provincial Service Scheme as formulated by the Bombay Government was a death-blow to higher education, and it was a scheme which created racial differences between Her Majesty's subjects. The scheme was also misleading, for the Sikhs and Mahomedans did not wish to enter the Civil Service; they wanted to enter the Military service, and in refusing them this Government wished them to believe they were protecting them their interest in the matter of the Civil Service. If the Sikhs and Mahomedans understood the matter properly they would see how the Government was to blind them. Mr. Namjoshi combated the arguments contained in the despatch of the Government of Bombay and characterised all those arguments as flimsy.

Mr. B. K. Limaye seconded the resolution which was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation.

Mr. B. G. Tilak then proposed that the following memorial to the House of Commons be adopted :—

To the Hon'ble the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the City and Cantonment of Poona, Bombay Presidency, India, in public meeting assembled.

Respectfully Sheweth :—

That your petitioners, who are loyal Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, respectfully venture to approach your Hon'ble House with this humble expression of the profound regret and disappointment which have been evoked throughout this country by the refusal of the Secretary of State for India to give effect to the resolution, adopted, after full consideration, by your Hon'ble House on June 2nd 1893, on the subject of holding the competitive examination for the Civil Service of India, simultaneously in India and England.

The constitutional question which arises from this action of the Secretary of State is one of great gravity. Your petitioners submit that the people of India are entitled to claim that your Hon'ble House should be the final arbiter of the policy which is to prevail in the government of this country by England. Of late, however, the Anglo-Indian officials in this country have been showing an ever-growing impatience of the control which Parliament from time to time exercises over the administration of Indian affairs, which control they seem to resent as so much needless and vexatious interference with their work. And this feeling of impatience and irritation found what may be called an official and authoritative expression in the speech delivered by Lord Lansdowne in Calcutta on the eve of his departure from India. Your petitioners submit that it would be a grave misfortune if this attempt of the Indian authorities to practically free themselves from all responsibility were to succeed. Your Hon'ble House alone is competent to frustrate this dangerous attempt and to enforce that all instructions which Parliament in its wisdom may deem fit to issue to the Indian Government will be loyally and faithfully carried out. Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully pray that your Hon'ble House will deal with this question in a manner which will remove all doubt and mis-apprehension for the future.

The disappointment felt by your petitioners at the decision arrived at by the Secretary of State has been rendered doubly keen by the manner in which Her Majesty's present Ministers allowed the impression to gain ground that some effect at least would be given to the resolution of your Hon'ble

House. In forwarding that resolution to the Indian Government, the Secretary of State called for a report stating "in what mode, in your opinion, and under what conditions and limitations this resolution could be carried into effect." This certainly did not seem to indicate that the resolution of your hon'ble House would be so completely set aside. On September 21st 1893, Mr. George Russell, then Under Secretary for India made the following remarkable statement in your Hon'ble House during the debate on the Indian Budget:—"It may be in the recollection of the House that in my official capacity, it was my duty earlier in the Session to oppose a resolution brought before the House; but the House of Commons thought differently from Government. That once done, I need hardly say that there is no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State for India, or myself to thwart or defeat the effect of the vote of the House of Commons on the resolution." The Secretary of State could not but have foreseen that the Government of India would offer the utmost resistance to the vote of your Hon'ble House being carried into effect. And if there is any difference between this anticipation and what has actually taken place it is to be found in the fact that the Government of Madras has given a sympathetic and statesmanlike support to the policy of simultaneous examinations. Under these circumstances it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Secretary of State never seriously intended to give effect to the resolution of your Hon'ble House. And your petitioners, therefore, feel bound to respectfully complain that an impression inconsistent with this intention should have been so unfortunately encouraged by Her Majesty's advisers.

As regards the justice and expediency of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England, the resolution recorded by your Hon'ble House last year after a full consideration of the arguments for and against such a course renders it unnecessary that your petitioners should argue the question at any length again in this petition. Nor have the Secretary of State and the Government of India brought forward any new arguments of importance, which need weigh with your Hon'ble House. The objections mainly relied upon by the Government of India and the Secretary of State "to dissent from the proposal to establish a simultaneous examination in India" are stated to be six in number and they are as follows:—

(a) That no such concession is necessary for the fulfilment of the so called pledges. (b) That the practical difficulties of introducing a system of Simultaneous examinations would be extremely serious. (c) That the necessary minimum of Europeans in the Service could not be maintained in the event of simultaneous Examinations being instituted. (d) That it would be entirely out of the question to reduce the existing minimum of Europeans at present. (e) That open competition is not the best way of selecting Natives for the higher ranks of the Service. (f) And that the proposal would involve the withdrawal of the appointments recently given to the Provincial Service. Now your petitioners would point out that the first of these objections, by describing the pledges contained in Section 87 of the Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. C. 85 and the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen Express of 1858, as "so called pledges" amounts to an indirect repudiation of those pledges. The language of the enactment of 1833 and especially of the Proclamation of 1858 is most explicit and it is not, your petitioners submit, in the power of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to question their solemn and binding character. That the present arrangements virtually constitute a race disqualification is admitted by so responsible an authority as the Government of Madras, and so long as these arrangements continue, the pledges contained in the statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 must continue kept perhaps to the ear but certainly broken to the hope. As regards the second objection, your petitioners submit that the practical difficulties mentioned therein viz. those connected with the *vice versa* examination and with maintaining the secrecy of examination papers have been most unduly over-rated. Surely it ought not to be difficult for a Government with such vast resources as the Government of India to secure the absolute secrecy of the question papers and as regards the *vice versa* examination, Government could easily bring out capable examiners from England at a cost which the Nation would feel to be a mere trifle, when the large interests involved in this question are considered. With reference to the third and fourth objections, your petitioners would, in the first place, respectfully submit that the present minimum proportion of Europeans in the Covenant Service, viz. five-sixths has after all been fixed in an arbitrary manner and no better proof of this could be required than that in the opinion of the Madras Government this

proportion might very well be reduced to two-thirds. Secondly your petitioners agree with the Government of Madras in holding that the institution of simultaneous examinations would not necessarily lead to the admission of a much larger number of Natives into the service. Thirdly even if the Natives should succeed in securing more than a fair or reasonable share, the British Government, the petitioners humbly submit, must be prepared to accept the situation in view of the solemn pledges given in the past. Should your Honorable House, however, be unable to concur in this view, the people of this country would be willing that your Honorable House should impose a reasonable limit on the number of Natives securing admission into the service. As regards the argument that open competition is not the best way of selecting Natives of India for the higher grades of the service, your petitioners while allowing that it may not be ideally the best method, venture to submit that it is and has been found to be the best method available. The remarkable success of the Subordinate Judicial Service, which is recruited exclusively by open competition, may be cited as an illustration in point. It is said that open competition is necessary in England to prevent nepotism, whereas for obvious reasons nepotism is possible in India. But nepotism is not the only abuse to which the power of making appointments is liable. It is also said that if simultaneous examinations are instituted, the Bengalees would practically have monopoly of the prizes. Now this view in the first place, does grave injustice to the intellectual capabilities of the inhabitants of the other parts of India. Even if it, however, be assumed for the sake of argument that this anticipation would prove correct, your petitioners do not suppose that the people of this country will regret such a result. It may be mentioned that the oldest Native Civilian in this Presidency is a Bengali, than whom, however, few officers of Government are regarded by the people with greater affection or esteem. In this connection, your petitioners would respectfully beg leave to point out that the solicitude professed for all classes of Indians enjoying equal privileges and an equal share in the public service, is often, if nothing worse, only a feint to keep all Natives alike in their present position of inferiority and thereby prolong the present monopoly of the higher grades by Europeans. As regards the last objection, viz. causing disappointment to members of the Provincial Service, it is difficult to realize that the Government of India could have advanced this

argument seriously. This Service has been only recently constituted and in some parts the arrangements in connection with it have not even been completed. In this Presidency for instance, the detailed rules regulating first admissions to this service have not even been promulgated as yet. Besides both the Government of India and the Local Governments have explicitly declared that the reserved places "listed" for this Service will not be bestowed upon members of this Service till the preferential claims of the Statutory Civilian, as also of the Civilian recruited before 1882 have been satisfied. This means that for many years to come, the members of the Provincial Service must not expect to be promoted to these "listed" posts. And yet the Government of India and some of the Local Governments have already been able to discern in the members of the Provincial Service an improved standard of efficiency and integrity!

In view, therefore, of what has been urged above, your petitioners respectfully pray that your Hon'ble House will be pleased to issue explicit instructions to the Secretary of State for India that the resolution adopted by your Hon'ble House on June 2nd, 1893, should be loyally carried out. Your petitioners would humbly submit that the prestige of the British Government will suffer considerably in this country, if the impression were to gain ground that the resolutions of your Hon'ble House could be safely overridden by the Indian Government.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Mr. Tilak told his audience that to his mind it was not a question of argument at all, but a question of self interests and prejudice on the one hand and the just demands of the Natives on the other.

Mr. V. V. Lala seconded the resolution, which Mr. V. R. Jānapurkar supported. The resolution was carried by acclamation. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

SOCIAL REFORM IN BENGAL.*

The prospects of Social Reform in Bengal do not seem to be very cheering, although there is no reason for despair. The work that is to be done is immense, but small the number of workers. The little that is being done should, however, be done well and systematically, so that future generations may not have to do the same thing over again. If we cannot do all that we desire to do, let us at least clear the path for future reformers.

In Bengal, the Brahmo Samaj people seem to be, at the first blush, in several respects far in advance of the orthodox community. They do not marry their girls below fourteen and their boys below eighteen. They allow intermarriage as also widow-marriage. They have no objection to travelling in foreign countries. They educate their females and do not subject them to the zenana restrictions prevalent in the orthodox society. In short they seem to have shaken themselves free from the thousand and one evils from which the Hindu Society is suffering. In many social matters they have set before them the ideals of European countries. They have broken the joint family system; they have made marriage a mere social contract; they allow judicial separation as well as divorce. The Indian Succession Act is their law of succession. To many social reformers in the Hindu Society, the Brahmo Samaj looks like an ideal society. The Brahmos, however, constitute a mere drop in the ocean. What are a few hundred men amidst a population of thirty millions? They possess no influence over the Hindu

* This paper written by an esteemed Bengalee gentleman, was first intended for being published in the Report of the last Social Conference. It, however, arrived too late for inclusion in that Report and the Secretary of the Conference has, therefore, kindly placed it at our disposal.

Society, and the illiterate masses look upon them as so many pervert outcastes. Much as I do sympathize with the work of the Brahmo Samaj, much as I do admire the patriotism and self-sacrificing spirit of many of its leaders, I regret to observe that I do not find in it any element of stability. In completely breaking with the Hindu Society, they have broken with its best traditions. In adopting European ideals, they have lost touch with the masses. They cannot appeal to prophets, saints or sages, or even sentiment; their appeal lies to dry reason only. Their *modus operandi* is wholly defective. The well-wishers of the Hindu Society cannot look up to the Brahmo Samaj for accomplishing much solid work. In Hindu India, the Hindu kings were heads not only of the State, but also of the Society, and their decisions in social matters were binding upon all subjects. You may remember how a few years ago, Maharajah Runbeer Singh, the late ruler of Cashmir, laid down that in his domain Hindu converts to Islam could be taken back into the Society. No such thing is possible in British India. The dissolution of the Hindu Kingdom brought chaos and confusion into Society. The influence for good or for evil, which learned men or Brahmins used to exercise over the people through the help of the Hindu kings, could no longer be adequately exercised, for they could no longer enforce their decrees in case of disobedience. Society went on moving in the accustomed grooves, but the introduction of any salutary new custom, or the abolition of any injurious old one was no longer practicable. All progress was stopped, and the society became an inert mass. When India passed into the hands of English men, the state of things became still worse. In matters social and religious, the British Government is strictly neutral. Then as the people have no voice in the making of laws, the least attempt on the part of the Government to interfere with social matters is, not unnaturally, viewed with suspicion.

The work of destruction has been going on long in the Hindu Society, but there is none to take up the work of construction. The British Government is powerless to do anything in social matters. The landed aristocracy, no doubt, wield some power, but it is not sufficient to alter our social laws. The English-educated men are equally helpless in the matter. In the beginning of their career, they are often very sanguine in their expectations, but as soon as they have to face the realities of the world, their powerlessness becomes manifest, and necessity often compels them to surrender their own principles and take to ways and habits which they themselves had before condemned in no measured language.

The Brahmins, no doubt, have lost considerably in learning and prestige, and although it is very difficult to find even one in a thousand who will approach the ideal Brahmin of our Shastras, still the learned among them, the Pundits, who are by custom referees in all social matters, exercise considerable influence in the adjudication of all social questions. The Brahmins of old—when Brahmins were a class, and not a caste; when learning, piety, charity and self-sacrifice could make one a Brahmin,—used to exercise almost unlimited power over the society. If the social machinery was going wrong, they immediately used to come to put it right by means of legislation and theirs were the sanctions both of religion and of State. The modern Brahmin is not a synonym for a learned and pious man. Formerly it was the flower of the nation that used to form the Brahmin community, but now you find rank weeds as well within its pale. Weakened by its hereditary constitution, the Brahmin community does not command the same respect as it formerly used to do. Selfishness took the place of the welfare of the people in the minds of the law-givers, when the class was turned into a caste and everything has been done to secure dignity and respect for the caste which the class only deserved. The Pundits, however, as I have already observed,

still retain some power in their hands. Whenever an intricate social question requires solution, the decision of the Pundits, here in Bengal; of Nadia is final in the matter. In the villages, the Pundits are invited by wealthy people at all important social and religious ceremonies and their decisions in these assemblies carry much weight with the people. If the venerable Pundit Vidyasagar could have won over the Pundits of Bengal to the side of widow-marriage, it would have been by this time a *fact accompli*. The Pundits opposed the movement tooth and nail and that which carried with it the support of the European public, was backed by legislative enactment, got pecuniary support from one of the wealthiest families of Bengal, failed for want of their support. No name is more respected in Bengal than that of Vidyasagar and yet he failed, although he proceeded in the indigenous way by means of interpretation, simply because he wanted tact to secure the support of the Pundits. These men are not much thought of by our reformers. They are generally regarded as fools whose opinions are not worth having but in subtlety of intellect they will beat down even the best of our graduates. The thoroughness of their learning cannot but elicit admiration even from the most fastidious. These men have one defect however; their education is not of a comprehensive character. The horizon of their vision is a limited one. They do not take a comprehensive view of the nation's wants and needs. They move in very narrow spheres. As they, however, possess unlimited influence with the people in social matters, the reformers commit a serious mistake in not trying to secure their support. If you can once influence these men, you have a smooth task before you.

I am glad to see that the sea-voyage movement is being carried on on lines indicated above. Several Pundits have already given their support to it, and if the reformers proceed with tact and caution, it is

"The question would then (in the event of the Bill passing into law) arise whether education in England and success in a competitive examination is the only, or in all cases, the best test of fitness for office, as regards the Natives of India.

This question involves very different considerations from those which have determined the adoption of the competitive system as applicable to Europeans. At home, selection meant patronage and patronage was distributed among friends and relatives. When patronage was abolished, open competition was the only alternative. Under the competitive system although success does not in itself ensure aptitude for rule or official ability, yet there is at least a better chance of these qualifications being secured than under family or political patronage. And since Europeans have generally those qualities by which they have won, and still hold the Indian Empire, the tests of competitive examination are, on the whole, good tests as between different candidates of the English race.

But this principle cannot be safely relied upon as regards the Natives of India. It is notorious that in their case, mere intellectual acuteness is no indication of ruling power. In vigour, in courage and in administrative ability, some of the races in India, most backward in education, are well known to be superior to other races, which, intellectually are much more advanced. In a competitive examination, the chances of a Bengalee would probably be superior to the chances of a Pathan or a Sikh. It would nevertheless be a dangerous experiment to place a successful student from the Colleges at Calcutta in command over any of the martial tribes of Upper India.

And to these practical disqualifications of race must be added the not less serious difficulties which may arise out of the circumstances of rank and caste. Although the prejudices of caste are, we may hope, gradually giving way, they are still powerful; and although nothing would be done to encourage or to foster them, it would yet be, in the highest degree, imprudent to disregard their existence and their strength. The influence of rank and of social position is hardly less strong in many parts of India. So much do you recognize this to be the fact that in your proposed scheme, the majority of the scholars are to be selected solely with reference to this qualification. But this is an element altogether alien to the system of competitive examination and it is not easy

to see how it can be dealt with in perfect harmony with that system. In whatever degree, the Government of India may be compelled by the social condition of the country to be guided in their appointments by such considerations, their action would be disconnected as much as possible with the tests of mere literary examination.

On the whole, I have come to the conclusion that our duty towards the Natives of India in respect to the giving them a larger share of employment in the administration of their own country is a duty which must be mainly discharged in India on the principle of careful and cautious selection. A more free employment of them in the Uncovenanted Service would seem to be the method of proceeding least beset with difficulties and least open to objection. This would indeed be a competitive examination of the best kind. But the wide diversities of character which prevail between different parts of India make it essential that each Province and race should be treated by itself.

It should never be forgotten that there should never be any hesitation in laying down the principle that it is one of the first duties towards the people of India to guard the safety of our own dominion. For this purpose we must proceed gradually, employing only such Natives as we can trust, and these only in such places as, in the actual condition of things, the Government of India may determine to be really suited to them."

The letter of the Government of India then refers briefly to the rules framed in 1873, in 1875, in 1878 and finally in 1879, under the Statute of 1870. The rules drafted by the Government of India in 1873 were disallowed by the Secretary of State on the ground that they did not properly carry out the object of the Act of 1870. The rules of 1875, though sanctioned, were found to be unworkable. In 1873, a third set of rules were drafted but were again disallowed. The main features of these rules were (1) That a separate Superior Native Civil Service should be constituted, having the same status and position as the Covenanted Service. (2) That about 10 to 20 per cent. of the higher posts in the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services should be

be the iron age and bow with the profoundest respect to every thing that professes to have come down from the past; by habit and association they have been wedded to certain beliefs and will obstinately cling to them.

In spite of the apparent conservatism of the Hindu Society, it is however rapidly passing through a state of transition. The old state of things is passing away, and even the most strenuous efforts to retain them are proving futile. The people are unconsciously adopting new manners and customs notwithstanding *Shastric* injunctions to the contrary. Railways and steamers have accomplished more than even what the social reformers dreamt of a few years ago. The society is already moving to a certain extent and social reformers should endeavor to show that the reforms already effected or proposed to be effected are not inconsistent with the *Shastras*. They should simply push it on. The *Shastras* are extremely plastic in their nature. The fiction of interpretation is a valuable agency in introducing reforms into half-enlightened societies which will not listen to arguments based on utility alone. Arguments based on the advantages of travelling in foreign lands may not be sufficient to induce an orthodox Hindu to break with the existing custom, but also point out to him texts from the scriptures approving of foreign travels and the force of his objection will be considerably abated. It is a popular error to suppose that the Hindu *Shastras* are unchangeable and are what they were when they were breathed out by Brahma in the beginning of creation. Any one who has studied the *Smritis* critically must have found that though every subsequent legislator has bowed to the authority of the Vedas and the preceding *Smritis*, he has in fact promulgated new laws by the fiction of interpretation. Let me take for instance the law of succession in Bengal. Every student of Hindu law knows that Vijnaneswar and Jimut-Vahan, authors of

two different systems of Hindu law, Dayabhaga and Mitakshara, have based their conclusions on identical texts of the *Smritis*, and yet how different they are! Jimut-Vahan is a later authority; he saw the disadvantages of the restrictions on the transfer of property and desired to amend the existing laws. But how did he proceed? He did not declare Manu and other law-givers to be so many idiots, but bowed to them as Vijnanswar did. The chisel of interpretation, however, carved out a different image from the same material. Had he professed to introduce something new in total disregard of the old laws, he would not have succeeded at all. The people had already felt the disadvantages of the old laws, they were convinced of the advantages of the proposed changes, and when they saw that the latter had the sanction of the *Shastras*, they yielded without any hesitation. Instances may be cited from various branches of the Hindu Jurisprudence to show the important part fiction has played in its development. Hindu lawyers were not singular in largely availing themselves of fictions. Even in the far west, the lawyers of ancient Rome, to whom the modern European Jurists are so much indebted, fully appreciated its importance. It is true that Bentham and his followers do not think much of fiction, and have condemned it as fraudulent, but later Jurists have fully succeeded in showing Bentham's mistake in not appreciating the value of fiction in reforming half-enlightened societies.

As I have said before, we are in a state of rapid transition, for our social needs are in advance of our social laws. Our social needs require us to violate rules of caste, marriage, diet, travel and indeed of every important concern of life. Now the question is whether you are to break them and advance or to observe them and lag behind in the path of civilization. The answer is that we must break them, and advance in the race of civilisation. But we must do it through fiction of interpretation

without wounding the susceptibilities of the people. The huge superstructure of the Hindu Society is not sound in all places, and it is neither safe nor wise to defer its repairs any longer. It is not however necessary to pull down the entire edifice, as the Brahmos have done, as with slight additions and alterations we can make it suit our present requirements. If it is desired to make Hindu Society a living society, we must advance, but we must also steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of hasty reforms and exotic methods.

Take for instance the case of girl widows. Shall any one have the hardihood to say that the Hindu father's heart does not melt at the sight of his widowed girl? Is there a single orthodox Hindu whose tender feelings are not as strong as those of a member of any other society which allows widow marriages. The thing is that he considers it a sin to have his girl re-married, and unless you show him that the *Shastras* do not consider it a sin, he will never listen to any proposal for re-marriage. Under such circumstances, permissive legislative enactments are of no avail, as no one can force a man to marry his widowed daughter. The people should be first prepared for the change the law contemplates, or it will be a dead letter. Circulate broad cast among the people the texts explained in simple language showing that no sin is incurred in re-marrying girl widows, get the Sanskrit Pundits on your side, and the path of reform will be easy. We are all half-hearted in our endeavours. We have neither energy nor self-sacrifice, we are wanting both in learning and enthusiasm, and if we have not been able to do anything for our country, the fault is entirely ours.

I shall now take up the subjects mentioned in your letter. As regards *remarriage of widows* the Hindus of Bengal are more strict than their brethren in other parts of the country. Here even the lowest castes would not allow remarriage of widows. I hear from old

men that some fifty years ago the Chandals, or as they now call themselves, Namasudras, used to remarry their widows, but gradually they have forbidden it. In this instance as in many other instances, the lower castes have gradually followed the example set by the higher castes. Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, in the early part of his career, devoted his entire energy to the introduction of widow marriage into Hindu Society, but as the movement did not succeed according to his anticipations, he gave it up in sheer despair during the latter part of his career. A few years before his death, the Rajah of Naedanga in the district of Jessore took fancy after the introduction of widow marriage and acted for about 2 years, under the guidance of the late Pundit. He succeeded in having 2 or 3 girl widows re-married; but shortly after he made up with the orthodox society and left the widow marriage movement to take care of itself. Since then for the last 7 or 8 years, no body in Bengal has heard anything about the re-marriage of widows. The Brahmos now and then celebrate widow-marriages within their society, but to my knowledge, not a single widow has been re-married in Bengal in the orthodox society within the last 7 or 8 years. The movement might safely be said to have received its *quietus*, unless some energetic spirit like the late Vidyasagar takes it up again.

Child marriage.—Among the higher classes boys are now being married at comparatively higher ages. Boys generally pass the matriculation examination here at about the age of 16 and the fathers would not listen to any proposals of marriage before their sons have passed the aforesaid examination. Some fathers would not marry their sons before they have completed their University career. For these reasons there is a perceptible increase of marriageable ages of boys here. A few years ago, I think in the year 1875 or 1876, a movement was set on foot among students to make them take pledges not to marry below a certain age:

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, I believe, was the originator of the movement. It produced good results in certain cases. Babu Surendra Nath has, however, many things to do and no body has heard any thing of it for several years. Late marriage among boys, so far as I can see, is going to be the rule here. It does not seem necessary to take any action whatever in this matter, so far as the educated classes are concerned. The illiterate classes will no doubt gradually follow the example of the higher classes, but it will require time. Early marriages are yet prevalent to a large extent among the lower classes and it may not be unprofitable to do something in this matter among them. But I do not know any association here which concerns itself with the subject.

Girls among all the classes are married earlier than boys. The higher classes very rarely now marry their girls below 10 or 11 and above 13 or 14 years of age. The increase of marriageable ages of girls is mainly due to that of the marriageable ages of boys. As the fathers now defer marriages of the boys to comparatively higher ages, the fathers of the girls are compelled to keep them unmarried for want of eligible matches. As in the case of boys among them, the lower classes still marry their girls at early ages. Late marriage is not altogether uncommon, but early marriage is the rule among them in respect of girls.

Early consummation.—From a physical point of view, early marriage would not have been at all mischievous, if it had not been followed by early consummation, consummation before menstruation is extremely rare among the higher classes, though I believe, it prevails to a certain extent among the lower classes. Girls here generally menstruate between the twelfth and the fourteenth year, though in some cases menstruation may happen either earlier or later, and consummation is rarely deferred to a later age after menstruation. As long as early marriage is not abolished, it is extremely difficult to prevent early consummation.

Ill-assorted marriages.—Ill-assorted marriages such as marriages of girls of tender age with old men are becoming rare. One hears of them now after long intervals, only when old wealthy men having no children think of marrying again in order to leave some children behind. For want of eligible matches, young *Kulin* girls are now and then married to old men.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is virtually extinct in Bengal except among the *Kulins*. The daughter of a *Naikashya kulin* must be, according to the rules of Kulinism, married to a *Naikashya kulin*. It sometimes happens that there is only one such man available for several girls and in these cases either all the girls must be married to that man or all of them except one must for ever remain unmarried. Kulinism is the cause of polygamy among the kulins. Educated kulins, unless they are under the necessity of providing their own sisters or daughters with husbands, will not now take more than one wife. The result is that many girls who would have been formerly married to a polygamous husband are now remaining unmarried. The rules of kulinism are many and intricate, and it will fill a whole volume, were I to relate them in detail. Suffice it to say that *Rudhri Srini* Brahmins who are generally subject to the evils of what is generally known as kulinism are divided into 3 classes. *Kulins*, *Srotriyas* and *Bangshajas*. Kulins are again divided into several *Mels* or subdivisions, such as. *Fute*, *Khaddaha*, *Sarbanandi*, and *Ballori* &c. Now the kulins of several subdivisions cannot intermarry among each other without losing kulinism. His area of selection as regards marriages lies confined within his own *mel* though he can also marry a *Srotriya* girl. If a *kulin* girl is married to a *Srotriya* or *Bangshaja* husband or even outside her own *mel* or subdivision, the guardian of the girl loses kulinism. If a *kulin* boy is married outside his own *mel*, he also loses kulinism,

but if he is married to a *Bangshaja* girl, he becomes a *Banga kulin*. Thus a kulin, in order to retain his kulinism, must either marry a kulin or *Srotriya* girl and his female relations must be married to kulins of his own *mel*.

So as regards kulin boys, the area of selection is rather wide, whereas as regards kulin girls, it is confined to the kulin of the same *mel*. The *Bhanga kulins*, like the kulins themselves, will not marry their girls to *Bangsajas* or *Srotriyas*. They must be married either to kulins—and in such cases the kulins become *Bhanga kulins* on account of their alliance with *Bhanga kulins*,—or *Bhanga kulins* of their own *mel*. It is considered highly honourable for *Bhanganakulins*, *Bangasajas* and *Srotriyas* to marry their girls to kulins. Thus the kulin boys are eagerly sought after by the other classes as well as by the kulins of their own *mels*, and so they are often induced by pecuniary considerations to take more than one wife. The kulins, as I have already stated, can take wives from among the *Srotriyas* without losing kulinism, or becoming *Bhanga kulins*, and the *Srotriyas* on their part consider such alliances highly honourable. So the *Srotriyas* will generally give their daughters in marriage to kulins or failing them to *Bhanga kulins* in preference to boys of their own community. *Srotriya* girls thus generally go to become wives of other classes, and *Srotriya* boys, who are not allowed to marry kulin or *Bhanga kulin* girls, generally remain unmarried. The result has been that many *Srotriya* families all over the country have become extinct.

The *Bhanga kulins*, i. e. those kulins who come down from the rank of *Naikasya kulins* on account of their taking wives from among the *Bangsajas* or *Bhanga kulins*, take their rank just below the kulins. These *Bhanganas* are bound by all *mel* rules like the kulins or *Naikasya kulins* themselves. Their boys, like the kulin boys, are sought in marriage by their

own classes, as well as the *Bangsajas* and the *Srotriyas*, but their daughters are to be married to *Bhanga kulins* of their own *mels*, so their daughters labour under all those disadvantages to which the *kulin* girls are subject, and their boys like the *kulin* boys are often induced to take more than one wife from among the *Bhanga kulins* of their own *mel*, as well as the *Bangsajas* and the *Srotriyas*.

The *Bangsajas*, like the *Bhangakulins*, consider it honorable to have their girls married to *kulins*, but the *kulins* can marry *Bangsaja* girls only at the risk of becoming *Bhanga kulins*. The *Bangsajas* can marry their daughters to *Srotriyas*, but will never do it if *kulin*. *Bhangakulin*; or *Bangsaja* boys are available. A *Bangsaja* boy can only marry a *Bangsaja* or *Srotriya* girl, but as *Srotriya* fathers always try to marry their daughters to *kulins* or *Bhanga kulins*, and as *kulins* themselves sometimes seek *Srotriya* girls, as they can marry the latter without forfeiting *kulinism*, *Bangsaja* boys have generally to choose their wives from among their own community. The girls of their own community however go to become wives of the *Bhanga kulins* or *kulins*, as such marriages are considered honorable. So they too are under the same disadvantages to which the *Srotriyas* are subject, and are often like them compelled to offer heavy bride-prices, sometimes rising to Rs. 1,000 or more, to the fathers of the girls of their own community. In this artificial arrangement, no body gains anything, and every body is a heavy loser, but things have been going on in the same state since King Ballal instituted *kulinism*, and Ghatak Devivar introduced the *mel* rules, simply because there has been no systematic attempt to get rid of it. A large number of *kulin* and *Bhanga kulin* girls are life-long maids for want of husbands, and similarly an equally large number of *Bangsaja* and *Srotriya* boys are life-long bachelors for want of wives. People are daily seeing the anomaly and feeling the inconvenience of this arrange-

ment, but throughout the whole country no one will stretch out even his little finger to help the destruction of the monstrous custom which has brought in its train social evils which I would rather leave the reader to imagine than take upon myself the painful task of describing in this paper.

The following statement will make clear the arrangement obtaining at present among the Rathi Seni Brahmins.

1. Kulin girls can marry only kulin boys.
2. Bhanga kulin girls can marry (a) kulin or (b) Bhanga kulin boys.
3. Bangasaja girls and Srotriya girls can marry boys of all the four classes, viz, Kulin, Bhanga kulin, Bangasaja and Srotriya.

Or to look at the arrangement from the point of view of boys:—

- A. A kulin boy can marry a girl belonging to any one of the four classes.
- B. A Bhanga kulin boy can marry a Bhanga kulin, Bangasaja or Srotriya girl only.
- C. A Bangasaja boy can marry a Bangasaja or a Srotriya girl only. The same is the case with a Srotriya boy.

The Bangsajas and the Srotriyas will intermarry among each other, though the Bangsajas are considered a little better than the Srotriyas, who have however the privilege of marrying their daughters to kulins without entailing any degradation on the latter.

Though kulinism has no *shastric* sanction, yet it is a living institution, simply because the kulins are unwilling to sacrifice their social superiority over other classes; and though none suffer more from it than they themselves, yet such is the obstinate desire of human beings to be regarded as superior by their fellows, that they will suffer their own daughters to remain unmarried simply because they occupy the enviable position of being sought as husbands by all

other classes. As in many other instances, woman has been here sacrificed at the altar of man's selfishness.

The number of *Naikasya* kulins is very limited, but the *Bhanga* kulins, who are bound by all the rules of kulinism, constitute a large class, and the evils of kulinism are severely felt by them. There is however no systematic endeavour anywhere in Bengal to do away with these evils. The educated kulins owe it as a duty to their daughters and sisters to root out kulinism, but they are as indifferent in the matter as their less enlightened caste-men. If the *Bangsajas* or *Srotriyas* will combine not to marry their girls to Kulins or *Bhanga* Kulins, they can at least save themselves from extinction. Their self-interest requires such a combination. If the Kulins or *Bhangakulins*, even if they will not condescend to marry their daughters to the *Bangsajas* or *Srotriyas*, will simply break the *mel* rules and intermarry among the various sub-divisions, the area of selection will be much wider than at present, and many an unfortunate girl will have no difficulty in getting a husband. Then as there is no *Shastric* prohibition against the marriage of a Kulin girl to a *Srotriya* or *Bangsaja* boy, any movement of the Kulins towards such an object will be welcomed by the *Srotriyas* and *Bangsajas*. Within the next quarter of a century, the generation that looks upon Kulinism as a venerable institution will wholly pass away, and the educated Kulins even now are not likely to meet with any strong opposition, if they will only give up their apathy and combine to do something.

Sea-voyage--People even now will go to Burmah, Ceylon, Mauritius, Egypt, Aden, and other places beyond the sea, and the Bengali has no objection to take him back into society; but the moment one comes back from Europe with the brand, if I may say so, of the Civil Service, or Barristership on him, he is an out-caste. At the first blush, one is tempted to condemn the society which will

force out of its pale-some of its best citizens, and the indignation that is felt by all right-minded men at their social ostracism is to a certain extent just; but the fault is not entirely that of the society. If you yourself have no regard for your society, the latter also cannot be expected to have any regard for you and will manage to get on without you. I have seen young men from the Punjaub returning from England and quietly taken back into society without much noise. The Bengali gentleman, when he first returns from England, entertains the ambition of being regarded as an Englishman. The Ilbert Bill agitation for the first time gave a rude shock to his fond hope, and he saw for the first time that his veneer of western habits and education will not hide his birth from Englishmen, who will on no account accept him as an equal. The Bengali gentleman, when he returns to India after finishing his education, is a fully transformed being. He pretends not to know his mother tongue, and if he at all condescends to speak it, he does it in broken accents in order to make his transformation complete. In all his social arrangements, he apes the European, and the society not unnaturally considers him as an alien. It is true, a reaction is visible among the England-returned youths, but the mischief having been once committed by those who were the first to go to England, it is rather difficult to undo it. If those that first returned from England had not made any fuss and quietly returned to national habits and customs, it is probable people could not have long remembered that they had transgressed any social laws in travelling to foreign countries. To the ordinary Hindu, beef-eating is extremely objectionable, but our England-returned youths are not unoften found to make such a parade of their heterodox habits as will lend colour to the suspicion that they are not total abstainers from that strictly forbidden food. In order to make the people tolerate foreign

travel, it is necessary for those who have undertaken such travels to shew by their actions that they do not consider it beneath their dignity to move in the society which they wish to accept them with their present outlandish surroundings. In order to be acceptable to the Hindu Society, they must give up their European habits, and shew to the people that they are really their own countrymen. Two England-returned gentlemen of Calcutta, both leading public lives, have been taken back into the society, though not without some opposition. If you wish the society to tolerate you, you must tolerate the society to some extent. Your uncompromising attitude towards the Society cannot but meet with similar treatment in return. The little opposition that was experienced by the two gentlemen I have alluded to was due to the mistake committed by those who had previously returned from England. The Society having once taken a particular line of action regarding a certain class of men, it is not easy to make it adopt a different line with regard to others among them. It is true that almost all educated Bengalees are as heterodox in matters of food and drink, as those that return from England; and the difference of treatment accorded to these two classes of men is due to the fact that while the social surroundings of the former are national, those of the latter are entirely outlandish. In order to facilitate foreign travels, our young men should, in their travels, try to keep their national habits intact as much as possible. They are now perceiving that it is better to be known as Hindus than to be taken for Mulattoes. These people, who often pride themselves on their moral courage, forget that it requires a good deal of moral courage to thoroughly identify themselves with people who are generally treated with contempt by those who are looked upon by them as models for imitation.

The Hindu society must not be shaken to its very foundations. The mistake of our England-returned

youths lies in the fact that they surely desire its total subversion. If they wish to be *enrapport* with society, they must not violently wound its susceptibilities. And the whole question of foreign travels hinges upon this single fact. If Bengalee Hindus will only stick to their national habits after their return from foreign lands, the present opposition to foreign travels will abate in a perceptible manner.

Female education.—There is very little opposition to female education now, but early marriage, for some years to come, must continue as a standing obstacle to its progress. As soon as a girl is married, her education is virtually abandoned. Household duties and cares of children stand in the way of her improving her knowledge in her subsequent life. The little that she learns now is not however very useful. A girl here is educated just like a boy. There is, however, a tendency visible to make some distinction between the curricula of studies for boys and girls. The education that a girl receives at present can only fit her for a clerk's life as in the case of a boy. It is not wise to ignore the constitutional difference between males and females and our young reformers, who are generally disciples of John Stuart Mill in this respect, would not unfrequently endeavour to turn our women into so many men. The education which one receives at an Indian University, is entirely unsuited to our females; and I hope the time is not distant, when we shall see our mistake and keep our females safely out of its reach. It may be a European or American ideal to see women work side by side with men at the work shop, dockyard, hospital and law court or to take part in political agitations; but such an ideal would not suit us unless we destroy the Hindu society and construct out of the dust an imitation of the European society. The very idea of competition between men and women is repugnant to Hindu feeling. Different are the spheres of their action and different should be their

education from the beginning. To my mind it seems clear that in point of female education, we have not only to do much that has not been done but shall also have to undo much that has been done. There must be a radical change in the present system of female-education. If it is cruel to make our boys acquire knowledge through the medium of a foreign language, it is still more cruel to subject our girls to the same torture to which we now subject our boys simply to fit them for the public service of our country. If we cannot help lamenting over the ignorance of our educated men of the ancient lore of our country and their inclination to ape foreign manners and customs, we should lament the more over our women being turned into so many *memsahebs* who will look upon a venerable *yogi* as a brutish savage and her husband's mother as an obnoxious lady to be avoided in the management of household duties. As a daughter, sister, wife, daughter-in-law, mother, grand-mother, let a Hindu woman have constantly before her eyes, the ideals from our own ancient books and let us by all means keep her at a safe distance from the contagion of western materialistic morals. The mischief is not yet complete, and there is yet time for the leaders of our society to calmly think over the matter and to devise a system of national education for our females.

Marriage expenses—I do not consider the subject to be a crying evil in Bengal. Wealthy men will always be a little extravagant at all social ceremonies; and we should not fritter away our energies on matters like this. The custom of demanding large sums of money from the fathers of the brides is, however, becoming a serious social evil, but I am glad to see there is a reaction in the matter, and the good sense of the people will soon assert itself; for no household is without both boys and girls, and what is received at the time of the marriages of the boys is to be spent at the time of the marriages of the girls. The practice of offering large dowries is due

to a growing desire on the part of the parents to see their daughters married to really good boys, and when a boy is sought after by the fathers of several girls, his father not unoften demands his own terms, and he who satisfies them gets the boy for the husband of his girl. The evil is to a great extent confined to Calcutta, and there is such a strong public opinion now against it, that I shall not be surprised to see it totally gone without any extraneous effort.

Inter marriage—The question of intermarriage is intimately connected with that of caste, but much must be done before we can hope for introducing it into the Hindu Society. In the *Pandava Brjita* parts of the country, part of Mymensingh, Sylhet as well as Assam Districts, Vaidgas, Kayasthas and other higher castes will intermarry with each other. During my stay in Nepal, where I was for sometime in the service of the King of Nepal, I was glad to find intermarriages generally widely prevalent throughout the country. It may not be known to the reader that one of the lenial ancestors of the present King of Nepal was the issue of a Maithili Brahmin mother and a Kshatriya father, the then King of Nepal. Intermarriages are now and then celebrated in the Brahmo Somaj, but in the Bengal Hindu Society there is no intermarriage even among the subdivisions of the same caste. Intermarriages among the subdivisions of the same caste are not likely to meet with strong opposition, but up to date, no movement has been set on foot in this direction. The question of intermarriage among the different castes is so closely connected with that of caste itself—a subject too vast and intricate to be dealt with in a paper like the present one,—that I do not propose to enter here into a detailed consideration of it.

Conclusion—I beg to conclude my report with the hope that the leaders of the Indian Social Conference will condescend to take my humble suggestions into their attentive consideration. I would suggest

the formation of a Hindu Social Tract Society with branches for all the Provinces. All the available texts on those social questions which require modification in the existing rules should be collected together, translated into all Indian Vernaculars and distributed gratis all over the country. The texts will have to be carefully edited and those that conflict with each other will have to be reconciled. Texts that favour reforms, such as have the sanction of utility when judged by its standard, should have the first place in these pamphlets and these should be followed by others that go against the proposed reforms. These latter should be carefully explained away and every effort should be made to reconcile them with the preceding texts favouring social reforms. If no texts are available in support of any proposed reform, then all the texts against it should be brought together and explained away. Along with the texts, the opinions of the Pandits all over the country and their interpretation on those texts should also be published. When the opinions of the Pandits, or their interpretations go against any proposed reform, the Editor of the Hindu Social Tracts should be prepared to convince the Pandits out of their own mouths. The Indian Social Conference should also make a systematic effort to enlist the sympathy of the Pandits all over the country in the cause of Social Reform. Conferences should be held at all important centres of Sanskrit learning, and all proper means should be adopted to secure the support of the Pandits on any particular subject that is to be brought before them. The tracts should be intended to dispel popular illusions, and the support of the Pandits is to be sought not only as an indispensable help towards social reform, but also as a guarantee for the absence of any opposition from quarters from where it is to be most apprehended. The Conference should endeavour to secure their positive, and failing that, their negative help in all social reforms. If the Conference, as it should, is to

send any preachers over the country to advocate social reforms, it must take care to enlist the services of those only who are Sanskritists, and possess ability enough to show that the reforms advocated are consistent with our Shastras, and tact enough to secure the ends of the Conference without unduly wounding the religious susceptibilities of the people. If the Social Conference wishes to do some thing practical, it should enlighten the masses as to what the Shastras have to say on all social questions and at the same time adopt every means to do away with the chance of their being misled by the opinions of their referees in such matters by influencing the Pandits themselves. If the masses are enlightened as to the contents of the Sastras, it will perceptibly influence the opinions of the Pandits themselves, who will not now and then refuse to swim with the tide, if swimming against it seems likely to endanger their own safety.

There is a large number of ascetics travelling over the country, some of whom have made considerable self-sacrifice for the sake of the consolations of religion, though it may be, in many instances, mistakenly; and it often occurs to my mind that if somehow or other, our Hindu Society could enlist the services of some at least of these ascetic sects, what splendid unutilized material could be applied to our country's good. But alas for the Hindu Society ! Where is the man to do it ! Great works require great men, and we do not find any Budha, Sankar or Chaitanya among us now. If we cannot, however, bring the great Ganges down from the celestial heights to fertilise the plains below, let us at least sink wells instead, but let us by all means do something, instead of sitting with folded hands and cursing the heavens above for not watering the fields below.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

Although the recent despatch of Mr. Fowler on the question of Simultaneous Examinations has naturally caused considerable disappointment in this country, it cannot be said that it has come upon any one as, in any degree, a surprise. It is undoubtedly true that when the House of Commons adopted its now famous resolution of June 1893 on the subject, it aroused, and very naturally aroused great enthusiasm in India, but no one doubted even in his wildest moments of enthusiasm that the Government of India and the Secretary of State would offer a most determined and implacable resistance to the policy involved in that resolution. Thoughtful Indians have all along felt that the resolution, so far from marking the conclusion of a struggle, marks in reality only its beginning; and they have valued it as advancing the question of Simultaneous Examinations an important stage and bringing it within the domain of practical politics. It is not to be expected that Anglo-Indians, who are human after all, will surrender a rich and highly-prized monopoly without a struggle. It is not to be expected that Indians will be victorious in this struggle without putting forth the most strenuous exertions, and making it unmistakably clear to Englishmen that they are 'thoroughly in earnest' about the matter. The struggle must necessarily be a long and arduous one, and a thorough knowledge of the case of our opponents must always form a valuable equipment to us in this struggle. The recent Parliamentary Blue-book on this subject contains a most detailed and exhaustive statement of the case of Anglo-Indian officials against Simultaneous Examinations. With the exception of the Government of Madras, whose

sympathetic and statesman-like document is worthy of all praise, all the Local Governments and Administrations, who were called upon by the Government of India to state their views on the resolution of the House of Commons, express themselves emphatically, but with very varying degrees of antipathy to native aspirations against the holding of simultaneous examinations. There is a good deal in this Blue-book, which we are prepared to call reasonable, coupled with a great deal that is unreasonable, ungenerous and even disingenuous; and a brief review of its contents will, it is hoped, not be found uninteresting.

The Resolution of the House of Commons, with which the Local Governments and Administrations, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State had to deal was in these terms:—"That all open competitive examinations, hitherto held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit." In forwarding this resolution to Lord Lansdowne's Government, Lord Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India, addressed to his Lordship a brief covering despatch, in which the Government of India was asked to "give a prompt and careful examination to the subject" and to report "in what mode, in your opinion, and under what conditions and limitations, this resolution could be carried into effect." At the same time the Government of India was assured that "in asking to be furnished with the opinion of your Government, it is not my desire to fetter in any way their discretion as to the observations they may think fit to make on the Resolution." Finally the Secretary of State laid down one condition as indispensable, no matter what measures were taken. "I will only point out," he wrote, "that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service

shall always be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition." It is indeed difficult to criticize a despatch so strangely worded as this. Any one who reads it and puts upon it its natural interpretation would, we feel sure, be of opinion that subject to a certain condition, not laid down by the House of Commons, Lord Kimberley called upon the Indian Government to devise a scheme by which effect could be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, and that the discretion allowed to the Indian Government was only in regard to the observations which it may deem fit to make on that resolution. That this was, at any rate, the impression intended by Lord Kimberley to be conveyed is clear from the fact that the members of the Indian party in Parliament were at that time freely given to understand that the despatch was deliberately worded in that manner by the Secretary of State and that this wording had evoked the fiercest protests from members of the Secretary of State's Council. And as though to confirm this impression, Mr. George Russel, the then Under-Secretary for India, deliberately went out of his way on the occasion of the discussion of the Indian budget, and made the following observations shortly after Lord Kimberley had written his despatch:—"I pass now to two points which my Honourable friend, the member for Manchester made with regard to the Simultaneous Examinations. I would lay stress upon this point. It may be in the recollection of this House that in my official capacity, it was my duty earlier in the session to oppose a resolution brought before the House, but the House of Commons thought differently from Government. That once done, I need hardly say that there is no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State for India or myself to thwart or defeat the effect of the vote of the House of Commons on the resolution." Could language be plainer? And yet only a few months after, Lord Kimberley's successor in the same Liberal Government approved

entirely and unreservedly the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the resolution of the House of Commons, adopted by the Indian officials, and borrowed for his own despatch not merely the thoughts and sentiments but the very words of the Government of India !

On receipt of this despatch of Lord Kimberley, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to the Local Governments and Administrations, inviting their opinions on the Resolution of the House of Commons. That letter was so artfully drawn up that without appearing to hamper, in any way, the discretion of the local Governments, it plainly indicated the lines on which the Government of India would be glad to see them base their replies. Before proceeding to state definitely the questions, to which the Government of India desired replies, the letter reviews briefly "the measures which have been taken in recent years for extending the employment of Natives of India in offices ordinarily reserved for the Indian Civil Service." It begins with the year 1868, when the Government of Lord Lawrence proposed the establishment of a system of scholarships for enabling Natives of India to proceed to England for the purpose of completing their education and qualifying for the Civil Service and the professions. This scheme was disallowed by the Duke of Argyll, who was then Secretary of State for India, on the ground that a Bill (which subsequently became the Statute of 1870) was then before Parliament, which, if passed, would better attain the object of giving extended employment to Natives in the higher branches of the Service, inasmuch as it would enable the Government of India to appoint Indians to Covenanted posts without their passing the competitive examination in England. In this connection, the Government of India selects the following passage from the despatch of the Duke of Argyll and significantly commends it specially to the consideration of the local Governments and Administrations :—

are to come to a successful issue. The originators of the movement, however, seem to be lukewarm in their efforts which must be persistent and not spasmodic. Beyond securing the support of a few Pundits of Calcutta, they do not seem to have done anything. All the available texts on the question of sea-voyage should be collected in the form of a pamphlet and circulated wide over the country. Conferences of Pundits should be held in all important centres of public opinion and every precaution should be taken to secure their support. But very little has been done in this direction and to my mind it seems that the movement, like many other movements, is to end in failure, unless the originators awaken to their sense of duty and responsibility. It is better not to moot a question at all than to do it in a half-hearted manner. Failure in one is the precursor of endless failures in future in other matters. It is better to leave a subject to time alone than to handle it in an amateur spirit. It simply strengthens the opposition and throws obstacles in the path of future reformers.

It is not, I admit, always easy to influence the orthodox Pundits. Superstition and selfishness and want of moral courage are not always inconsistent with learning, and it must prove a Herculean task to remove their deep-rooted convictions. Sanskrit learning, however, is no longer the monopoly of any particular community, and when members of other communities are well grounded in Sanskrit, they cannot but share a portion of the power which has been in the hands of one community on account of its Sanskrit learning. The reformers should clearly see this and should also remember that no amount of English education can make one an authority with the people in social questions. All social reformers in our country should be Sanskritists. They must know how to fight with the Pundits with their own weapons, and try to convince them out of their own

months. They must know the rules of interpretation thoroughly well and must be able to reconcile the conflicting texts.

I do not deprecate the methods that are being adopted, such as holding meetings and conferences and passing resolutions. They have their use; but social reformers should also try to secure the support of Pundits and must themselves be well-versed in Sanskrit.

The present position of the Hindu Society is that our social necessities and our social opinions are in advance of our social laws, and it is necessary to bring them into harmony with each other. The agencies by which this is accomplished are legal fictions, equity and legislation. Legal fiction, to quote Sir Henry Maine, signifies "any assumption which conceals or affects to conceal the fact that a rule of law has undergone alteration, its letter remaining unchanged, its operation being modified." The law is virtually changed; the fiction is that it remains what it always was. According to the same authority, "fictions in all their forms are particularly congenial to the infancy of society. They satisfy the desire for improvement, which is not quite wanting; at the same time they do not offend the superstitious disrelish for change which is always present." Equity, to quote Sir Henry Maine again, means "any body of rules existing by the side of the original civil law, founded on distinct principles and claiming incidentally to supersede the civil law in virtue of a superior sanctity inherent in those principles." Equity interferes with law in an open and avowed manner. Legislation derives its obligatory force from the ruler of the state and like equity interferes with law openly. It is my firm conviction that neither legislation nor equity will suit our society and that we should try to reform it through the medium of legal fiction or interpretation. Our people are still full of superstitious ideas; they are full of veneration for the past; they consider the present to

transferred to this new Service ; (3). That about 15 per cent. of the Covenanted posts in most Provinces should also be declared open to it ; and (4) that the competition in England for the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to natives of India. Finally in 1879, the rules, known as the Statutory Service rules, were drafted and passed and these rules provided that a proportion of the recruitment for posts in the Covenanted Service, up to a maximum of one-sixth in each year, should be reserved for the natives of India, appointed in this country under the Statute of 1870. These rules continued in operation till about four years ago, when they were abolished by the Secretary of State in accordance with a recommendation of the Public Service Commission.

The circular letter next, briefly alludes to the changes made in the age-limits of candidates for the Civil Service examination from time to time and then gives the history of certain proposals made by Lord Ripon's Government in 1884. After considering the whole question, Lord Ripon's Government submitted the following proposals to the Secretary of State in a despatch, dated the 12th September, 1884 :— (1) That additional facilities should be afforded to Natives of India to compete in England by raising the age-limits from 17—19 to 18—21, and by making certain alterations in the scheme of the examination in a direction favourable to native candidates ; (2) that a proportion of the total recruitment of each year for the Covenanted Service, fixed at 18 per cent., should be reserved for Natives of India ; (3) that competition in England should be regarded as the primary method of recruiting Native Civilians ; and (4) that appointment in India under the Statute of 1870 should only be resorted to as a supplementary method in order to make up any difference between the number of Natives actually recruited in England and 18 per cent. of the total recruitment of the year. In negating these propo-

sals, the Secretary of State urged the following considerations :—(1) That it would be inconsistent with the nature of an open competitive examination to limit the number of native candidates who might be successful to 18 per cent. of the total number selected, if more of them should obtain places in order of merit ; (2) that the competitive examination was established as a test between European candidates, and adjusted to the conditions of English education generally, and that it could not be so manipulated as to give an advantage to Natives of India or any other particular class of candidates ; and (3) that the principle that the competitive examination should be regarded as the primary method of recruiting Natives of India for the Civil Service, and appointment under the Statute of 1870 as a supplementary method, was not the correct principle, inasmuch as Parliament had enacted the statute of 1870 expressly for the appointment in India of Natives of India to such Covenanted offices as they might be fitted for by their qualifications.

The Government of India next comes to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. After stating what the Government regards as the principles underlying the recommendations, the letter proceeds to compare the Provincial Service scheme as suggested by the Commission and the scheme actually adopted by Parliament. It is claimed for the Government scheme that it closely follows the recommendations of the Commission : " There are only ;" the Government of India observes, " three material points in which it differs from the scheme recommended (by the Commission.) In the first place, fresh legislation has not been resorted to, as was suggested, but the statute of 1870, which gives ample powers in this behalf, has been retained as the basis for the appointment of members of the Provincial Service to the ' listed ' posts (i. e. covenanted posts declared open to the Provincial Service).

Secondly, these lists have been drawn up not in any way as a permanent arrangement (as the scheme of the Commission contemplated) but with reference only to proximate reasonable requirements; and they are liable to modification and expansion* from time to time according to varying circumstances and necessities. The number of posts listed at present is, therefore, somewhat below the number and proportion recommended by the Commission.... Thirdly, as regards (1) Commissionerships of Divisions and (2) Memberships of the Board of Revenue and Financial Commissionerships—where these offices exist—it will be seen from the despatch of October 1883 that the Government of India were not prepared to amalgamate them with the Provincial Service. Appointments to these important offices are invariably made by special selection; but it is still open to the Government under Sections 3 and 4 of the Statute of 1861 to appoint a member of the Provincial Service to either office, if he is selected for it. The Government of India considered that—for the present at any rate—it was better to rely on this power of exceptional appointment in the case of these very high offices than to list them as open to the Provincial Service, and thus to create expectations which certainly could not be fulfilled within any reasonable time. What tender solicitude for not raising expectations which there was no reasonable chance of fulfilling!

The Government of India then proceed to notice briefly several applications made from time to time by the British Indian Association and other political bodies in India, asking for Simultaneous Examinations, and the replies given by Government to these applications. And then follow the questions to which the Local Governments and Administrations are called upon to reply. These questions are four in number. The first question is with reference to the practicability

* And contraction also!—*Editor, Quarterly Journal.*

and expediency of adopting the resolution of the House of Commons and the Local Governments and Administrations are asked to state whether, in their opinion, the resolution, in the form in which it stands, could be carried into effect. In this connection, the particular attention of the local Governments is drawn to the condition laid down by the Secretary of State in his despatch as essential to any scheme that might be adopted, viz, that an adequate number of members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans. The second question is, what is the *minimum* proportion of Europeans who must, under present conditions, be employed in those offices which are in the *cadre* of the Indian Civil Service. This question was suggested to the Government of India, among other things, by the following extract from the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 15th July 1886 :—"It appears to me that many perplexing questions, suggested by these papers, might have become more easy of solution, and might be approached with more confidence, if a conclusion could be arrived at as to the approximate number of European public servants who must necessarily, for the efficiency of the administration and political security of the Empire, be maintained in each branch of the public service in India. If your Excellency in Council is led by the results arrived at by the Commissioners to form any distinct opinion on this point, I request you to communicate it to me for the consideration of her Majesty's Government." The third question is based upon the assumption that the opinion of the Local Governments would be adverse to the adoption, in its entirety, of the resolution of the House of Commons, and they are asked to state whether any conditions or limitations could be devised under which the principle of competition might be adopted in recruiting Natives of India in this country for the Civil Service. To 'assist' the Local Governments in arriving at a proper conclusion on this question, the Governor-General in Council, 'as at present

advised,' tells them that, in his opinion, any scheme of a competitive examination would have to be subject to the following conditions and limitations :—(1) That the one-sixth of the Covenanted offices, listed as open or available for transfer to the Provincial Civil Service, shall be withdrawn from that service ; (2) That not more than this one-sixth or whatever other *maximum* proportion may be decided upon, shall be offered for competition in India ; and (3) That such competition shall be entirely separate from that held in England, and shall be regulated by rules under the Statute of 1870. The unfairness of this expression of opinion on the part of the Government of India would be manifest to any one who gives even a little consideration to the subject. Instead of leaving the Local Governments free to suggest what modifications they pleased, this expression of opinion deliberately hampers their discretion and most arbitrarily lays down that if a competitive examination is held in India, it must be entirely different from that held in England ! The Government of India further mentions ' three different methods of competition in India,' as they suggest themselves to the Governor-General. These methods are :—(1) The examination might be a general one, open to all Natives of India (as defined by Statute), the results being determined by pure competition and the candidates, who stand highest in order of merit being selected for service in all Provinces ; or (2) a separate examination might be held for each Province, open only to natives of India domiciled in that Province, the results being determined by pure competition ; or (3) a separate examination might be held for each Province open to Natives of India, domiciled in the Province, but with the condition that only a proportion of the vacancies (say one-half) should be filled by pure competition, and the balance by selection from among the candidates who had done fairly well in the examination in such a manner as to give each class, race, creed, and section of the

people, as far as possible, a fair share of the appointments. In connection with this question of a competitive examination in India, the Government of India significantly draws the attention of the Local Governments to the opinion expressed by many Indian authorities that competition in India is not the same thing as competition in England and that the Bengal Government, after trying the system of pure competition for making appointments to the Statutory Civil Service, ultimately gave it up on the ground that thereby a single race or class obtained a practical monopoly of the Statutory Civil Service and that it debarred Mahomedans, Natives of Behar, and Natives of Orissa from any reasonable chance of obtaining appointments. The last question, on which the Government of India invites opinions, is whether the introduction of the competitive principle, in some form or other, in supersession of the existing arrangements, would be desirable or undesirable. Again to assist the Local Governments in their consideration of this question, they are asked to note that such supersession would, unless the *minimum* reserved for Europeans was considerably reduced, "involve the removal of the listed Convenanted offices from the Provincial Civil Service, and the door of promotion to the higher offices would consequently be closed to officers of proved merit and ability in that service." And they are further asked, in a most significant manner, to report whether the members of the Provincial Service have already formed any reasonable expectations "such as would make it necessary or desirable, in justice to them, to delay or modify for the present the principle of open competition." No wonder that after so significant a suggestion from the supreme Government, all the Local Governments and Administrations were not merely convinced that such expectations had been raised but were also able to discern already an improvement in the tone of administration!

The replies of the Local Governments and Ad-

ministrations were, with the exception of that of the Government of Madras, such as were desired by the Government of India. The seed indeed fell on very congenial soil. The hints and suggestions, so artfully thrown out by the Government of India in its circular letter, were taken up with so much heartiness that it is not easy to say which Government or Administration surpassed the rest in resisting the resolution of the House of Commons. In the opinion of the Government of India, however, the performances of the Lieutenant-Governors for the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab are the best; and these performances are thus commended to the special notice of the Secretary of State, in the Government of India's despatch in reply to Lord Kimberley's:—"We would specially call attention to the replies from the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and that of the Punjab. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, as your Lordship is aware, has spent more than 35 years of his life in the service of Her Majesty in this country. After a long and ripe experience of the North-Western Provinces, to which he has now returned as Lieutenant-Governor, he was chosen to be a Commissioner, afterwards Judicial Commissioner and then (after a year's experience as officiating Chief Commissioner of British Burmah) Chief Commissioner in the Central Provinces. Having ruled those Provinces for two years, he was, in March 1887, entrusted with the still more arduous, and responsible task of organizing the Government and conducting the administration of Upper and Lower Burmah—a task, which for three years he discharged with conspicuous ability and success. Called thence to the Executive Council of the Governor General, he has now attained the highest office open to his Service and speaks with the accumulated authority of his experience as District Magistrate, as Revenue Officer, as Civil and Criminal Judge of the highest Provincial Court and as Governor of three Provinces. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's

experience has been no less varied and extensive. In the course of nearly 35 years, he has been District Officer in the Punjab, Secretary to the Government of India in the two departments, Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Resident in Mysore, Chief Commissioner of Assam and Resident at Hyderabad and Chief Commissioner of Berar; and now as Lieutenant Governor he administers the great and important frontier province in which he began his career." One would wish to know with what feelings these observations of the Government of India were read by the heads of other Governments and Administrations who were as zealous as the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab in opposing the resolution of the House of Commons!

We will now proceed to notice the replies given by the local Governments and Administrations to the questions of the Government of India. The questions, as has been already stated, are four in number. They are:—(1) Whether it is practicable and expedient to adopt the resolution of the House of Commons. (2) What is the minimum number of posts in the Civil Service which must always be held by Europeans. (3) Whether the resolution of the House of Commons could be adopted with certain modifications. And (4) whether it would be desirable to supersede existing arrangements in favour of the competitive principle. In the following pages, the replies of the Local Governments and Administrations will be brought together under four headings corresponding to these four questions. The views of the Government of Madras, though given first by the Government of India, will be given by us last, because, in our opinion, these views constitute on most of the essential points a conclusive answer to the arguments of the other side.

Question I.

Whether it is practicable and expedient to adopt the Resolution of the House of Commons.

The Bombay Government—The Government of Bombay is of opinion that the adoption of the resolution is, in the first place, impracticable; and secondly even if it were practicable, it would be highly inexpedient. It observes at the outset that the proposal of holding the examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England means a new departure, involving an abandonment of the principles, laid down and acted upon by successive Secretaries of State, and only recently approved and affirmed by the Public Service Commission. It is admitted that the aspirations of the Indian people in the matter are "very natural," and it is claimed for the official classes in India that they too, like certain members of Parliament, have "a vague feeling of sympathy" with these aspirations. The Bombay Government thinks that "the object underlying the resolution must apparently be either to remedy some supposed departure in the existing arrangements for the admission of Natives into the Civil Service of India from the cardinal principle of equality of treatment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects without reference to caste, colour, creed or birthplace, or else to give more complete effect to the converse principle that Natives of India have, as such, an equitable claim to something more than equality of treatment in regard to the share to be allowed to them in the administration of their own country." As regards the first alternative, it is the opinion of Lord Harris and his colleagues that the institution of simultaneous examinations would "have the effect of impairing rather than of perfecting such equality of the conditions of recruitment by competition as is possible in the nature of things." It is admitted that Indian candidates are at present at a disadvantage, as compared with candidates resident in England, in-as-much as they have to be examined in a

foreign tongue and to travel to and reside in a country distant from their own under conditions which are frequently repugnant to their religious and caste prejudices." But it is contended that "these disadvantages differ only in degree from those which any candidate comparatively poor or brought up under conditions which cut him off from the facilities and temptations of life in the great centres of population and education might plead as telling against him in competition with candidates trained at the Universities or at preparatory establishments in London." And then the Bombay Government lays down the following proposition:—"If competition is to be absolutely free and open, it obviously cannot take cognizance of any disabilities or disadvantages, such as those indicated, which are personal, whether to particular competitors or to particular classes of competitors." All that can be done is to lay down such general preliminary qualifications in regard to age, character, physique and so on, as are essential, apart from race, creed or colour, and to see that all candidates, possessing those qualifications, who present themselves at the examination room are examined under conditions as nearly as possible identical." The Bombay Government also brings forward the wonderful argument that "Indian candidates have no more right, so far as equality of treatment is concerned, than candidates from Canada, the West Indies, Australia or the Cape, or even, in a less degree, than candidates from Scotland or Ireland to complain, because the examination for admission to an Imperial service is held at the capital of the Empire!" The Governor-in-Council next dwells on the practical difficulties in the way of holding simultaneous examinations. It would, he thinks, be impossible to secure identity of standard in the oral examination and he also thinks it practically impossible to ensure that the contents of the question-papers would not leak out during the long time which must elapse between their preparation and their sub-

mission to candidates. "Judging by actual experience," his Excellency observes, "both of our examining bodies and of the manner in which the contents of important official communications become known to the public before they reach India, there is reason to fear it would be a practical impossibility ever to be sure that the secret of the questions had been kept both in England and in India, and that the results of the examinations were in any way reliable." Lastly the Bombay Government is of opinion that the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons would be absolutely incompatible with the condition laid down by the Secretary of State for India that an adequate number of members of the Indian Civil Service must always be Europeans. For all these reasons, the Governor-in-Council holds that the Simultaneous Examinations scheme is both impracticable and inexpedient. He also holds that "the effect of a simultaneous examination, held in India, regarded from the stand-point of equality of treatment, would simply be to give to the natives of India an advantage in the conditions of competition, to which they have no legitimate claim."

The Government of Bengal:—The Consulting Lieutenant-Governor—Sir Antony MacDonnell—approaches the consideration of this important question "with a sincere disposition to accord to the Natives of India as large a share of suitable employment as possible in the administration of the country." He, however, feels constrained to come to the conclusion that the proposal embodied in the resolution of the House of Commons is both impracticable and inexpedient. As regards the practical difficulties in the way of holding simultaneous examinations, he attaches to them a considerable measure of importance. He, however, admits that "they do not seem to him to be in themselves of a permanent or decisive nature." As regards the expediency of the proposal, he is of opinion that the demand for simultaneous examinations

is a demand "which, in the interests of all classes, could not and ought not to be granted." After discussing at considerable length and admitting the full force of the difficulties, social, religious, domestic and pecuniary, which lie in the way of Indian youths desirous of competing for the Indian Civil Service, Sir Antony MacDonnell still thinks that the institution of simultaneous examinations would be incompatible with the condition laid down by Lord Kimberley as indispensable—a condition of which "the practical and present necessity," no person, European or Native, who is qualified to express an opinion on the question, will contest. In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, the proposal of the House of Commons would, if carried out, result in "the continuous increase in the number of Native members to the exclusion of Europeans, and the removal of the practical guarantee, afforded by recruitment exclusively in England that the European recruits shall not fall below an adequate proportion." Another result would be "to create, by recruitment in India, a privileged service, that is to say, a service which would have privileges larger than or different from those attached to the Provincial Service, although the latter service would be recruited from precisely the same classes of native society and would have to perform precisely the same sort of official work." And "to the creation of such a privileged service, Sir Antony MacDonnell has the very strongest objection. Lastly Sir Antony objects to the institution of simultaneous examinations on the ground that it would undo the important work done by the Public Service Commission.

The Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh:—As regards the practicability of the proposal of the House of Commons, Sir Charles Crosthwaite is of opinion that it is possible to hold simultaneous examinations in England and India, but that the result of such examinations would not be so satisfactory as under the present system; because a *viva voce*

examination will be impossible and because the test of strength of mind and enlightenment, involved in the journey to England prior to examination and prolonged residence there, would be wanting. As regards the expediency of the proposal, the Lieutenant-Governor is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient. Sir Charles Crosthwaite thinks that so long as the examination is held in England alone, there is a guarantee that "the Natives who succeed are, to a great extent, picked men not only by literary competition but by natural selection." "They have had," he observes, "the enterprise necessary to throw off their prejudices and for a long period to reside and study in a foreign country. The expenditure involved is security, to a certain extent, that they belong to families that are respectable and well-to-do. By a lengthened period of residence in England, often in English families, they become, to a certain extent, Europeanized in their ideas and habits of thought. The Government of India has had some experience of men of this class. Many of them no doubt make good average officers; but no one would venture to assert that a larger admixture of them would not seriously weaken the administration. Under the simultaneous examination system, the process of natural selection, which has been referred to, would be excluded. The men we should get might be good scholars and intellectually capable; but so far as the Lieutenant-Governor's experience of the students of our colleges and of the classes from which they come can be trusted, the majority would be wanting in the strength of mind and force of character necessary in the personnel of a controlling and governing body." Sir Charles does not think that residence in England after the examination would be an adequate substitute for residence in England before the examination. Finally, His Honour thinks that the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons would be incompatible with the condition insisted upon by Lord Kimberley. It will be impossi-

ble, he says, to have a competitive examination and to reject a number of successful candidates on the ground of their race.

The Government of the Punjab—The reply of the Punjab Government to the letter of the Government of India is contained in a note written by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the Lieutenant-Governor, on the subject. This note is by far the longest of the replies of the Local Governments and Administrations, and from a literary point of view, is perhaps the most creditable performance of all. Sir Dennis begins his note with a reference to the Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. He quotes the following Section of the Act of 1833—"And be it enacted that no Native of the said territories nor any natural born Subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company"—and observes that though the Section has a certain importance on account of its being the first intimation of the policy of Parliament regarding the claims of the Natives of India, it does no more than merely remove any legal disabilities that might formerly have stood in the way of their appointment and he positively asserts that the framers of the Act never intended the Section to do more. He invites attention to the fact that when Lord Ellenborough charged the Government, in the debate of the 5th July 1833, with proposing to place the political and military powers in India in the hands of the Natives, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had the conduct of the Bill in the House of Lords, replied that Government merely proposed to make all offices in India 'by law open' to the Natives of the country, and thereby only remove a disqualification. In regard to the Queen's Proclamation, Sir Dennis quotes Mr. J. M. Ludlow, whom he describes as "an enthusiastic advocate of the claims of the Indian people," in support of his

contention that the words '*so far as may be*' contained in the Proclamation constitute an important reservation. The clause of the Proclamation in question runs thus :—"And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity to discharge." Mr Ludlow's commentary on this clause is as follows:—"Not indeed that the qualification must be forgotten, *so far as may be*. No doubt these words may be so interpreted by prejudice and ill-will as to nullify the whole promise. No doubt the tendency to play the Jesuit with them, radiating from many a narrow heart and brain in the Indian Council at home, will for many a long year paralyze the hands of officials in India when the native knocks at the door of office. But by nothing can this tendency be more confirmed, more sharpened into bitter hostility to Native claims than if the qualification and its necessity were overlooked and the Native population were to fancy that the very walls of office are to fall before them at the sound of the Proclamation like those of Jericho at the sound of Israel's trumpets. The qualification is a necessary one at present. On the morrow of a rebellion fomented by Brahmins and Mussalmans, which has convulsed all India, England cannot, for India's own sake, treat Brahmins and Mussalmans without caution at least, if not without suspicion." Sir Dennis next refers to the Parliamentary enactment, requiring that all posts in the Civil Service shall be disposed of in accordance with the results of a competitive examination in certain branches of knowledge open to all persons "being natural born subjects of Her Majesty," and observes that for purposes of the competitive examination, it is impossible to put all 'natural born subjects of Her Majesty' on a precisely equal footing. "All we can reasonably be expected to do," he says, "is to set up our testing apparatus.

in a central position. We cannot go carrying it about to the door of every person who desires to compete." He admits, however that though this would be a good answer in the case of a demand for simultaneous examinations from the Colonies, "the claim of Indian candidates to a simultaneous examination stands, in certain respects, on a peculiar footing, first because the prizes to be competed for have a value for them beyond all comparison greater than they have for any other class of Her Majesty's subjects, secondly because they would, if it were made equally easy for them, compete for those prizes in much larger numbers than any other class of Her Majesty's subjects, and thirdly because many of them, owing to the peculiarities of their religious observances, have much greater difficulties about coming to London than any other class of Her Majesty's subjects." At the same time, he holds that this special claim of the natives has been adequately provided for by Parliament by passing the Statute of 1870 and now by the creation of the Provincial Service. Sir Dennis is aware that three objections in particular are urged against this provision: 1. That it will not give to Indians as large a proportion of the higher posts, as they might hope, at least after a time, to get if the simultaneous examination were established: 2. That the Provincial Service is a Service standing on a lower footing than the Covenanted Service and that attaining one of the higher posts in it will be a different thing from attaining a similar post in the latter Service: 3. And that admission to the Provincial Service would not be obtainable, in all cases, by competition pure and simple; that in regard to some portion of the appointments to it, good birth and services of the applicant's family and such other considerations would be taken into account. And he admits that these are very fair objections to urge. But in his opinion, that provision is the best solution of the whole question practically attainable. For the

holding of simultaneous examinations is, according to him, open to the gravest objections and is fraught with great peril to the Empire. He contends at the outset that if the House of Commons wanted to entertain the demand for simultaneous examinations, it ought to have taken up that demand before effect was given to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. To disturb the arrangements recently made would be impolitic and to hold a simultaneous examination in addition to the present arrangements would be keeping two doors open to Natives and only one for Europeans. Next Sir Dennis argues that the effect of the institution of a simultaneous examination would be the introduction into the Service of an undesirably large number of Natives and this would, in his opinion, be both a political and an administrative evil. "The young men of this country," he says, "or at least certain classes of them display an aptitude, which is as creditable to them as it is remarkable for acquiring knowledge from books and reproducing it at examinations and it is beyond a doubt that if the simultaneous examination were established in this country, and the English and Indian candidates were placed in one list as proposed, the great majority of places would, before long, fall to the Indians. Further once the number had increased to any considerable extent, it would begin to increase at an ever-accelerating rate, for we must take men as we find them, and we may be quite sure that wisely or foolishly, the better class of English candidates would hold back from competing for a Service which would consist very largely of Indians." Sir Dennis thinks it possible to conceive a time, "when the mass of conflicting elements, which at present constitute the population of India, would be somewhat fused together and when the education of the people would have progressed so far that Indians would be found to have all the qualifications of Englishmen for governing the country

and other important qualifications in addition." And when that time comes, if it ever does come, he would restrict the admission to the Indian Civil Service altogether or nearly altogether, to Indians. But at present, it would, he thinks, be madness to question the necessity of filling the great bulk of the higher appointments by Englishmen and Englishmen alone. Sir Dennis then dwells at considerable length on the sectarian quarrels of the Indian people and on the blessings which British rule has conferred upon them. "British rule," he says, "brought this country out of a state of chaos, the horrors of which it would be difficult for a stay-at-home resident of Europe in the 19th century adequately to realize, and if the grasp of the British power were relaxed even for a brief period over any part of the country, chaos, with all its horrors, would come again The fact is that we have now had 35 years of internal peace, unbroken except by petty local disturbances, and we have begun to flatter ourselves into the belief that our position in this country is absolutely unassailable; but as a matter of fact, it is not so. It is, and always will be, liable to disastrous shocks from which it might take a long time to recover; and though this is not a pleasant subject of reflection with our national vanity and our tendency to optimism, the more completely we realize it, the better." He then draws pointed attention to the strained relations existing at present between Hindus and Mahomedans all over the country and their mutual distrust of each other, and claims that in such a state of things an Englishman alone can deal fairly by all the different classes of the people. "An Englishman," he says, "stands absolutely clear of all the sects and factions and quarrels, to which I have referred as forming so prominent a feature of Indian life, and presenting such formidable difficulties to our administration, while an Indian, unless he has become altogether denationalized, has the greatest

difficulty in shaking himself clear of them. The position of isolation occupied by the Englishman, whatever its disadvantages may be in other respects, gives him an important advantage in this respect." Sir Dennis next argues that the qualities required for the Indian Civil Service, and especially for the executive side of it, are such that as a rule Natives are deficient in them. "To the members of the Civil Service," he says, "and in particular to such of them as hold the office of Magistrate and Collector, or Deputy Commissioner, which is the backbone of our local administration, we are compelled by the exigencies of the position to entrust powers far exceeding in extent and variety any powers that would be concentrated in the hands of a single official under any Government in Europe." He then describes the duties of these officers and thus sums up the qualifications required:—"We require a strong man, a man of high courage, both physical and moral; a man of resource capable of quickly grasping a complicated position and taking the responsibility of acting on his own view of it; a man thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our system and incapable of resorting to un-English methods: and last, not least, a man of perfect impartiality, absolutely unconnected with any sect or faction, and above even a suspicion of a leaning towards either side of a pending controversy." Now this aggregate of qualities, Sir Dennis thinks, is not, as a rule, found in the Natives, at any rate to that extent to which it is found in the Europeans. He is careful to say that he does not claim for the Europeans any general superiority over the Natives, that he is aware that if Europeans are superior in certain respects, Indians are superior in certain others. But he thinks that social opinion among the Natives, and even among the better class of them, "insists very much less strongly than social opinion among us on those particular qualities that are needed in a man occupying the positions assigned

to the Convenanted Civil Service of India." The reply of Sir Dennis to the argument that education would induce or strengthen these qualities in Indians also deserves to be quoted:—"It may be urged," he says, "that education would alter that in the individual; and so it would undoubtedly to some small extent. The training of a man's intellect does, to a certain extent, modify his moral nature, and the acquisition of certain sorts of knowledge does the same, though to a less extent; but to suppose that merely by educating an individual in one of our schools or colleges, you would produce any deep change in his moral nature seems to me a vain delusion. A man's moral nature is the resultant of the various influences of the society to which he belongs, and while he belongs to that society, he can no more emancipate himself from those influences than he could emancipate himself from the force of gravity or the pressure of the atmosphere, or the other physical conditions of life in this world. No doubt, if an Indian could be sent to Europe as a mere boy and live there for many years, his whole nature would be profoundly changed, but I cannot think that anything short of that would have such an effect." Sir Dennis admits that Indians have one great advantage over Europeans and that is that they are more in touch with the people and have far better means of knowing what is going on about them than Englishmen have. But this advantage he does not consider to be worth purchasing at the cost of efficiency. Lastly the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjaub deals with the argument that even if the institution of simultaneous examinations brought into the Service an undesirably large number of Indians and thereby impaired its efficiency, the popularity which it would bring to the British rule would be more than a sufficient recompense. Sir Dennis says that this argument would have the greatest weight with him if the effect of the measure were to make the British administration really popular with the

masses of the people. But of this he sees no chance. The substitution of Indian for English officers in the higher posts would be popular "only with the advanced Indians, who still form, as Lord Dufferin said, but an infinitesimal fraction of the population." It would, he says, be popular with them for two reasons. "In the first place they differ from the mass of the people in this that many of them feel keenly being under a foreign yoke. I completely accept their assurance that they entertain no design to subvert British rule; but it is impossible to read their acrimonious attacks upon every thing good, bad and indifferent in our administration without seeing that the feeling of many of them is a much deeper one than that of dissatisfaction with particular men or particular measures or even with particular institutions. In this, I see nothing to be surprised at; our own feeling in their position would be the same; but what we should remember is that to men entertaining such a feeling, the circumstance that the great majority of the higher posts are filled by Englishmen presents itself in the light of a bitter aggravation of the position." For all these reasons, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick comes to the conclusion that the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons is most inexpedient. He says it is a matter of great regret to him that he has to come to this conclusion, for, far removed as Englishmen in India are from the English political arena, they are, in his opinion, well aware that when a resolution has been passed by the House of Commons, it is desirable, if possible, to do something in the direction indicated by it. But the point at issue on the present occasion, he says, is of such immense importance to the proper administration of India that it would be downright criminal for any one to deal with it otherwise than on its real merits.

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces—Mr. Woodburn's despatch is one of the

poorest, both as regards the matter and manner. Absolutely no attempt has been made by him to argue the question, and one anecdote and one dogmatic assertion are all that we have from him in the place of argument. The anecdote is about "one of the shrewdest and most able Rajas of the Upper Provinces" attending a Debating Society in Calcutta, where the subject of discussion was the larger employment of natives in the higher ranks of the public service. At the end of the debate, the Raja was pressed to speak and he yielded with great reluctance. The impression produced on the mind of the Raja was that the Bengalees wanted to monopolize all posts of Judges, Collectors, and Commissioners, with an English army to keep them in their positions. And he said to the audience, "Well, gentlemen, British Empire perhaps not, but Bengali Empire never." The fact that the Public Service Commission was opposed to the institution of simultaneous examinations is sufficient for Mr. Woodburn to oppose the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons. And he is convinced that, excepting a microscopic minority, nobody in India wants simultaneous examinations. "I have read with care," he says, "the whole of the evidence which was recorded before the Public Service Commission in these Provinces, and I have had opportunity in a recent tour to hear and mark the views of all classes of intelligent natives on this gravely important issue. The outcome in both paths of inquiry is the same. No native, who has any stake in the country beyond a College diploma, wants competition for the superior service."

The Chief Commissioner of Burmah—The Chief Commissioner's reply to the first question of the Government of India is that it is "sufficiently obvious," and that it is his "very decided opinion" that the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons is impossible. He does not condescend to write a single word in support of this "very decided opinion."

The Chief Commissioner of Assam—The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that while the practicability of the proposal of the House of Commons is at least open to grave doubt, its inexpediency, from an administrative point of view, is undeniable. He thinks that the difficulties connected with maintaining the secrecy of examination papers and making satisfactory arrangements for the portion of the examination conducted *viva voce*, are real difficulties. But even if these could be overcome, it would, in his opinion, be still inexpedient to hold the examination for the Indian Civil Service in India.

The Government of Madras—Dealing first with the question of practicability, the Government of Madras thinks that if the condition in the resolution of the House of Commons that the examination should be identical in its nature in both countries were to be insisted upon, the resolution could be adopted only by abandoning the *viva voce* portion of the examination. It is of opinion that there are not to be found in this country examiners of the calibre or experience necessary for conducting the examination properly. It considers the *viva voce* examinations to be most important for ascertaining the fitness and capacity of the candidates. "Unless therefore," it says, "some means can be devised for overcoming the difficulty in connection with *viva voce* examinations, this Government sees no alternative but to do away with these in both countries. Such a course would, however, in the opinion of his Excellency in Council be most objectionable and prejudicial to the interests of the Service." Dealing next with the question of expediency, the Madras Government—Mr. Garstin dissenting—deliberately records its opinion that it is highly expedient to adopt the resolution of the House of Commons. Its remarks on this subject are so important and show such sympathetic and statesman-like grasp of the whole situation that we reproduce them here in *extenso*:—

"As regards the expediency of the measure, it is evident from the tenour of the questions placed before this Government and from the arguments which have been used by the opponents of simultaneous examinations that it is admitted that, under present arrangements, Natives of India are over-weighted as compared with European candidates in the competition held in London. This admission is implied in the assumption that, were simultaneous examinations conceded, the proportion of Natives who would succeed would be largely increased, and in the contention that the change would be fraught with various dangers connected with such increase. The inequality in the conditions arises, not from the fact that the examination is adapted to test the education which is given to the best of English youth—for that merely means that a high—but not unnecessarily high standard of instruction is demanded—but from the social conditions of native life, and from the high cost, relatively to the general level of native resources, of a prolonged visit to England for the purpose of preparation for the examination with a chance only of ultimate success. It is not the richer classes in India who give high education to their sons, and to many families to send a promising youth to England means simply ruin in case of his failure. *These circumstances operate as a disability in the case of Native candidates, which ought, if possible, to be removed. They render vain the solemn declaration of equal right of all castes and races to office in India.*"

This Government is by no means convinced, however, that the result of the concession of simultaneous examinations would be, as its opponents suppose, an increase in the proportion of native candidates selected. That proportion appears at present to be about 9 per cent. It is probable that fewer candidates would appear in England and that more native youths looking to the Civil Service would take their chance in India. But the educational facilities in this country are much inferior to those in England and the chances of candidates who might rely upon the former would be less. With the means of instruction here available, only young men of quite extraordinary capacity could hope for success. The number of native candidates would doubtless be enormously increased, but it is not so certain whether the number of successful candidates would be.

* The italics are ours.—Editor, Quarterly Journal.

Assuming that the number of Native Civilians would be increased, there would not result from the men themselves any danger to British dominion. Their very existence would be bound up in the maintenance of British supremacy. The bulk of them would be employed in the ordinary, executive and judicial offices, to the ordinary duties of which, given the high training guaranteed by the conditions of entry into the service, they may be expected to be quite equal. It is not the incumbents of these offices who determine the principles of administration and legislation which give a character of civilization and enlightenment to the Government. This depends upon laws and orders which, in the present day, district officers have not to initiate and create but merely to carry out. His Excellency in Council is of opinion that to secure the principles and character which it is essential to impart to the Government, a smaller proportion of Europeans than now obtains in the Civil Service would be sufficient. But the execution in the current administration of the laws and orders laid down is no doubt as important to the final result as the initiation of them; and it is from this point of view that the objections to increase of natives in the Civil Service are most weighty. It is said that it would never do to put men, strong and preconcious it may be in intellect, but morally and physically weak, in authority over races and tribes who are not for intellect but are to be subdued and kept in order only by men strong in will and energy. This Government considers that it would be sound policy to meet these objections and to obviate the risk of the successful candidates being all of one race by ruling that the natives of each Province should be confined to their own Provinces. Apart from the question of race-jealousies and class-hatreds, local men would possess a greater knowledge of the local vernaculars and customs and would be far more in touch with the people than those from other Provinces. There would not, moreover, be any idea of their being treated differently from their European *confreres*, for the latter are relegated to distant Provinces, and when once posted, remain there during the natural term of their service. There is ample room for the employment of as many natives as are likely to succeed in Provinces and places, where, even as they are now known, they would do very well: there is no reason to suppose that authority, power and responsibility would fail, in the case of individuals of these races, to produce their usual effects of developing strength and energy. This Government does not fear that natives

entering the Civil Service *under the conditioned supposed*, would be corrupt. In special emergencies, local disturbances or the like, they might possibly be sometimes found wanting, but in the present circumstances of India, the mischief thus arising would rarely be serious and could be quickly repaired. Against disadvantages of this kind is to be set the increased popularity of the service from the share of natives in it and in the higher administration, and this will be of great value in smoothing away difficulties of Government.

Another reason for altering the status and position of natives in the Civil Service is to be found in the fact that the new Provincial Service does not, in any way, satisfy their aspirations and wishes. It is evident that its introduction on the present lines has been a great disappointment to them, that it has relegated them to a distinct and limited service, and instead of placing them in line with the rest of the Civil Servants, has confined them to what they consider an inferior and subordinate position and that this has been accentuated by the designation which has been applied to them, a designation which they have always associated with a distinctly and well-recognized inferior branch of the service.

His Excellency in Council considers, therefore, that it is expedient to remove, by the institution of simultaneous examinations, the disabilities which now tend to hinder the entry of natives into the Civil Service proper. This step will remove an injustice, or what has almost the same consequences, a feeling of injustice, and it will not endanger the British supremacy or impair the character of the administration as a civilized and enlightened Government. It may possibly, in certain circumstances, weaken executive action; but the disadvantages in this respect are not so certain or so grave as to outweigh the advantages. The increase in the proportion of native candidates selected is, moreover, not likely to be so great as is supposed and it would be advantageous to remove the dissatisfaction and discontent which undoubtedly exists among the natives by some such measure as is now under discussion."

Question 2

What is the minimum proportion of posts in the Indian Civil Service, which must be held by Europeans?

The Government of Bombay—In reply to this question, the Bombay Government says that it sees no

reason to differ from the conclusion arrived at by the Public Service Commission and subsequently adopted as the basis of the arrangements for the Provincial Services, that at least five-sixths of the officers in the *cadre* of the Civil Service (including the *cadre* posts listed as open to the Provincial Services) must be reserved for Europeans, including "Natives Europeanized by training for competition in England." The Governor-in-Council finds it impossible to distinguish between Europeans and Natives passing the London examination, so long as that examination is open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. And he, therefore, is of opinion that "the minimum proportion of appointments to be reserved absolutely for Europeans should be five-sixths, minus such a deduction as may correspond to the share of the appointments filled by open competition in England, since recruitment was reduced on the introduction of the Statutory Service scheme in 1880, which have fallen to Natives of India."

The Government of Bengal—Sir Antony Mac-Donnell is of opinion that it is undesirable to fix any definite limit or proportion in the matter. It would not, he says, be possible to determine what shall be the strength of the European element for all time or even for a generation of official life. And therefore if any definite proportion were fixed by a hard-and-fast rule, that would, he thinks, be prejudicial to the interests of both England and India. "We cannot," he observes, "foresee what the future may bring forth; and we could only fix the European element with reference to the circumstances as they exist, as is actually now done in regulating the number of *cadre* posts to be recruited for in London and the number to be placed on the Provincial list. But the strength commensurate with the requirements of to-day may and probably will be unsuitable for circumstances prevailing 20 years hence. If any inference can be drawn from the past, it is this that the number of natives of this country employed in scheduled posts

will increase, while the number of Europeans will diminish. How far the increase will grow or the decrease prevail, it is impossible to say: it must depend on the capacity of the Natives of India for administrative work and on their loyalty to the crown and their adherence to the British connection. The greater and stronger these grow, the more largely will the British Government employ natives of India in high appointments." Sir Antony MacDonnell thinks that a hard-and-fast restriction would be injurious to the legitimate aspirations of the natives of India and to the development of a liberal policy towards them by the British people and besides he considers that such a restriction could not withstand the course of events and that Government itself would not hesitate to remove it, if circumstances rendered such a course imperative.

The Government of the North Western Provinces :-

Sir Charles Croft-Walker says that as far as he is able to judge from his own experience, acquired in the three Provinces which he has administered viz, Dharmat, Central Provinces and N. W. Provinces, he is of opinion that the English controlling staff is either insufficient or barely sufficient. It is insufficient when several officers happen simultaneously to be on leave, and at other times it is barely sufficient. Further, on occasions of famines or civil commotions, it is altogether inadequate. "It is," he says, "a great mistake to suppose that British India has arrived at the stage where nothing but smooth progress need be anticipated, or to think that the principles of law and order have penetrated the minds of the people so deeply that the English element in the civil Government might be safely diminished. We know little of what is below the surface, but we know enough, even without the teaching of recent events here, in Bombay, and in Rangoon, to be sure that this is not a true estimate of the situation. It is instructive to observe

that during the late riots in Bombay native papers like the *Hindu Patriot*, while demanding in one column a larger share of administrative appointments for their fellow-countrymen, were calling out in another column of the same issue against the Government for not having more European Police officers in Bombay. What is desired by them is that the British power should hold the country, while they administer it. The conclusion then is that the present proportion of natives in the Civil Service of India cannot be exceeded safely. Under the present rules, $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the appointments in that service have been given to the Provincial Civil Service. It is open to natives at the same time to enter the service through competitive examination in England. This, in Sir Charles's opinion, is as far as we can go. In fact, it may be advisable now, and may become necessary hereafter, to restrict the total number of natives admissible to the service to a proportion of 18 per cent., as recommended by Lord Ripon's Government."

The Government of the Punjab—Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick says that in 1887, while the Public Service Commission was sitting, he had prepared a scheme for submission to the Commission, in which he had advocated the throwing open of a larger number of appointments in the Civil Service to the natives than was subsequently recommended by the Commission. But now that arrangements have been made for giving effect to the proposals of the Commission, Sir Dennis would adhere to the proportion settled by the Government of India. For to alter that proportion so soon would, he thinks, be "an unheard-of course, and one calculated to produce an impression that nothing could be taken as settled even for a reasonable time, and to make the work of governing a country like this well-nigh impossible."

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces—Mr. Woodburn is not prepared to go behind

the mature conclusion formulated by the Public Service Commission in 1888. The Commission recommended that 108 out of about 605 reserved appointments should be thrown open to Natives and Mr. Woodburn is not aware that anything has happened during the last five years "to discredit or disturb the very careful and deliberate opinion of the great Commission."

The Chief Commissioner of Burmah—The Chief Commissioner thinks that "the lowest proportion which it is at present safe to accept is five-sixths, as recommended by the Public Service Commission and accepted by the Government of Lord Dufferin and the late Secretary of State. This proportion erred, if at all, in throwing open too large a proportion of high appointments to the Provincial Service and any lower proportion than five-sixths would, under present circumstances, fail to satisfy the essential condition prescribed by the Secretary of State." He also says that in the case of Burmah no natives of India—not even those who had entered the Civil Service by open competition in London,—should be appointed to any of the executive offices reserved for members of the Burmah Commission. For, in his opinion, natives of India are regarded with dislike, and even with contempt by Burmans. The two Indian Civilians assigned to Burmah in 1892—one, a Mahomedan of Bengal, and the other, a Hindu of Bombay—are, he declares, both "unfitted for service in Burmah."

The Chief Commissioner of Assam—Speaking for his own Province only, Mr. Ward is of opinion that it would be unsafe to reduce the present European element in the Assam Commission and that the preponderant administrative needs, of the Province imperatively require that the head of the administration of each district, with perhaps one exception, should be a European officer. The one exception is the district of Goalpara, and if, under any

circumstances, a native is placed in charge of it, he must be a man of very special qualifications. Mr. Ward, however, thinks that it would be administratively most inconvenient to have only one such post held by a native.

The Government of Madras—The Madras Government thinks that the Madras Presidency could, at present, be efficiently administered, if two-thirds of the Civil Servants attached to it were Europeans. But though His Excellency in Council believes that this should be the proportion at present, he is not prepared to say that it should not be open to revision before long. "Fifteen years ago," the Madras Government observes, "15 or 16 per cent. was considered safe and proper. 15 years hence, a considerably higher proportion might appear so. This will entirely depend on the progress of the natives in assimilating English notions and civilization. They are changing with marvellous rapidity, and it is impossible to predict how far they will go. As their progress develops, it is, in the opinion of this Government, in the highest degree impolitic to deny to them opportunities of taking still further part in the administration of their own country. It is therefore thought that the prospect of the present proportion being considerably increased in the future may be contemplated with equanimity, if only the standard of qualification be not lowered."

Questions 3. and 4.

Whether the resolution of the House of Commons could be adopted with certain modifications; and whether it would be desirable to supersede existing arrangements in favour of the competitive principle.

The Government of Bombay—The Bombay Government thinks that the modifications, which would involve the least divergence from the central principle of the resolution of the House of Commons, and would at the same time guard against the possibility of the Service being swamped by natives, would be

to hold simultaneous examinations and arrange the candidates in one common list in order of merit, but subject to the condition that natives in excess of one-sixth of the total number of vacancies offered for competition would be passed over in favour of Europeans next below them in the list, and conversely, that Europeans in excess of five-sixths would be passed over in favour of natives, natives who might compete in England being, for the purpose of this arrangement, counted as Europeans. His Excellency in Council says that this arrangement would have "this advantage, at any rate in the eyes of the native aspirants, that those who succeeded would become members of an Imperial Service, entitled presumably to a scale of pay designed to counterbalance the drawbacks of an Indian career in the eyes of the highest class of English candidates for official employment, instead of remaining members of a Provincial Service, remunerated at the lower rates appropriate to the case of natives of India, serving in their own country." His Excellency in Council, however, contends that this would be no advantage from the point of view of the economist or the taxpayer. Another result of the adoption of this modified scheme, which would be welcomed by native candidates, would be that it would enable them to take rank in order of merit along with European candidates. But here again, says the Bombay Government, the interests of the administration and not of the native candidates, must be primarily considered. On the whole, therefore, the Governor in Council is of opinion that the Provincial Service scheme, as it stands, is "better adapted to give such effect as is possible to what must be assumed to be the objects underlying the resolution than any modification of the resolution itself." And he is not prepared to recommend that the present arrangements be superseded in favour of the competitive principle, because such a course would "greatly restrict the power which the Provincial Service scheme is designed

to preserve and enlarge, of rewarding proved merit and efficiency" and would "react on the tone of lower grades of the service, which would, by its adoption, be more than ever cut off from the prizes of good work and legitimate ambition." "The difficulty," says the Secretary to the Bombay Government in conclusion, "suggested in the concluding sentence of paragraph 23 of the letter from the Government of India, that the publication of the Provincial Service scheme has given grounds for reasonable expectations, which it would be unfair and impolitic to disappoint, is, I am to suggest, real enough to afford a strong ground not merely for delaying or modifying the introduction of the principle of open competition, but for adhering permanently to the scheme, as one to which the Government stands committed and which really affords the best practical solution of the problem."

The Government of Bengal:—Sir Antony MacDonnell says that the adoption of the resolution of the House of Commons even in a modified form would involve the undoing of everything that has been done by Government on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. "We should have," he says, "to dismember the newly-created Provincial Service and we should presumably have to throw overboard that salutary recommendation of the Public Service Commission, which restricts employment of officers recruited in India to their Province of domicile. The immediate result would be the creation of a feeling of discontentment among existing Provincial officers..... There has now been infused throughout the Provincial Service, from the lowest grade to the highest, an improved tone and a higher sense of dignity and responsibility which will continue to increase, as the number of listed posts, which members of the Service are declared eligible to hold, increases. This is an administrative achievement, for which our gratitude is due to the Public Service Commission, and the Of-

ficiating Lieutenant-Governor would deeply regret, if any injudicious action were to mar its development. In the opinion of Sir Antony MacDonnell, it would be a public calamity if the improved tone in the administration were to be destroyed." The Lieutenant-Governor also urges that the system, adopted in Bengal for recruiting for the scheduled appointments listed as open to the Provincial Service, is "in substance" a sort of simultaneous examination.

The Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh—Sir Charles Crosthwaite admits that there is no practical difficulty, from the examiner's point of view, in setting apart a certain number of appointments every year for competition in India, and in sending, if necessary, the successful candidates to England for the completion of their education. This would, of course, necessitate the withdrawal of the posts recently assigned to the Provincial Service. Now, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, there are grave objections to such a course. In the first place, it would restrict the appointments in the Service to one class and that a small and denationalized class of natives. Secondly, he thinks that for the good of the administration, it is most important to improve the prospects of the Subordinate Executive Service. The formation of the Provincial Service has opened up prospects to men in the subordinate ranks which they never had before. "Under the present system," says Sir Charles Crosthwaite, "the higher posts reserved for the Provincial Service will be filled by mature men of tried ability and experience. The system, to use the Duke of Argyll's words, is 'a competitive examination of the best kind.' By recruiting for higher posts by competitive examination, we shall impair the efficiency of the lower grades without getting better men for the higher. If it is desired to introduce competition in some form, it should begin much lower down in the service.....There is, however, one great, and so far as his Honour can see,

for the present insuperable objection to the introduction of a purely competitive system in these Provinces. A large proportion of the population, and perhaps a still larger proportion of the upper and influential classes belongs to the Mahomedan creed. The Mahomedans are for many reasons behind the Hindus in education. The distance between the two classes is lessening but very slowly, and it will be many years before it disappears. Although inferior in literary education, especially in English, the Mahomedan, as a rule, is a stronger and more reliable man for administrative purposes than the Hindu. To exclude him from the service of Government—and it is certain that a system of recruitment by pure competition will exclude him—would be a great loss to the strength of the administration. It would, moreover, be a great injustice and a huge political mistake. The Mahomedans are well aware of the effect which a system of competitive examinations for entry into the public service would have on their prospects. They are already sore enough on account of the practical exclusion of their influence from Municipal and District Boards and from seats in the Legislative Councils which is the result of the elective and *quasi*-elective systems lately introduced. To pass a measure which would almost totally exclude them from the higher ranks of the Government Service would fill them with dismay and discontent. Sir Charles Crosthwaite is therefore strongly of opinion that no competitive system, pure and simple, can be introduced into these Provinces at present without causing great injury to a very large, influential and loyal class of Her Majesty's subjects." Finally Sir Charles thinks that when the number of Mahomedan graduates increases a third of the appointments of the Provincial Service might be thrown open to competition.

The Government of the Panjaub.—Sir Dennis Fitz-Patrick is of opinion that if competition in India is to be resorted to for recruiting for the limited number

of posts to be allotted to the Indians, it would be "obviously inexpedient" to have one and the same examination in India as in England. Next he thinks that there should not be one and the same examination for all Provinces, but that each Province should have its own examination, limited to its own candidates. And thirdly he insists, and that most strongly, that if open competition is to be resorted to for the higher appointments in the Punjaub, it would be absolutely essential to divide the chances equally between Hindus and Mahomedans by offering appointments alternately for competition among the members of each class. But he does not approve of competition at all. He is strongly of opinion that the best way of recruiting for the posts allotted to Indians would be that of promotion from the ranks of the Subordinate Service. And his reply, therefore, to the fourth question is that "for the present and for a reasonable number of years to come," the arrangements recently made on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission should not be disturbed.

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces—Mr. Woodburn would have no competition at all, and he is unwilling to disturb existing arrangements.

The Chief Commissioner of Burmah—The Chief Commissioner desires to say very emphatically that the best way of recruiting for the higher posts assigned to Indians would be by promotion from the Provincial Service. And he objects most strongly to the setting aside of the arrangements adopted on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission. If, however, competition must be had, he would prefer the third method suggested by the Government of India in its circular letter.

The Chief Commissioner of Assam—Mr. Ward also would not disturb existing arrangements, but if they are to be disturbed and competition resorted to, he would adopt the third method suggested by the

Government of India, viz., that of filling half the number of appointments by open competition and the rest by selection from among the candidates who had done fairly well in the examination, in such a manner as to give to each class, race, creed and section of the people, as far as possible, a fair share of the appointments.

The Government of Madras—The Government of Madras thinks it unnecessary to reply to the third question of the Government of India, inasmuch as His Excellency in Council has pronounced in favour of giving effect to the resolution of the House of Commons. As regards the fourth question, the Government is of opinion that the Provincial Service scheme, which has in no way satisfied the aspirations and wishes of the natives, should be superseded in favour of a simultaneous examination.

So far we have summarized the circular letter of the Government of India and the replies of the Local Governments and Administrations to that letter. With the remaining portions of the Blue-book, viz. the Historical Note prepared by the Government of India and the Despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, we will deal in our next issue.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY REGARDING THE BILL TO AMEND THE DECCAN AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACTS (1879-86.)

No. 321 of 1894.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

Poona, 3rd July 1894.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,

Judicial Department, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter, No. 3222 dated 9th May 1894, we have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to submit, for the consideration of Government in the Legislative Department, the following observations of the Sabha on the provisions of the Bill to amend the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts (1879-1886) recently introduced into the Supreme Legislative Council.

2. The Bill is admittedly based upon the recommendations of the Commission appointed in 1891 to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. The recommendations of that Commission had led the Sabha to entertain the hope that a more comprehensive measure than the one now before the Supreme Legislative Council would be soon undertaken. The Commission, in Paragraph 63 of their Report, have expressed their opinion that "the Act cannot of itself afford an adequate solution of the problem of agricultural indebtedness" and after reviewing the provisions of the Act, the Commission have, in Part III, suggested certain executive reforms in the direction of relaxing the rigidity

of the present Revenue System and showing greater liberality in the matter of granting suspensions and remissions, which forms of relief were, in the opinion of the Commission, as much, if not more, needed to improve the present position of the Ryot as any amendment of the Act itself. The Committee of the Sabha are aware that the Government of Bombay, in their letter to the Government of India dated the 6th September 1892, took exception to the recommendations made by the Commission in the third part of their Report on the ground that in making them the Commission had travelled beyond the terms of their appointment; the local Government also remarked that, if the chief of the four recommendations made by the commission in Part III, viz. that suspensions of revenue should be granted as a matter of course, were acted upon, it would practically be reverting to a system tried and found to be a failure after a long experience. The Committee of the Sabha have never been able to understand the reasonableness of these apprehensions, and in their letter to the Government of India dated the 17th January 1893, they have expressed their opinion that the executive measures of relief suggested by the Commission should be adopted by the Government at an early date. The Committee have no means of knowing how the protest of the Bombay Government against the recommendations of the Commission referred to above was received by the Government of India, but so far as the published correspondence is concerned, there is nothing to show that the Supreme Government has accepted the view put forward by the local Government. Indeed the Committee gather from newspaper reports that the late Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, was careful to record,* before laying down the reins of office, a long minute, emphasizing the gravity of the agricultural problem as affecting other provinces equally with Bombay, and expressing his opinion that no amendment of the Relief Act could by itself be effective till the problem is grappled with more as a question of executive administration than of civil legislation. The Committee of the Sabha, therefore, regret to find that the present Bill, in the words of the Hon'ble mover,—the same gentleman who as Secretary to the Bombay Government had to sign its letter of protest noticed above—is not intended to give effect to “the larger projects recommended by the Commission,” and that its chief object is to invest the local Government with power to introduce the Act in any part or parts of a district without extending it to the whole district. The present Act gives

full authority to the local Government to extend the provisions of the Act to any district in the Presidency with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. But it is urged that the "physical and agricultural condition of various Talukas in the same district differs greatly" and as the Government of Bombay desire to extend the Act only to these areas where it may be really needed, an amendment of the Act is necessary. The Committee of the Sabha recognize the force of this argument, but they cannot help regretting that while thus seeking to take powers for extending the Act to parts of districts, Government should have declined to adopt, or at any rate indefinitely postponed the consideration of, the recommendations about executive reforms made by the Commission in the last part of their Report. The Committee of the Sabha need only refer to the complaint made by the landholders of Deogad Taluka in Ratnagiri and Panvel Taluka in Alibag in support of their contention that the reform of the revenue system with a view to lighten the burden of revision settlements is an urgent necessity calling for immediate action on the part of Government. And the Committee think that till such relief is extended, the present policy of the Government is likely to lead the public to misunderstand the real object of Government in devising legislative measures for the improvement of the Ryots' condition. The Commission have definitely recommended certain executive reforms as essential supplements to the legislative provisions, and all the labours of the Commission are likely to be regarded as wasted, if the local Government is to select for adoption only such of the recommendations of the Commission as do not affect the interests of Government revenue. The Committee of the Sabha, therefore, respectfully submit that the question of the practical introduction of the executive reforms suggested by the Committee should be taken up simultaneously with the proposals to extend the operation of the Act to other districts or parts of districts.

3. As regards the detailed provisions of the Bill, it is clear from the speech of the Hon'ble mover as also from the Statement of Objects and Reasons, that the Government of India contemplate general legislation for the relief of indebted agriculturists in all parts of India, and the Commissioners have, in their Report, specialized the provisions which, in their opinion, may be so embodied in a general law. As this general legislation cannot be deferred for a long time, it will be, in the opinion of the

Committee, more in accord with the principle of such legislation that the proposal to extend the Act to other districts should be considered at the time when such general legislation is undertaken. The Committee of the Sabha submit that the chief recommendations of the Commission, to which it is proposed to give effect, are such as may be safely left to be considered in the consolidated enactment which Government will have shortly to introduce in the Supreme Legislative Council. The last amendment of the Act was made in 1886 and during the last 8 years these Acts have attained a sort of definite fixity of procedure and interpretation, which piece-meal legislation like that now contemplated is sure to disturb. An examination of the detailed provisions of the Bill will, the Committee of the Sabha trust, fully bear out the view of the Sabha stated above. Section 3 of the Bill proposes to repeal Sections 8, 9, 14, 15, 19 and 73 of the present Act and thus give effect to the recommendations of the Commission in that respect. Referring to the Report of the Commission, the Committee of the Sabha find that these recommendations of the Commission are not imperative. Sections 8, 9, 15 and 19 have been found to be more or less inoperative and the Commission have in consequence recommended that they "might be repealed." This does not, however, imply that Government should take the first opportunity to repeal them. There are many other parts of the Act, notably the whole Chapter on Insolvency, which have been almost a dead letter since the passing of the measure in 1879, and according to the policy now proposed to be followed, these too should be included in this Section of the Bill. The Hon'ble mover of the present Bill does not, however, venture to suggest such a course and the Committee of the Sabha see no reason why similar treatment should not be accorded to Sections 8, 9, 15 and 19 of the Act. The question of repealing these sections can be evidently better dealt with at the time when all the alterations proposed by the Commission are under consideration. It is true that these objections do not apply with equal force to the transfer of Section 14 to Chapter XI, and to the repeal of Section 73. Still on general grounds the Committee of the Sabha are of opinion that even these alterations may be more advantageously taken up and discussed along with the other recommendations of the Commission. At any rate there is certainly no urgent necessity to justify their inclusion in the restricted measure at

present before the Supreme Legislative Council. The same observations apply to Section 7 of the Act, inasmuch as the discretion given to the Court by that Section is not known to have been particularly abused.

4. The Committee of the Sabha have already stated their opinion on Section 4 of the Bill. Section 5 proposes to alter the definition of the agriculturist in such a way as to exclude Inamdars from its scope. There are undoubted defects in the present definition. In some respects it is too narrow and in some it is too wide. But, as observed by the Commission, "on the whole it appears that, so far at least as the Deccan is concerned, the present definition is probably as satisfactory as it can be made." The Committee of the Sabha, therefore, see no reason why its amendment should be undertaken in the present Bill, nor can they see the justice of excluding all Inamdars who cultivate their lands by tenants from the benefit of the Relief Act. The impossibility of so defining the term 'agriculturist' as to include only such persons as need relief has long been recognized. There are many rich persons who cultivate their lands by their servants and who do not stand in need of any special relief. If these are to be included in the term "agriculturist," there is no reason why petty Inamdars who are hardly better off than ordinary agriculturists should be excluded from it. It is true that the Inamdars do not require the protection of the Relief Act. But the difficulty of excluding these Inamdars alone and including the rest is admittedly so great that the Commission have practically recommended the retention of the present definition; and the Committee of the Sabha do not think that the recommendation of the Commission should be set aside. Section 6 of the Bill proposes to amend Section 13 of the Act on the lines suggested by the Commission so as to authorize the courts to uphold and give effect to agreements by which the profits of the mortgaged lands are taken in lieu of interest. It is proposed by way of limitation that the mortgagee must be in actual possession of the property. This is probably intended as a safe-guard against fraud. But the Committee of the Sabha think that such a provision, if passed, is likely to compel the mortgagee to take possession of the mortgaged property in future, and so deprive the mortgagor of the benefit he hitherto enjoyed of retaining the possession of his property. The Committee of the Sabha are, therefore, of opinion that

this limitation should not, as proposed, be inserted. Section 7 of the Bill proposes to add a clause to sub-section 3 of 15 D. with a view to prevent a decree for redemption or foreclosure from being made absolute immediately after its passing. The Committee of the Sabha think that the same purpose is now better served by Sections 86 and 92 of the Transfer of Property Act IV of 1882 which is now extended to Bombay. These sections lay down that six months time (which the Court, upon good cause shown, may farther extend under sections 87 and 93) should be usually given to the mortgagor to redeem; while the Bill under consideration sanctions a minimum period of three months only. The proposed Section is, therefore, not only unnecessary but prejudicial to the interests of the agriculturists. With reference to sections 8 and 9 of the Bill, the Committee of the Sabha have no further observations to make than those that are already implied in the above comments. Section 10 proposes to limit the special limitation law only to the four districts in which the Act is at present in force. The recommendation of the Commission to alter the general law of limitation is put forward in support of the proposal. But if the other provisions of the Act are to be extended to other districts, or parts of the district, the Committee of the Sabha do not think that any special inconvenience will be caused by extending the special limitation law also to them. When the changes in the general limitation are made, they would be applicable in all cases.

5. On the whole, the Committee of the Sabha are of opinion that the present Bill is incomplete and requires improvement, even as far as it goes. No case has been made out for special and emergent legislation of the kind proposed undertaken, in advance of the general legislation to which Government will soon have to resort, embodying only a few of the suggestions made by the Commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Act. In the opinion of the Sabha, the executive reforms, again, suggested by the Commission are at least as important as the legislative reforms, and the Sabha respectfully pray that the former should be carried out without any further delay. The Act for the relief of the Deccan Agriculturists has now been in operation in Poona, Satara, Sholapur and Ahmadnagar districts for several years past and it has already accomplished much of the work for which it was passed. It is now absolutely necessary, so far at least as these four Districts are concerned, to supplement the operation of the Act by the

executive reforms recommended by the Commission, and the Committee of the Sabha, therefore, pray that this part of the question will receive the earliest attention of Government.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

G. K. GOKHALE,

S. H. SATHE,

Honorary Secretaries, Sarvajani Sabha, Poona,

REPLY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY TO THE MEMORIAL OF THE SABHA ON THE PROPOSED PROVINCIAL SERVICE SCHEME.

No. 6623 of 1894.

Revenue Department,

Bombay Castle 7th August 1894.

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,

Poona Sarvajani Sabha.

Sir,

In reply to the Memorial addressed by the Poona Sarvajani Sabha to the Government of India on the subject of the proposed rules for regulating admission to the Bombay Provincial Civil Service, I am directed to communicate the following observations and orders of that Government on the several prayers contained therein.

2. As regards the first prayer of the Sabha that Mamlatdarships may be included in the Bombay Provincial Civil Service, I am to state that the Governor General-in-Council has fully considered the matter on this and previous occasions and is altogether unable to apply to the Bombay Presidency a different rule from that which has been accepted in other Provinces, where the line of demarcation between the Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services has been so drawn, in accordance with the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, as to include in the latter service Officers of the Tahsildar class to whom the Mamlatdars correspond. The Governor General-in-Council, without any undervaluation of the worth of the Bombay Subordinate Civil Service, does not consider that it possesses any better claim to a higher *status* than the Subordinate Civil Service in some of the other Provinces; and for this and other more general reasons it would in his opinion be impossible to apply to that service in Bombay any more favourable measure of treatment than is elsewhere approved.

3. On the question of admission of the preferential claims to Deputy Collectorships of graduates in the Revenue line who entered that line under the terms of the notification of this Government No. 6505, dated 17th December 1878, as modified by the notification No. 7105, dated 2nd September 1885, which the Sabha has urged upon the attention of the Government of India, I am to observe that the general principle is that the scheme for the Provincial Service, which has for its primary end the establishment of the public service on a basis of thorough efficiency and for its secondary aim the reasonable recognition of the claims of important sections of the Community, should be introduced with due regard to the vested interests and to the qualifications and the reasonable expectations of individual officers who may be affected in carrying it out.

4. With regard to the second prayer of the Sabha that the Competitive test may be raised at least to the level of the B. A. examination of the Bombay University, I am to state that the Government of India agree with this Government that the system of Competitive examination proposed in the draft rules referred to by the Sabha should receive a fair trial. Under this system not only have graduates a better chance of being successful than

candidates of lower educational attainments, so far as the obligatory subjects of the proposed Competitive test are concerned but in view of the optional subject included, they will have all the advantage over the latter that they can properly claim.

5. As regards the third prayer of the Sabha that the recruitment of Subordinate Judges may continue as heretofore, I am to intimate that there is no intention of lowering the standard of qualification. A separate set of rules for regulating admission to the Judicial Branch of the Provincial Civil Service is being prepared, in which provision will be made for a separate qualifying test on the basis of the one now in force for Subordinate Judgeships.

6. With reference to the last two prayers of the Sabha concerning the recruitment for the Executive Branch of the Provincial Civil Service, I am to observe that they relate to matters which are still under consideration and which will be dealt with by this Government in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India with due regard to the principle enunciated in paragraph 3 of this letter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

W. L. HARVEY.

Under Secretary to Government.

THE MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR AND THE SARVA- JANIK SABHA.

On the 24th September 1894, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha gave an evening party, in the Hirabag Town Hall, to His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, on behalf of the native public of Poona. Over three hundred gentlemen, including most of the Sirdars and other prominent men, of the city and the cantonment were present. The Town Hall and its approaches were elaborately decorated and tastefully illuminated. His Highness arrived at about 9-30 P. M. accompanied by his brother Bapu Saheb, the Chief of Kagal, his uncle the Chief of Kagal, Junior, the chief of Mhaisa, and several, Mankaris. The Dewan, Khan Bahadur Meherjiibhai Kuverji, C. I. E., had arrived a little earlier. Among those present were Shrimant Balasaheb Raste, Shrimant Abasaheb Parandare, The Hon'ble Mr. Panse, the Hon'ble Mr. Ranchodlal Chotalal, Dewan Bahadur Laxman Jagannath, Dr. Bhandarkar, Rao Bahadur Jathar, Rao Bahadur Kirtane, Rao Bahadur Bhide, Rao Bahadur Dandekar, Rao Bahadur Gokhle, Rao Bahadur Daji Saheb Nagarkar, Khan Bahadur Khandakwala, Khan Bahadur Khandata, Prof. Molvi, Prof. Kathavate, Rao Bahadur Bhardi, Rao Bahadur Chitra, Rao Bahadur Vad, Rao Bahadur Icharambhai, Rao Bahadur Deshpande, Sirdars Shrimant Babamaharaj, Vinchurkar, Patvardhan, Chintamanrao V. Natu, and Shankarrao Natu, Sirdar Gopalrao Bhaya Saheb of Indore, Rao Saheb Balkrishna Sayma, Mr. Kupā Swami Mudliyar, Rao Saheb Pathak, Messrs. Ram Narayan, Amerchand Hukumchand Iswardas, Gangaram Bhan Mhaske, Rajana Lingoo M. B. Namjoshi, and A. D. Ghasvala, Rao Saheb D. J. Ghokhle, Rao Saheb Phadke, Rao Saheb Kumthekar, Rao Bahadur Kanitkar, Mr. R. D. Nagarkar, Mr. Dorabjee D. Booty, &c. &c.

The Sirdars and a few other gentlemen were then presented to his Highness, after which Mr. G. K. Gokhle, Secretary to the Sarvajanik Sabha, read the following address of welcome :—

To

His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharaja of
Kolhapur.

May it please your Highness,—On behalf of the residents of the city and cantonment of Poona, we, members of the Sarvajanik Sabha, respectfully crave leave to offer your Highness a most cordial welcome to this ancient and historic city of Poona. This is the first visit with which your Highness has honoured this city after your assumption of the full powers of your exalted position, and a recollection of the misfortunes which in succession befell your Highness's house during the past thirty years serves now only to enhance the satisfaction which we feel at having your Highness in our midst to-day. The distinguished part which at one time, it pleased Providence to assign to Poona in strengthening those foundations of the national life of the Marathas which were laid by your illustrious ancestor, is now a matter of history. But the Kolhapur Gadi still continues to stand as a visible emblem of the great work which the Marathas were able to achieve; and its occupants will always be regarded by the people of the whole Maharashtra—even by those who are not directly subject to their rule—with feelings of veneration and affection. In welcoming your Highness, therefore, the people of Poona welcome one to whom they are bound by strong ties of the past, and who recalls traditions, the memory of which no lapse of time can obliterate. The new order of things, which has been arranged and is guided by Providence for India's best, has created new bonds of sympathy and it imposes new duties upon us all. In these days, when the benign British Government has secured to the people of this country the inestimable blessings of internal peace and freedom from foreign aggression, the work which lies before Princes in the position of your Highness is, if possible, greater in extent and higher in character than that which their ancestors were called upon to do. It has been well said that the victories of peace are more glorious than those of war, and our Princes can have no nobler or more glorious mission to perform than that of striving for the moral and material advancement of their countrymen. The Sabha has already dwelt at considerable length on certain political and administrative questions in regard to which it was anxious to respectfully bring its views

to your Highness's notice, in the address which a small deputation presented to your Highness on its behalf less than six months ago on the occasion of your Highness's installation. And it is therefore needless for us to refer to those views again in this place. We will, however, venture to make one remark on this occasion. Your Highness's first and foremost duty is necessarily and beyond all doubt to secure the progress and happiness of your own subjects. But the promotion of the welfare of our common country in general and of the Maharashtra in particular, is also a duty devolving upon your Highness, and in importance it is second only to the duty which your Highness owes to the people of your own State. Thanking your Highness for your gracious condescension in accepting this address at our hands and wishing your Highness a long and happy life and a great career.

The address was presented to his Highness by Rao Bahadur Bhide in a *kinkhab* bag. Khan Bahadur Meherjibhai, the Dewan, then read the following reply on behalf of his Highness the Maharaja:—

Members of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and citizens of Poona,—I thank you most sincerely for the cordial reception you have accorded me and the very kind way in which you have referred to the great work achieved by my illustrious ancestor. It need hardly be said that the Sabha has been doing very useful service to the people by acting as their mouth-piece and placing before Government in a loyal manner the views of the enlightened native public. The assistance rendered to Government in the solution of difficult administrative problems by learned representative bodies like the Sabha, can hardly be exaggerated, and the work you have hitherto been able to perform bears ample testimony as well to the usefulness of the institution as to the zeal and earnestness of its promoters. It was hardly necessary for you to say that I should have at heart the welfare not only of my own subjects but that of the whole Maharashtra. Under the benign influence of the British rule, the different parts of the Empire have been so wedded together that progress of one part is hardly possible without an onward motion of all. Besides the common ties which have so long bound together the people of Maharashtra are a sufficient guarantee of their mutual sympathies hereafter and for ever. On this occasion, gentlemen, I cannot pass

on without referring to a matter which is but too fresh in the minds of us all—I mean the recent disturbances here. I look upon, with no less wonder than regret, the friction which of late has sprung up between two communities, whose relations for a long time past have been most amicable. I am sure the leaders of both communities have been doing their best to soothe the feelings of their brethren and to restore mutual confidence. But let me request you, the members of this Sabha, to spare no pains to remove the cause of friction, and I am confident, the leaders of the Mahomedan community will heartily co-operate with you and mutual concessions will put an end to this strained state of feelings which is prejudicial to the interests of both. It is the duty of every loyal subject to assist Government in their attempt to preserve the peace, which is so very essential for the good of the people, and it is needless for me to impress on your minds that this duty should be performed right loyally. I again thank you, gentlemen, for your hearty welcome.

His Highness the Maharaja was then garlanded and flowers and *pan-supari* were then distributed to the gentlemen assembled. His Highness and party and the other gentlemen present then proceeded to partake of the refreshments provided. After a display of fire-works the party broke up, his Highness leaving at 10-30 p. m.

PRESENT STATE OF INDIAN MANUFACTURES & OUTLOOK OF THE SAME

*DR. WATTS, Reporter on economic products to the Government of India, has, in his recently published memorandum on the Resources of British India, devoted an entire chapter to the consideration of the "present state of Indian manufactures and outlook of the same" for the future, which is eminently suggestive, and deserves most careful consideration by the members of an Association such as that under whose auspices we meet here to-day. The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though un-felt domination which the capital, enterprise, and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyzes the springs of all the varied activities which together make up the life of a nation; and this influence was so paramount at one time in British India that there were grave reasons to fear the worst consequences of the inevitable change. In the 18th century, England, like the other countries of Europe, desired to have colonies of its own race in all parts of the world, chiefly for the command of the markets thus opened out to the home manufacturers and traders. The colonies were looked upon as, and in fact were actually called, plantations where raw produce was grown to be sent to the mother country, to be manufactured and exported again back to the colonies and to the rest of the world. This policy

* This paper written by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade and read at the last Session of the 7th Industrial Conference has been kindly placed at our disposal by him.

suggested restrictive measures of action intended to foster domestic trade and arts at the sacrifice of the best interests of the colonies. The American War of Independence put an end to this scheme of economic government, and since then, though the sphere of English colonization has been multiplied during this century beyond all previous record, yet these new colonies have from the first been allowed to work out their own destinies, free from the leading strings of domestic control. The great Indian dependency of England has, during this century, come to supply the place of the old colonies. This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere. The development of steam power and mechanical skill, joined with increased facilities of communication, have lent strength to this tendency of the times, and, as one result of the change, the gradual ruralization of this great dependency, and the rapid decadence of native manufacture and trade, became distinctly marked. Even now the danger is not over. It is, however, a most fortunate circumstance that, during the last 20 years, there has been a clearly distinguishable departure from the till then unimpeded process of ruralizing a vast continent long known for its great resources and aptitudes. The rational of the existence and working of such a body as the Industrial Association of Western India is that it seeks to encourage this tendency, and check rustication. It is no doubt a struggle of a very unequal character, a struggle between a giant and a dwarf, and yet the struggle has to be maintained against great odds; and those who are engaged in the struggle cannot do better than note from time to time, whether the direction of the movement is correct, and its velocity satisfactory. I

propose in this paper to bring together certain facts, chiefly based on official publications, which will, I hope, satisfy you that, on the whole, we have reasons to congratulate ourselves upon the result, that the tendency, towards rustication has been checked, and India under British rule has been gathering up its forces, and marshalling them in order to ward off the evil effects of the first surrender that it had to make by way of homage to British skill, capital, and enterprise.

Dr. Watts has in his memorandum noticed one side of this counter-movement, which has become clearly visible during the last 20 years. A careful analysis of the trade returns of British India for 1892-93 discloses the fact that, out of total of 164 crores worth of exports and imports excluding treasure and Government transactions, we imported nearly 26 crores of raw produce against nearly 36 crores of manufactured produce, while we exported 85 crores of raw produce against 16 crores worth of manufactured articles. In a word, our exports to foreign countries showed that 85 p. c. of them were represented by the bulky produce of the land, which gave (no employment to local skill and capital except such as was represented by the rude methods of agriculture, while in the imports we did not know how to supply our wants in regard to 72 p. c. of the articles we received from foreign countries. These proportions of 72 p. c. imports and 85 p. c. exports are sufficiently expressive of the present condition of things. In 1892, we exported $20\frac{1}{2}$ crores of cotton and jute fibre, another $20\frac{1}{2}$ crores of grain, $11\frac{1}{2}$ crores of seeds, 10 crores of opium and tobacco, about nine crores worth of tea, coffee, and indigo, nearly 3 crores of hides and skins, horns etc., $\frac{2}{3}$ crores of dye stuffs and spices, about $\frac{2}{3}$ crore of raw silk, $\frac{2}{3}$ crore of timber, $\frac{1}{4}$ crore of manure, $\frac{2}{3}$ crore of lac, and $\frac{1}{2}$ crore of Cutch. These articles make up in all 80 crores. The principal raw materials which India imported in large quantities in the same year, were the metals,—iron

and steel about $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, copper 2 crores, gold and silver $21\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and the rest about a crore,— $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores worth of coal, other minerals $\frac{2}{3}$ crore, $\frac{1}{3}$ crore of stone, marble and precious jewelry. The rest of the imported articles were all more or less the products of skill and capital engaged in manufactures, including from 25 to 31 crores of Rupees worth of cotton goods, 3 crores of silk and woollen apparel, $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of sugar, $1\frac{1}{2}$ crore of wines, $6\frac{2}{3}$ crores of machinery and manufactured metals, 3 crores of dyes, 2 crores worth of oil, and about 1 crore of tea, coffee, and sundries. This state of things was the growth of the last half century. In 1853 cotton goods and yarn imported into India were worth less than 60 lacks of rupees, and in 40 years they swelled to the enormous amount of 25 crores. Silk and woollen goods imported in 1853 were worth only 5 lacks, and they rose to $2\frac{1}{3}$ crores in 40 years. Similarly, raw Jute and grain exported from India were about 4 lacks each in value in 1853, and were respectively worth 5 crores and 6 crores in 1892.

About 22 years ago, I had occasion to notice this collapse of domestic industries, and the gradual rustication of our chief occupations in a series of lectures which have been published, and it was about this time that a welcome change took place whose effects are now perceptibly visible. Things were as bad as can be about 1870-75; since then the tide has turned, and India has shown signs of a revival which marks its first step in the transition from a purely agricultural into a partly manufacturing and trading country. Dr. Watts has in his memorandum clearly brought out into prominence the chief features of this change. Of course no change has taken place in the absolute disproportion between the exports and imports of raw and manufactured produce, but their relative proportions have changed in a way which marks the beginning of this new-departure from the old traditions. The chief

features of this change may be thus described. (1) Our exports of manufactured or partly manufactured goods have risen from $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores to $16\frac{1}{2}$ crores in the past 14 years, (1879-1893), the increase being thus 211 p. c. in 14 years. There is a steady annual increment of 15 p. c., with only two exceptional years during that whole period. (2) Our exports of raw produce have also risen absolutely, but the relative rise is measured by the difference between 60 crores and $85\frac{1}{2}$ crores, which means an increase of 42 p. c. in 14 years, or an annual increment of 3 p. c. per year, against an annual increment of 15 p. c. in the export of manufactured produce. (3) The increase of manufactured articles imported into India has only been 30 p. c. in 14 years, rising from 20 crores to 36 crores, which gives an annual increment of 2 p. c. per year. (4) The increase in the imports of raw produce has been about 100 p. c. rising from $13\frac{3}{4}$ crores to $26\frac{1}{2}$ crores in 14 years. This gives an average increment of $6\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. The following table sets forth the several points noticed above in a very clear manner.

	1879	1892	Percentage	
			Total	Annual
Manufactured imports	25,98,65,827	36,22,31,872	39	28
Raw imports	13,75,55,837	26,38,18,431	91	65
Manufactured exports	5,27,80,340	16,42,47,566	211	15
Raw exports	59,67,27,991	85,52,09,499	43	3

It will be seen from this table that while the absolute disproportion still continues to be very marked, there is a very healthy change in their relative proportions. (5) While the imports of manufactured

articles were 65 p. c. of the total imports in 1879, this proportion has fallen to 57 p. c. in 1892; similarly, while the proportion of manufactured exports was only 8 p. c. of the total exports in 1879, they were in 1892 nearly 16 p. c. This change is a steady tendency which characterises the returns of most of the years included within the period noted above.

(6) The above conclusions are based on the official trade returns. Dr. Watts, however, questions the principle of the official classification which relegates such goods as spirits, flour, sugar, oils, etc. to the head of raw produce; while coir, cordage, oil-cakes, hides and skins, lac, are shown as manufactured. The growth of the industries concerned in the production of indigo, tea, coffee oils, sugar, beer, tobacco, cigars &c. marks the first step in the progress of India from a purely agricultural into a partly manufacturing country, which is quite as important as the actual multiplication of jute, cotton, silk, wollen, paper, flour, and oil-mills, and leather and sugar factories. By reclassifying the details of the official returns on this more correct basis, it is shown that our manufactured exports bear to our raw exports the proportion of 30 to 10, instead of 16 to 84 p. c.

The question naturally arises,—how has this change for the better been brought about. It has been brought about silently and surely by the efforts of the Indian people, assisted to a large extent by the influx of British capital and enterprise. A few illustrations will best explain the working of this double agency. Taking cotton goods in the first instance, it will be noted that the imports of cotton goods and yarn were valued at 19½ crores in 1875, and though they rose as high as 31 crores in one or two years, they have been almost steady during the last 15 years at a figure which averages 25 crores. The exports in the mean-while have risen from less than 2 crores to nearly 10 crores during the same period of 18 years. The export of raw cotton stood at 5½ crores, in 1860,

rose to 35 crores in 1865-1866, and has since fallen to about 16 crores in 1868, 14 crores in 1878, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in 1882, and was 13 crores in 1892. These changes in the exports and imports of raw and manufactured cotton have been contemporaneous with the development of the Cotton-Mills in India, which have risen from 53 Mills with 12,983 looms and 14,36,464 spindles in 1878, to 130 Mills with 26,347 looms and 33,78,903 spindles, giving employment to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of hands. The capital sunk in these mills was less than 2 crores in 1875, and is now estimated to be nearly 10 crores. This vast industry has all grown within the last 40 years, and the Bombay Presidency takes the lion's share of the benefits secured thereby, in-as-much as no less than 83 Mills are in this Presidency, besides 380 presses, and a still larger number of ginning factories.

The place which the cotton industry occupies in this Presidency is taken up in Bengal by the Jute industry. There are 27 Jute Mills, and 23 presses, and many private concerns, with a capital of $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores, with 9,000 looms and 1,80,172 spindles, giving employment to over 77,000 men. The exports were over 10 crores of bags, and the home consumption is equal to the foreign demand. The export of raw Jute still amounts to 52 lacks *cwt*.

There are 81 silk filature concerns in Bengal, which give employment to 8000 hands permanently, and an equal number temporarily, and produce five lacks pounds of silk. There are two Mills, one in Calcutta, and another in Bombay, which supply chiefly the Burmese markets. There are other factories which produce Tasar, and Chora silk for the local market. The Silk Mill in Calcutta exported 16 lacks of Rupees worth of silk goods to England and France. The exports of raw silk were worth 60 lacks of Rupees.

There are five Woollen Mills with 532 looms and 17,210 spindles, and they give employment to

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over 3000 hands. The capital employed is 30 lacks, and the annual out-turn of goods is worth 21 lacks of Rupees chiefly for the supply of local and departmental wants. The woolen and silk piece-goods imported were of the value of nearly 3 crores of Rupees, which shows how great is the ground still open for further expansion. The exports of Kashmere shawls, which at one time were nearly 30 lacks of rupees in value in 1868, dwindled down to 2½ lacks in 1890 to 1891.

There are 10 paper mills with a capital of nearly 25 lacks of Rupees. The out-turn had quadrupled in 10 years, and was 26 millions pounds in 1892. There is considerable scope for extension here also since the value of imported paper of all kinds averages about 50 lacks of Rupees.

There are 47 tanneries, 33 out of which are in the Madras Presidency, 9 in Sind, 2 in Calcutta, 2 in Cawnpore, and one in Agra. The export trade in tanned hides has increased from 3 crores to 5½ crores in 18 years. In tanned leather manufactures, these Indian tanneries compete with the imports from Europe.

There are in India 23 Breweries, all started since 1850. The capital employed is 17 lacks, the out-turn is 50 lacks gallons, out of which nearly 27 lacks were purchased by Government for the use of soldiers. The rest of the 22 lacks are consumed by the civil population. Till within the last 3 or 4 years, there was practically no import of beer for the use of the Army. Latterly since 1891, this monopoly has been destroyed, and imported Beer is again coming in, in large quantities. Altogether one crore worth of wines and spirits are imported into India. And about ½ crore worth of beer and cider was imported in 1892.

There are besides 2 soap factories, and ten rope factories at work in this country, chiefly supplying local and departmental wants.

There are 14 sugar factories and refineries, 5 in Madras, 7 in Bengal, and 2 in North-West Provinces. The capital of two of the more important factories, that of Casipore near Calcutta, and the Rosa factory in Shahajahanpore, is 26 lacs of Rupees. The imports of sugar are however 7 times as large as the exports. The competition of Beet sugar has checked the local production for export markets, as also for home consumption. The wants of local consumption are chiefly satisfied by the use of the Jaggery. The value of imported refined sugar was $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores in 1892, and its quantity 2 million tons. Raw Jaggery exported was worth 45 lacs.

Next in order come the flour mills, of which we have 46 at work in India, 19 being in the Bombay Presidency. The capital employed by five of these which are joint stock concerns is 16 lacs of Rupees, and the total capital of all the mills might come up to 30 lacs. There are besides several tobacco curing factories, bone crushing factories, Iron and Brass foundries, oil mills, saltpetre refineries, saw mills, potteries and other companies. In the words of Sir E. Buck they all indicate that "India is entering upon an important period of manufacturing activity. Already a substantial commencement has been made in cotton and jute goods, followed by manufactories of wool, paper, leather, sugar, oil, and tobacco."

Side by side with this expansion of India manufacturing industries, we have to note the great development of the Tea, Coffee Indigo, and Cinchona plantations. The capital sunk in these industries is chiefly European, and the management is also in European hands. The total area under Tea cultivation in 1892-1893 was 33,48,25 acres, out of which half the area is cultivated by private concerns, and one lack of acres belongs to companies started in England, while half a lack of acres belongs to companies started in Calcutta. The total exports were 120 million pounds in weight worth 6 crores of Rupees in all.

The total capital employed by the registered Tea companies in these concerns exceeds 8 crores. The capital of the private Tea concerns may be assumed to be as much. This industry gives employment to 10 lacks of people. The land occupied was waste land which yielded nothing before European enterprise turned it to account.

The Indigo concerns at work in India in 1892 were represented by 2,702 factories and 6,032 vats, which gave employment to $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of people, solely in the production of the manufactured article of commerce. The agriculturists who produce the raw produce are not included in this number. The average exports are 15 million pounds, valued at nearly 50 lacks of rupees.

Coffee plantations cover 1,27,648 acres in British India, besides large areas in Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore. The total area under the coffee crop may safely be put down at 2 lacks of acres. The total export of coffee is nearly 3 lacks cwt. There are 37 coffee works in the Madras Presidency which give employment to 1,379 permanent and 5,433 temporary hands. There are besides numerous lac factories, many native, and a few under European management, giving employment to 3614 permanent hands, and 1600 temporary labourers. The catechu or cutch trade is also considerable. The value of the exports in 1892 was nearly 40 lacks.

Next to these Plantations and Mill industries, an important development of our resources has taken place in the mineral wealth of India, and notably in the use of Indian coal. The value of the import of foreign coal was as high as 2 crores of Rupees in 1888, but has fallen to $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores in 1892. The imports have not expanded with the increase in demand, and this is entirely due to the working of Indian collieries. The Bengal collieries alone have quadrupled their output, chiefly as exports by sea to other provinces in 5 years the exports having risen from 4 lacks in 1888 to 20

lacks tons in 1892. In 1892 there were 82 collieries at work in India, of which, 73 were in Bengal, one in the Punjab, three in Assam, one in Central India, one in Deccan Hyderabad, and one in Beluchistan. The output has doubled itself in 10 years, and was two million tons, 1892, more than one million tons being made up by the Bengal collieries alone. Out of these two million tons, one million tons were used by the Railway Companies. Burma also has large coal deposits which are being brought into use Bombay, Madras, and N. W. Provinces have no coal mines.

Gold mines have been re-opened by the help of British capital and enterprise in Mysore, and Wynaad, and the outturn in 1892 was nearly worth 9 lacks. The average of the imports of gold in five years was more than 4 crores per year, being nearly twice the figures in 1872, and thrice the figure in 1852, which were respectively $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. One hundred and fifty crores worth of gold has been imported into India since 1835 for hoarding purposes.

The success which has attended the flow of English capital in respect of coal mines has not rewarded their efforts made to develop the iron resources of India. Not that India is wanting in this natural source of wealth, but it is not possible to work these resources in the face of European competition. The great difficulty in the way is to find iron deposits near enough to coal mines which can produce cheap and good fuel. The Baragor Iron Company in Bengal is however progressing satisfactorily. The imports of Iron, and Iron-ware, including railway materials and Mill machinery, in the meanwhile have remained stationary at the high figure of 9 or 10 crores, during the past 5 years.

The amount of salt produced in India was over nine lack tons in 1892, and the imports were $3\frac{1}{2}$ lack tons. The total duty levied was $8\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Saltpetre was an India monopoly in former times. Owing to the discoveries of a substitute by artificial

processes, the demand for Indian saltpetre has fallen off, and saltpetre worth only 5 lacks was exported in 1892.

India imported from 16 to 20 lacks of pearls, during the last 5 years, while its own pearl fisheries yielded but a poor return. Since the conquest of Burma ruby, jade, amber, sapphire and other precious stones have become a new source of wealth, but as yet these resources show no great development.

I have thus passed in review all the principal manufacturing, planting, and mineral industries which have sprung up in India during the last 40 years, and which have shown a very healthy development during the last 20 years. They represent an investment of nearly 50 crores of Rupees, and afford new and varied employment to nearly 25 lacks of people all the year round. This is an humble beginning, but it is a very hopeful one, and its effects are plainly visible in the altered relations which have come to subsist between Indian exports and imports of raw and manufactured goods.

It might appear to some that it is not very safe to rely upon statistics of trade or industry of a general character, and to base conclusions thereon which might or might not hold good of particular parts of the country, in the welfare of which we may be more intimately interested. It is with this view that I desire you to turn to some local statistics of this Presidency, about the correctness of which we need have no misgivings, and which also point in the same direction as those I have already examined. In another place I have noted the proportion of rural and urban populations in this Presidency, as they are disclosed by the two census enumerations of 1872 and 1891. The census of 1872 disclosed 179 towns with a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants in the Bombay Presidency. This same number rose to 232 in the census of 1891. The population of 179 towns was in 1872 shown to be 27,78,822, or 17 p. c. while

the population of the 232 towns was found to be 84,53,569, or nearly 19 p. c., of the total population. The number of towns had thus increased by 30 p. c. in 20 years, and the population of these Towns had increased 25 p. c. The total increase of population during the same period of 20 years was only 16 p. c., and the rural areas showed an increase of 14 p. c. in their population. The increase of towns, and the higher rate of increase in the population of Towns, as also the slight increase in the relative proportions of urban and rural populations, show clearly that the tendency towards rustication had been checked, and that gradually but surely, the first signs of the new civic life were manifesting themselves. The difference in the relative percentages of town and country was but slight and scarcely perceptible, but that slight progress was in the right direction :

The same fact is brought home to us by a careful study of the census of occupations. Unfortunately no fair comparison can be instituted between the results of the census of 1872 and those of 1891, because of the different principles on which the census tables in each of these years were prepared. However, taking the last census enumeration as a basis, we find that in 1891, out of a total population of 1,88,84,704 enumerated 1,10,08,233 were returned as agriculturists, which gives a proportion of nearly 59 p. c. The division of Town and Country is not sharply marked out in this land. The Town has a considerable agricultural population, and the Country has its own village industries. It is therefore useful to note the relative proportions of the different classes of occupations in Town and Country.

The agriculturists, who are 59 p. c. of the whole population, were returned as forming 15 p. c. of the male, and 19 p. c. of the female, population in Towns, and 67 p. c. of the male and female population in the country. The purveyors of vegetable food were 5 to 7 p. c., and of animal food 1 to 2 p. c.

of the entire population. The dealers in building materials and artificers engaged in building were about 2 p. c. in Towns, and less than $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. in the Country. The cotton industry engaged 3. p. c. of the entire population, being distributed however in the proportion of 9 p. c. in Towns, to about 2 p. c. in the Country. The woollen, as also the hemp and flax fabrics engaged less than $\frac{1}{4}$ p. c. of the population, both in Towns and country. The silk industry had no representatives in the country, but engaged in Towns one p. c. of males, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the female population. The dress-makers were $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the entire population, but predominated in towns, where they were $4\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. as against less than one p. c. in the country. Gold and silver-smiths were nearly one p. c. of the entire population, being however 2 p. c. in towns, and less than a half p. c. in the country. Brass, copper and tin smiths were found in Towns only, but the iron worker or blacksmiths were nearly equally distributed between town and country, with a slight preponderance in the towns. Wood, bamboo and cane work engaged about 2 p. c. of the population, these classes being nearly 3 p. c. in towns, and less than one p. c. in the country. Leather workers and shoe-makers were almost equally distributed, both in town and country, their proportion ranging from $1\frac{1}{4}$ p. c. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the population. Money lenders were a luxury of the towns, being nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. there, against less than $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. in the country. Merchants, brokers, contractors were exclusively confined to towns, where they formed $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the population. Lawyers, doctors, priests and engineers, were conspicuous by their absence in the country, and their comparative importance in towns was not, great since they together made up less than $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the population. Music was almost equally distributed over town and country, but prostitution was a feature of it which belonged to towns only where it figured as high as $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the female population.

Retired pensioners and owners of property, who lived on interest, were also town luxuries being $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. there, and altogether absent in the country. If we bear these relative percentages in mind, we shall find that there are a number of industries, especially those concerned with the working of metals, leather, dealers in books, paper and stationery, and in hard-ware of all kinds, also lamps, matches, timber, stone-workers, watchmakers, railway employees, cartmakers, butchers, Toddy-drawers and liquor-sellers, Jaggery and sugarmakers, contractors, builders, lawyers, doctors, engineers, factory hands, which show a tendency to increase, while men engaged in oil-pressing, weavers and spinners of cotton and wool, potters, grocers, pedlars, wood-carvers, embroiderers and dealers in gold and silver, and jewels, priests, musicians, military classes, and carriers, of all kinds, have a marked tendency the other way. Industries which flourished by the favour of courts, and their dependents, have a tendency to disappear, while the industries, which concern themselves with the comforts and convenience of the middle classes, have a tendency as indicated above, to develop in course of time. As regards the majority of the lower classes, they are generally unaffected by either of these changes. Whether we wish it or not, the transformation of industries sketched out above is inevitable, and we must make the best of it. I have tried to study the question from all sides with the help of trade returns, census statistics, and the official publications bearing upon the general welfare of the urban and rural population. I have placed before you what appear to me to be good grounds for the hope I entertain that India has now fairly entered upon the path which, if pursued in the same spirit which has animated its capitalists hitherto, cannot fail to work out its industrial salvation. What we have to do in each case is to learn by organized co-operation to compete with the foreigner, and take in as much raw produce from abroad as we need, and work it up here,

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and to send in place of our exports of raw produce, the same quantities in less bulky, but more valuable, forms, after they have undergone the operation of art manipulation, and afforded occupation to our industrial classes. I might illustrate this by the following table.

IN PLACE OF EXPORTING	CONVERT THEM INTO & EXPORT
Oil seeds	Oils
Dye stuffs	dyes and pigments.
Wheat	flour
Unhusked rice	Husked rice
Jaggery	Sugar
Raw cotton	Cotton goods
Raw wool	Woollen goods and shawls.
Raw Silk	Silk goods
Jute and flax	Gunny bags, ropes.
Hides and skins	Prepared and tanned leather
Raw Tobacco	Tobacco cured and cigars.
Fish	Cured and salted fish.
Raga	Paper
Wood and Timber.	Carved wood and furniture.

I might multiply this list without end. This is the practical work Providence has set down for us to learn under the best of teachers. We have already made fair progress. We have to improve our raw materials, or import them when our soil is unsuited to their production. We have to organise labour and capital by co-operation, and import freely foreign skill and machinery, till we learn our lessons properly and need no help. We have rusticated too long, we have now to turn our apt hands to new work, and bend our muscles to sturdier and honester labour. This is the civic virtue we have to learn, and according as we learn it or spurn it we shall win or lose in the contest. We have to work against great odds, which are represented by our old traditions, our poverty of resources, and the hostile competition of advanced races, whose industrial organization has

been completed under more favourable conditions than our own. My object in reading this paper before you was chiefly to show you that, notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the free-trade policy of the Government, we may win, if we will only persevere in our efforts, and direct them by co-operation on a large scale into the proper channels. We cannot afford to be dreamy and self-contained, and turn back from our present opportunities to a past which cannot be recalled.

Natural aptitudes, undeveloped but unlimited resources, peace and order, the whole world open to us, our marvellous situation as the emporium of all Asia, these priceless advantages will secure success, if we endeavour to deserve it by striving for it. This is the creed for the propagation of which, by exhortation, and example, the Industrial Association of Western India was started, and I feel sure it will soon become the creed of the whole nation, and ensure the permanent triumph of the modern spirit in this ancient land.

NOTE ON AGRICULTURE IN BOMBAY.

Leaving out of account our rising mills and factories, which, though full of promise for the future, give work as yet to but a fraction of our labour, we find that agriculture is still with us, as elsewhere in India, almost the sole occupation for the mass of the people as well as their only means of subsistence. Over 80 p. c. of the population is resident in villages, and for the most part lives by the tillage of the soil; and even a considerable portion of the remaining 20 p. c. found in the towns is agricultural. The census enumerations of 1872 and of 1891 disclose but a slight variation in the relative strength of our rural and urban classes. The old balance of rural and urban industry continues as perilously critical as ever, and the future economic safety of the Presidency is the reverse of being hopeful or assured. It is painful, after a century of British rule and its new light and life and elevating influences, to have to recognise the fact that the mass of our population is at this hour as absolutely as ever at the mercy of soil and sun, and wind and rain, for its very daily bread. Nowhere perhaps in the civilised world is there such hopeless dependence on an industry—so uncertain in its returns, and in its nature capable of only limited expansion. But what makes the situation grave, and gives cause for anxiety, is the fact that this industry—which constitutes the sole, surviving stand-by of the people, is in a most unsatisfactory condition. There is a consensus among careful observers that the soil is undergoing rapid exhaustion

* This note, written by Mr. G. V. Joshi B. A. Head Master Sholapur High School and read at the last Industrial Conference held on the 14th September 1894, has been kindly placed at our disposal by him.

under a reckless and exhaustive system of agriculture, and that the outturn is slowly falling away. This is a grave state of things, and we are convinced that unless there is a radical change in the existing conditions under which the industry is carried on, it is hopeless to expect any real improvement. The question, therefore, of agricultural reform is to our thinking one of immediate practical urgency, and we make no apology for inviting the Conference to a careful consideration of the present position.

We would begin with a brief review which will be confined to the Presidency proper, excluding Sindh for which sufficient information is not available. Our review deals with a period of 20 years from 1872-73 to 1892-93. The year 1872, though the year of the first regular census of the country, is not a good year to start with for purposes of such a comparative retrospect as being a year of agricultural depression, with a scanty rainfall and falling prices, but official statistics do not enable us to go further back. The period selected, however, is long enough to bring out in clear relief the permanent features of the situation.

On a general survey of the facts, the conclusion forces itself on the mind that our position in respect of agricultural industry is one of serious depression. The results of the detailed inquiry are put in the form of a tabular conspectus (annexed) and may be briefly summarised as under:—

During this period of 20 years, we have an

Increase of population	13·4 p. c.
" " Revenues (general)	39 p. c.
" " " (land)	22 p. c.
" " Foreign Export (India)	84 p. c.
" " General prices	12·8 p. c.
" " Cropped Area	36 p. c.

The first four increases represent a largely enhanced demand on the land, partially balanced by the 12·8

p.c. rise in prices, and it is disheartening to find that this increased demand has not been in any adequate measure met either by extension of cultivation or improved husbandry.

(1.) Taking, first, the cultivated areas—we have an increase of only $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs acres or 2.1 p. c. And yet a much larger extension of agricultural operations might have been carried out, there being over 18 lacs of acres awaiting the plough in the various districts of the Presidency. Much of the remaining land, however, is no doubt very poor, but the economic pressure ought to have supplied the requisite stimulus to agricultural enterprise to push on tillage even to these waste areas.

(2.) Passing next to double-cropped areas—or what the Government of India designate as vertical extension of cultivation, we find that such acreage has advanced from a trifle over 3 lacs to $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs—and thereby increasing the total cropped area of the Presidency by 1.5 p. c. The advance in the people's resort to this method of extending cultivation has been much larger in most of the other provinces. This double culture system opens up a new and promising line of possible agricultural development, and is likely to afford increasing effective relief to an advancing population pressing upon the soil. Fortunately the climate conditions of the country permit of practically unlimited recourse being had to this method for increase of produce; and provided care is taken to replenish the soil by an adequate use of manure and water—otherwise there would be the serious danger of accelerated soil exhaustion—double-cropping forms a limitless addition to our reserve of economic strength. But the Bombay Ryot is as yet too apathetic and resourceless to profit by this system.

Taking both kinds of cultivation we have a total increase in our cropped area of 3.6 p. c. during these 20 years—evidently a most inadequate advance to

balance the pressure of increasing Population, Revenue and Export.

(3.) Let us next inquire if the economic balance has been maintained by improvement in the style of husbandry and increased yield from the soil. Here too, the result reached is disappointing. There is not much direct positive evidence on this point, but we have strong indications which in their cumulative effect leave no doubt in the mind that there is a serious deterioration in our position.

(a) First as regards the Ryot's agricultural stock—we have some increase in the number of ploughs but a considerable decrease in plough cattle—which, taken concurrently with an enlarged cropped area, means worse ploughing. And in fact observers find that the ploughing done in these days is much inferior. It is of the nature of superficial scratching and does not tend to increase the absorptive and retentive powers of the soil; and when rain comes in heavy showers it rushes off the lands which are seldom protected by embankments, and carries away vast quantities of rich plant food. The rain water does not usually soak to any great depth, and much of it only runs off the surface. Besides, the crops grown are mostly cereals or grasses (over 70 p. c.)—which are surface-soil-feeders, and as the subsoil is seldom brought up owing to shallow ploughing, the surface soil gets more and more exhausted by repeated unmanured cropping.

(b) Next as regards manuring—the Ryot's available manure supply is undergoing much contraction owing to a variety of causes, but it is still enough for about 20 p. c. of his acreage. But strange as it might appear, he seldom manures even half that area, thus leaving 90 p. c. of the cropped area of the Presidency all but unmanured.

(c) Passing thirdly to irrigation—Irrigation

with us is an absolute necessity ; the rainfall is more or less variable, and limited to but a few months of the year ; the holding off of rain even for a couple of weeks, may turn a good season into a bad, and injure the crops. Besides, agriculture is in these lower latitudes emphatically "agriculture by irrigation and manure" as it is agriculture by drainage and manure in the higher. In a country like ours, therefore, it is indispensable that the agriculturist should have at his command an artificial irrigational supply both to supplement the deficiencies of the seasonal rainfall, and also as a means of increasing production by the method of double-cropping and the growth of green and fodder crops. But with all the efforts of the past 20 years and more, we find that our total irrigational supply—even including old works out of repair—is most inadequate. It is barely enough for $\frac{1}{10}$ th of our cropped acreage, and the fact remains that full 90 p. c. of our lands under crop are exposed from year to year to all the capricious fluctuations of the seasons ! But what is still worse is that the Ryot does not care even to make a fair use of the restricted supply he has at his disposal. The total irrigated area is about 8 lacks of acres or 3.2 p. c. of the cropped area, and the remaining 96 p. c. and more is dependent on the variable rainfall of the seasons. Besides it is observed that in respect of the major part of the irrigated acreage, the cultivator uses artificial irrigation only to save ordinary crops in seasons of drought, or to help them over short periods of deficient rainfall, and rarely as a means of improving his acres or growing better crops. In the Annual Report of the Director of Agriculture for 1891-92, it is stated that during the 5 years 1886-87—1891-92 the increase in the number of irrigational wells was 10,198, and on analysis of the figures we find that 7,576, new wells were constructed, and 2,620 old wells repaired by the Ryots during the period. This is no doubt a hopeful feature

of the returns, but we observe as per contra, that so many as 29,405 old works (26,293 wells, 1929 tanks, 1183 bandharas and other works) are in disrepair, and 3,320 tanks remain in disrepair and disuse in the single district of Dharwar. Government also tried some time ago to call out self-helping effort in this direction by inviting cultivators in Gujarat and the Southern Maratha Country to contribute to the cost of repairing these old works as a condition precedent to the execution of such repairs by the Department of Public Works. But the scheme failed, and last year it was decided to undertake the repair and up-keep of such works, both large and small, from Public Works grants, "preference being given in order of execution to works towards the cost of which the cultivators are willing to contribute in money or labour or both." Obviously Ramji bin Raoji has little means—and less motive—for such efforts to help himself.

(d) Fourthly, as regards the application of restorative methods—Rotation and mixed cropping are practised only here and there in good lands; but the general system of cropping under which 90 p. c. of the cropped area is laid under what are technically called exhaustive crops, leaves but little scope for a proper alternation of crops,—cereals and legumes,—so as to secure the maximum advantage of surface and sub-soil. The cropping continues from year to year without due manure and water supply, and without any attempt at restorative rotation till the last stage of soil exhaustion is reached, and lands lie unsown and replenish themselves under the action of natural forces. This brings us to what are called "current fallows" in the official returns.

Fallowing is an old and rude restorative method, and where, as in Australia or America, there are vast reaches of soil of virgin fertility awaiting the hand of man, is both practicable and advantageous; but in an old country like ours, where population so hardly pres-

ses upon the soil, and where every acre we could get is required to be under crop, recourse to this method, in preference to manuring and other restorative means, involves a needless, positive waste of resource. Science teaches us that it is by no means impossible to have continuous cropping on the same soil from year to year, and without the least loss in productive power, under a judicious use of manure and water. Besides in India, our lands perforce lie fallow for six months of the year, therefore seldom require such rest. The result is that practically we have no fallows proper in this country. The Ryot leaves a large portion of his land unsown every year either for want of means or—(and this is often the main reason)—because the soil under continuous unmanured and unirrigated cropping gets so far exhausted as to yield little or no return to his industry. We have now close on 50 lacks of acres as the area under current fallows or over 16 p. c. of the total occupied area. The ratio of such fallows to cultivated areas is not so high elsewhere, except in Madras. In 1873-76, it was on an average 13 p. c.

N. W. Provinces. 8 p. c.	(about 38 lacks); during the last
Oudh..... 6 p. c.	20 years this fallowed acreage
Panjab..... 13 p. c.	shows an increase of over 10
Central Province 12 p. c.	lacs! This is an alarming in-
Madras..... 23.2 p. c.	crease, and whether it is due to

the Ryot's growing want of means, or to the progress of soil exhaustion, it is to our minds a decided indication of agricultural deterioration. In this Presidency, the agriculturist pays not for *cultivation* but for *occupation*, and whether he puts his occupied acres under crop or not, he pays his assessment on the whole *occupied* area all the same. Taking the average rate of assessment at 1 Rupee per acre, it is clear that he pays to the state half a crore in assessment on lands on which he does not and cannot grow even a single bushel of corn,—a good round price paid for the barren privilege of *occupation*. In other words the loss to the com-

munity in regard to agricultural produce—even putting it at 9 bushels per acre,—comes up to 45 millions of bushels,—a measure of corn which could supply food to 4 millions of people! Our population during the last 20 years has not increased even by 2 millions, and if the Ryot only takes the trouble—or rather has the will and the energy and the means to crop these fallow acres, there will be no need for anxiety about the food supply for our growing mouths for half a century to come. But where is the stimulus to work to come from?

(c) Coming (fifthly) to the outturn of a crop, the data are very meagre. Besides, the yield must vary from season to season, and from field to field; but allowing for all such variations, and taking good years with bad, there is the widely prevalent belief that it is steadily diminishing,—particularly on dry crop lands which means 96·5 per cent. of our cropped area. The Rothamsted experiments establish the fact that the produce of land cropped continuously without manure falls away in an ever-decreasing ratio, and comes down in 40 years from 17 to 9 bushels; and so competent an observer as Sir J. Caird thinks that “the present average produce is *below 10 bushels an acre*” (Report on the condition of India Page 45). The exhaustion of the soil is proceeding apace under the Ryot’s reckless, ignorant, and exhaustive system of culture, and we have almost reached the stage. The increasing area which has to be left-uncropped from year to year is another indication of the same result. The laws of nature cannot with impunity be defied; and when we remember how the Ryot crops his acres season after season, and takes away exhaustive crops without taking care to return to the soil what is taken from it, or even ploughing it deep enough to allow natural influences to replenish it, the penalty he brings down upon himself in the shape of a diminishing yield need occasion no surprise. But it only suggests an observation that the penalty is a

needless, self-inflicted penalty, which it lies in his power to escape from if he will but follow a more rational method of culture. An increase in the output of even a couple of bushels to the acre would provide food enough for 5 millions of increase in the population of the Presidency.

(f) Lastly we come to *cropping*—On analysis of the returns, we find that there has been not much change during the last 20 years in respect of the nature of the crops grown. The slight variations, however, which are discernible, strongly point to a decided decline. In 1872-73 the area under non-food crops, including sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, and oil-seeds, was 5·4 million-acres; whereas in 1892-93, the acreage under these crops was only 4·8 million acres. Similarly, if we take recent figures, we find the same tendency to deterioration further accentuated. Comparing the crops of 1892-93 with those of 1887-88 the decreases under rice, wheat, tobacco, sugarcane, oil-seeds, cotton and dyes are more or less considerable—amounting to over 6 lacs of acres.

The salient points of the foregoing brief review may be thus summed up ;—

(1) that cultivation—including double cropping—shows an advance of only 3·6 p. c. during the last twenty years :

(2) that the area under irrigation has increased by little more than 1 p. c. and is still only $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. of the total area.

(3) that the general style of cultivation discovers a marked deterioration; ploughing and manuring, and the application of restorative methods, being all worse than they were 20 years ago. Three-fourths of the cropped area only is harrowed each year, and ploughed—and that too very imperfectly—once in four or five years; nearly 90 p. c. is cropped year after year without

manure, and 96 p. c. is unirrigated. The Ryot as far as intensive husbandry is concerned—does not, strange as it may appear, make the best use even of the scanty resources he possesses ;

(4) that under a deteriorating system of culture, the exhaustion of the soil is proceeding apace, and that the outturn per acre is gradually diminishing, and in respect of some crops (e. g. wheat) has already fallen to the lowest point. The area under fallows is steadily growing ;

(5) that on an analysis of the crops returns, a decided tendency to qualitative decline—especially in recent years—is clearly discernible ; and lastly.

(6) that an inter-provincial comparison reveals the fact that this Presidency, on many points of agricultural importance, is worse off than most of the other provinces.

With such a decided deterioration in all the essential elements of agricultural strength during the last 20 years on the one side, and large increases in population, revenue and exports—only partially balanced by a small rise in prices,—the position clearly is one of serious economic depression. The necessary equilibrium between the national industries and the demands of a progressive civilization has not only not been maintained, but violently disturbed. And the disturbance will appear all the more grave when it is remembered that the year 1872-73 was not a good-season year, as compared with 1892-93.

Viewed as a whole, the situation is one which cannot be contemplated without the gravest apprehensions. Agriculture, as said before, is the one industry by which we live, and upon which we rely for all our means of economic progress in other directions. It is the one source from which the nation gets its food-supply, the state, its increasing revenue, and the

trader, the bulk of his exports, and the means of paying for his imports. Briefly, this industry is the main stay of our entire economic life. And it is painfully disquieting to find that this main prop is failing and giving way. What further adds to the gravity of the situation is the growing listless apathy observable on the part of the Ryot—the one worker on whom the whole nation depends; he does little to help himself, and yet refuses—in too many cases, to be helped. The result is, that both the soil and the tillage of the soil are fast deteriorating in his hands to the serious prejudice of the national interests. The out-look is gloomy, and all indications open to observation point to an approaching economic dead-look of the severest type.

But there is a bright ray of hope that relieves the gloom of the prospect. The state with us is not unconcerned spectator of the approaching crisis. Rising superior to the doctrinaire theories of *laissez faire*, it realizes to its full extent its own responsibility in the matter, and is prepared, in generous sympathy with the national requirements, to make measures, as far as it lies in its power, to maintain the agricultural industry of the country “at the highest attainable standard of efficiency.” (Government of India Res. 1881). And indeed we find that during the last 20 years it has been making vigorous efforts in many ways to help the Ryots, and promote the interests of agriculture. Its action has been partly *legislative*, and partly *executive*.

As regards legislation—The Civil Procedure Code has been several times amended in favour of the agriculturist; an improved Land Revenue Code (1879) has been adopted, and provisions have been added later (1886), guaranteeing in the most complete and explicit manner the non-taxation of private improvements, with a view to encourage the application of enterprise and capital to the land. A series of Acts for the relief from indebtedness of the old landed aristocratic families in Gujerath and in Sindh have been

passed. But above all, the most important and comprehensive legislative measure of the period has been the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879. It is a statute of remarkable breadth and wide-reaching effect and resembling as it does both in its aims and leading provisions the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Act of 1882, is intended to bring to the indebted peasantry of the Deccan the same sort and extent of relief that has been conceded to the large proprietary families of Gujerath and Sindh, Oude, Chota Nagpur, and Jhansi. Under this Act, when the indebted Ryot institutes a suit for an account of his old debts or for the redemption of his mortgaged holding, the Courts are empowered to go behind the bonds and inquire into the history and merits of the claims against him, and determine their extent on a reasonable basis, and enforce an equitable settlement of them. Lastly, to supplement judicial action, the Tagavi and Loans Acts have been revised, and liberal rules have been framed thereunder.

Nor is Governmental action confined to the passing of relief legislation for the agriculturists. An extensive scheme of executive action is being published on with remarkable vigour to promote the improvement of agriculture.

(1) Vast sums are being spent on the development of communications by rail and road, to connect the rural parts with the large centres of industry and trade, and to extend the market for agricultural produce. In 1892-93 the outlay on these works was 26½ lacs. The railway mileage open for traffic under the control of the Bombay Government has largely increased, and is now 5783 miles.

(2) *Irrigation*—A large expenditure is also being incurred for the purpose of extending irrigational facilities. Already over 2½ crores have been spent on the construction of canals and storage tanks,

which can now irrigate more than half a million acres, and "command" a still larger area—to which the supply can be carried if need be. Even with regard to the repair and upkeep of old works, Government recently decided to undertake the work departmentally, independently of popular contributions in money or labour.

(3) A large system of Forest Conservancy is being vigorously elaborated and pushed on under expert directions. We have now 12,832 sq. m. under forest or about 17 p. c. of the total area; and large operations in the direction of creating communal forests and fuel and fodder reserves for the direct benefit of agriculture, are under contemplation. It has been estimated that about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the area of the country must be under forest to permanently ensure the requisite modifications of soil and climate in favour of agriculture. In Germany 25.7 p. c. of the total area of the empire is occupied by forests—under state control.

(4) As regards Tagavi advances—considerable amounts are advanced, under special Acts, to needy Ryots at a low rate of interest from the public treasury, for the purchase of seed and cattle, and for purposes of land improvement. In 1892-93 over 6 lacs were so lent. And efforts are being made under more liberal rules and a simplified procedure to make the system popular and effective.

(5) And similarly in various other minor ways—in the matter e.g. of cattle-breeding, veterinary aid, distribution of seed, cattle-shows and exhibitions—Government is doing a vast deal for the cultivators.

(6) But above all we have a well organised Department under distinguished expert control, to look after our agricultural interests, and guide the action of the state in useful and needful directions.

On the whole, the Government scheme of opera-

tions is a large and varied one, and we only wish it were larger and more varied still both in its aims and methods. The weakness of the plan seems to us to be that it places too exclusive a reliance on the agency of the state Departments. For the more part, it ignores the popular element, and never seeks to enlist the co-operation of the people in the work which concerns them so vitally. And yet their active association with these measures on a footing of well-defined responsibility will be attended with the best moral results, and render state action more effective. State agency, however, well directed, must be defective in a field of effort lying outside the proper sphere of state interference. With regard to Forest Conservancy, for instance, the administration would certainly be much more successful and popular than at present, if it were to be assisted by the village communities,—or communal unions—particularly in the work of forming fuel and fodder reserves and communal forests on the village waste lands. Similarly we agree with Dr. Vosleker that, while canals and large tanks should be carried out by the state through its P. W. Department, the construction and maintenance of minor works, such as small distributary channels and irrigating tanks, might be advantageously left to such communal agency. And so, also, with regard to Tagavi advances—the true aim of state action should not be to supplant the Marwadi who is a necessary integral part of a healthy industrial system,—and destroy his business—which would injure that system in its most vital point—but to place his relations with his debtors on a more equitable basis; and the success of the Government policy is to be measured, not as is too often done, by the number and value of the loans given, or the applications received from them, but by its effects on the general movements of credit, and the relations between the lenders and borrowers. And in this view of the matter,

it is very desirable to enlist the agency of the private bankers, formed into local syndicates to assist and supplement the efforts of the state, to supply pecuniary accommodation to the needy Ryots? So, again, in the matter of the distribution of seed, we find that in France and Germany, it is the private firms that are subsidized from the public treasury to distribute the needful supply.

But, however open to objection and criticism the Government scheme may appear to be, the work that has been done and is being done is, on the whole, on right lines, and conducted in a right spirit, and therefore deserves our warmest acknowledgment. And our only regret in the matter is that it is not attended with greater success.

It is however very disheartening to find that the Ryot, on whose behalf and for whose special benefit the state in India is generously doing so much, and is prepared to do yet more, even going beyond the legitimate sphere of its activity, neglects, in a blind spirit of almost un-accountable apathy, to avail himself, of such valuable and needful aid. Helpless himself, strangely enough, he declines to be so helped! Neither the legislative relief conceded to him, nor the various executive measures taken in aid of his industry, appear to interest him, and he seems unwilling to take advantage of them to any appreciable extent.

(1) The Civil Procedure Code in its amended form contains many protective provisions in regard (e. g.) to the execution of decrees, specially intended to keep him on his land and to save him from expropriation; but he is fast selling his acres, and falling down to the status of a landless labourer or a tenant-at-will on his former holding. From the Registration Report for 1892-93, it appears that during 6 years 1887-1892, the total number of registered deeds of sale of immoveable property was 2,62,677; the cor-

responding figure for the 4 Deccan districts under D. A. R. Act was 46,000. The whole number amounts to about 30 p. c. of the total number of holdings in the Presidency. During 2 years 1891-92 the aggregate value of such sales came up to close on 6 crores; the figure for the Deccan districts was 44 lakhs.

(2) Similarly with regard to the D. A. Relief Act (1879)—it is noticeable that while sec. 3 cla. (z) and secs. 16-17 place in his hands the most effective means—that a legislative measure could give—by which to clear off his old debts and encumbrances and recover possession of his ancestral acres, he has had during the 13 years 1879-1892—that the Act has been in force less than 1500 suits for accounts, or a little more than 100 a year, and only 20,567 redemption suits—before the Courts and the Conciliators together—for the recovery of his mortgaged holdings—or about 1580 a year! The total number of holdings in these Deccan districts is 2,31,479 and it is believed that full 80 p. c. are hopelessly encumbered—or 70,000, while the relief sought for a year was hardly 2 p. c., and not even $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the whole during a period of 13 years.

(3) So, also, in regard to the Tagavi and Loans Acts, the result is equally meagre. The total amount advanced in 1892-93 was only 6 lakhs as given before, or even less than 3 p. c. of his annual borrowings.

As in reference to legislative measures of protection and relief, so in the matter of executive measures of help, the Ryot shows equal apathy.

(1) The facilities for transport by sea and land are fast developing, and the market for agricultural produce is continually widening with every advance in such development; and yet we find on an analysis of his crops that he does not care to grow the more remunerative ones—the tendency is on the contrary the other way!

(2) Similarly in regard to irrigation—the existing works can supply water to 9 p. c. of his acreage, but he barely takes it for 3 p. c. ! The conversion of dry crop into wet crops cultivation requires an amount of care and perseverance, which he apparently does not care to put forth, and he often pleads as an excuse want of manure and means, but as the old saying goes “where there's will, there's way.”

(3) Next as to Forest Conservancy,—we all know that his attitude in this matter is one of sullen indifference—and sometimes of active antagonism. He constantly complains of the rigour of the state administration instead of co-operating in the work himself, and bearing cheerfully, if only for the sake of the future, present inconvenience and sacrifice.

It is this attitude of apathetic indifference observable on the part of the Ryot in regard not only to the natural advantages he enjoys, but also to these proffered aids—that constitutes the most complicating and perplexing factor in the situation.

The general position may be thus sketched :—

(1) Agriculture is the one sheet-anchor of our industrial life, and the prosperity of this industry is of supreme importance to the well-being—nay, to the very existence of the nation ; and yet no industry could be in a worse plight.

(2) And yet the advantages at the disposal of the worker are not inconsiderable. Our soil and climate are in no way unpropitious ; the expanding markets supply an increasing stimulus to his enterprise, and the state is ready to help him in many ways, and to the full extent of its resources. And yet we see the Ryot—on whose shoulders rests the whole fabric—mained and dwarfed, without energy or enterprise—helpless and struggling in the slough of despond and misery, and unwilling to be helped out of it. What situation could be more embarrassing !

It is, however, clear, that unless the worker improves, his work never can or will prosper: and any improvement in the condition of our agricultural industry can only be looked for and the economic future of the Province assured, if the Ryot improves in his character and habits, and his methods of work. As long as there is nothing to ensure such improvement on his part, the condition of things must continue critical, and possibly may get worse.

View it as we may, it is almost an unprecedented position, and is variously accounted for. We will notice here only 4 theories:—

(1) In the first place, it is said, the physical conditions on this side of India are very much against the Ryot. With such a precarious climate as the Deccan enjoys it is hopeless to expect him to prosper. However secure the tenure, however fair the assessment, he cannot evidently control the skies, and contend with Nature. The D. A. Relief Act Commission attribute the indebtedness of the Deccan peasant "mainly to the capriciousness of the climate." And indeed, the meteorological history of the Presidency during the past 25 years would seem to lend support to the view. The fluctuations of the seasons have been extreme, and two seasons out of every three have been below the average; and besides we have had our years of droughts and floods. But we must remember that if Bombay does not possess a more equable climate and a more certain rainfall, so is neither Switzerland nor Belgium better gifted by the bounty of Nature. And if the Swiss peasant is able to contend with snow and storm, and clothe the rocks with verdure, and the Flemish farmer turns the sandy wastes of his inhospitable native land into fine, blooming gardens, what is there to prevent the Bombay Ryot from protecting himself against the uncertainty of the seasons? Science is Power, and the resources of Science are within his reach.

(2) Secondly it is asserted that the Ryot him-

self is accountable for all his woes. As an industrial worker, he is a hopeless failure. He is by nature indolent and improvident—and bound by the fetters of caste and custom. He will fritter away all his substance in feasting himself, his caste and his priest, without a thought for the morrow. It is almost second nature with him to borrow, and borrow he will, as long as he has the smallest shred of credit. He marries early, and multiplies and lives beyond his means. He will never work, and save except under the spur of high assessment, and will not cease borrowing unless deprived of his credit and his right of free alienation. This is a heavy indictment; but this theory which seeks to explain his difficulties by referring them all to the inherent failings of his nature, appears to us to betray a strange mis-conception of the fundamental principles of human nature, and the main springs of human action. His critics, who delight to paint him thus, never stop to inquire what has made him what he is, and whether he has in the circumstances in which he is, and the conditions under which he works, any sufficient motive for industry, economy or thrift. They have perhaps never considered “What race would not be indolent, when things are so arranged that they derive no advantage from forethought and exertion.” It is necessary to remind them that human nature is not differently constituted in Asia and in Europe; and if experience and the lessons of history are worth anything, it is only as a *freeman* in the full enjoyment of the privileges of a free status, and living under free conditions—and never as a *slave* or *predial serf*, that the Ryot can ever improve. The magic of liberty and property which has transformed the serf farmers of the Rhine and the Danube into the most prosperous peasantry in the world—may also be trusted to work a similar change in the valley of the Krishna and the Tapti.

(3) There is yet a third theory which holds the Marwadi responsible for the Ryots' difficulties. It is

said, his unscrupulous exactions, aided by the action of the laws and the civil Courts, hold the poor indebted cultivator fast in fetters—even worse than of iron; and he has no escape from the bondage. But it should be borne in mind that usury with us—as every where else—is but a product of the economic situation that exists, and has in its deep roots and its firm base. Were the conditions easier and freer, the usurer's occupation would be gone. In Europe the Jews were even worse as money lenders, but now their usury is a thing of the past.

(4) Lastly we have what may be designated as the over-assessment theory. It is argued that the assessments are pitched too high, and in some cases are even heavier, against all the declared principles of the survey, than the true economic rents, sweeping away not only all the Ryot's "net assets," but also trenching on his narrowing margin of subsistence. The revised rates are further condemned as taxing private improvements, in violation of a statutory guarantee against such taxation; the valuation of the soils is most arbitrarily raised for the *sub soil water* and *general position* advantages, and rarely, if ever, lowered for the "faults of the soils" as directed by the Joint Rules. The result of the revision settlements, so far

No of villages resettled.....		9,245 lakhs	as regards the
Total assessment before			9,245 villages re-
revision.....		94.6 lakhs	settled in 13
Revised assessment.....		1259 "	districts, is an
			increase of 33.1
		Increase 31.3 lakhs	p. c. on the origi-
		or 33.1 p. c.	nal assessment,
			or a net addition
			of 31½ lakhs to
			the Government
			demand. In the

4 Deccan Districts placed under special relief legislation, the revised rates make a total addition to the assessment of close on 10 lakhs. It is said—and said

with much force—that such large additions to the burdens of the embarrassed Ryots are not only unfair, but economically inexpedient as tending to discourage industry and enterprise.

This view regarding the economic effects of enhanced assessments was thus put by Sir W. Hunter in the Vice-regal Council in the course of the debate on the D. A. Relief Act Amendment Bill, 1882. Quoting a remark from the Special Judges' Report for 1881 that 'in average years, the ordinary Deccan Ryot does not gain enough from the produce of his fields to pay the Government assessment, and to support himself and his family throughout the year, so that really no margin is left for the payment of his debts'—Sir W. Hunter observed that 'the fundamental difficulty in bringing relief to the Deccan peasantry, as stated by the chief Special Judge entrusted with the task, is therefore that the Government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year.' Be it remembered that this is the state of the peasantry not in times of famine, but in ordinary seasons. Sir W. Hunter went on to argue thus:—

"My Lord, on the one hand we are told that the Deccan peasantry are so hopelessly plunged in misery and debt that a special insolvent law is necessary to free them from their private creditors—the money-lenders. On the other hand, we find that the Revenue officers have, during the past 10 years greatly enhanced the land assessment in these afflicted districts. The Government has sent forth one set of officers to observe the cultivators from the loans which they have borrowed from private individuals; and almost with the same breath, it launches another set of officers to collect a largely enhanced rental from the cultivators."

The rigidity of the revenue collections is made a further ground of complaint. During the decade ending with 1890-1891 with its seasons of drought

and deficient rainfall, the annual remissions were only in the ratio of 0·23 p. c. 98·40 p. c. was recovered within the year in which it fell due, and a little under 1 p. c. was postponed or left over."

A similar view is widely entertained in regard to the revised assessments generally. But whatever its truth and justice, it will be useful to point out that the state demand upon the land—even the revised and enhanced demand, comes up to but a trifle over one rupee per acre, in this Presidency, while in Madras it is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. Besides, the rents charged on lands let out by the occupancy holders are as a rule 3 or 4 times the assessment. One rupee on an acre of cropped land yielding on an average 10 rupees worth of produce is only 1 of gross produce, and if, even at this rate, it is felt too heavy a tax, the reason is rather, that the yield of the land itself is diminishing, and that the Ryot's resources are failing. Under the economic circumstances of the Presidency, there is no doubt much truth and force in the argument that the state demand upon the land should be as light as possible, and give the Ryot the breathing time he so sorely wants; and that it ought not to add to his embarrassments—already so oppressive. But the true remedy for the prevailing agricultural distress must be looked for elsewhere, in the conversion of the existing system of agriculture from an exhaustive into a restorative one, and in the increase of the produce of the soil; and we beg leave to point out that any lowering of the assessment—however desirable and necessary from other points of view as a measure of temporary relief—would not remove the economic deadlock, but would only postpone it.

None of these explanations, however, of the Ryot's growing apathy and despair and the consequent depression of the agricultural industry seem to be satisfactory. In our view of the situation, the determining causes are mainly these:—

(1) The Ryot's growing insecurity of position, due (a) partly to the incidents of the Survey Tenure, and (b) partly to the consequences of the extended practice of sub-letting, and the oppressive burden of unrelieved indebtedness, an insecurity of position, which makes him feel less as a freeman working on his land for himself and more as an *adscriptus glebæ* working for another, and almost puts him into the desperate and demoralising condition of a cottier-tenant—a condition in which he has little to gain by industry or thrift and little to lose by reckless indolence.

(2) The Ryot's fast diminishing means, a circumstance which tends to drive him into blank despair with the increasingly heavy load of debt, and the equally growing burden of public taxation, and leaves him but little breathing-time to recover, and little or no means to make a sustained effort.

(3) The over-crowding of the Ryot's field of work—consequent on increase of population, and concurrently with it a progressive collapse of non-agricultural industries to draw off the increase,—and resulting in a most unhealthy over-competition for the land, forcing up the rents against him, and bringing down the profits of his work, and even compelling him under the increasing economic pressure to fall to the status of a tenant-at-will.

(4) The Ryot's utter want of education which leaves him without the needful light of knowledge to help and guide him, to stimulate his efforts, to sustain his perseverance, and call out all energies in his trying situation, and makes him hopeless, and keeps him helpless.

The concurrent operation of these four causes in depressing his energies is further aided by the efforts of a precarious climate and an exhausted soil.

These are some of the causes to which we would attribute the Ryot's present attitude of listless indifference, and the consequent agricultural decline of his prosperity.

(1) As regards the growing insecurity of the Ryot's tenure.—The Survey Tenure—whatever its other merits—is far from being an economic success. It does not establish property in land, and assure to the Ryot permanent possession of his acres at fixed rates. The 30 years' settlement is but a long lease and cannot claim the advantages of the Miras tenure of old; it gives the cultivator only a limited interest in his lease-hold and as the lease runs over and draws to a close, even this limited security vanishes away. It inspires a very incomplete sense of occupying ownership and supplies no strong stimulus to agricultural enterprise.

Turning to the condition of occupancies; we find that it is only $\frac{1}{3}$ of our cultivators who enjoy this qualified security of tenure under the Survey—those, viz, who still hold their own—albeit with difficulty—and keep their heads above the rising flood of pauperising indebtedness—surging and closing around them. These 30 or 35 p. c. of our survey occupants take interest in their holdings, invest capital in them like the *Ujali Paraj* cultivators of the Gujerath districts—who are as yet free from debt, industrious and thrifty, and who possess the characteristics of a fairly prosperous tenantry. But

	No.	p. c.
Land occupants not cultivating	316,800	3.5
cultivating...	6,026,630	67.8
Tenants and sharera, cultivating	2,603,836	28.7

even some of these are just on the verge, —and as the situation goes more and more against them—likely to fall to a lower status,—and sharing in the prevailing insecurity. In the case of the re-

Holdings.			
	No.	p. c.	
1-5 acres.	260,641	26.5	72 p. c.
5-25	451,449	45.5	
25-100	250,445	25.1	
100-500	24,817	2.5	28 p. c.
over 500	385	.4	
Total...	987,659		

maining $\frac{2}{3}$ of our Ryots, however, even this imperfect security of occupying ownership does not exist. Owing partly to the extended practice of sub-letting and

partly to the consequences of unrelieved indebtedness, these cultivators have more or less lost their privileged status under the Survey and are practically in the position of tenants-at-will holding their lands on a most precarious tenure. Unfortunately there is no record of rights in this Presidency and the data for forming an opinion on this point of the status of the Ryot are most defective. What information is available is put in marginal tables below.

(a) As to sub-letting—we have no *grande culture* amongst us—it is *petite culture* all the country over. Our large occupants whose holdings average 50 acres and upwards usually let out their holdings or portions of them to under-tenants; and this practice of sub-letting is extending now even to the smaller holders. The leases are short, varying from 9 years to one year and under; and the rates demanded range as high as 3-4-5 times the assessment. The sub-tenants who hold on such leases have no secure status under the Land Revenue Code. We have no tenant right proper in the Presidency and no tenancy laws such as exist in Northern India. The Land Revenue Code contains no provision for the accrual of occupancy rights and the under-tenant has no legal protection against rack-renting or eviction; nor can he claim compensation for disturbance and unexhausted improvements. The terms on which he holds are left absolutely to be

regulated by private agreement and in rare cases by usage and section 83-cl. 2 leaves the under-tenant completely in the power of the superior-holder, who is further privileged under section 86 to claim the assistance of the Revenue Authorities in the realization of his rents and dues—a privilege not allowed in respect of any other class of claims. And so excessive is the competition for the land that the tenants usually undertake to pay more than it is ever possible for them to pay. The rents are thus forced up to a ruinous height and the under-holder contents himself with a bare living. These sub-tenants are thus little better than cottier-tenants and number full 25 p. c. of our cultivating population.

(2) Next as regards indebtedness—there are no means of estimating the extent of such indebtedness and its bearing on the Ryot's status with any accuracy. Figures given in Mr. Woodburn's Report (1889) on the Deccan Districts and Registration figures afford some guidance, and are given below. The data are defective.

Mr. Woodburn's figures for 9 Districts relating to Indebtedness.

District.	P. C. of occupants not in debt.	P. C. of Ryots with debt 1-10 times the assessment.	P. C. of Ryots with debt 10-20 times the assessment.	P. C. of Ryots with more than 20 times assessment—Debt.
Poona	34	21	12	31
Satara	35	25	15	23
Nagar	44	29	11	14
Sholapur....	42	35	11	11
Khandesh....	23	26	18	33
Nasik	26	28	16	28
Thane	46	12	10	29
Ratnagiri....	34	12	9	43
Bijapur.....	56	26	8	8
Average....	37.7	23.9	12.2	25.4

But that the burden of old debts is more or less severe in all parts of the Presidency and is increasing every year with the piling up of fresh obligations, there is ample evidence. The burden is more oppressive in the

Mortgage and Lease-Registration (1) The 4 Deccan Districts under the D. A. R. Act.				
year	Mort- gages with Pos- session.	Mort- gages without Posses- sion.	Total Mort- gages.	Leases under one year
89-90	20,771	11,833	32,579	32,807
90-91	21,179	12,647	33,826	36,245
91-2	23,332	15,570	38,902	39,304
92-3	24,987	17,257	42,246	43,314
Total	90,269	57,282	147,531	151,672
Per C. on Total Holdings	39	25	64	67

(2) Bombay (including Sindh)		
6 years 1887-88-1892-93	Mortgages No.	Leases No.
Total transactions p. c. total No. of hold- ings=1,097,957.	379,987 35	139,120 13

Deccan with its extremely precarious climate than in Gujerath with its more favourable physical conditions, but even here we observe that the Kali-Parajculti-
vators who form 71 p. c. of the rural population are in a wretched condition,

deeply involved in debt and for the most part in the hands of the money-lenders, titling their lands for them as prediawerfa. The Deccan peasant is worse off still. Full 25 p. c. of our cultivators, who are "hopelessly involved" owing debts over 20 times the assessment have presumably parted with their occupancy rights by mortgage with possession, and continue on their lands as mere tenants-at-will holding on annual leases. Apparently things are getting worse all-round. In the Deccan districts there have been as many as 1,47,551 mortgages during 4 years 1889-90-1892-3 or 64 p. c. on the total number-of holdings-of which 39 p. c. are mortgages with possession and 25 without possession. Similarly

leases under one year number during the same period as many as 1,51,672. Generally in the Bombay Presidency including Sindh, the Registration Reports show that the total number of mortgages during 6 years 1887-88—1892-93 aggregates 3,79,987 or 35 p. c. on the total number of holdings, and the number of leases is 1,39,120 or 13 p. c.

On the whole we may take it, that about 35 p. c. of the cultivators in the Presidency are in this miserable predicament in consequence of their indebtedness, virtually expropriated from their ancestral holdings.

Taking both the under-tenants (28.7 p. c.) and the mortgagor lessees (about 35 p. c.) together, it may be assumed without much risk of error that they constitute full $\frac{2}{3}$ of our peasantry. *De-facto* they form a vast body of cottier-tenants, living on the soil, holding on short leases and at rack-rents which are so extortionate as to leave them even in good years little more than the bare means of subsistence, without the least interest in their holdings and with absolutely no motives for industry or enterprise.

Shortly we may sum up the result under this first head of causes thus :—

(1) The Survey Tenure with its 30 years settlements allows only a limited measure of property in land and proprietary security.

(2) Only 35 p. c. of our Survey occupants enjoy this restricted security of tenure ; and

(3) The rest (65 p. c.) of our cultivators are for all practical purposes a vast rack-rented cottier

tenantry without interest in their lands, holding on a precarious tenure and living in a hopeless condition of destitution.

And thus as far as the bulk of our cultivators are concerned, the result may be stated in the words of Sir G. Wingate thus :—"The Ryot toils that another may rest and sows that another may reap"—a situation utterly devoid of all inducements to exertion or prudence. Even the upper 35 p. c. occupants, tho' still free from embarrassments, are beginning to share through various causes in the general insecurity of the position.

Here then we reach a basal fact of the utmost importance which largely accounts for the existing situation. Condemned to work for others like a slave, the Ryot fails ; and what chance has he of success ? The stimulus of self-interest is wanting and all incentives to good work are taken away from him. And yet be it said to his credit that no farmer in the world could stand the pressure better. No wonder, if the D. A. Relief Act, the most expansive measure passed in recent years has failed to bring relief to the Deccan Ryot. Clearly, no mere change of judicial procedure could be an effective cure for an economic evil.

(2) But again, there is yet another cause to deepen the Ryot's despair. His income—never large and ever uncertain owing to the variations of the seasons—is fast going down under the increasing double pressure of (a) public taxes, (b) and debt.

(a) As regards public taxation—Public taxation to which the Ryot is the chief contributor is steadily growing with the growing needs of a progressive administration and the weight falls upon him with

peculiar pressure. The general revenues during the last 20 years show an advance from 9·5 to 13·7 crores or 39 p. c. (the Land Revenue 22 p. c.) and assuming that the Ryot's share in the public burdens is 75 p. c. this increase of Revenue means a net increase to the state-demand upon him of 2 crores a year. His corn-heap, however, has been continually falling away and is just now at the minimum point barely enough for his living, and his despair can be conceived when he is thus called upon to pay 2 crores more of public taxation. Enhancement of public burdens instead of spurring him on to increased exertions as the advocates of the Ryot's indolent nature theories imagine, only plunges him deeper in debt and despondency.

(b). But the Ryot's narrowing margin of means is further and to a more alarming extent encroached upon from another quarter. His debts are growing and the money-lender presses him harder than ever. With his diminishing corn-heap, he can even in average years hardly pay his taxes and rentals and live without borrowing. His necessities in this respect are often imperative. The oscillations, of the seasons, the pressure of public burdens, domestic requirements, and various other "accidents of circumstance" leave him no alternative but often to go to the money-lender and borrow. And borrow he must, in the absence of cheaper banking facilities, on ruinous terms. In the 4 Deccan districts, his annual borrowings average

The 4 Deccan Districts (Population=89,33,233 Land Revenue=57.17 lakhs The Ryots annual borrowings				
year	Mortgage value	Simple bonds value (in lakhs)	Total value in Lakhs	
'85	29.8	16.2	46	93 p. c. Borrowings 83.7 lakhs Assessment 57.17 lakhs
86	29.08	12.8	41.8	
87	24.7	13	37.7	
88	33.2	16.2	49.4	
89	40.6	17.9	58.5	
90	43.6	15.9	59.5	
91	45.5	15.3	60.8	
92	48.6	17.2	65.8	lakhs
Total for 8 years	3,05.4	124.5	429.8	
yearly Average	38.2	15.5	53.7	lakhs
Applying these yearly averages to the Presidency				
Land Revenue 293.99 lakhs				
93 p. c.				
= 273.4 lakhs or 250 lakhs amount of the Ryots yearly borrowing				

about 53 lakhs a year or 93 p.c. of the total assessment. On the basis of this figure, his annual debts in the Presidency may be estimated at roughly 250 lakhs,—and taking the average rate of interest on secured and unsecured debts at 12 p. c. his annual interest payment on account of annual debts come up to 30 lakhs. Nor is this all. The pressure of old debts is excessive. On the basis of Mr. Woodburn's figures for 9 districts giving on an average of 28 Rs. of old debt per head of the population, the total of such debt for the whole Presidency might be put at about 45 crores, on which the annual interest charge at 12 p. c. amounts to 540 lakhs. On Mr. Woodburn's data, it is 560 lakhs.

9 Districts (Pop = 89.5 lakhs)	Debt per head of population	Total debt on population basis	Amount of in- terest of 100 Rs. of assessment	Interest on lakhs Current..... 30 old debt..... 540 Total yearly charge..... 570
Khandesh.....	46.1	6,71 crores	293	
Nassik.....	38.0	3,20 "	245	
Nagar.....	16.2	1,40 "	140	
Sholapur.....	18.2	1,35	132	
Poona.....	13.6	1,40	209	
Satara.....	11.9	1,47	166	
Bijapur.....	15.7	1,20	92	
Ratnagiri.....	25.5	2,75	337	
Thana.....	70.2	5,74	281	
Total.....	28 debt per head	25,24 Total debt in crores	1895 — = 200 900	
Applying these proportions to the Presidency population.....15,985 millions at 28 Rs. per head Total old debt.....45 crores				

Putting together both debts—annual and old—the interest charge to the Ryot at 12 p. c. seems to come to close on 6 crores a year. Were he only able to borrow on easier terms—say at 5 or 6 per cent. what a relief would it be to him? His pressure would be brought down by 3 crores and more on this account of interest charge alone and he would at once be placed—in 75 cases—in a solvent position.

However, he has unfortunately no such means of relief. His personal credit is as good as ever and his sturdy honesty of heart which leads him cheerfully to

bear his load of debt and makes the very idea of going into insolvency revolting to his mind, is appreciated even by the Savakar; and he can borrow even in the worst Deccan villages small sums on personal security. Nor is there lack of capital in the country as pointed out last year by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade in his paper on Real Credit Re-organization. 250 lakhs are locked up in the Savings Banks in this Presidency, and presumably a still larger amount in Government securities, and any rate of interest judging from the recent conversion operations would, seem to satisfy our depositors and holders of Promissory Notes. All this money and much more would be and ought to be at the service of industrial enterprise but for want of a *via media*. The divorce between capital and land and industrial enterprise is almost complete, and this divorce has been the ruin both of the Ryot and his industry. There is almost an impassable gulf—the gulf of ignorance, and want of confidence and habits of combined effort—between those who save and those who work—a bar preventing the free flow of capital to fertilize the fields of industry, and the State which alone with its limitless command of resource and organization is alone in a position to bridge over the gulf and remove the bar, still declines to undertake the work, and the deadlock continues with disastrous results to the progress of industry. As far as the Ryot is concerned, he has to pay 12-24 p. c. interest to the money-lender, while a Savings Bank depositor is content with little more than 3 p. c. and has thus to pay 6 crores nearly to his Savakar year after year whereas he ought not to pay more than 2 or 3. The consequence is that his 3 or 4 crores which might otherwise to go his acres pass into other hands, and no one is any the better for it, and every one much the worse for such diversion of the Ryot's savings, not even excluding the money-lender who suffers by the general industrial paralysis thereby caused. The State withholds the needfull help; the

Ryot suffers and with him the whole nation shares the penalty in the depression of its one surviving industry. In another respect again, the absence of cheap banking facilities, is causing inconvenience. It largely tends to neutralize the effect of much of the protective legislation of the past 20 years. Taking the D. A. R. Act, we find that while on the one hand, during the past 13 years the Act has been in operation, the Courts and Conciliators have together settled in all 20,567 claims valued at 37½ lakhs in redemption suits in respect of mortgaged lands, the Registration figures on the other, show that the fresh mortgage debt alone (leaving out simple bond debts) contracted by the Ryot during 8 years 1885-92 amounts to over 3 crores, nearly 10 times the amount reported as settled, the annual amount increasing steadily from 29 lakhs in 1885 to 48.4 lakhs in 1892-3 ! This one striking feature of the returns is enough to show how futile it is to attempt to relieve the indebted Ryot merely by a reform in judicial procedure. The Ryot sees it and we can understand his reluctance to seek, in too many cases, through the special courts the barren benefit of paper redemption. If thus the D. A. R. Act is a comparative failure as a means of economic relief, neither are the special relief act for the superior landed proprietors, any more successful. On this point Mr. Baines writes in the Decennial Report (pages 243-4) :—"The most noteworthy feature in the working of these Encumbered Estates provisions is the continuous need of them. The total number of persons entitled to relief under such enactments is necessarily limited, but we find in Gujarath 108 estates under management in 1881-82, and nine more after an interval of 10 years. In Sindh the law has been changed on more than one occasion, so the decrease from 346 to 30 may be due to special and artificial causes, rather than to increased providence. In the case of Jhansi, where the persons for whose benefit the special local Act was passed are of a lower social position than the Talukdars of Gujarath, it was

ascertained that the loan advanced by the State from public funds to keep the agricultural proprietors on their land was repaid by loans from the village money-lender, who closed in some way or other on the dis-embarrassed land as soon as it was out of management. In Bengal the Oudhia Nagpur Encumbered Estates Act was applied in 1891-92 to 59 estates, and in 1881-2 to 72. The amount of debt at the close of the former year was Rs 1,63,749, and Rs 66,192 of this was ascertained during the year in question. In Oudh, again, the supply of indebted local magnates appears perennial."

Briefly, then, under the second head of causes we may sum up by saying :—

(1) The Ryot's margin of means is perilously narrowing owing to (a) increasing public taxation and (b) to his growing indebtedness.

(2) The net addition to his share of the public burdens has been 2 crores during the past 20 years. He is not permitted to enjoy even his luxury of cheap salt.

(3) Real credit being in a most disorganized condition and the State still withholding its aid in reorganizing it, the Ryot has to pay 3-4 crores more than he ought or need, as interest to his Savakar every year.

(4) This double pressure increasing concurrently with his diminishing yield from the soil, makes his condition worse.

(3) Passing next to over-crowding of his field against him as another cause of his suffering,—we have, according to the recent census, in the whole Presidency a population of 10,649,811 souls—living on the soil on a cropped area of 28·3 million acres—or less than 3 acres per capita. Assuming with Sir J.

Caird that a square mile of cultivated land can give employment only to 50 persons—men, women, and children together (or 12·8 acres per head) our cropped area is not enough even for an agricultural population of 3 millions; so that, we have 7·8 millions of our agricultural people without adequate employment and in a condition of demoralising indolence. The loss of work and working energy to the country is of course enormous. But such an excessive concentration of an enormous population on the soil, has the natural effect of over-crowding the field against the agricultural worker, sending up rents and bringing down the profits of husbandry and the wages of agricultural labour. Both the under-tenant and the farm labourer are heavily weighted, and equally or even more so, is the occupancy tenant.

(4) We come to the last head of our causes viz, the Ryot's want of education—which practically speaking, we may assume, to be almost total—hardly 4 or 5 p. c. could be found among the cultivators who know the elements. We have in the Presidency proper 22,968 villages of which only 5,140 have schools, the remaining 17,828 with a population of 10 millions and more unprovided with any educational facilities. We feel rather strongly on this point and hold that there is no disability harder to bear than ignorance and its penalties. We are firmly convinced, the Ryot would be able to help himself out of half his difficulties if he were only educated. As it is, there is the darkness of ignorance darkening his horizon and paralysing his effort and leaving him hopeless.

Thus, then the Ryot never very strong in his sense of proprietary security under the Survey, feels his position increasingly insecure and is fast falling down to the status of a cottier-tenant;—his corn-heap is diminishing from which, however, he has to draw out larger and larger portions to pay his growing taxes to the State and his growing interest charge

to the Savakar, so that, he has now hardly enough left with him to live upon and save, and his beginning to feel more desperate than ever ;—he also suffers from excessive, unhealthy competition for the land, being driven in too many cases to keep possession of his few acres on any terms compatible with a bare subsistence ;—and lastly what is worse than all he is without education,—without the needful light of knowledge to sustain and cheer and guide him in his trials. Add to all this, the capricious variations of the seasons and the results of an exhausting system of agriculture, and we venture to think that there will be no difficulty in understanding his apathy, indolence and improvidence. Placed in a situation little better than that of a serf he has no inducements to self-help and improvement ; working for others he shows no good work—and why should he ?—and with the depression of the worker we have to face the depression of the industry which depends upon him and on which the whole population depends.

If the foregoing analysis of the causes to which the Ryot's present position may, in our opinion, be ascribed, is not very wrong, it indicates the lines on which remedial action might be taken. What the Ryot seems to require is that his position may be made more secure than it is under the Survey, that he might have some relief from growing taxation as well as from the pressure of his growing indebtedness, that he might be secured from over-competition in the field and relieved of the disability of ignorance. And if his position is better assured under a more permanent system of tenure, if executive and economic, as well as legislative measures were adopted to secure him against over-assessment and the taxation of his improvement, to give him some relief by providing cheap banking facilities in the matter of his heavy interest charges, to protect him against unhealthy over-competition by the promotion of non-agricultural industries, but above all, to rescue him from the slough of ignorance, no worker

in the world—not even the peasant proprietor of the Rhine—land could surpass the Bombay Ryot in industry, enterprise or energy. He would be able to help himself and avail himself of other people's help in his battle with Nature and the adverse seasons in a way of which we have at present no conception. The present average produce per acre is according to Sir J. Caird below 20 bushels, and if a gradual and progressive improvement in agriculture which the Ryot might be safely relied upon to carry out under freer conditions, might raise this meagre yield to 12, 15 and 20 bushels, he would be able to assure the economic safety of the country for years to come.

Among other measures of relief for the benefit of the Ryot we would recommend the following :

(1) First of all we would strongly plead for a *permanent limitation and settlement* of the state demand upon the land, a measure of relief which is now an economic necessity and ought not to be any longer delayed. A grave crisis is impending. An exhausting agriculture and an advancing population are fast coming to a serious deadlock; and as far as one can see, nothing can possibly avert disaster except a change from the exhausting to a restorative system of cultivation. But such a change requires on the part of the Ryot an effort to which under the Survey tenure with its periodical unsettling revisions of assessments, he feels no sufficient inducement. The magic of property alone can supply the requisite stimulus, and some form of permanent tenure is indispensable.

Besides, our climate being what it is—subject to such violent oscillations—induces a chilling sense of uncertainty; and moral incentives to exertion require to be proportionately stronger. What else but a most complete sense of proprietary possession leads the Flemish peasant to grow rich crops on his sandy waste and seek to form fresh soils by conveying earth in baskets where Nature denies the advantage?

It is often urged as an argument against the concession of a permanent settlement that it involves a large prospective loss of Revenue. But such fears have no foundation in fact. The theory of the *unearned increment* on which these fears are based is altogether an inconsistent theory, which looks only to one element in the problem—*viz.* movements of population, but ignores the other and even more important element, *viz.* movements of property and possessory claims. Even assuming, however, the theory to be sound and the fears of a prospective sacrifice of revenue, well grounded it is permissible to submit that any such financial loss that should result from the measure would be recouped to the State a hundred times over in the assured prosperity of the peasantry as well as in the consequent increased productiveness of the other sources of revenue; and as the Duke of Argyll says, "the best wealth of a Government is to be found in the growing wealth of its subjects." Further, any amount of additional revenue that should be required in future years to meet the exigencies of a progressive administration might be without difficulty raised in many ways from a prosperous community; and the large expansion of revenues imperial and local, other than land during the past 30 years leaves no doubt on the point. But clearly, no mere financial considerations should for a moment be allowed to out-weigh the imperative necessities of a grave economic position.

Next we would point out that our Presidency is more than ripe for such a concession. It fairly fulfils the conditions under which the concession is promised in the Despatches of Sir C. Wood and Sir S. Northcote (1862 and 1867); full 95 p. c. of our arable area in place of 80 p. c. required is under cultivation, and there has been considerable progress in regard to irrigation and railways. We have now irrigation for over half a million acres and a railway mileage of over 5,000. There is of course much scope yet for

extensions in regard to both : but this circumstance alone furnishes to our thinking no sufficient justification for withholding the boon from a people on the verge of an economic crisis.

Such a measure, lastly, would be a logical and at the same time a most beneficial development of that generous land policy of the Government which has during the past 90 years dictated a change from annual settlements which were the rule in the first years of the conquest to the 30 years settlements of our day. Sir C. E. Trevelyan remarked thus on this point in his evidence before the East India Finance Committee (in 1873) : " we began with annual settlements ; then we went on to triennial ; then to quinquennial ; and at last we came to decennial settlements ; and from decennial settlements, we have got up to 30 years' settlements. Now, exactly in the proportion in which the length of the tenure has been extended, has the principle of property been created, and the general benefits have been in proportion ; but I conceive that, although, by comparison with the past, we consider the 30 years' lease a great thing, yet it falls greatly short of what is wanted, and would land us in a very poor and unsatisfactory state of society If we stop at the 30 years' settlement it is equivalent to putting an effectual barrier to the growth of the public improvement, and of the moral and intellectual civilisation and refinement of the country. "

But even a permanent settlement of the land revenue would be an economic failure, if the assessments were fixed too high ; for as Sir C. Wingfield often insisted, over-assessment and extortionate rents tend very much to destroy the sense of proprietary security. It would, therefore, be most necessary in our opinion that the State demand even when settled in perpetuity should be moderate.

(2) Next, side by side with such a permanent settlement, we would strongly go in for a tenancy law

for this Presidency, partly as a check on unprincipled and excessive sub-letting and partly to assure the position of the under-tenants. As remarked before, there is no tenant right as such recognized under the Land Revenue Code, which contains no provisions against either rack-renting or arbitrary eviction. Ch. VII of the L. R. Code, would have to be very much recast, particularly Sec. 83 which leaves the powers of the land-lord in regard to enhancement of rents and ouster and dispossession practically uncontrolled. We would also humbly join in a suggestion made by the late Hon'ble Mr. Nulkar (vide D. A. R. Act Commission Report,) that Sec. 86 of the Code should be modified at least so far as to withdraw from the mortgagee superior-holder the needless privilege of claiming the assistance of the Revenue authorities in the realisation of his rents and dues. We would further have provisions inserted in the Code for the accrual of occupancy rights. These and such other amendments of the Code would be required to protect the under-tenants.

The legislation of the past 20 years has done much to protect subordinate rights in the land in Northern India; and Bengal and the N. W. Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces have now each its strong tenancy law and Bombay and Madras alone have not yet such legislative protection for tenant's rights. Half the value of any permanent settlement of the land revenue would be lost in the absence of such statutory provisions to discourage and check sub-letting. In a country, circumstanced as ours, where agriculture is the only occupation for the mass of the people and population over-crowds the soil, the tendency is very strong to sub-let occupancy holdings at rack-rents and live on the difference between such rents and the assessment to be paid; and the danger of the gradual growth of a rack-rented cottier-tenancy on the soil is very real, and as noticed before, we have already 3rd of our toiling peasants in this wretched position.

It is, therefore, clearly the duty of Government, in the interests of the State, the nation and the tenants themselves, to provide proper safeguards against such dangers.

A permanent settlement of the Land Revenue at moderate rates, coupled with an amendment of the land law of the Presidency in some such directions as suggested above, would, in our opinion, go far to assure the position of the Ryot. As regards under-tenants, it is not possible altogether to stamp out this evil of subletting by any legislative checks; but the fact has to be recognized as noticed by the Government of India (correspondence on Sir J. Caird's Report) that a large "class of unrecorded partners and subtenants is growing up in this Presidency to an extent which threatens to be a serious evil in the future"; and as strongly recommended by the Famine Commission, (vide Report Part II—pages 122-3) measures to recognize and protect the position of our under-tenants are urgently called for.

(3) The position of the Ryot so assured, it would be next necessary, in order to ensure agricultural improvement on his part, to provide for him cheap banking facilities under a proper reorganization of real credit. His borrowing necessities must be frankly recognized and it is unfair in the circumstances in which he is, to leave him entirely at the mercy of the private money-lender. On this subject we would generally support the scheme of agricultural banks as suggested by the Poona Committee in 1882; but we would recommend two important modifications. First we think that there need be no insistence on a concession to the banks from Government of "the privilege of recovering their debts from the land through the revenue officers arrears of Land Revenue." The necessity for such a concession is not clear and the civil remedies in regard to all realisations of debts and dues, appear to us to be ample. So again, we are

strongly of opinion that the maximum rate of interest proposed (12 p. c.) is needlessly too high. As far as indications go, the saving classes in this country would seem to look, as shown by recent conversion operations, more to the safety of their deposits and less to the interests realised on the investment ; and we think, 9 p. c. would meet all requirements as the maximum rate. With these two modifications the Poona scheme would be free from most of the objections taken to it and ought to command support, and we trust, it will.

But we fear, private banks alone would not do for all parts of the Presidency, though they would suit best the more advanced Zillas and Talukas. In backward districts and outlying villages we would prefer the direct State agency, and we would recommend State banks established on the model of the State Mortgage Banks in Switzerland, (*e. g.* The Mortgage Bank of the Canton of Berne), to work through the intermediate agency of local banking syndicates formed like the Comptoirs of the Savings Banks in Belgium. These comptoirs work as local agents for the banks to whom the farmer "addresses himself in the first instance and whose duty and interest it is to keep an eye on the affairs of the borrower as soon as a loan has been concluded." The comptoir in each local center "guarantees the repayment of the loan, while its members are collectively responsible to the Saving Bank, and have to furnish sureties of value proportional to the importance of the loan. These sureties consist of mortgages, or of securities of value. The Saving Bank receives 3 p. c. and the comptoir 1 p. c."—the fixed rate of interest being 4 p. c. on loans to agriculturists (Commercial Reports No. 3, 1894 page 29). In connection with these loans operations as well as the granting of the Tagavi advances, we would recommend that in various village centers,—village committees might be organized and loans to agriculturists, under section 9

of the Land Improvement Act 1882, given on the joint and several responsibility of these committees.

But it is clear in the existing circumstances of the Ryot's indebtedness no such scheme of banking facilities could have a fair trial except on the basis of a complete clearance of prior encumbrances. A preliminary liquidation on the lines suggested in the Government of India letter dated 5th December 1882, requires to be carried out as a necessary precedent condition. It might be attempted on the voluntary basis through the agency of official liquidators, but should the attempt fail, we would provide for a compulsory scheme under statutory provision. The Talukdari Act of 1862 Sec. 1 provides for taking over the management of a Talukdari estate whenever it should appear to the Governor in Council that the Talukdar's debts and liabilities exceed 5 times the average rents and other income. Some such provision inserted in the Land Revenue Code making liquidation compulsory in the case of Ryots whose debts exceed 20 times the assessment and who are hopelessly involved would meet the requirements of the case.

Liquidation of previous debts so carried out upon a voluntary or a compulsory basis, and relief given to the Ryot in regard to his interest charges, and thereby his solvency re-established in 75 p. c. cases, the provision of cheap credit facilities through the agency of such banks-private, state or state-aided, would put within his reach means ample enough for his requirements in the matter of agricultural improvement and on advantageous terms, and with the incentives to increased effort under a securer tenure, he may be trusted to make full use of such new resources placed at his disposal.

(4) Another effort, yet, is needed to help the Ryot. As we have seen, there is too much crowding of the population upon the soil, and unless non-agri-

cultural industries develop to draw of the superfluous numbers, the pressure will continue and increase much to his prejudice. With our urban industries our rural ones also have disappeared or are dwindling away, and it is worth the while of the Conference to consider in what way these small handicrafts which do not require much capital and no use of costly machinery, might be resuscitated. We need not dwell on this point further than to point out its importance in its bearing upon the Ryot's position. The more the Ryot is relieved from the existing unhealthy and abnormal pressure by the opening up of such new outlets for labour, the freer the conditions of his work would be and the greater his chances of success.

(5) Coming, lastly, to education—On this point we have nothing to add to our proposals of last year, and it is satisfactory to know that the whole subject is at present under the consideration of the authorities. Our requirements in this regard are two :

(1) As large an extension of primary education as possible, the aim to be kept in view being to provide every village with a population of 600 souls and upwards with a school. More than 17000 villages are at this moment unprovided for; and this marks out the scope that there is for further efforts.

(2) An adequate scheme of agricultural education including the appointment of travelling lecturers to carry better notions to the very cottages of the poor Ryots. Our scheme of last year has been objected to as being too large, too expensive and too much in advance of the requirements of the country. We would, however, invite our critics to a dispassionate survey of the existing position of our agricultural industry with its two distressing characteristics of rapid soil-exhaustion and diminution of outturn, and with the

Ryot sinking down in helpless despair—helpless himself and unwilling to be helped—poor and yet not knowing how to make the best of the resources. Nature places at his command—and judge in the light of such a survey whether the programme we ventured to suggest is open to such objection, and indeed whether even a larger scheme is not an imperative requirement of the day to stay the progress of the evil and to turn the tide in the Ryot's favour. The Famine Commission writing 13 years ago, insisted on the necessity for making due provision for the training of the agriculturists, pointing out the supreme importance in the critical economic circumstances of India of calling to the aid of the Ryot the resources of science and scientific skill. Things have since gone on from bad to worse and now that we are in the presence of a formidable industrial deadlock when even our food-supply is in danger, we submit no scheme of agricultural education could be too large, and no expense too great to provide adequate aid to the Ryot and his industry in this respect. The remarks of M. Tisserand, the present Director of Agriculture in France (writing under date December 5, 1893) explaining the importance attached to agricultural education in France, will be read with interest. "As to providing facilities" he writes, "for agricultural instruction, the Administration of agriculture in France, has considered all measures undertaken to this effect as being the most effectual means of developing improvements in cultivation amongst the rural classes. Agricultural instruction, indeed, enables the cultivator to understand the scope of scientific discoveries and the means of applying them. It enables him to calculate his operations, to shield himself from frosts to which he may be exposed. It gives him the certainty after he has become acquainted with the elements

of the soil he tills, of using the chemical fertilizers, the implements and processes which shall result in increasing his production. It will diminish the cost thereof and enable him effectually to compete with foreign rivals. By its means he will be able to draw with certainty upon the sources of credit which are open to him, to inspire confidence to lenders, and give confidence to his landlord as regards the use he may make of the property under his charge. In this century of extreme competition,.....the agriculturist can only thrive if in working the soil he adapts scientific methods. There is no profession more based on science or more dependent on scientific knowledge than agriculture. These considerations explain the importance given to agricultural teaching in France by the powers of Government" (Vide Commercial No 3 (1894) Reports Page 52.)

Primary and agricultural education so provided, the Ryot will be brought out into the broad light of knowledge and effectually helped to help himself.

Such is our scheme and such are our proposals—intended (1) to assure the position of the Ryot; (2) to ensure agricultural improvement on his part.

A similar scheme of remedial action was adopted, in the early years of this century, by the statesmen of Germany in dealing with a similar situation—perhaps worse than ours and more difficult. Property in land was established, freed from feudal incidents and disabilities;—and a peasant proprietary class created;—agricultural banks were established, and non-agricultural industries were promoted, and a vast scheme of education, primary and special was adequately provided for. And now after close on a century of such sustained, many-sided national effort on such lines, the German peasantry is the strength and pride of its Fatherland and German agriculture for its unparalleled progress is the admiration of the world. Similar efforts

made here, though we are on other shores and under other skies, would be attended with similar results and in all human possibility, would succeed in transforming the peasantry of Bombay, starving and struggling, nerveless and resourceless as we now find it, into a peasantry one of the most thriving and prosperous in the world and make it what it should be, a tower of strength to the State and to the country—proof against all assaults.

And the position of the Ryot so assured and improved, we may safely leave our national industry in his hands. Under the stimulus of a full proprietary security he will put forth all his best energies and new and vast possibilities of agricultural development, would open out before his inquiring mind and trained eye. He will change his present exhaustive system of culture into a restorative one and if with the aids of science and skill and cheap credit, he succeeds in raising the yield of his acres from its present low level of 10 bushels to 12, 15 and even 32—, the standard of the English yield—, he will be able to assure the economic future of the nation and supply food to 3 times and more the existing numbers in the country; and all fears of over-population and its evils, of famines and scarcities may not disturb and disquiet us for generations to come. There is our hope, and it is in the confidence of that hope that we submit our humble proposals for the consideration of the Conference.

The situation is critical and the magnitude of the remedial efforts required must not deter or dismay us. The interests of 16 millions and more are at stake and the task is worthy of the highest order of statesmanship. To rescue a long struggling and long-suffering peasantry from its present degradation and depression, and transform it into a thriving, industrious and enterprising peasantry and thereby to assure to an agricultural community its economic well-being and safety—

that is the object in view. And to a true statesman anxious to promote to the highest extent the welfare of the people committed to his charge, what object can be nobler or higher, and what task worthier of his best efforts ?

And in conclusion whatever may be thought of our humble ideas and suggestions on this point, we have only to urge—that the evils from which we are suffering are serious and growing, and that the situation is becoming, graver every day. And if the coming danger is discerned and realised, it becomes our most sacred duty to do all that lies in our power to avert it ; and if this duty is recognized,

“ Let us...be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate ;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.”



**A Tabular CONSPECTUS of the present
position of our agricultural industry,
(1892-93), as compared with
what it was in 1872-73.**

I GENERAL TABLES.—relating to Population, Revenue and Trade.

2

Population (Presidency proper.)		Revenue (Bombay including Sindh.)		Foreign Export Trade (British India.)		Rise of prices. (between 1872-92.)
		General Revenue	Land Revenue.			
1872	14,086,791	1872-3 Rs 9,589,529	Rs 3,751,050	1872-3	55,236,295	Rice 11 p. c.
1881	14,070,591					Wheat 17.5 p. c.
1891	15,985,270	1892-3 Rs 13,356,812	Rs 4,561,014	1892-3	101,945,706	Jowari 12.5 p. c.
Increase since 1872		In-crease.		In-crease.		Average increase
1,898,479 or 13.4 p. c.		Rs 3,745,763 39 p. c.	Rs 809,964 22 p. c.	46,709,411 84 p. c. nearly.		12.8 p. c.

INDEPENDENT SECTION

		Increase during 20 years. (1872-3 — 1892-3.)	REMARKS:—These increases in Population, Revenue and Foreign Export, though partially balanced by a rise in the prices of agricultural produce, represent a large augmentation in the total combined demand on the agricultural resources of the Presidency.
Summary.	Population.....	13.4 per cent.	
	Revenue { General.....	39 per cent.	
	(including Sindh) { Land.....	22 per cent.	
	Foreign Export (British India).....	84 per cent.	
	Per Contra Rise of Prices....	12.8 per cent.	

How far is this augmented demand upon the land met

(A) by Extension of Cultivation or (B) by Improved Husbandry, or both ?

Table II

(A) Extension of Cultivation

	Area of land occupied and cultivated in acres Horizontal extension of cultivation. [000s omitted.]	
	Occupied.	Cultivated.
1873-6 average of 3 years	28,422	24,636
1892-3	29,918	25,162
Increase in acres	149 54 p. c.	526 21

Double cropping Vertical extension of cultivation. [000s omitted.]	
1873-6	312
1892-3	780
Increase.	468 over 250 p. c.

Summary	Total extension of cultivation. (Horizontal and vertical.)
	1873-6 . average 25,048 of 3 acres. years.
	1892-3 25,943,,
	Increase 895 36 p. c.

REMARK:—The total increase in cropped acreage during these 20 years has been only 36 p. c. There was scope for much larger extension. The cultivable area available is 1,887,063 acres of 4 p. c. on the total,—ranging from 15 p. c. in Khandesh to 1 p. c. in Nagar, Sholapur and Satara. In Poona and Ratnagiri the limit of horizontal extension is reached. Double cropping (Vertical extension) might have been increased to any extent to meet the economic pressure.

III—(a) Continued—(3) Irrigational supply and Irrigation.

Works.			Irrigation.		SUMMARY.
	No. of works.	Irrigable area in acres	Area irrigated in acres.	p. c. of cropped area.	
Govt. works :—			1873.6		acres. Irrigable 9 p. c. (2,372,000 , Irrigated 3.2 p. c. (802,114) Double cropped area 780,830 acres of which irrigated, 111,530 "
Canals and tanks.	36	572,000	average 504,740	2.1 p. c.	
Other works :—			1892.3	3.2 p. c.	
Wells	178,087	1,500,000	Increase 297,374	1.1 p. c.	
Tanks	10,874				
Bhandaras &c.	3,186				Doubled cropped with help of moisture &c., } 669,300 and so precarious.... } acres.
Total works in use	194,117	2,072,000	Irrigated crops.		
Old works out of repair :—			Wheat... 196.8	Total irrigated crops.	96.3 p. c. of the total cropped area unirrigated and depending on rainfall. 3.2 Irrigated. Of the double- cropped area, 1/7th is irrigated.
Wells, tanks &c.	29,400	300,000	Rice 149.2	Remunerative 413	
Total works...	223,522	2,372,000	Sugar-cane 66.6	Ordinary..... 500.7	
			Other ce- reals, &c. 345.4	Total... 913.6	
			Others... 137.8	Deduct	
			Fodder... 17.5	Double crops... 111.5	
			Total 913.644	Net area Irrigated..... 802.114	

REMARKS.—The irrigational supply, if the old works are repaired, is enough for 9 p. c. of the cropped area. But only 3.2 p. c. is irrigated—showing an advance of only 1.1 p. c. over the average of 73.6; the remaining 96.8 p. c. is left exposed to the vicissitudes of the seasons. Looking again to irrigated crops, it appears, less than half the area only is under remunerative crops (or 1.5 p. c.) over the rest of the area, the Ryot uses irrigation either to save ordinary crops in seasons of drought or help them over periods of deficient rainfall. Of the double-cropped area, only 1/7th is irrigated; the rest depends on the moisture that remains over from the monsoons and the cropping is precarious.

(4) Restorative and saving methods—Rotation, mixed cropping and fallowing.

Crops grown (000s omitted).	REMARKS.	FALLOWS.			
			Occupied area (000s omitted.)	Fallows. (000s omitted.)	P. a.
	Rotation and mixed crop-	1873-8	28,422	3,786	13
Cereals17,900 acres	ping are well understood,	Average			
Pulses 3,215 "	but practised to a very limit	1892-3	29,018	4,755	16
Tobacco &c. 68 "	ed extent. Cotton and wheat	Increase.	1,496	969	3
Sugar-cane 68 "	and pulses,—Betel, sugarcane				
Oil seeds , 1,500 "	and rice,—hemp, sugar-cane,				
Fibres..... 2,844 "	rice and pulse—are found in				
Garden produce... 160 "	isolated parts in periodic ro-				
Miscellaneous..... — "	tation, and similarly mixed				
	cropping—cereal and legume				
	are at times grown together.				
Total.....25,943,474 "	But the application of both				
	the restorative methods is				
	limited,—and the fact re-				
	mains that we have 89 p. c.				
	of our cropped area under				
	exhaustive and only 11 p. c.				
	under restorative crops.				
Re-classified.					
Exhaustive crops 23 mill. acres					
Restorative crops 3 " "					
Exhaustive crops.....89 p. c.					
Restorative crops.....11 p. c.					

REMARKS.—Fallowing is a wasteful method, and unnecessary in India—the soil lying practically in rest for 6 months of the year. Under a judicious application of manure and water, no fallowing is required. Excepting where these fallows are under or customary fallows in rotation, they involve a waste of resource. The Ryot pays assessment for all occupied land—including these fallows so that taking one rupee as assessment per acre, he pays 47 lacs of rupees to Government for occupation of lands on which he grows not a bushel of grain; to the Presidency, the loss of agricultural produce (at 10 bushels per acre) is 47,500,000 bushels a year,—equal to the food of 4,000,000 of human beings. Usually, these acres lie fallow—(1) and this because the soil is exhausted or (2) because the Ryot has no means. The increase in the area of fallows by over 9 lacs of acres during these 20 years indicates a serious decline in the Ryot's resources or in the fertility and productive powers of the soil. And the belief widely prevails that soil exhaustion is fast proceeding under a system of unmanured cropping.

Table III—(B) Intension of Cultivation.

Agricultural resources and methods:—

(1) Ploughs, plough cattle, and ploughing.

Ploughs [000s omitted.]	Plough cattle (statistic defective)	Summary.	REMARKS.
1873-6 1,030 average	Cows and bullocks 1873-6 5,442 1892-8 5,002	Plough cropped area per plough 23.5.	(1) Ploughing is inferior—and worse than in 1872-3 owing to reduced cattle power:—Assuming one pair of bullocks can plough 6 acres during the 3-4 months after harvest, we have not cattle enough for even $\frac{1}{4}$ of our cropped area. (2) Usually wet crop-lands are ploughed every year, and dry crop only harrowed: and these latter are ploughed once in 5-6 years—in some districts not even in 10. (3) The ploughing done is not deep enough, and the soil suffers in seasons of deficient rainfall or drought: heavy rain too rushes off the land and washes away much of valuable plant food.
1892-8 1,111	Decrease 440	Plough cattle cropped area per pair 15.3.	
Increase 81	Decrease in no. of bullocks. 270		
	Adding male buffaloes Plough cattle 1892-93 3,372		
	Cropped area per pair 15.3 acres.		

(2) Manure—supply, & manuring.

Exports (British India), [Mill. cwt.]					
	Rice	Wheat	Seeds	Other grains	Total
1872-3	22.9	4	2.8	6	26.7
1891-2	32.7	30.8	19.1	3.3	85.4

More than tripled during 20 years.

Manures exported
[in tons]

				Increase in 3 years
bones	1891-2	43,766	7,268 tons
	1892-3	47,584		
	1893-4	51,064		
others	1891-2	1211	160 "
	1892-3	1032		
	1893-4	1371		

Note.—The manures used are twigs and leaves of trees, village ashes and sweepings, refuse of oil-cakes, farm yard manure,—droppings of sheep, powdermills, &c.; Green manures are little known and except here and there little used; mineral manures [lime, saltpetre, &c.] are not used; chemical manures are beyond the ryots' means. Sheep, folding is another method of manuring. We have in the Presidency 3,481,000 head of sheep and, assuming that 6000 sheep can manure one acre a night, our flocks of sheep if fully utilised, can manure 100,000 acres. The supply of manure available is enough for 20 p. c. of the cropped area, but not even 10 p. c. is manured.

The supply is, however, being slowly reduced by :—

(a) the extended working of forest conservancy.

(b) increased use of cattle-dung as fuel, the price of fire-wood being in 1892-93 50 p. c. higher than in 1880-1.

(c) decrease of cattle.

(d) increasing export of agricultural produce.

(e) export of manures :—bones, saltpetre, oil-cakes.

Remarks :—Manuring is very imperfectly done. Garden lands are as a rule manured; and scanty supplies of village ashes &c. are spread over some portion of dry crop land. Rice, wheat, maize, tobacco, sugar-cane, orchard and garden produce, vegetables, &c. (—in all covering 42 lacs of acres or 16.5 p. c.) receive some manuring. The rest of the area 83.5 p. c. is cropped absolutely without manure.

III—Continued

(b) Results of cultivation—(1) The out-turn.

The out-turn (a conjectural estimate)	Remarks
<p>Some put it at 12 bushels for all food crops, the Government of India put it at 9 bushels for wheat. Sir J. Caird puts it at below 10 bushels generally. All agree, the outturn is diminishing.</p>	<p>CONSIDERING</p>
<p>The Rothamsted experiments show that the produce of land continuously unmanured for 40 years is 12½ bushels.</p> <p>Dr. Voelcker's Report Page 41.</p> <p>Sir J. Caird says the experiments of Mr. Lawes on a plot of land unmanured for 40 years shows a gradual but progressive decline in the yield of periods of years, beginning with 17 bushels of the first period, 15 of the second, 14 of the third, 12 of the fourth and 9 of the last period.</p>	<p>(1) that ploughing and manuring are defective—and are even worse than 20 years ago.</p> <p>(2) that the manured area is at best only 18.5 of the total cropped—and that the manure supply is diminishing,</p> <p>(3) that the irrigated area is only 3.2 p. c. of the cropped acreage,</p> <p>(4) that the area under current fallows is increasing—is now 16 p. c. against 13 p. c. 20 years ago, so that 83.5 p. c. of the cropped area is unmanured and 96.8 p. c. unirrigated and 16 p. c. of occupied area has to be left fallow—3 p. c. more than 20 years ago, and</p> <p>(5) that rotation and inter-culture are little used to recuperate the soil,</p> <p>the conclusion seems to be that the outturn is diminishing; and as Dr. Voelcker suggests, the diminution is counteracted to some extent by the action of the tropical sun and Atmosphere. The last stage of exhaustion of the soil and diminution of outturn is already in view (e.g. as regards wheat).</p>

(2) Crop analysis—a comparison—(Virtually, *Status quo* with a decided tendency to *deterioration*).

Crops.	1873-6 average (000s omitted.)	1892-3 (000s omitted.)		Crops.	1887-8	1892-3	Increase	Decrease.	REMARKS.
Wheat and Barley	1,541	20,321	Increases and decreases under better crops— food and non-food—seem to balance each other, and the position is much the same as it was 20 years ago.	Jowari	7,120	7,122	2	...	Decrease under rice, wheat, tobacco, sugarcane, oil seeds, cotton and dyes—indicate a serious tend- ency to decline in intensive husbandry. The total decrease is 635,000 acres under remunerative crops and this concurrently with an increase in cropped area.
Jowari and Bajari	12,871			Bajari	4,637	5,450	813	...	
Lesser ...	2,004			Rice...	1,725	1,667	...	58	
Rice ...	1,490			Wheat	2,209	1,918	...	291	
Pulses ...	1,307			Total cereal	17,695	17,900	205	...	
Total food crops...	19,213			Pulses	2,563	3,215	652	...	
Tobacco ...		67		Tobacco	80	67	...	13	
Sugar-cane		68		Sugar-cane	81	68	...	13	
Spices ...		180		Oil seeds	1,640	1,500	...	140	
Cotton ...		2,702		Cotton	2,816	2,702	...	114	
Other fibres		141		Orchard and garden produce }	152	160	8	...	
Oil seeds ...		1,500		Spices &c.	164	180	16	...	
Dyes ...		3		Dyes...	8	2	...	6	
Miscellaneous		180		Total	25,302	25,943	641	...	
Total non-food...	5,423	4,841			598	780	82	...	
Grand total..	24,636	25,162			24,703	25,102	399	...	
					5,726	4,755	...	971	

SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING.

The agricultural position

(1872-73—1892-93).

A Extension of cultivation :—horizontal and vertical.....3·6 p. c.
B Intension of cultivation.

- [1] Ploughing.....worse
- [2] Manuring.....worse
- [3] Irrigation... ..better by 1·1 p. c.
- [4] Restorative method ...unchanged.
- [5] Fallowsworse by 3 p. c.
- [6] Out-turndiminishing.
- [7] Cropping.....unchanged, but with decided
tendency to deterioration.

— in all these points there is a decline in intensive husbandry.

A and B together :—

Increase in cropped area accompanied by a decline in intensive husbandry.

3·6 p. c. to balance.

An increase of Population.....13·4 p. c.

„ Revenues :—

General39 p. c.

Land23 p. c.

„ Foreign Export....84 p. c.

Wherefore, the general position as regards our agricultural industry is one of deterioration and depression.

Table IV—Provincial comparative returns.

Acreage (000s omitted)									
Province.	(1) Cropped areas.				(2) Double cropped areas.		(3) Ratio of fallows to cropped areas		(4) Cropped area per pair or plough cattle
	1872-3	1892-3	Increase	Percentage	Area	Percentage	Area-fallows	Ratio	Areas
Bombay	25,048	25,943	895	3.6	780	3.1	4,755	19	15.3
Madras	19,986	23,739	3,751	18.7	2,675	11.2	5,502	23.2	10.6
N. W. Provinces ...	24,513	25,243	700	3.	4,621	18.	2,171	8	7.7
Ondia	8,332	8,881	549	6.8	2,745	31.	538	6	7
Panjab	19,724	23,789	4,065	20.	2,945	12.4	3,028	13	11.2
Central Provinces ...	13,270	16,110	2,840	21.	1,636	10.	1,926	12	15.8

This inter-provincial comparison further brings out the fact that we are worse off,

- (1) in extension of cropped areas than all these Provinces except N. W. Provinces.
- (2) in vertical extension of cultivation than all these.
- (3) in regard to "current fallows" than all these except Madras.
- (4) in the matter of plough cattle than all these except the Central Provinces

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING.

Our agricultural position—absolutely as well as relatively to the other Provinces—is one of *decline*.

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THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established on the 1st of Chaitra Shaka 1792 i. e. 2nd April 1870
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.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SABHA.

MEMORIAL TO GOVERNMENT ON THE MUSIC RULES.

The following representation has been sent to the Government of Bombay on the subject of the playing of music in public streets.

No. 975 of 1894.

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms,
Poona, 29th November, 1894.

TO THE SECRETARY

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,

BOMBAY.

Sir,—I have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to submit, for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor in Council, the following representation on the subject of the unhappy relations which have prevailed for some time past between the lower classes of Hindoos and Mahomedans in Poona, Sholapur, Belgaum, Ahmednugger, Satara, Wai, Yeola, Retnagberry, Raver, Chiplun, Pen, Kalyan, and other places in the Deccan and to request that Government will be pleased to take such steps and issue such orders as may appear to it best suited, in view of the considerations suggested below, to remove all cause for the existing misunderstanding and to restore the old amicable relations between the two communities.

2. The committee of the Sabha, composed as it is of representatives of the Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee communities, advisedly refrained hitherto from memorialising the Government in the matter, because of its anxiety to avoid even the remotest appearance of taking sides with either party in these disputes, and such a misconception of its position would possibly have arisen as long as the excitement caused by the disturbances precluded any fair and impartial consideration of the true issues involved in these

unhappy quarrels. And accordingly the efforts of the committee have for some time past been confined only to private mediation in the interests of peace and mutual forbearance and good will. The committee, besides, has all along had full confidence that Government was both anxious and able to hold the balance evenly between the two parties. The committee, however, now thinks that the time has come when it might, with advantage, consider the subject in all its bearings, and suggest the adoption of permanent remedial measures calculated to re-establish the old harmony between the two communities and prevent a recurrence of such unfortunate riots.

3. These animosities, though they have latterly assumed a dangerous character, have not come to the surface during the past twelve months only. Towards the close of the administration of Lord Reay there were serious disturbances between Hindoos and Mahomedans in Sholapur and Belgaum. A punitive police force was in consequence established at Sholapur for a year, and the same measure had to be adopted at Belgaum in the last year of Lord Reay's tenure of office; and one of the first acts of H. E. Lord Harris was associated with the removal of the punitive force at Belgaum. It is necessary to keep this previous history in mind to understand clearly why the strained relations between the two communities have of late shown such morbid and unhealthy development. As a matter of fact, this development has not been entirely due to causes confined to this presidency. The strained relations between the two communities in other parts of India, notably in Burmah, Bengal, and the North-West Provinces, leading at times to outbreaks of religious bigotry, in connection with the question of cow-slaughter, have been responsible, in no small measure, for the unsettling of old relations between Hindoos and Mahomedans in this part of India. It is true that the cow-question has not directly caused any trouble in this presidency, but the reflected action of the excitement over the question in North and East India has affected the social atmosphere even here, inasmuch as the sympathies of the two communities are naturally with their respective co-religionists in other parts of the country. The Prabhas-Patan disturbances, which were, for the most part, a one-sided affair, came, in next, for a share of the responsibility for increasing the bitterness of feeling between the two communities. It was the excitement caused by these dis-

turbances which, in effect, led to the serious riots which occurred in Bombay in August, 1893, and which were attended with such heavy destruction of life and property. In these Bombay riots the provocation and retaliation assumed such proportions that, even after peace had been re-established, bitter memories of the conflict were left behind; and owing to the intimate relations which Bombay has with all the towns in the mofussil, the feeling of hatred between the lower classes of the two communities which grew up in Bombay, extended to many places in the mofussil. It was thus that the ground was prepared for these religious disturbances in the mofussil, and the question of music in public streets, especially in connection with religious ceremonies and processions, which has now assumed such extraordinary and pressing importance, served in reality the purpose of only an immediate cause for these deplorable outbreaks. It will now serve no useful purpose to describe in detail the provocation and the retaliation in connection with these outbreaks, or to apportion in any way the blame or responsibility for them. Both the official and non-official accounts of these disturbances are before Government, and the committee of the Sabha cannot hope to make any material addition to them by any information in its possession.

4. These official and non-official accounts have, however, clearly brought out certain features common to all these disturbances, which it is well to note here briefly:—

I. These disturbances have never had the character of being anything more than disturbances between the lower orders of the two communities. Barring perhaps a very few exceptions no respectable Hindoos or Mahomedans have taken part in or sympathised with them.

II. The misunderstandings have had no other than a religious root. The dispute has been solely between two sections of the ruled and in no way whatever between the rulers and the ruled. As a matter of fact, both parties to the quarrel have looked up to Government to support their claims, and the idea entertained in certain quarters that the disturbances have not other than a religious origin has caused much irritation and disappointment. In the Bombay riots the Police sought to fasten the responsibility on the Cow Protection Society, but fortunately the Government did not accept this view, and later on Sir Dinshaw Petit, President of the Society, satisfactorily showed that that Society

could not be responsible for any soreness of feeling, especially because a number of Mahomedans were heartily co-operating with the Hindoos in its work. In the mofassil disturbances, a similar attempt has been made to throw the blame on certain members of the Native Press, who are charged with the intention of discrediting authority and setting class against class for selfish purposes. This tendency to transfer responsibility to the wrong quarters has misdirected the energies of the lower district police and executive authorities, and though the action of the judicial authorities in Poona, Nasick, and Belgaum has tended greatly to reassure the public mind, some time must elapse before the deplorable results of the unwarrantable attitude taken up by the lower police and executive officers entirely disappear. In this connection, the committee of the Sabha feels bound to state that the currency which the misconceptions noted above obtained owing to the support which they seemingly found in one or two of His Excellency the Governor's recent speeches has caused the greatest pain to the people of the Deccan, and the committee would be wanting in its duty if it failed to record its respectful but emphatic protest against the severe condemnation passed by his Excellency upon a whole people whose respect for law and love of order have never been questioned before.

III. Another and a most important feature of these disturbances that deserves notice is that they were all connected with the use of music required by the Hindoos for *their religious ceremonies and processions*. Even in the Bombay riots, the ringing of bells in a temple situated near the Jamma Masjid was ostensibly put forward as the immediate cause of the outbreak. At Poona, Yeola, Wai, and other places, it was the use of music in religious processions which led to the disturbances. It is important to note this peculiarity because the police authorities appeared to have throughout confounded this music which may be called religious music with other music which may be called secular music and which is used in marriage processions and other social functions of pomp and show; and in the opinion of the Sabha the difficulties of the present situation are, in no small measure, due to this confusion. Secular music, it may be stated, is always hired for the occasion, and the party of hired musicians consists of both Hindoos and Mahomedans. On account of its noisy character, the Municipal laws have claimed a right to control this music and its use in street processions is subject to a license, for which a fee has to be paid.

Religious music, on the other hand, is, like bells and organs in Christian Churches, in the first place not noisy; secondly it is never hired but always volunteered; and thirdly no claim has ever been made to regulate it by licenses or fees. The police authorities in Poona, Wai, and elsewhere have unfortunately not borne this distinction in mind and have tried to enforce, in respect of religious music, i. e., soft music, voluntarily played by devotees, regulations which were never intended for any other than the noisy music of hired musicians. This fatal mistake has been at the bottom of all the irritation which has been felt by the Hindoo community all over the Deccan, and the irritation has been aggravated tenfold by indiscriminate prosecutions, under the Police Act, of respectable gentlemen, under the mistaken notion that such prosecutions and punishments would strengthen the authority of the lower executive and police officers. The Hindoo population in this part of India, as in others, is peculiarly sensitive in the matter of any interference with its religious services, and so long as this distinction which the committee of the Sabha has sought to bring to the notice of Government is not adequately recognised and due allowance made for it, the feeling of soreness which has arisen will continue to prove a source of bad feeling between the two communities and of serious anxiety to Government.

IV. It is not necessary to trace this irritation to anything deeper than what appears on the surface. Under the influence of equal protection of the laws both Hindoos and Mahomedans have begun to feel that the old customary restraints upon their freedom should disappear and give place to other standards of social equality. This is perhaps an unavoidable incident of the transition through which the country is passing, but the change requires to be guided gently and with tact and judgment, and repressive measures are about the worst course that can be adopted under the circumstances. In the early years of British Rule high district officers did not as now, keep aloof from the people, but keep up with them other than purely official relations. In disputes like the present purely official relations are powerless for good, and it is unfortunate that these old traditions of mixing with the people have now been so completely abandoned. This break in the continuity of the past order of things accounts for much of the misunderstanding which at present unhappily prevails between the district officers and the people. A resort to stern repression, as the only remedy for the

present lamentable state of things, practically amounts to an abnegation of the higher moral power which the British Rule represents, and can never be depended upon to achieve permanent success. Repressive measures and punitive police posts are out of place in restoring peace and friendly relations, and indiscriminate punishments tend only to aggravate the feeling of irritation and the sense of injustice.

5. This diagnosis of the social malady, which has like an epidemic affected so many places, furnishes, in the opinion of the committee, suggestions as to the best method of treatment. The fact that the disturbances are confined to the lower classes of the two communities suggests in the first instance that the help of the leading members of these communities should be more freely and unreservedly sought than has yet been attempted in this presidency. Government expects these leaders to settle these differences among themselves and at the same time clothes them with no authority which its officers are bound to recognise. The committee of the Sabha begs leave to submit that no settlement is possible under these conditions. The leaders are powerless after the disturbances have broken out, for then reckless and violent-tempered men come up to the surface to lead the lower orders temporarily during the period of excitement. For real use the help of sober and sensible leaders should be sought as soon as causes making for a disturbance are perceived to be at work. If district officers are held responsible for the preservation of peace within their jurisdiction, and degraded or promoted as they fail or succeed in preserving it they will naturally seek to enlist the active co-operation of the leaders of both sides. When these leaders, no longer meeting the district officers as irresponsible individuals or as private informers against each other, are thus brought together for purposes of responsible deliberation and action, and when they feel the assurance that their suggestions will be accepted and their efforts supported by the officers of Government, they may be depended upon to arrive at a settlement of the difficulties which it will be impossible for the lower orders to set at naught. The present system of regarding the voluntary representations of leaders with violent prejudice and distrust and of relying too exclusively on the secret reports of unsympathetic and low-paid police spies, interested in manufacturing sensational news, is in the highest degree unfair to men who have at least as great a stake in the preservation

of peace as any police officer, but who cannot come forward even to prevent disturbances for fear that their conduct might be misconstrued and misreported by the police, thereby involving them in needless and undeserved difficulties. In every town there are always to be found some Hindoos whom the Mahomedans respect and Mahomedans who enjoy the confidence of the Hindoos. At present, these men have simply to shut themselves up in their houses, full of feelings of sorrow and helplessness, as any action that they may take is liable to be misconstrued or misrepresented by the police. Boards of such men, formed at the initiation of district officers and duly supported by them, will be able to achieve great good and go far to control the disorderly elements. This is not a mere matter of speculation. In the North West Province the local Government has formed such Boards, and the success which their work has attained, amidst greater difficulties than have to be faced in this presidency, has been acknowledged in terms of approbation and satisfaction by Sir Charles Crosthwaite.

6. It is often urged that it is impossible for Government to ascertain and lay down custom everywhere in the presidency as regards procession and the use of music in connection with them. His Excellency the Governor himself stated the other day that at Yeola Government had tried to ascertain the custom by consulting Hindoo and Mahomedan officers on the subject, but that the testimony was so conflicting that no conclusion could be drawn therefrom. Such a conflict was, however, to be expected, and the committee of the Sabha submits that the mere difficulty of a necessary task cannot justify its abandonment. A conflict of evidence is not confined to such disputes only. Experience shows that Judges have to face this difficulty every day, and they face it with the help of rules regarding the burden of proof, self-serving and self-denying evidence, and probabilities. The places where the disturbances have occurred are not too many, and if a judicial officer is specially appointed by Government to do the work, it cannot be impossible for him to ascertain the truth. If conciliation boards, on the lines suggested above, are appointed, they could also render great assistance to Government in the matter, and when the problem is once thus faced, it will not after all be found to be so difficult of solution as it may at first sight appear.

7. The committee of the Sabha, however, thinks that it is not necessary to undertake this task of setting the custom except in a

few places. The policy of Government in these matters has been already authoritatively enunciated by the late Viceroy Lord Lansdowne, namely, that the religious prejudices of both the communities are to be respected, without imposing any unnecessary or undue hardship on either; and all that is wanted is that Government should require that that policy shall be kept steadily in view by the lower district and police officers in dealing with all questions that may arise. In this connection one or two general principles may be referred to here with advantage. It is necessary that all rules intended to regulate music on occasions of religious service and processions should unequivocally recognise the fact that the regulation is to be in respect of time and kinds of music only, and must not go the length of stopping all music and thereby destroying its continuous character. If certain classes object to street processions passing by their public places of worship with music while they are engaged in worship, this feeling should be respected not by forbidding all music at all times while passing those places, but by stopping all loud and noisy music, likely to disturb worship, during prescribed hours of worship. This point was unfortunately lost sight of in the rules which have been recently promulgated in Poona and Wai and which have caused so much heart-burning. There is a real and distinct difference between the music played by devotees in public religious processions, and the loud music used on occasions by private individuals for purposes of pomp. A demand on grounds of courtesy may well be made and will be readily responded to in the latter case, because there are no religious considerations involved. But in the case of religious music the people are very sensitive, and any attempt to stop it altogether for however short a time or distance is bitterly resented as an interference with their religious observances, as it is believed by them that a breach in the continuity of music destroys nearly all the merit of their procession. The people at Wai, for instance, yielded to the notification issued by the District Magistrate and the maximum amount of obedience that was consistent with the necessary minimum of regard for the religious necessities of their procession. They stopped all hired and loud music and even all the religious music of the devotees except a small pair of cymbals which alone they kept on striking to keep up the continuity of their music. Nothing more could reasonably be expected of them by way of concession or obedience, and yet, though the police did not interfere with the procession at

the time, some of the best men of the place were dragged before the Assistant Collector—a young and inexperienced Civilian—and harshly sentenced to three or four weeks of imprisonment each! The Police Act itself requires that the regulations and directions issued by the district authorities shall be *reasonable*. European officers, not being in touch with the people, are unable to understand their religious prejudices and cannot properly fix this margin of reasonableness; and unhappy consequences result, as in Wai, from the orders which they think proper to issue. The committee of the Sabha, therefore, respectfully requests that Government will be pleased to issue general directions for the guidance of district officers in this matter, which will leave them only a very limited margin of discretion. The principal point to be secured is that the authority of Government should be used to *prevent* outbreaks rather than that it should become necessary to resort to stern repression to *put them down* after they have broken out.

8. There is one more suggestion which the committee of the Sabha deems it to be its duty to make for the consideration of Government. The Police Act confers large powers on District Magistrates and Police Superintendent to regulate processions and such other matters. When the Bill was under consideration in the local Legislative council, the attention of Government was drawn by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade, who was then a member of the Council, to the fact that these large powers were liable to be seriously abused owing chiefly to the ignorance of native customs on the part of district authorities, and that such abuse was sure to lead to most undesirable consequences. Sir Raymond West, who had the charge of the Bill, thereupon stated that he proposed to provide against the dangers by the insertion of the word "*reasonable*" in the sections giving power to the district authorities to make rules under the Act. The Hon'ble member was of opinion that the insertion of that word would make the rules amenable to the control of the civil courts. As a matter of fact, however, the civil courts are found to be opened only in the case of rules made by District Magistrates. No such remedy is open in the case of the rules made by the Police Department, for the High Court has held that in regard to these it has no jurisdiction to interfere. And when magistrates punish the breaches of these rules within their authority as was done at Wai there is no appeal and practically no revision. The police

officers are thus left untrammelled by any check, except the check of the department and of the Government which, again, does not come into operation till long after the mischief has been done. The committee of the Sabha, therefore, suggests that the rules made by District Magistrates and Police Superintendents under Section 44 and 48 of the Police Act should, under departmental orders, first be submitted to Government for sanction and should also, whenever practicable, be published by Government in draft form so as to enable the public to submit whatever objections they may have to urge. This would impose a much-needed check on the action of Police Superintendents, in the absence of any amendment of the Police Act. The remedy of the civil courts even where it is available, must always be tardy and expensive, and liable to technical failures, and besides is not of much use in *adjusting strained relations*.

9. In the absence of general directions and the departmental check suggested above, the rules promulgated by the district police and the executive officers, in Poona and Wai have worked great mischief. The rules, for instance, promulgated by Major Macpherson in this City have been framed in such astounding ignorance of Hindoo customs that it is difficult to realize that they have been issued by a responsible officer of Government. Numerous occasions arise in Hindoo families of a most pressing character which require the immediate use of music, and *it is preposterous to expect a notice of three days in respect of them*. Similarly some of the processions are regulated by astrological considerations which are independent of particular hours of day or night and cannot be put off. The rule, therefore, *which stops all music after 11 p. m.* must cause an inconceivable amount of hardship, especially after the season of marriage ceremonies has commenced. Further these rules have invaded not only public streets but also private houses standing by these streets. There are several other grave objections to these rules, but the committee of the Sabha does not deem it necessary to state them here, as it has already appointed a deputation to represent the hardships caused by them to the Acting District Superintendent of Police who, it is hoped, will show greater regard for native customs than his predecessor chose to do. But there is one point in connection with these and similar other rules which the committee of the Sabha is anxious to press upon the attention of Government. The power to legislate in matters affecting the religious practices of the people has been ex-

pressly confined by Parliament to the Supreme Legislative Council. It could therefore never have been intended that district and executive police officers should, by rules framed under Local Acts, do that which the local legislature itself is unable to enact. The committee, therefore, suggests that matters relating to religious processions and the use of music before temples and mosques should be, by an amendment of the law, especially exempted from interference by police authorities.

10. To sum up:—The committee has pointed out that the principal common features of the disturbances are—

1—That they are confined only to the lower classes of the two communities.

2—That they all owe their origin to religious prejudices and religious prejudices only.

3—That in this presidency the misunderstanding has been chiefly due to the attempt made by district authorities to subject religious music to the same restrictions as secular music used on occasions of pomp and show.

4—And that the conflict is perhaps a necessary incident of the transition through which the country is passing, old customary restraints gradually giving place to new standards of social equality.

The remedies suggested by the committee of the Sabha are—

1—The enlistment of the active co-operation of the leaders of the two communities in removing misunderstandings and adjusting differences before disturbances have actually broken out,

2. The appointment of Conciliation Boards of the two communities in places where disturbances have occurred or are apprehended.

3. A less exclusive reliance on police reports, based chiefly on information supplied by low-paid and not over scrupulous officers.

4. A return on the part of the district officers to the old traditions of keeping with the people other than purely official relations.

5. The ascertainment of custom by entrusting the work to a judicial officer in places where the misunderstanding has assumed an aggravated form.

6. And the laying down of general principles by Government for the guidance of district officers insisting that the distinction

between religious and secular music should be adequately borne in mind in framing rules,—that religious music, that is, the voluntary music of devotees should be treated apart from the loud and hired music used on secular occasions, and should in no case be stopped altogether.

The committee has also suggested that the rules framed by district officers in regard to these matters should be required by a departmental order to be submitted to Government for approval and sanction, and, wherever practicable, opportunity should be given to the public to state their objections to them before their final promulgation. Lastly, the committee has requested an amendment of the Police Act so as to exclude questions connected with religious processions and the use of music before temples and mosques from police interference.

11. The unfortunate tension between Hindoos and Mahomedans, which began in Belgaum and Sholapur in Lord Reay's time, has now assumed such a serious character and has become so general that Government can no longer afford to leave it to work its mischief and find its own cure. The Sabha knows that the Government is animated, in all that it does, by the sole desire of preserving peace; and it confidently appeals to His Excellency Lord Harris to take effective steps for removing the present misunderstanding between the two communities. No doubt His Excellency's term of office is now about to terminate, but if the few months that yet remain are utilised in taking the measures suggested above, the committee feels confident that a great deal would be done. A special officer with large sympathies may well be deputed to visit the places where disturbances have broken out or are apprehended, and assist Government in arriving at a satisfactory settlement of this great difficulty. If this is done and fair progress thereby made in healing up these sores, his Excellency will have conferred upon the people of this presidency a great and richly prized blessing.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. K. GOKHALE,

Honorary Secretary Sarvajani Sabha, Poona.

No. 8467 of 1894.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 19th December 1894.

From

C. H. A. HILL, Esq.

Under Secretary to Government,

BOMBAY.

To

MR. G. K. GOKHALE

Honorary Secretary Sarvajanik Sabha,

POONA.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 975, dated the 29th ultimo in which by direction of the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha you submit for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council, a representation on the subject of the unhappy relations which have prevailed for some time past between the lower classes of Hindus and Mahomedans in Poona and in certain other Districts and places in the Deccan, and request that Government may be pleased to take such steps and issue such orders as may appear to it best suited, to remove all causes for the existing misunderstanding and to restore the old amicable relations between the two communities.

2. In reply, I am to state that before proceeding to examine the recommendations made in the memorial recommendations which appear to be in some measure based on allegations, which may or may not be well founded, but which are not supported by reliable evidence in the shape of references to publicly admitted facts, His Excellency in Council considers it highly important that he should be under no misapprehension as to the authors of the advice tendered him.

3. In para 1 of your letter a "Managing Committee" is referred to and in para 2 it appears to be conveyed that the body authorized by the Sarvajanik Sabha to address Government is a committee composed of representatives of the Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsi communities." I am accordingly

directed to request that you will be so good as to inform Government whether these committees are one and the same; and if so, to favour Government, if you see no objection, with the names of the gentlemen who are personally responsible for the opinions and suggestions conveyed in the letter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

C. H. HILL

Under Secretary to Government.

No. 978 of 1894

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

Poona, 23rd December 1894.

To

C. H. A. HILL Esq.,

Under Secretary to Government,

BOMBAY.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 8467 dated the 19th Instant, I have the honor to state, for the information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council, that the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha is composed of the representatives of the Hindu, Mahamedan and Parsi communities elected, according to the rules of the Sabha, by the people of the Deccan, the number of the Hindu, Mahamedan and Parsi representatives being 152, 2 and 4 respectively. A Managing Committee is annually elected from among the General Body for the transaction of business, to which is delegated the duty of making representations, offering suggestions and supplying information to Government, and similar other matters affecting public interests. The present Managing Committee consists of 35 members as per List annexed.

2. It will be seen that the Sabha and the Managing Committee are two distinct bodies, the latter deriving its authority from the former.

3. The Memorial in question was adopted at a meeting of the Managing Committee, held on the 27th of November 1894 when 16 members were present. The Committee referred to in para I of the Memorial is the Managing Committee, and the body referred to in the commencement of para 2 is the General Committee of the Sabha.

4. A copy of the rules regulating the transactions of business by it, is herewith forwarded for the information of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council.

I have the honor to be,
Sir.

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) S. H. SATHE,

[Honorary Secretary, Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona.

No. 8693 of 1894.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 29th December 1894.

FROM

C. H. A. HILL, Esq.,

UNDER SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

BOMBAY.

TO

SHIVRAM HARI SATHE Esq.,

Honorary Secretary, Sarvajanic Sabha,

POONA.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 978 dated the 28th December 1894, and in thanking you for the information you have kindly given therein, I am to

ask whether you would mind supplementing that information by naming the 16 members of the Managing Committee who attended the meeting at which Mr. Gokhale's letter was adopted, distinguishing, if the vote was not unanimous, between those who voted for and those who voted against, its adoption.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. EDGERLEY

For Under Secretary to Government.

No. 1 of 1895.

SARVAJANIK SABHA ROOMS,

Poona, 8th January 1895.

To

THE UNDER SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

BOMBAY.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 8693 dated 29th December 1894, we have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha to respectfully communicate to Government the following resolution adopted by the Managing Committee at its meeting held yesterday :—

"That in reply to Government letter No. 8693, dated 29th December 1894, Government should be informed that the vote at the meeting in question was unanimous; that as regards the request to be supplied with the names of members who were present at the meeting, the Managing Committee of the Sabha regrets its inability to comply with it on the following grounds :—That, in the opinion of this Committee, the present memorial ought to be considered and disposed of by Government as usual on its own merits; that the information already

supplied is as much as the Sabha could be reasonably expected to give and that the additional information asked for is not relevant to a proper consideration of the subject; that a compliance with Mr. Edgerley's request will not further the public interests which the Sabha has been recognized by Government to represent during the last twenty-five years; that during all this time, though the Sabha has submitted memorials on a variety of subjects, no such request was ever made before; and that the responsibility for suggestions made and prayers contained in the Sabha's memorials rests, under the rules of the Sabha, on the Managing Committee as a whole, and this holds good of the present memorial also. The Committee must therefore respectfully decline to accede to the request contained in Mr. Edgerley's letter. "

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

(Sd.) G. K. GOKHALE,

(Sd.) S. H. SATHE,

Honorary Secretaries, Sarvajnik Sabha Sabha, Poona.

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER

OF

MARATHA HISTORY.



Neither Mr. Grant Duff nor any of the native writers of Marathi Bakhars have given much attention to the fortunes of the Maratha colony in the far south at Tanjore, though the Maratha dominion there, was of an older date than in many other parts of India, and the family which ruled at Tanjore for nearly two centuries 1675-1855 was closely allied to the founder of the Maratha power in Western India. The chequered story of this distant and ill-fated Principality confirms our view that the strength of the Maratha power lay essentially in its union as a confederacy. Those who held themselves aloof from this union of interests and national sympathy, were not allowed a place in Maratha history proper, either by native or foreign writers. The moral of this unnatural separation has a mournful interest which enforces attention. The importance of the permanent influence exercised by this distant military settlement of the Marathas on the banks of the Kaveri, can be best judged by a study of the census statistics of 1881, which show that the Maratha population in the Madras Presidency was nearly 230,000 to which we might add 20,000 more for Mysore, Cochin and Travancore, making a total of 2½ lacks distributed as follows :—

(1)	Ganjam.....	205
(2)	Vizagapatam.....	364
(3)	Godavari.....	634
(4)	Krishna.....	1,414
(5)	Nellor.	907
(6)	Cuddapah.....	3,973

(7)	Kurnool.....	4,081
(8)	Bellary.....	14,169
(9)	Chingulpat.....	1,615
(10)	North Arcot....	11,662
(11)	South Arcot.....	1,957
(12)	Tanjore.....	14,421
(13)	Trichinopoly.....	1,766
(14)	Madura.....	1,943
(15)	Tinnevely.....	837
(16)	Salem.....	7,906
(17)	Coinbatore.....	2,550
(18)	Nilgiris.....	730
(19)	Malabar.....	6,107
(20)	South Canara...	147,390
(21)	Madras City	4,238
(22)	Pudukotta Native State	660

There is thus not a district in that Presidency, which has not a small Maratha colony of settlers, who have permanently made it their home. South Canara, Malabar and Cochin, with a Maratha population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacks, were of course, colonized from the coast, and these settlements had no connection with the political domination established in the middle of the 17th Century by the army of Shahaji, and his son Venkoji, the step-brother of Shivaji. As might be expected the city of Tanjore, and the districts in its neighbourhood, north Arcot, Salem, and Madras City, show the largest aggregates of the foreign Maratha settlers, whose ancestors accompanied Shahaji and his son to the south. Tanjore has been very happily styled by the Maharaja of Travancore as the southern home of the Marathas, and though years have elapsed since the principality was declared to have lapsed for want of heirs, the Ranees of the Palace still live in the city in the enjoyment of state pensions, and a large private estate. When the kingdom was first founded between 1666-1675, the district of Tan-

jore included portions of south Arcot and the whole of the Trichinopoly district. The Military Settlers included both Brahmins and Marathas, and by reason of their isolation from their distant home, the subdivisions, which separated them in their mother country, were forgotten, and they were all welded together under the common name of Deshasthas.

The Tanjore Rajas were all of them great patrons of learning; some of them were poets and scholars themselves of no mean repute, and their charities were on a scale which arrests attention. The Tanjore Library is the largest collection of the kind to be found in any native Court in India. The cultivation of the fine arts, music &c. was carried to perfection, and Tanjore attained in those days a pre-eminence, which it still retains, of being the most refined and cultured district in the Southern Presidency. After the fall of Tanjore, the professors of those arts removed to Travancore, and gave that State the reputation it now enjoys, in this connection. The great city of Kumbhakonam has a large sprinkling of distinguished Maratha families, whose representatives, Sir T. Madhawa Rao, Dewan Bahadur Raghunathrao, Rao Bahadur Venkaswami Rao, and Gopal Rao, have risen to great distinction, each in his own line, and some of them have even attained an Indian reputation for statesmanship, learning and philanthropy. The Native States of Travancore and Mysore have afforded scope to the display of the highest abilities of some of these Maratha statesmen, both in the last and in the present century. The services of the Travancore Minister, English Subbarao, are well-known, and one of his successors Sir T. Madharao rescued that state from disorder and insolvency, and turned it into a model state. The father and the uncle of Dewan Bahadur Raghunathrao achieved equal distinction in Mysore. After the British conquest of Mysore the entire administration of the Revenue De-

partment was under the control of Maratha Brahmins whose descendants still enjoy the Jahagirs granted by the British Government for their eminent services to the state.

In North Arcot the little Jahagir of Arani is still in the possession of a Maratha Brahmin Chief, whose ancestors acquired it originally for military services from the Bijapur kings, more than two hundred years ago. There were other Maratha Brahmins, who entered in those days the service of the Nabab of Arcot, and rose to prominence and were known distinctively as Nizam Shahi Brahmins. Similarly the small State of Pudukotta, which still retains its subordinate integrity, has a large Maratha population, and its affairs were administered by many Brahmin Dewans, and the most distinguished of these belonged to the family of Maratha settlers in the South. The Native State of Cochin contains a large Maratha population, chiefly Brahmins of different sects who are engaged in mercantile pursuits. In the district of Bellary there is another small Maratha state, which has survived the general decay of Maratha power in the South. Its founder belonged to the stock of the famous Santaji Ghorpade, whose grandson Morari Rao Ghorpade played such an important part in the Carnatic wars in the middle of the 18th Century, and ruled over a small kingdom at Gooty till Hyder Naik conquered that principality in the second Mysore war. When the Marathas were hard pressed by Aurangzeb in Maharastra, the grandson of Shivaji retired to Gingi, which had been conquered by Shahaji, and it was this fort, which stood the five years' siege towards the close of the 17th century, and enabled Rajaram and the Marathas to rally in the struggle with Aurangzeb.

It will be seen from this brief resume that a handful of Marathas, scarcely exceeding at the best ten thousand men not only carved out Kingdoms and Jahagirs for themselves in the troublous

times, which succeeded the down-fall of the Mahomedan power, but that their influence has not spent itself, and that they even now form a most interesting section of the population of that Presidency, though it must be confessed their predominance is now decidedly on the wane. It is on this account that the story of the Tanjore Raj must be allowed a place in a narrative, which professes to deal with the fortunes of the Maratha people more than those of any particular dynasty of its confederate rulers.

The first entrance of the Marathas into Southern India took place under the leadership of Shahaji Bhosle, the father of Shivaji in 1638. He led an army as a general of the Adil Shahi Bijapur Kings. These Carnatic wars, kept Shahaji and his army engaged for thirty years, and he conquered Bangalore, Vellore and Gingi. In reward for his services, Shahaji obtained a Jahagir, which included Bangalore, Kollar, Sera, Useotta and other places in Mysore in 1648. In the course of these wars, Shahaji forced the old Naik Chief of Madura and Tanjore to submit to the Suzerain authority of Bijapur and pay tribute. During the varying fortunes of his long career, Shahaji continued to retain the enjoyment of his Jahagirs in the Mysore territory, down to his death in 1664. Bangalore was his head-quarters, and was in those days the most southern encampment of the Maratha armies in the south. When his son Venkoji succeeded to this Jahagir, there were some intestine disputes between the Naik Rulers of Tanjore and Madura, and the Tanjore prince was defeated in the struggle. He then sought refuge at the Bijapur Court, and that Court ordered Venkoji to place the Tanjore prince on his throne, Venkoji marched at the head of 12,000 troops, obtained a great victory, and established the refugee Prince on his throne. The adherents of the Prince, however, quarrelled among themselves, and Venkoji was invited by one of the factions to seize the fort of Tanjore. The Tanjore Prince fled

at the approach of the Mahrathas. Tanjore was taken by Venkoji in 1674, and he removed his head-quarters from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1675.

The most noteworthy event during the period of Venkoji's rule over Tanjore, was the expedition of Shivaji to those parts of the country in 1677. Shivaji obtained easy possession of the Carnatak Jahagir of the family, and Venkoji was unable to maintain his position against him.

The Bijapur government recognized Shivaji's claim to the Carnatak Jahagir, including Tanjore and Trichinopoly, Venkoji was filled with despair at this success of his half-brother, and resolved to be a Byragi and to retire into a monastic life; but Shivaji wrote a characteristic and kind letter of advice to his brother and reminding him of his duty, dissuaded him from becoming an anchorite. Shivaji generously yielded, in favour of his brother, all his claims to his father's patrimony in those parts. Shivaji's generosity had the desired effect, and Venkoji continued to be in charge of his principality down to the time of his death in 1687. In the interests of the Maratha confederacy, it would certainly have been better if Shivaji had strengthened his hold on those parts at this time. By his abandonment of the kingdom to Venkoji, he cut off this settlement from its proper place in the united Empire, and Tanjore suffered grievously for this unhappy mistake. Venkoji was not a strong ruler, and in consequence of his inability to retain his distant possessions in Mysore, he was obliged to make Bangalore over to the Mysore Raja who purchased this Maratha town for a payment of 3 lacs. This cession cut off the Tanjore kingdom completely from its parent source in the Deccan, and it was not long before it was hemmed in, on one side, by the English forces, and on the other by the Mysore rulers, Hyderkhan, and his son Tipoo.

After Venkoji's death in 1687 his three sons,

Shahaji, Surfoji and Tukoji succeeded to the throne one after another, and their joint occupation of the throne extended over a period of 50 years (1687-1735). The principal event in the reign of Shahaji was the invasion of Tanjore by the Mogul General Zulskarkhan. After Sambhaji's death, and the capture of his son Shahu by the Moguls, the Marathas found it impossible to oppose Aurangzebe's power in their native country, and Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, with the Maratha generals and statesmen, who still adhered to the national standard, retreated to the south, and established themselves at Gingi in the neighbourhood of Tanjore. The Mogul invaders, thereupon, marched to the south and besieged Gingi. The operations of the siege were protracted over many years with varied success, and it was in the course of these operations that the Mogul Commander levied contributions from Tanjore, and deprived the Raja of a portion of his territory in the Trichinopoly district. Under the rule of the two succeeding monarchs Surfoji and Tukoji, the Tanjore Marathas extended their power over the Marava country in the neighbourhood of Rameshvar. The Zemindars of Shiv-Ganga and Ramnath were brought under subjection about 1730. They were both chiefs who acknowledged the supremacy of Tanjore, when it was governed by strong rulers, and resisted its power under weak sovereigns.

The final conquest of this part of the country was effected by Pratapsing, the illegitimate son of Tukoji, the eighth ruler of Tanjore, and his son Tulsaji in 1763 and 1771. In these wars, the Maratha generals Sidoji and Mankoji greatly distinguished themselves, and Mankoji also played a considerable part in the capture of Chanda Saheb, when he was taken prisoner by the invading army, sent by the Satara ruler Shahu Maharaj in 1742, under Raghuji Bhosle, and also in the subsequent war between the English and the French 1756-1763.

After the death of the three sons of Venkoji there was a rapid succession of rulers between 1735 and 1740 due partly to the untimely death of some princes and partly to the attempts of the Moghul Commanders to impose their own nominees as kings. The Maratha officers in the service of Tanjore finally succeeded in raising to the throne Pratapsing an illegitimate son of Tukoji in 1740, and he reigned for a period of 23 years.

The early years of Pratapsing's reign witnessed the second invasion of southern India by the confederate army of the Satara Raja led by Raghuji Bhonsale of Nagpur. It was one of the largest expeditions sent out from Satara, and the army would have accomplished the permanent conquests of southern India if the Tanjore Marhattas had forgotten their jealousies and Raghuji had pushed on his successes. As it was, he was content to leave a garrison at Trichinopoly and capture Chanda Saheb who was brought captive to Satara. The Peshawas had at this time resolved to strike the axe at the root of the Mogul power in North India, and this expedition was undertaken by Raghuji, in pursuance of the alternative policy, which found support with some of the chiefs, to leave North India to itself, and seize the Southern provinces permanently. Raghuji Bhonsale on his return from this expedition found enough occupation for his arms in Bengal and Eastern India, and the South remained closed to Marhatta influences till the rise of Hyder Ali made it impossible to achieve any permanent conquest. The release of Chanda Saheb by Shahu, at the instance of Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondichery, led to the ten years' war between the English and the French 1750—1760. The Tanjore Rajas sided with Mahomed Ali, the English protege, and suffered at the hands of the French ally Murari Rao Ghorpade, who sacked Tanjore at a time when the English were

unable to help the Rajah. Later on, the French General Lally also plundered Tanjore, but the English succeeded in sending relief on this occasion. Throughout these Carnatic wars, the Tanjore army under Mankoji played an important part on the side of the English against the French.

When the Marathas next invaded the South, Hyder Ali in Mysore, and the Government of the East India Company at Madras had risen to power, and barred the way. Poor Tanjore, moreover, was agitated by internal dissensions, in which the English generals were invited to take part, and the Madras expedition to Tanjore was the first overt act of intervention with Native powers, which was undertaken by the servants of the E. I. Company. Allusion has already been made to the rapid succession of rulers which troubled the peace of Tanjore between 1735-40. One of the deposed princes sought shelter with the English at Madras, and they sent an expedition to help him to conquer Tanjore (1749). This expedition failed to accomplish its end, but it satisfied the English that their protegé had no supporters in Tanjore. Another expedition was sent to retrieve the prestige lost in the first, and this time Pratapsing was forced to sue for peace. A treaty of alliance was formed, and the English helped the Tanjore Rajah when he was attacked by Chanda Sahéb after his release from Satara.

This treaty established the Madras Government as the predominant power in the Tamil country.

Notwithstanding all these sacrifices made by the Tanjore Rajahs in helping the cause of the English, their protegé Nabob Mahomed Ali cherished a grudge against Tanjore, and the interposition of the English alone succeeded in 1762 in establishing an understanding, by which the Rajah became a tributary of the Nabob, with an English guarantee, and agreed to pay 4 lacs a year as tribute. Later on in 1771, the Nabob secured the help of the Madras government in attacking Tulsaji the son of

Pratabsing, and the latter had to sue for peace which involved him and his state in heavy money liabilities, curtailing still more the resources of the Tanjore State. In this second treaty, the interests of the Rajah of Tanjore were completely sacrificed to the greed of Mahomed Ali and his English creditors, who dictated the policy of the Madras government, and the guarantee of 1762, by which the English had undertaken to be responsible for the autonomy of Tanjore, was thrown to the winds. In 1773 further acts of spoliation were renewed by the Nabob, with his English Allies, and the Raja was taken prisoner, and his city was captured and the territory was annexed by the Nabob to his own Kingdom. All these acts of spoliation and breach of faith had been undertaken by the Madras Government on their own responsibility, in the interests of the English creditors of the Nabob. The Court of Directors had no knowledge of them, and when they came to know the full details of these proceedings, they strongly condemned the conduct of the Madras Government. They at once recalled the Governor, and resolved upon setting up Tulsaji again on his ancestral throne. These orders were accordingly carried out in 1776. During the three years of the Nabob's rule, he succeeded however in despoiling the country of all its resources, and it took full ten years to restore it to a part of its old prosperity. Just then, a war broke out between the English and Hyder Ali, and Hyder wreaked his vengeance on the ill-fated province of Tanjore, by desolating it again with his plundering hords in 1782. It was in the midst of these accumulated troubles that Tulsaji died in 1787, Tanjore had cut itself off from its parent source, and the invasions of the Marathas and their victories over Hyder and Tipoo in 1765, 1771, 1790 brought no relief to Tanjore, hemmed in as it was between the English and Mysore powers. During these wars of 20 years, it suffered so grievously that it never rallied again, even when peace was restored to

Southern India after the fall of Tippu. It also suffered from internal dissensions. Tulsaji's adopted son Surfoji was displaced by his half-brother Amarsing. The money liabilities due to the Madras Government had so increased by this time, and the resources of the state had been so greatly reduced that the Raja was unable to meet his engagements. Surfoji found a protector and friend in Rev. Schwartz, the Danish missionary. The Court of Directors recognized Surfoji's claim to succeed to the throne, and he was restored to power in Tanjore in 1798, and Amarsing was forced to retire on a pension. The Marquis of Wellesly, when he settled Mysore after the fall of Tippu, succeeded in inducing Surfoji to part with all exercise of power over his state, and become a titular Raja on a fixed pension made payable to him out of the revenues. He lived in the enjoyment of this dignity and pension, till his death in 1833, and was succeeded by his son, who died in 1855 without any male issue. The Tanjore State was then declared to have lapsed to the Company, and the Ranees were pensioned, and allowed to occupy their old palace. Their private property had also been taken away from them, but this was restored to them after many years of unsuccessful litigation.

Such in short is the unfortunate story of this little military settlement of the Marathas in the far South. While the confederate Marathas were able to hold their own against the power of the Moguls, and to recover their independence after a 20 years' war, and subsequently conquered all India and held in check the power of the Nizam and the Mysore rulers, and the English, for nearly a century, this little settlement by refusing to be a member of the Confederacy, and trying to live for itself was engulfed in the wars of the Carnatic. It virtually ceased to be a leading independent state in 1762. There can be no doubt that if it had kept up its connection with the parent state, it would have played a most

useful part in the several invasions of the Marathas, which took place between 1762 and 1792; and in all which the Maratha arms prevailed, and both Hyder and Tipoo had to purchase peace by agreeing to pay heavy subsidies and ceding large territories. Tanjore suffered the same fate as the other Maratha settlements at Geoty, Bellary and the Mysore Districts which severed their connection with the parent country and tried to be independant of the confederacy. This is the lesson which the history of this little settlement is well calculated to teach, and we shall have many more occasions of enforcing it in the sequel of this history.

SEVENTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

Bombay, 2nd, 3rd, & 4th November 1894.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiya-Shankar Yajnik who was received with loud cheers, addressed the Conference as follows :—

Gentlemen,

This is the Seventh Conference at which we are met for an interchange of views on questions of provincial interest. What these questions are will be placed before you later on. Your resolutions will indicate the importance you attach to them. But whatever interest your resolutions may possess for the the general public, and whatever weight they may carry, one thing is certain, and that is that the value of

Utility of Con-
ference. such a Conference as this is not to be measured so much by its Resolutions

as by the opportunities it gives to delegates from different parts of this Presidency of comparing notes and exchanging ideas on matters affecting our common welfare. The advantage of looking at the same questions from new and different standpoints, as they arise from time to time, is that it dissipates many prejudices and preconceived ideas and enables us to arrive at a definite opinion on a given question on a basis of ascertained facts—an opinion which gathers strength as it commands an increasing volume of assent among us. Moreover, a Conference like this promotes social intercourse and acts as a bond of union between intelligent men residing in different parts of the Presidency and leads to the formation of acquaintances and friendships in a way which no epistolary correspondence can secure. It seems to me, gentlemen, that, in selecting me for the

honor of presiding over your deliberations on this occasion, you have in a sense departed from the usual practice, which is to appoint to the office of president of the Conference held at a certain centre a gentleman residing in another centre. But, while this departure does me high honor and adds to my sense of thankfulness, it also enhances the sense of responsibility, to which I feel myself unequal. I feel strongly my own unworthiness to take up a position which has been filled by far superior men. I say this in no spirit of false humility. The attitude of my life all along has been that of a learner, not teacher. Last year, the conference met at Ahmedabad, the ancient and historical capital of Gujarat, under the presidency of my learned and eloquent friend, the Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani. The year before it assembled at Poona, that recognized centre of learning and intellectual activity, under the guidance of our distinguished citizen and brilliant colleague, the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta. And now, gentlemen, in welcoming you to

Bombay's welcome to Delegates

a City where the conditions of public life are most healthy, and where public affairs are discussed with a tolerance and freedom which have acquired for it a reputation for sobriety of which we may all be proud. And I am quite sure your deliberations of many knotty points at this Conference will be conducted in the same traditional spirit of tolerance, fairness, and moderation, and characterised by a tone worthy of the dignity of our provincial assembly. At no time, perhaps, do public questions in this presidency, or all over the Empire, demand more serious attention on the part of the rulers and the ruled than at the present moment. We are, no doubt, passing through critical times, and

Critical times and Bombay's Sobriety.

it therefore behoves us to see how we give expression to our inmost thoughts and feelings. Serenity and sobriety are the first essentials at this juncture, and no place is, I am convinced, more dis-

tinguished for a calm and dispassionate discussion than Bombay. For, what is Bombay? Bombay is indeed a cosmopolitan City in every sense of the word. It is the centre of many-sided interests and activities, where all the forces—material, intellectual, and moral—conspire to rise it from the level of a semi-oriental city to the pinnacle of an advanced city of the West. It enjoys the position of being the second City in the Empire over which, it is justly said, the sun never sets. It is the gateway between the civilization of the East and the West. More than half the sea-borne trade of all India passes through her port. The two great trunk lines of railway, which draw the produce of the interior of central, southern, and western India to our docks, and carry back goods and merchandize to the remotest corners of the country, have their terminal points here. So closely is Bombay brought into contact with the capital cities of the world that nothing of importance passes on the Stock Exchange of London or the bourse of Paris which

The Commerce
and Institutions
of Bombay.

does not make its effects felt in the money market of Bombay. Bombay has outstripped Calcutta in the total value of her export and import trade.

Our banks and merchants' firms, our princely shroffs and traders, our docks and harbour, our joint-stock institutions, industrial and others, our palatial public buildings, our hospitals and other charitable edifices, and, last, though not the least, our Municipal Corporation, Chamber of Commerce, Mill-owners and Piece-goods Dealers' Associations—all these are so many evidences of our peaceful commercial pursuits. But the very circumstances of the city being the most thriving port of India, and the gateway of all Asia, has its disadvantages. For instance, the city has not been, and may never be entirely free from foreign elements of turbulence and even of danger. The *badmash* classes are largely mixed up with the

peaceful population. Though ordinarily controllable by the City Police, they on occasions have been known to set the law at defiance. The peace of the city is sometimes disturbed by these classes as it unfortunately was last year. Barring these occasional outbursts, one may fairly say that the attitude of the people of Bombay at large is uniformly opposed to all that savours of disorder; while the governing instincts of self-interest and self preservation and of respect for the common good among the upper classes are, on account of their infinite inter-relations, overpowering. Again, the controlling influences of the press are potent enough to enable our citizens to assert their usual good sense and spirit of tolerance. Let us all hope that the combined influence of these well ordered forces may prevent a repetition of the deplorable scenes of August 1893. (*Hear, hear.*)

Commercial interests being a prominent feature of Bombay life, I trust, you will permit me, before I proceed to deal with the burning questions affecting our provincial welfare, to dwell for a few minutes on two legislative measures of the Imperial Government, which were introduced into the country last year. Though the closure of the mints has been in operation for the last sixteen months, it is notorious that the result so far is a dismal failure and a serious disappointment to its most enthusiastic supporters. The most to suffer by this legislative tampering with the silver currency of the country is Bombay. The Mill industry was at one stroke crippled, and it has not yet completely recovered from the blow. It is true that our total Indian exports to gold-using countries amount to three-fourths of the total volume of our trade, and to silver-using countries only one-fourth; but the balance of the one-fourth trade has hitherto been, to a considerable extent, our salvation. The heavy shrinkage of trade with the silver-using countries,

Imperial measures—Closure of Mint and its mischievous effects.

especially China, to which are exported yarns and opium, valued at 16 crores of Rupees, at once told on the sale of Council Bills; while the elements of bank and bazar speculations alike seriously aggravated the situation and embarrassed the Indian treasury by the abnormal imports of silver subsequent to, and in spite of, the closure. This silver served for some time to supply the place of Council Bills, which the Secretary of State refused to sell below a fixed minimum amount. Exchange, which had gone up at one time to 16 d., immediately after the closure soon dropped and remained steady as long as the Secretary of State did not test the market, but the drop set in the moment he let go the Bills for what they might fetch. During this period the imports of goods from England proceeded on an unprecedented scale. Under the altered conditions of trade in Bombay, the import trade in cotton and other goods is carried on chiefly by means of indents or orders sent by our dealers through European houses, and where the rate of exchange has not been settled on advice of purchase, but sterling bills drawn against goods have to be paid for in rupees on arrival of goods at the exchange of the day, the transactions have proved disastrous. Mr. O'Connor's returns of the exports of opium and cotton yarns and other goods during the last sixteen months to silver-using countries show how terribly the balance has turned out against us. Doubtless the trade is coming round and adjusting itself to the new conditions, but not without having inflicted most serious disasters, of which it would be surprising to hear that the largest share has fallen to the lot of Bombay.

The other measure of Imperial finances which has seriously affected our interests is the invidious distinction made in exempting cotton goods from the 5 per cent import duty on general merchandise. Against this unfairness

Unfairness of exemption of foreign Cotton fabrics from import Duty.

India made a protest from one end of the country to the other—a protest loud enough to be heard by any responsible body of statesmen. The protest has proved unavailing. Manchester's vote has proved too powerful, however stoutly Mr. Fowler may repudiate it. The British Ministry has shown that, where party interests are concerned, India's interests may go to the wall. The declarations of statesmen responsible for the government of the country go for nothing. "There is," remarks Lord Northbrook, "one simple test which we may apply to all Indian questions. Let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the Natives of India." Nowhere is the unfairness of the levy felt more than in the taxing of raw materials for the purpose of dyeing goods. Dyed goods imported into India are free from duty, while the raw materials imported here for dyeing goods are subject to a 5 per cent. duty. With what principle of political economy is such levy consistent and sound? But principles are put into pockets where party interests are concerned. As our friend, Mr. Hume, told us in his parting words in March last—told us very candidly—the professional politicians—Whig or Tory—who mostly compose our Ministries, however virtuous, honest, and upright in private life, "are in public life the veriest humbugs, talking like angels but ready even to do the devil's work—to sacrifice principle to party, and justice to those who are meek and politically dumb, as India is, to the exigencies of party political warfare." (*Hear, hear.*) They will bring in and carry out a measure that they believe to be wrong merely to cut the ground from under their adversaries' feet. The time is fast drawing near to test the truth of what Mr. Hume says. The question of re-imposing duties on cotton yarns and goods hitherto excluded must be re-considered to meet the deficit, and the proposal to

Proposed Ex-
cise duty and its
unpopularity.

levy a countervailing excise duty on Indian mills which was shunted off for the moment must be faced. Believing Mr. Hume to be correct in his statement of ministerial tactics, I shall not be surprised if the re-imposition of cotton duty is synchronously accompanied by the imposition of an excise duty on our own manufactures. We have been told that Mr. Westland's visit to Bombay in July last satisfied him that practically no competition exists between Indian mills and the Lancashire factories. The goods which Bombay and Manchester turn out are of different counts and finenesses. They vary in quality and price and are consumed by a totally different class of people. You may ask, "Is the game worth the candle? Are Government prepared to face the enormous unpopularity which a measure so manifestly unfair, is likely to evoke from one end of India to the other? Will Manchester really benefit by this policy, or will she not, on the contrary, enrich a third party, Japan, and pour into her depleted treasury what she cannot obtain for herself? What becomes, then, of the boast that in all financial questions the true interest of the people of India is the only consideration which the Government of India has to regard?" And here I may say at once, what I believe to be the case, that the people of India did not and do not desire the re-imposition of cotton duties or any import duties at all if the condition of Indian finance can dispense with it. And if the powerful influence of Manchester could be brought to bear upon the reduction of the overgrown military and civil expenditure so as to dispense with the necessity of extra taxation, we have no particular wish to see them levied again. (*Hear, hear.*)

In connection with the question of military expenditure it is pretty well known in well-informed circles that, when in office, Sir David Barbour fought with might and main against its perilous growth, but he was over-ruled. Re-

Military Ex-
penditure—Sir
David Barbour
and Sir Auckland
Colvin's views.

moved from the shackles of office, he is now free to tell us, without any breach of official secrecy, how under the present system a Finance Minister is utterly impotent to control growing expenditure. In a paper on the Finances of India read in May last at a meeting of the Bi-metallic League he gives us a bit of his mind on the working of the system under the present constitution of the Government of India, and tersely summarises the whole situation in the following words:—"An Eastern country governed in accordance with expensive Western ideas; an immense and poor population; a narrow margin of possible additional taxation; claims for additional expenditure greatly in excess of possible additional revenue; a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue; a system of government in India favourable to the increase, and unfavourable to reduction, of expenditure; no financial control by intelligent and well-informed public opinion either in India or in England; an insufficient check on expenditure in India; a remote and imperfect control exercised from England; a revenue specially liable to fluctuations from year to year; large and growing foreign payments." Recently, Sir Auckland Colvin, the predecessor of Sir David Barbour, has confirmed the protest of Sir David Barbour in an interesting article in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure," and with rare financial insight into the working of the great departments in India he shows in the clearest manner what has been the increase in revenue and expenditure of India during the past ten years (1883-84 to 1892-93.) The conclusion he comes to is that "the root of our financial difficulties is the insufficient check exercised, under the constitution of its government, by the Financial Department." It would appear that the Finance member is but one of six or seven members of Council, of whom every one, except the Viceroy and himself, is irresponsible for financial

equilibrium and is directly interested in spending. Two members of Council are military men, so the military vote in Council is double that of any other department. "There is no control on expenditure from outside the Government, no fear of being turned out over an unpopular or extravagant policy." The fact is that these members of a paid bureaucracy have only a present interest in their work. Why should they think of the future or of far-reaching policies as statesmen in England do? English statesmen, we are told, will feel the effects of their policy for life, and it will be felt by their children. The interest of Indian officials in India lasts as long as they are in harness. The *London Spectator*, which is now devoting its energies to spreading sensational scares like tree-smearing, expressed robust common sense when it said a few short years ago:—"Alone among the great states of the world, the Indian Empire is administered by men who have no interests in its future. The greatest officials—the Viceroy, the Governor, the Members of all Councils—intend, after five years of office, to depart to a distant land, where their achievements or their blunders are alike unknown, where they are lost in the crowd, and where, amidst the movement of a more vivid and intellectual civilization, they half forget the affairs of the secluded and monotonous peninsula they have helped to govern." We should be doing injustice to Sir Auckland Colvin did we omit to think him on our behalf for the candour with which he notices the work done to bring, in however humble a way, the condition of our finances before Parliament. "The body" says Sir Auckland Colvin, "which calls itself the Indian National Congress has not hitherto shown itself, in my judgment, very practical in its suggestions. But it is difficult to differ with a great deal of what it has to say in this matter of expenditure. If this paper correctly interprets the meaning of the figures which are embodied in it, it shows that there

are good grounds for the assertion in the recent

Sir William Wedderburn's "Note" presented to Parliament by Sir William Wedderburn, that it is MORE THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE THAN THE FALL IN EXCHANGE WHICH HAS led to the present DIFFICULTIES.

The charges on account of exchange have become mainly formidable because the administrative expenditure, which has caused in chief measure the growth of those charges, has been continuously increasing." Sir Auckland Colvin is not a man to hold back, especially in regard to the Congress party, and a candid confession from him that the perilous growth of expenditure during the past ten years more than exchange is at the root of all our troubles—an opinion strenuously held by us all through the last twelve months—is perhaps the best homage that our late Finance Minister can pay to the non-official Indian opinion on this vexed question. This single fact of our having succeeded in converting Sir Auckland Colvin to our view, while a matter of congratulation to us from one end of the country to the other, alone speaks, need I say, volumes in favour of our late Finance Minister's grasp of the real issue, his honesty of purpose, and the courage of his convictions. To us it is a matter for congratulation, not for elation. It is a lesson which, I am sure, will not be lost on Mr. Westland. He need not have abused the Congress party if he could not shake the position taken up in the memorial of the Bombay Presidency Association. The British Committee took up our case on the broad lines marked out in that memorial, and though Mr. Fowler treated the "Note" of Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, with scant justice, the Committee will find reason for satisfaction in this upholding of its view by so experienced a Finance Minister as Sir Auckland

Bombay Presidency Association's memorial on the same subject.

Colvin; while in India no body of men will view with greater pleasure this noble veering of the official view in its favour than the Bombay Presidency Association, and especially, its talented Honorary Secretary, my esteemed friend, Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, who has studied Indian economic and financial questions in the light in which they deserve to be studied. And I take this opportunity of expressing humbly, but emphatically, the high sense we all entertain of Mr. Wacha's critical acumen and disinterested public labours. The opinion of Sir Auckland Colvin shows that the right view of Indian questions must ultimately prevail with sober and thoughtful minds, in spite of much official palavering, prejudice, and narrow-mindedness. Sir Auckland Colvin's standpoint is justice to the Indian tax-payer. And he ends his paper with a remark as to what are the watchwords of this justice. These are: "Retrenchment, moderation, return to old maxims of Indian administration, and justice to the Indian tax-payer; but possibly this will not become evident so long as fresh funds can be raised from him." Here are words of wisdom which, it is to be hoped, will not only be attentively noted, but practically acted upon, by Lord Elgin's Government.

Proceeding now with public affairs in our own Presidency, I would first refer to provincial legislation. Our legislative sessions are growing shorter and beautifully less. We had perhaps the smallest number of meetings of the Provincial Legislative Council under the new Act of 1892 during the year. One meeting was held in the City during the last cold season and two in Poona during the late rains, lasting for about six hours in all. Only one small measure relating to the Peinth territory was passed. The Municipal Balances Act—a most useless measure,—which was ushered in with a blaze of trumpets during the first

session of the new Council, has remained a dead letter on the statute book and, for aught I know, may remain so goodness knows how long. There was no legislative activity to speak of. Perhaps it is just as well that it is so, though it may not be long before public opinion up-country demands that the District Municipal Act of 1884 should undergo a thorough revision in the light of the experience gained during the decade. Possibly the amendments which have been suggested have not been licked into shape for approval by the local Government or higher authority preparatory to their introduction into the local legislature. Similarly, there are numerous amendments on the tapis in connection with the Municipal Act, 1888, of the Bombay City. These, too, will have to be submitted to Government as soon as the Corporation has been able to sanction them. Though the sittings of the Council have been few and far between, a considerable number of administrative questions naturally crop up in regard to which the new privilege of interpellation has come to be exercised. The interpellations have evoked a good deal of criticism outside the Council Hall. Certain critics in our midst have nicknamed our legislative body as an "Interpellation Council." But I fail to see the *raison d'être* of such an appellation. For, what is the chief function of non-official members if not interpellation? It must be remembered that under the rules laid down by the Governor-General in Council, the scope of questions is limited only to public affairs with which the Government of the Presidency is officially connected or to matters or branches of administration under its control and for which it is responsible. As to matters which are, or have been, the subject of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State and the Government of Bombay, no questions may be asked or answered except as to matters of fact. The large number of questions which were put at the

recent autumn session of the Council has in some quarters been the subject of adverse comment. The number would certainly be less if the Council meetings had been more frequent. At the same time there are questions and questions. What is, however, really felt as a disadvantage to the public in regard to interpellations is that the honourable member who puts a question has no opportunity allowed him of making his object clear by way of a few prefatory remarks, so as to enable the Government to thoroughly apprehend his point of view. Nor is he permitted to say how far the answer fails to meet the query put by him. The result very often is that the replies are either vague or evasive. They are seldom candid and oftener than not are meaningless. At any rate the interpellator is seldom the wiser or better for the replies given. In spite of these drawbacks, however, there can be no doubt whatever of the fact that this privilege of interpellation is most valuable. It is a tolerably wholesome check on official vagaries, and acts as a powerful corrective against maladministration, ill-treatment, favouritism, and so on. The knowledge that an unfair act on the part of the administration, either in the district or at head-quarters, will be dragged into the light of day, cannot but operate as a powerful antidote against abuses in an officially-ridden country like India, with public opinion not so strong or keen as one might expect.

The people of Gujarat entertained some fears that they were about to be deprived of the privilege of elective representation of the Northern Division, as would appear from a petition addressed to Government from Ahmedabad some weeks back. There does not, however, seem any valid grounds for believing that the interests of municipalities and local boards—whether in Gujarat or the Deccan or even Southern Maratha Country—have suffered or received inadequate attention. Even

Threatened Dis-
franchisement
of Northern Divi-
sion.

the unenfranchised Central Division does not, I am sure, feel that the omission in its case should be supplied at the expense of Gujarat. The prayer of people I consider most legitimate and fair, in spite of the reception it has recently met with from Lord Harris, but the hopes of its receiving due consideration must be given up, as they have to show that they are better boys. They must wait till the time when

the present rules undergo a revision. When they do undergo a revision, the way to gratify their desire will, let us hope, be found, not by depriving Gujarat of its privilege, but by either creating a new seat or transferring a seat from a province where its present preponderance has not brought out any distinct advantages. The other most valuable privilege conferred by the new Act is as to the discussion of the Provincial Budget. This privilege I regard as an homage paid by the British Government to that difference of view on vital Indian questions which finds expression in non-official opinion. The value of the privilege depends, I need hardly say, on the force of reasoned truths on which it is based. Referring to criticisms on Indian finance, Sir David Barbour, in the paper on "Indian Finances" referred to before remarks: "The number of men—official and non-official, English and Indian,—who are possessed at any one time of sufficient information to give a sound opinion on the general condition of Indian finance might easily be counted on the fingers of one hand." The remark is most true. If it has force in reference to imperial finance, it has much greater force and applicability to provincial finance. Neither among officials nor among non-officials are we able to point with confidence to men who could be relied upon to give us a sound opinion on the general condition of provincial finance. In saying this, I mean no disrespect to the honourable gentlemen who are in charge

Redistribution
of seats.

Privilege of discussing
Provincial
Budget.

of provincial finance in different parts of the country. It is not state book-keeping in this or that presidency about which there is anything to complain of. It is statesmanship, more than book-keeping that is needed. It is much to be feared that a

Wanted financial statesmanship, and not book-keeping.

systematic study of the principles on which public finance should be practically carried out is almost non-existent in India. Principles are often cast to the winds, where increase of revenue is the only consideration. Political economy is oftener than not in violent conflict with proposed remedial financial measures. But it is impossible to overhaul Indian finance, both imperial and provincial, unless we are more fortunate in future in having trained financiers. The official members have perhaps neither the leisure nor the inclination for a critical study. And what about the non-officials? Most of them are busy men occupied with their own concerns and cannot afford the time and trouble for a critical study of financial problems, though they may give a general opinion on the merits of any case put before them. Well-informed criticism is as much the result of special training as skill in any other department of knowledge. It seems to me that it would greatly facilitate the discussion of our Provincial Budget if what are called "Budget Notes," prepared by the Accountant-General for the information of the local Government, were made available at least to honourable members, if not to the public at large. These "Notes," I am informed, give detailed explanations as to the increases or decreases in major items on the income and expenditure sides. They contain hardly anything which, to my knowledge can be regarded as of a secret or confidential nature. (*Hear, hear.*)

As the Hon'ble Mr. Trevor remarked in his first financial statement, the preparation of a provincial statement does not, as a rule, present any special features of difficulty for the reason that the income is not affected by exchange and other difficulties which embarrass Imperial finance. It is true that last year pressure wholly outside the provincial budget was put in the shape of benevolences to the Imperial Government for exchange compensation allowance and a special contribution, which, in the case of the Bombay Presidency, came to over six lakhs for the current financial year. Owing to this outside pressure of about 13 lakhs of rupees, the adjustment of the normal expenditure to the normal revenue has not been found possible without a reduction of the public works allotment and without bringing down the balance to a minimum of 25 lakhs. The five years' "contract" under the decentralization system assigns certain receipts in fixed proportions between Local and Supreme Governments and no new expenditure can be incurred or taxes levied without the sanction of the Imperial Government. The Government of India gets most of its revenue from the Provincial Governments with which it thus shares, the collection of such revenue being made by the local Governments and Administrations. Under such arrangements it will be seen that in the Imperial Budget there is hardly much room left for a criticism of the receipt side. In the Provincial Budget, however, the receipt side, which indicates the burdens of the people, deserves as careful a scrutiny as the expenditure side. Land revenue, salt, abkari, income-tax, provincial rates, registration, stamps, and forest are milch-cows to Government. At the same time most of these are sources of uneasiness to the people who have to pay the taxes. At the last Budget discussions in Poona an incident occurred which deserves notice on account of an important

principle sought to be laid down by His Excellency the President in Council, which, if it correctly interprets

The President's ruling at the late sittings of the Legislative Council members estopped from discussing the Land Revenue.

the rules of debate, is likely to stifle useful discussion. I regret that the incident has a certain personal reference, but the point involved is of such vital public importance that I trust you will leave the personal element aside and consider the question on its merits alone. In the debate of the Budget I was referring to the item of Land Revenue the the first and foremost item on the income side of the Budget, and I wished to question the policy of Government which brought in a yearly increase of some ten lakhs of rupees to the state out of the pockets of a confessedly indebted peasantry in opposition to the limits of enhancement declared by the Bombay Government from time to time and confirmed by the Secretary of State. In drawing attention to this point, I believed I was strictly within the rules of debate. I had hardly proceeded with my preliminary remarks when it was pointed out to me by His Excellency the President that I was out of order inasmuch as the point, on which I was dwelling, was not germane to the budget item under consideration. His Excellency, at the conclusion of the debate, invoked the help of honourable members in his humane effort to save me from being drowned in the sea of irrelevancy into which I was taken to have fallen. You may imagine my surprise that the exponents of public opinion in the daily English press of Bombay, who may be expected to interpret the rules more liberally, unhesitatingly endorsed the view of the President. It was reserved for the *Calcutta Statesman*, among Anglo-Indian papers, to sift the question on its merits. The vernacular press, be it said to its credit, took a candid and impartial view of this point. Lest I might have the misfortune to misconceive the meaning of His Excellency, I will quote the very words used by

Lord Harris as reported in the papers, His Excellency said : " My decided opinion is that yesterday I allowed the rules to be evaded far more often than I ought to have done, and that subjects were discussed which by no possibility could be brought within the four corners of the rules which govern the Budget discussion. Now the question is whether or not honourable members should have the privilege of discussing the administrative system of the Presidency of Bombay or of other parts of India. The question is, what are the rules which govern debates upon the financial statement? This is not the place to discuss whether or not honourable members should have the right of discussing administrative questions. If they think they are disfavoured in that matter, there are *other media* of communicating knowledge. They can give vent to their thoughts in other ways, and there are other assemblies in which they can get their own friends to raise the subject of their privileges as members of this Council. The question to be considered here is this: Are the arguments used and the subjects discussed legitimate under the rules imposed on this assembly? It was with very great regret that I interfered with my honourable friend, Mr. Javerilal, when he was talking about such abstruse subjects as "subsoil water advantage" in Gujarat and was proceeding to read an extract from the report of a Government officer in the year 1888. But that report could not be mundane to the financial statement of this year." The points at issue between His Excellency and me are—(1) Are such items of revenue and expenditure as land, abkari, assessed taxes, forest &c., and especially the policy governing them, legitimate subjects of discussion under the existing rules of debate? (2) Is not the Provincial Council the place, and the the annual Budget discussion the time, for a criticism on them? Rule 5 of the rules of debate says: "The discussion will be limited to those branches of revenue and expenditure

which are under the control of the Local Government, and it will not be permissible to enter upon a criticism of Imperial finance." Here the distinction between what constitutes items under the control of the Local Government and those of Imperial finance is sufficiently clear. No one can for a moment hold that the revenue from land is not under the control of the Local Government. I go further and say that the land revenue policy in this Presidency is initiated, moulded, and finally determined by the Bombay Government in consultation with, and under the sanction of, the Secretary of State to whom every revision settlement report is sent for final orders. The land revenue system differs from province to province and our survey settlement is a question entirely under the control of the local Government. The rules relating to enhancements and the conduct of the survey, officials are all under the control of the local Government.

The second point to which Lord Harris referred was whether the Provincial Council was the place for criticising the administrative system of government. On this point there can perhaps be no higher authority than Lord Lansdowne himself. Remarking, in his farewell address at the Calcutta Royal Exchange in January last, on the measure for enlarging the functions of Legislative Councils, the ex-Viceroy said: "There is no part of the scheme for which I have a greater personal responsibility than that in which this principle (of sending representatives) has been admitted. We have now a system under which the Provincial Legislature will be brought far more closely than heretofore into contact with local opinion, and under which again the non-official opinion of the local Legislatures is more closely reflected in the Imperial Council. It may be said that by this change we have greatly increased the

Lord Harris's
dictum opposed
to that of Lord
Lansdowne.

work already thrown upon the Government of India and the Local Governments and that we are threatened with the prospects of irrelevant discussion and of the inconvenience of criticism of Government measures. In these days, however, when public opinion is allowed so large a measure of liberty in expressing itself, we cannot expect to escape discussion and criticism. If the discussion is reasonable and the criticism fair, we shall welcome them; but I hold strongly that it is better for all concerned that the critics should be responsible and should offer their criticism in the *Councils of their Provinces* or in the Council of the Viceroy, *where it can be met and replied to, and not elsewhere, where it cannot.*" (*Cyees.*) Here we have the keynote of the whole policy struck for the guidance of debates in our Legislative Councils—Viceroyal and Provincial—under the new constitution in clear

Non-official criticism and its value.

and unmistakable terms. The non-official members are brought face to face in a dignified assembly with official members who are supposed to be posted up to date in the latest developments of Government measures or public policy. It is no easy thing to criticise a Government measure or a Government policy. The critic is as much on his trial before the bar of public opinion as the Government whose measures he ventures to criticise. It demands hard study, and still harder thinking, to be able to venture any criticism for the simple reason that such criticism will, in the first place, be the measure of the critic's own knowledge of a subject or his ability to deal with it in a clear and dispassionate manner. The country is large, the interests are complicated, the grievances not few, and the Government is alien. With the best intentions in the world, the Government is after all liable to err.

"In a country," adds Lord Landsdowne, "with

Reformed Councils and their use according to Lord Lansdowne.

a population of 300 millions living under external rule, it is idle to expect that grievances will not arise and that dissatisfaction will not be exhibited. The best way of meeting it is to afford it a legitimate opportunity of making itself heard. I cannot resist expressing my hopes that, now that this opportunity has been provided, *the Councils will be regarded as the proper place* in which to bring forward, and in a manner befitting the occasion, complaints which are now preferred, sometimes with a good deal of recklessness, through other channels. I believe it will also be found that the views expressed by elected members will be of very great value in strengthening the hands of the Government in such cases—and we know that such cases exist where Indian interests might otherwise not obtain the consideration to which they are entitled." One would fancy from a perusal of the above extract that the ex-Viceroy, when giving expression to these views, was addressing his audience from a Congress platform or after a careful study of Congress reports, for it often happens, as Sir Auckland Colvin's frank confession testifies, that those who openly disapprove of Congress or Conference movements do feel, when they read reports of what Congressmen have got to say, that after all there is a substantial basis of truth and justice in what they urge. Sir William Hunter tells us, in his work on "Bombay—1885 to 1890," that it was the policy of Lord Reay that "as an English Chancellor maintains personal communication in regard to the larger matters of finance with the leaders of the City, so an Indian Governor should maintain personal communication with the non-official leaders of the provinces which he administers." Where personal communications cannot be maintained, it must be regarded as only fair and reasonable if a sympathetic hearing is given to what non-official members may have to say

in a provincial budget discussion. In a provincial budget like that of Bombay, nothing perhaps is more remarkable than the fact that the revenue of the Bombay Presidency has advanced 600 per cent. during the last sixty-four years. In 1830-31 it was Rs. 2,17,15,345, in 1862-68 the total receipts amounted to Rs. 7,17,86,638. From 1862-63 to 1892-93—that is to say, during the last thirty years—it has risen to over 13 crores. The items of land revenue, forest, and abkari show a growth of 35 lakhs in 1862-63 to 600 lakhs in 1892-93. Can any reasonable man say that this truly marvellous growth of revenue and the enormous pressure on the

The *Statesman* on Lord Harris's novel ruling.

ability of the people to bear new or increasing burdens it indicates is a subject on which non-official members can have nothing to say? As the *Calcutta Statesman* truly remarked, when lately reviewing the Bombay Budget debate, "For good or for ill, the Imperial Government has frankly accepted the principle of giving the people of this country a voice in the management of its affairs; and it is neither wise, honest, nor politic to attempt to take away with the one hand what has been given by the other. To give native gentlemen seats at the Council Board and then to close their mouths to the discussion of the most vital points of the administration is a mockery to their public spirit. * * * Deny them power if you will; grant it and resume it if it be wise; but do not profess to grant it and then surreptitiously resume the gift by subtle evasions and false pretences." I regret very much that I have taken up so much of your time on this point, but the question has not, as I said before, a merely local interest, but affects the privileges of Provincial Councils generally as to what items of revenue and expenditure should be allowed to be discussed or not, and that is my reason for trespassing upon your time.

Is not, then, present position of Indian finance—

Tax-payer's anxieties as to Imperial and Provincial finance.

whether provincial or imperial—calculated, I ask, to make the Indian tax-payer anxious? "Finance" said Mr. Samul Laing, another of our Finance Ministers, in a letter to the *Times* the other day, "is the one subject of all others in which native opinion is most sensitive. Europeans cannot realize the intense suspicion and alarm with which orientals regard any attempt to levy new taxes, which come directly home to their pockets or feelings." The sensitiveness of native public opinion is not wholly groundless. No government in the world that had some regard for the feelings of its subjects would have made the blunder of putting a fresh burden of a crore of rupees on its exchequer for compensation allowance to its European and Eurasian servants at a period of grave financial crisis. Among thoughtful Englishmen in England it is remarked that, if this concession was limited to those who entered the service of the Government of India when the rupee was at or slightly below par of exchange and who are now obliged to make actual remittances to England for the benefit of their families at the present low rates, it would be only fair; but what justice or fairness can be urged in the case of compensation grants made to those who only entered recently, who are unmarried, or have no families to whom to make actual remittances?

How, then, to touch the economic conscience of the Imperial and Provincial Governments. How to touch the Government in India and England so as to enforce economy in expenditure and prevent increasing burdens being laid on the people? This is the most urgent and the most serious Indian problem of the day or, I should say, of the hour. Three remedies may be suggested as offering some solution. The first is that the British Government should guarantee the Indian debt; the second is that the Supreme and Provincial Councils should have the right conceded to them of voting on the

budgets ; while the third remedy is that India should be treated, not on the footing of a dependency, but on that of a Crown colony. The guarantee of the Indian debt by England would enlist the sympathy of the English tax-payer, and his voice would be a potent factor in ensuring economy. In regard to the second remedy, it is not proposed to alter the constitution of the present Imperial and Provincial Councils. It is not intended to disturb the present number of seats in these Councils. The official majority will continue as at present, decisively preponderant. All that is

proposed is that members may have the right of voting on items when the budget discussions come on. Generally the official votes will preponderate

and the non-officials will be in a minority, but there might be cases, similar to the one which occurred last year about the cotton duties, in which the officials who could not vote according to their conscience, could do so with freedom. The votes recorded will at all events indicate the preponderance of opinion on one or other side of a question. This preponderance will generally be on the official side, but the recording of votes will be an indication to the people at large of the economic conscience of our rulers. The public will know how to appraise the value of these votes at their proper worth. The concession here demanded is but a natural and legitimate development of the principle of self-government. It is only in this way, I say, that we can touch the conscience of our rulers. The proposal about treating India as a Crown colony has this in its favour—that, like other colonies, the cost of the India office and a portion of the Indian military expenditure in England which at present falls on India, shall have to be borne by England. Indian expenditure so far will figure in the English budget, and in that way Indian questions will prick the conscience of the English taxpayer.

The rules regulating first admissions to the new Provincial Service of the Presidency, which have been framed by the Bombay Government, and which are now awaiting the final sanction of the Government of India, formed the subject of a long and well-reasoned memorial by that ever-active body, the Poona Sarvajauik Sabha, to the Government of India. The proposals, as embodied in the rules as at present drafted, are so retrograde in their character, and will prove, if carried out so detrimental to the general interests of this Presidency and, particularly, to the interests of efficient administration, that one could hardly have conceived that they should have emanated from a responsible authority like the Government of Bombay. Coming after the unsatisfactory labours of the Public Service Commission appointed "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the people of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service," and after the scheme sanctioned by the Secretary of State in his despatch No. 104, dated 12th September 1889, to the Government of India on the subject of the Commission's Report, which reduced the number and quality of the posts to be detached from the Schedule of the Act of 1861 and refused to have recourse to Parliamentary legislation in the matter, as, suggested by the Commission, the new rules are not calculated to allay the fears in the public mind that the efficiency of the Public Service will be seriously impaired. The exclusion of mailatdars from the Provincial Service and the injustice resulting therefrom to those of the graduates among them who had preferential claims in the revenue line under the terms of the Government notifications; the recruitment of the service, partly by open competition, partly by nomination on the basis of race and creed distinctions, and in

very exceptional cases, by promotion from the subordinate service; and the low standard for the competitive examination were points, among others, which were brought to the notice of the Government of India. The reply of the Government sent through Mr. Secretary W. H. Harvey in August last has been scarcely

Government of
India's reply un-
satisfactory.

satisfactory. The Government of India finds itself unable to apply to the Bombay Presidency a different rule from that which has been accepted in other provinces where the line of demarcation between the Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services has been so drawn as to include in the latter service officers of the tehsildar class to whom the mamlatdars correspond. Now it is true that as regards the work that the mamlatdars have to do, it corresponds in some respects with the work of the tehsildars; but there is this difference between the two that, whereas the tehsildars are recruited mostly from the lowest ministerial grades and can claim no high educational attainments, the graduate mamlatdars are quite a superior body of men in general character and moral tone. The rules of 1878 practically reserved all mamlatdarships for graduates of the university, subject to certain limitations for safeguarding the interests of non-graduate mamlatdars already of considerable standing in the service. These rules were altered for the worse in subsequent years, and now the exclusion of graduate mamlatdars from the Provincial Service cannot fail to operate as a discouragement to graduates to join the revenue line. At present most of our Deputy Collectors are men who have been mamlatdars once, and they can look after the work of the mamlatdars better. The very principle for which the Government of India contend, namely, that the scheme for the Provincial Services, which has for its primary end the establishment of the Public Service on a basis of thorough efficiency, will be sacrificed, while considerations of race and

creed, which should not enter into account when sound administrative work is the end to be attained, will predominate. To the second prayer of the Sabha, that the competitive test may be raised at least to the level of the B. A. Examination of the Bombay University, the reply of the Government of India is that they agree with the Bombay Government that "the system of competitive examination proposed in the draft rules" should receive a fair trial. "Under this system," the Government observe, "not only have graduates any better chance of being successful than candidates of lower educational attainments so far as the obligatory subjects of the proposed competitive test are concerned; but, in view of optional subjects, they will have all the advantage over the latter that they can properly claim." Gentlemen, I leave it to you to say how far this reasoning is sound, which puts graduates and others together on an inferior competitive examination, and how far it meets adequately the very cogent arguments in the Sabha's memorial.

The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts Bill is another important measure on which the Sabha offered very useful suggestions. The Bill, which was introduced last year by the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner into the Supreme Legislative Council, has for its object the amendment of the existing Relief Acts. It will come on for discussion at Calcutta during the ensuing cold weather. The proposed amendment of the law is the outcome of a part of the recommendations made in the very able, elaborate, and eminently suggestive report of the Commission of 1892. These recommendations divide themselves under two heads—(1) judicial reforms and (2) executive reforms. The Commission is of opinion that the Act of itself can not afford an adequate solution of the problem of agricultural indebtedness. In part III of its report it recommends certain executive reforms in the direction of relaxing

the rigidity of the present revenue system and showing greater liberality in the matter of granting suspensions and remissions. These forms of relief are, in the Commission's opinion, as much needed to improve the condition of the ryot as any amendment of the Act itself. The Government of Bombay objected to the recommendations touching executive reforms for the reason that the Commission had travelled beyond the scope and terms of its reference in making such recommendations. In the letter of the Bombay Government, written by the Hon'ble Mr. Lee Warner as Secretary the Government also observed that, if the chief of the four recommendations made by the Commission—namely, the suspension of revenue as a matter of course in bad years—were acted upon, it would be tantamount to a virtual reversion to the old system which had been tried and found wanting. It is not clear how far such fears on the part of our Government are well founded. On the other hand the crying want in the Deccan is how best to remedy the unsuitableness of a system which aims at securing a fixed annual payment regardless of seasons which play havoc with the crops. Mr. E. C. Ozaune observes that in every cycle of eleven years five or six are bad, and the rest either good or middling. The root of the evil is more climatic than social. It does not appear that the

Supreme Government's views in conflict with those of the Bombay Government.

Supreme Government have adopted the view of the Bombay Government. On the contrary, if one is to judge from what has appeared in the public prints of this Presidency, the late Viceroy, prior to his retirement from the Government of this country, had placed on record a minute reviewing the Commission's report and dealing with the problem of agricultural indebtedness. In this minute the ex-Viceroy emphasises the grave nature of this problem of agricultural indebtedness and the danger likely to arise from indifference in grappling with it by executive action.

In his opinion any amendment of the Relief Act would touch merely the fringe of this serious problem. No legislative interference will be effective until the question is taken up as one of executive administration. But the Hon'ble Mr. Lee-Warner, the same gentleman who, as Secretary to Government, signed the letter of protest on behalf of the Bombay Government, in moving the introduction of the Bill in the Supreme Council last year, said that the proposed Bill is not intended to give effect to "the larger projects recommended by the Commission," and that its chief object is to invest the Local Government with power to introduce the Act in any part or parts of a district without extending it to

Poona Sarva-
janik Sabha's con-
tentions.

the whole district. Now it is a fact, as the Sabha points out, that the existing Act gives full authority to the Local Government to extend the provisions of the Act to any district in the Presidency with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council. But it is urged that the "physical and agricultural condition of various talukas in the same district differs greatly," and as the Government of Bombay desire to extend the Act only to those areas where it may be really needed, an amendment of the Act becomes necessary. The force of this contention is not denied but this is a very insignificant matter compared to the graver question of how best to deal with the growing agricultural indebtedness on which the late Viceroy has expressed so strongly and in no uncertain sound. When the Amendment Bill comes on for consideration before the Supreme Legislature, I am sure our honorable friends, the non-official members, will want to know definitely what opinions the ex-Viceroy has left on record. His views must doubtless have been based on the evidence of the expert witnesses examined by the Commission.

Opinions of
members of
Viceroy's Council

Strange as it may appear, this expert evidence is not to be found in the report of the Commission. Appendix I, of the report indeed gives abstracts of the evidence taken by the Commission whilst on tour in the Poona, Ahmednagar, Shclapur, and Satara Districts. But the evidence of the expert witnesses, such as the District Judges, the Assistant Judge, the Special Judge and his Subordinates, whose names are given in Appendix II. of the evidence, is not given in the report. When it is considered that it was on this expert evidence that the Commission based its recommendations, and on which the ex-Viceroy relied in recording his important minute, that it is this evidence to which the public in India would look for forming its opinion as to whether executive reforms are more needed than civil legislation in dealing with the complicated problem of agricultural indebtedness, some idea may be formed of the necessity of placing such evidence before the world. I notice that Sir William Wedderburn moved the Secretary of State for India for a return of this expert evidence, but so far it has not been forthcoming. It will be to some purpose if some honourable non-official member of the Supreme Council move for these papers before the Council proceeds to consider the amendment of the Deccan Relief Acts.

From the land question to the forest is an easy transition. I was about to refer to the rules recently introduced into the Deccan and Konkan Districts regulating the number of cattle for which a cultivator may claim free grazing and the charge of fees for such of his cattle as are not employed in agricultural work; but it seems to me that we would do well to await the effect of the recent resolution of the Government of India of 19th October last on the present rules which are a source of petty persecutions and harassments on the part of a low-paid subordinate agency to the poor ryot. It is a resolution

New Forest Policy approved.

which, if faithfully followed, should, in my humble opinion, greatly allay the dissatisfaction regarding the operations of the Forest Act now prevalent in all the districts of this presidency. The Government of India deserves the cordial thanks of the public for its renewed declaration of the true policy which should actuate subordinate administrations in conserving forests. The first public act of the Earl of Elgin needs to be hailed with satisfaction in all parts of the country. (*Cheers.*) Let us devoutly hope that it is the glad harbinger of a new departure in the administrative policy of the Government—a policy of sympathy in every way calculated to allay unrest and promote contentment among the dumb masses. (*Cheers.*)

That the comments on Government measures should be unacceptable and even intolerable to the officials generally is not a matter for surprise. It is so all the world over. But what the bureaucracy in India has to consider is that the conditions among us twenty or thirty years ago were different from what they are at present. Even this city of Bombay will be found to be different to-day from what it was five years ago. The great merit of the founders of the Indian Empire and of those who consolidated it was that they fully understood and grasped the circumstances around them and realised what the necessities of the times were. They looked before as they looked back. What their successors have most to remember is that India is not the stationary country it once was. The world moves on, and so is India moving under the fostering care of the British Government. Moral forces are at work which bring about a moral unity among the people under the action, nay, often against the will, of the British Government itself. New circumstances arise and new developments take place. Such new developments bring new difficulties in their train. Such difficulties are becoming serious enough.

But can any reasonable, thoughtful person believe that the resources of British statesmanship cannot cope with them? (*Hear, hear.*) Can any one believe that the successors of eminent Anglo-Indian statesmen like the Elphinstones and the Munros, the Metcalfes and the Earls Canning and Ripon, who have succeeded to the mighty inheritance left by them cannot rise to the height of the situation and work in the spirit of the times in which they live? (*Cheers.*) New difficulties must make new and vigorous demands upon their intelligence and statesmanship. Their highest statesmanship consists in reading correctly the signs of the times, not in decrying them, not in making light of them, but in considering how best they can be met—in short, in a policy of conciliation and sympathy, and not of dogged obstinacy and a reliance on brute force. This changed attitude of mind on the part of the officials is, in the opinion of some observers, perhaps the most striking point of contrast observable all over the country at the present day. A policy of "divide and rule," fraught with immense mischief to the stability of British rule in India, seems to them to be in the ascendant. Even thoughtful and responsible officials have not been slow to notice regretfully and give it a public expression. No one has doubts as to the British Government having the giant's strength but no one at the same time would hesitate to say that it would be tyrannous and opposed to the best British traditions to use such strength like a giant. Fully realizing this, the British Government themselves have created moral forces of a self-acting nature. One of these forces is education which has made considerable advances in India. But there are some Officials of eminence in India who either will not recognise this, or, if they do, will think it has advanced to a dangerous extent. For instance, in an elaborate and

British Government has to take cognisance of new forces which have sprang up.

learned paper in the last number of the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society on the conditions and prospects of popular education in India, Mr. J. A. Baines, a distinguished civilian of this Presidency and the Census Commissioner of India, while dealing chiefly with primary education, devotes a few passing remarks at the close to what he calls the highest product of the present system of education—the educated classes. Speaking of the relation which this educated class bears to the masses, the part it takes in the great life of the community, its numerical strength, how far it is predisposed to admit the rest of its gifted fellows to a share in the intellectual privileges on which it founds its claims, or how far it is inclined to perpetuate a traditional monopoly, what, again, is its attitude, not in precept, but in example, towards the deeply seated influences that impair the general vitality of the country and cramp its energies, Mr. Baines is of opinion that “however glittering the surface that lies uppermost, it, by no means, follows that all below is gold.” Mr.

Opinions of Mr. Baines and Sir Charles Elliott on Education and Politics examined.

Baines knows that Burke is studied in colleges, so in his desire to show what a microscopic minority they are, he gratifies the educated classes by quoting the famous passage in Burke, in which that political philosopher contrasts the chinking grasshoppers under a fern with the great cattle reposing beneath the shade of the oak, who chew the cud and are silent, and who do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field. In this connection it is amusing to compare the views of Mr. Baines with those of another eminent Official Sir Charles Elliott. Mr. Baines regards the educated classes as “pretty creepers, no doubt, but, ephemeral and unproductive.” His Honour the Lieut-Governor of Bengal opens his mind to Mr. Blahtwayte in *Black and White*,

and remarks :—"The Babu is becoming a most serious element in the population. We turn 5,000 out of our universities every year, and we can only provide Government employment for 150. The rest therefore, are discontented, and full of complaints against the British administration." Again, "Here in Bengal dwells the educated Babu, who, with brilliant exceptions, yet, is, as a rule, discontented and disloyal." Mr. Baines has no sympathy with those who delight in putting back the clock and rubbing their hands over the appearance of retrogression; who, "in order to maintain their own position and influence, whilst the world is slipping past them, are ever croaking over a purely imaginary cessation of an advance, which, they are too conscious, will undermine their traditional interest." Sir Charles Elliott says: "Much of the hostility we meet with is due, I firmly believe, to the books we have ourselves placed in the hands of school-boys. We have fed them with the burden of Milton, Johnson, and Burke, and they have, with their great imitative faculty and pedantry, conceived that we stand to the people of India as the Stuarts and the Georges stood to the people of England." Mr. Baines looks for the solution of the problem not to any direct effort on the part of the State, of private enterprise, or of the literate classes, but to the stimulus of the steady advance of the masses in prosperity, in the educating influence of material circumstances, the opening of the mind by travel commerce and industry, all of which are, he thinks, "in their lusty infancy." Sir Charles Elliott, on the other hand thinks that the "Babu goes to England, is made much of, feted sometimes as though he were a prince. He returns to India full of conceit and self sufficiency, and utterly unfitted for his old simple and natural ways." Mr. Baines protests against deception in the opposite direction by going about crowing and clapping over some figments of an *ex-parte* claim, "based on

flimsy, garbled, and untested evidence, that the sun of enlightenment is standing in its blazing noon, when, in reality, it has only just reached the top of the mountain and all the immense valley below is still shrouded in the densest gloom of ignorance." I content myself here with merely presenting to you these shades of contrast in the views entertained in regard to the effects and measure of our intellectual acquirements. Mr. Baines speaks of the moral fibre of the educated classes and considers that it has not yet been developed. "The head is growing faster than the heart." He arrives at this decision from a few stray cases of fraudulent acquisition of examination papers at the university examinations. "One boy, in a high school," says he, who had been punished, burnt down the school and the master's house." Now, it would be as fair and correct to thus generalise and judge of the moral fibre of the educated classes in this country from such isolated cases of delinquencies as to judge of the moral character of the entire Indian Civil Service from stray cases of high-handedness, corruption and bribery, or of the Indian Medical Service from the Kissing Case which has recently become so notorious. It is enough to say that there are black sheep in every community, and the less said about its moral fibre the better for us all. Contrast this with the reply of Lord Wenlock to the address presented to him at Vizianagram by the teachers of the Maharaja's School. "I am bound," says His Excellency the Governor of Madras, "I am bound, as far as I have been able to judge, to say that the results of this education are producing nothing but good in those to whom it is given (*cheers*), especially to those who have been called upon to take part in administering the affairs of the country. Those who know this country best assure me that there has been wonderful improvement in the work of those who have been educated in this country and who are now taking

Approval of
Lord Wenlock's
statesmanlike po-
licy.

a prominent part in administering its affairs. We find on all sides remarkable improvements in the intelligence they bring to bear on their work and the despatch with which they get through their work and the honesty with which they deal with their work, and I think that says a great deal for higher education in this country." So you see, gentlemen, it depends very much on the frame of mind in which you are how you estimate the character of a people. Madras has, of late, far outshone other Presidencies in questions affecting the people's rights and liberties. It is to Lord Wenlock's Government that the whole of India, and especially the educated classes, owe a deep debt of gratitude for the noble defence of simultaneous examinations in India and England. (*Cheers.*) It shows His Lordship's capacity for taking broad and sympathetic views of public questions.

Gentlemen, we can make allowance for differences of view, but when so shrewd, intelligent, and responsible an official as Sir Charles Elliott charges the educated classes among us with disloyalty, every educated man is bound in self defence to indignantly and firmly repudiate the charge. (*Applause*) On this point we can appeal to the high testimony of no less an authority than Lord Dufferin. The late Viceroy was a statesman not likely to mince matters. And what is his deliberate opinion? Speaking at the Mansion House in London after his retirement from the Government of India, Lord Dufferin observed:—"I believe that, leaving out of account the absolutely ignorant, some fanatical sects, the discontented sections of society which are to be found in all communities, and individuals with a personal grievance, but including those who vituperate us in the newspapers, there is not a subject of the Queen in India, whether prince, or landholder,

or merchant, or artizan, or cultivator, who is not convinced that the English administration gives him what he would get neither in an independent India nor in an India under the rule of any other power—namely peace, security, justice, a free press, education, an enormous share in the Government appointments, a native magistracy, the conservation of the native dynasties as independent states, local self-Government, the prospect of the gradual liberalization of our methods of administration, the supervision of the House of Commons, and a consciousness that English public opinion is always on the alert to notice any abuse of authority, and to temper the severity of that authoritative *regime* through which alone the vast congeries of nationalities, religions,

Hon'ble Surendranath's views as to impolicy of suspicion.

and races inhabiting the peninsula can be effectually governed." (*Applause.*)

And what has the foremost Bengali politician* to say in reply to Sir Charles Elliott—I mean, the Hon'ble

Surendranath Bannerjee? He says to Mr. Blathwayt: "We want to be associated *with* our rulers, not to supersede them. We want a policy of suspicion to be replaced by one of good will and confidence. We want you English here, we require you, we cannot do without you; but, above all, we ask for sympathy, sympathy, sympathy!" (*Loud cheers.*) Will Sir Charles Elliott say that language such as this breathes sentiments of disloyalty? The Indian reformer may say, in the words of the poet:

We want no flag, no flaunting rag,

For liberty to fight;

We want no blaze of murderous guns,

To struggle for the right;

Our spears and swords are printed words,

The mind our battle plain;

We've won such victories before,

And so shall we again.

(*Cheers.*)

Sir Charles Elliot finds fault with the vernacular press. No reasonable man can say that the vernacular press is free from fault. It has its temptations of exaggerated and sensational writings. At the same time it cannot be maintained that this characteristic is the monopoly of that press. The vernacular press is a product of British rule. Journalism in India had no existence before the advent of the British rule. The power of the press for good or evil is immense. Moderation and sobriety of judgment are what one would expect the press to promote. The Indian journalist, however, follows the methods and tactics of his Anglo-Indian brother, and in trying to copy his virtues imitates at times his vices also. Bearing this in mind, Anglo-Indian journals incur no small responsibility as exponents of public opinion on Government measures and public policy. It does not promote a harmony of feeling by the pot calling the kettle black, and though the sermons of the pot to the kettle are often edifying in themselves, there are times when the coolest head and the soundest judgment are needed in helping the public to view burning questions correctly and impartially. Sensational articles and exaggerated reports of passing events appearing in Anglo-Indian journals do incalculable mischief to the people of India. The Anglo-Indian, be he a merchant, a doctor, an engineer, or a civilian in a remote part of the country, often takes his notions of things Indian from the newspapers. (*Cheers.*) He cannot be expected to verify the statements of the editor. Similarly, Anglo-Indian opinion is communicated to the leading English journals, and through them is circulated to the whole provincial English press in Great Britain. When the Anglo-Indian journals put our case impartially before the Indian and the British public, our cause stands a chance of being half won. But if the nerves of the newspaper-reading pub-

lie in India first and in England afterwards are played upon by some of them through exaggerated and sensational articles, you may well conceive the mischief they have the power to do. My surprise is that the British public so far has not formed a low and mean estimate of the loyalty and moral fibre of the educated classes as one would fear it might otherwise have been led to do under the influence of sensational literature constantly dished up in some Anglo-Indian newspapers. We may implore such writers not to permit their heavy artillery to bear on our inter-sectional or inter-racial interests, and if, while bringing to light our faults, they appreciate what there is of good points in us, the vernacular press will, I am firmly convinced, reciprocate the good feeling. In this way a harmony of feeling, so conducive to public interests, will be brought about. I may state here that it was thus that that Bayard of Anglo-Indian journalism, no other than the late Mr.

R. Knight and
the true functions
of publicists.

Robert Knight, served the interests of this country, where his memory is cherished with an esteem and a gratitude which are at once the highest proofs of his sterling honesty and independence as an interpreter between the rulers and the ruled, and I cannot refrain from quoting that editor's lofty conception of what the true functions of a journalist should be: "It cannot," said he, "be too earnestly insisted upon that journalism implies a public trust and carries with it, whether we will or not, responsibilities of a moral order. *Every journalist is under an implied pledge to his readers that he will tell them the very truth of things as he apprehends it. If he errs as to facts, it must be honest, unconscious error into which he has fallen, and not the twisting and distortion of facts to suit a purpose or cause he has in hand.*" (Hear, hear.)

There is one more topic, gentlemen, which I have

Recent Riots and the unfortunate official policy. reserved to the conclusion of this address. It does not properly fall within the sphere of our work as members of this Conference, but circumstances have given it of late a factitious importance which would not justify my ignoring it altogether on this occasion. Meeting, as, we do, to day in this busy city of Bombay as representatives of the educated classes from all parts of the Presidency, we have no room here for class and race feelings and differences. (*Hear, hear.*) Hindus and Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, all join on this platform whose chief plank is one of fellowship bred in mutual sympathy and respect, and in a desire to promote our common, and not sectional, interests. (*Cheers.*) In all times and in all places, ignorance and bigotry, pride and prejudice go together, and there are some disorderly spirits in the lower strata of all communities, who sometimes rise to the surface, and, in the name of religion, seek to dissolve the holiest bond of all religions—that which joins man with man in mutual responsibility and helpfulness. Notwithstanding such momentary lapses into fits of insanity, the general good sense of the Indian community soon asserts itself and prevails in the end, for our people have always been distinguished for their freedom from religious fanaticism and the fury of political partisanship. (*Cheers*) Their leaders have never attached undue importance to trifling matters, and have always been ready and willing to persuade their own communities that union is strength, and mutual alienation a deadly sin. Religious riots have, nodoubt, been frequent of late years in many parts of the country, and it is a question which has baffled the highest statesmanship to understand the genesis of this unusual bitterness. Some have attributed it to a wave of fanaticism which, they think, has swept over the land. Others have, with equal ingenuity, attributed this untoward state of things to influences from without, which are

supposed to be hostile to the Congress and which, it is alleged, give encouragement to these dissensions among the people for political and party purposes. On behalf of this Conference and the native community generally, I repudiate both these explanations, especially the last, as being based on very insufficient data, and untenable in the larger light of our intimate knowledge of current history. (*Cheers.*) The unrest we deplore is, I feel firmly convinced, not the result of any fanaticism or statecraft. The British rulers of this country have at heart the same interests that we cherish as our dearest possessions—the interests of order and peace, progress and co-operation. The noble Queen-Empress who rules over the land has the same motherly regard for all her children without distinction of creed or colour, and the nobler race of which she is the Queen will never falsify its past history by seeking to disunite what the highest statesmanship has joined together. (*Cheers.*) His Excellency the Governor the other day eloquently justified this noble attitude of official neutrality in matters of religion. It would certainly have been equally satisfactory if His Excellency, in his speech at Ahmednagar, had not singled out a particular community for an expression of his high displeasure. The Maratha community not long ago ruled, and still rules, over a wide stretch of territory inhabited by all manner of races and creeds, where no riots have yet occurred, and its representatives in the Deccan and elsewhere have certainly not lost their heads completely. (*Cheers.*) His Excellency himself, in his Satara address, made amends for this momentary disturbance of his usual equanimity of temper, and we may well afford to forget these incidents. The inability of the police and District authorities to comprehend the real nature of these occasional outbursts of temper on the part of the lower orders of the Hindu and Mahome-

The conduct of
the Police.

dan communities is, however, a fact, which we cannot pass over in silence. Stern repression, and not timely prevention, has been their stock remedy for the disease and this has been the source of much bitterness on both sides. (*Hear, hear.*) These apparently strained relations are really due to the increasing consciousness of their social rights which the lower orders of both the communities are slowly realising under the protection of British rule. People who were in old times debarred from the exercise of certain privileges seek the help of the law, and, in the course of this self-assertion, it is but natural that certain classes of Hindus and Mahomedans should come into occasional conflict. Gentle management and a spirit of moderation and compromise will surely be of more practical account than indiscriminate punishments for such a state of things. (*Hear, hear.*) The leaders of both sides are willing to co-operate in a spirit of mutual conciliation if properly approached, and the executive authorities in the lower grades cannot be better employed than in bringing these leaders together and giving strength and stability to their wise counsels. The N. W. Provinces Government have already succeeded in quieting the public mind in those parts by a resort to this policy of conciliation, and the same policy will succeed equally well here. It is an abnegation of the highest function of the Police when it waits till the mischief is done, and then fulminates its wrath through the prosecutions of the guilty and the innocent alike. It will be more to the purpose if they cease to find imaginary explanations in all conceivable quarters but the right one, and co-operate as citizens in this work, than which Christian charity can have no nobler field for its display. (*Cheers.*) This is not a question between the rulers and the ruled. The European district revenue and police officer must forget for the moment that he is a foreigner and a ruler. He must throw off the robes of office and come down as a member of the community to promote the cause of righteousness by

undertaking to be a peace-maker. (*Hear, hear.*) I am still in hopes that the district authorities will come to see the matter in the light in which I have placed it before you. Even if they do not see their way to such a settlement, the path of duty lies plain before us. We, Hindus and Mahomedans, are the right and left arms of this great community (*loud cheers*) as was so convincingly made clear last week in the most able and well-considered speeches of my friends, Messrs. Dharamsi and Ranchorlal Chotalal, at the Mahomedan Conference at Ahmedabad and we cannot afford to

slight and injure each other to our mutual ruin and wait till the doctor comes and amputates both the arms. We must remember that our disagreement puts the cause of our country, which is our cause back for many years, for, as long as there are dissensions among us, we must look in vain for advancement in all directions. We must make allowances on both sides and fraternize as was done last year in this City after the unhappy riots and as has been much better managed in Pen, Chiplun, and other places. The unrest we deplore is an attendant evil of our transition from the old order of high and low status into one of conscious equality, and we must guide the vessel by a gentle hand, and our good sense and toleration will, I am sure, accomplish what mere repression with the heavy foot will never achieve. It is only in this way

that the people of India can reap to their full extent the blessings flowing from the direct rule of Her Majesty. I am here reminded of a passage in Mr Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort" which refers to the feelings which prompted Her Majesty to declare her real sentiments towards the people of India in the proclamation of 1858. The passage runs thus:—"The Queen has asked Lord Malmesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation. The Queen would be glad

Prevention, not oppression need-

if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indian will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization" (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, let us show, by a spirit of mutual reconciliation, that we are fully alive to the blessings of peace and prosperity assured to us in the Proclamation, which, in the subsequent words of Her Gracious Majesty (1837), is considered

Inviolability of
the sacred principles
of the Queen's
Proclamations.

"as the charter of the liberties of the princes and the people of India"—a charter whose "principles" it is her "earnest desire should be unswervingly maintained." Gentlemen, I have detained you long, but, if what I have said here affords some food for calm and dispassionate reflection on our present situation, I shall feel myself amply rewarded. (*Loud cheers and applause.*)

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THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established on the 1st of Chaitra Shaka 1792 i. e. 2nd April 1870
for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of
the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective
system under rules framed for the purpose.

WALEKAR'S WADA, DANE ALI

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HINDU MAHOMEDAN RIOTS.

THE REPLY OF GOVERNMENT TO THE MEMORIAL OF THE SABHA.

No. 865 of 1895.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Bombay Castle, 7th February 1895.

From

THE HONOURABLE MR. W. G. VIDAL,

Acting Secretary to Government,

BOMBAY.

To

THE SECRETARY,

to the Sarvajanic Sabha.

POONA.

Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of your letters I am directed in reply, to explain that, while the Governor-in-Council readily recognises the Sabha's perfect right to withhold the information asked for by Government in letters Nos. 8467 and 8693, dated respectively the 19th and 29th December, the unusual course of asking for it was taken only because the Sabha's letters seemed to imply a claim, not

No. 975, dated the 29th November, 1894; No. 978, dated the 23rd December, 1894; No. 1, dated the 8th January, 1895, and No. 13, dated the 21st January, 1895.

merely to that consideration on its own merits which the Governor in Council is as ready now as ever to accord to any communication received from the Sabha, but also to the weight due to an expression of the views of a body representing the Mahomedan and Parsee as well as the Hindu community. Government are of course aware that one section of the latter community which is most active, and which there is unfortunately least reason to credit with any genuine and disinterested desire to allay animosities and minimise the difficulty of dealing with them, is represented in the counsels of the Sabha, and having regard to the obvious necessity for caution in examining any proposals really emanating from that source on the one hand, and on the other to the value to be attached to any genuine and adequate consensus of enlightened and well-disposed native opinion in regard to such subjects as those under discussion, it would have been hardly fair to dispose of their representation without at least giving them an opportunity of removing any possible doubts as to the point of view from which it should be regarded.

2 Such information as the Sabha have thought it permissible to give goes only to show that they approach the subject from what is, for practical purposes, a purely Hindu standpoint and leaves unanswered the further question whether the views and line of action they advocate command the intelligent adherence of any large body even of Hindu opinion, so unconnected with, and unaffected by, the recent course of events as to be entitled to much confidence. The Sabha will not perhaps, under these circumstances, look for more than an assurance that their representations have been carefully considered. There are, however, one or two points in regard to which a more specific expression of the views of Government may be useful.

3 Without following the Sabha into their review of the causes which have led up to the existing tension, Government, I am to state, are willing to note the assurance of the Sabha's belief that the actual disturbances which have taken place have originated in religious prejudices rousing one class against another, and that they have for the most part been confined to the lower and ignorant classes of the two communities. At the same time the Sabha should understand that Government have been informed, not by "low-paid and not over-scrupulous officers," but by Hindu gentlemen of high

position, and not less capable of forming a fair judgment of the cases that have led to the disturbances than are the members of the Sabha that there is no religious antipathy amongst the lower classes such as would of itself incite to outbreaks: and that the normal but quiescent difference of opinion as to the merits of the respective religions has been fanned into flames here and there by the incitement of better educated, better born, and better situated but worse disposed persons. His Excellency in Council does not, with these conflicting views before him, hazard an opinion as to the class within which the originators of these disturbances are to be found; but assuming for the moment that the view of the Sabha is the more worthy of credence, I am to observe that the Sabha, in repudiating the responsibility of the educated classes has made no attempt to show that, the breach once formed, the sort of writing with which a certain section of the Native press has teemed could have had or have been intended to have, any other effect than to widen the breach, or that the gentlemen who have been so busy in various places, preaching resistance and retaliation and coercion by boycotting and otherwise; publishing religious pamphlets and songs: using organized pressure to prevent Hindus, especially of the lower classes, from taking their customary or professional part in Mahomedan celebrations; getting up, at a time of much religious excitement, ostentatious Hindu processions accompanied by every demonstration likely to irritate the rival community, which they could induce the district authorities to permit; calling meetings and counter-meetings; taking part in rejoicings over the results of trials supposed to be favourable to their own community and expressing public condemnation of proceedings having a contrary issue; promoting addresses to gentlemen convicted of disobedience to lawful authority as being martyrs in the cause of religion, and so on, could have been ignorant of the necessary effect of such proceedings in embittering the quarrel, provoking counter-demonstrations, and encouraging and exasperating the bigotry and fanaticism which the Sabha so properly deprecate. I am to explain that these remarks are made in no spirit of recrimination or accusation. The gentlemen in question, to whichever side they may belong,—and if the Hindu agitator has been more in evidence, it is not that the Mahomedan minority have been backward in carrying on the war in their own way,—are of course entitled to their own opinions and to act according to their own judgment and

conscience, at their own risk. It is only because the facts noticed, which are notorious, suggest a possibility that the Sabha may have somewhat exaggerated not only the natural strength and depth of the hatred which they would have Government to believe to exist between the lower classes of the two communities, but also the necessity for special measures, as distinguished from mere abstinence from needless provocation, to bring them together, that attention is drawn to them. They have also a practical bearing which should not be ignored, on the attitude of the district officers which the Sabha have taken it upon themselves to condemn as one of "violent prejudice and mistrust," and on the feelings of sorrow and helplessness which they attribute, not, it is to be feared, without reason, to the more respected and respectable members of both communities. It appears to Government that officers who are responsible for the peace of their districts are entitled to use their own judgment as to the value of the advice which may be tendered to them in times of threatened disturbance when, as the Sabha point out, the men who make themselves most prominent are not those most worthy of confidence; and that these officers are as little likely as the Sabha could desire to reject any help they can obtain from "Hindus whom the Mahomedans respect and Mahomedans who enjoy the confidence of Hindus." That there are in every district many such Hindus and Mahomedans every district officer knows, and the Sabha will have deserved the gratitude of the community if the attention they have drawn to the subject should serve to encourage such gentlemen in particular, and the well-disposed majority in general, to use the influence which belongs to them in support of law and order, instead of yielding to their not unnatural inclination to remain passive.

4 There is one other point to which, before leaving this subject I am to invite the attention of the Sabha, and that is in connection with the treatment of the social malady which they prescribe in paragraph 4 (V) of their letter, so far as the responsibilities of the district authorities are concerned. As the Sabha is no doubt aware, disturbances arising from religious or other causes are no novelty in the annals of administration, whether in this Presidency or elsewhere, both in and out of India, and the local authorities everywhere understand with sufficient clearness that their character for efficiency depends on the foresight, judgment, and firmness with which they deal with such crises when they arise.

But it is unfortunately not more difficult here than elsewhere for ill-disposed persons to make trouble, and the Sabha have apparently failed to realise that for Government to announce, as they suggest, an intention of "degrading or promoting its officers according as they fail or succeed in preserving peace" by way of inducement to them "to seek to enlist the active co-operation of the leaders of both sides", would be tantamount to handing over the control of the local administration to any irresponsible mischief-monger with influence enough to get up a disturbance and a motive for using that influence.

5 With regard to the distinction drawn by the Sabha between religious and secular music, I am to recommend to their consideration a letter signed "Hindu" and published in the English papers of the 10th January 1895, the author of which is not known to Government but which appears to place in a very reasonable and practical light some of the objections to the view taken by the Sabha, and to their proposal to make that view the basis of a general line of action. The position of Government in the matter has already been stated in their Resolution No. 1917 of the 15th March, 1894, on the Yeola riots. I am to observe that the Sabha and the Hindu community generally may rest assured that the importance attached by the Hindus to the use of music in their processions and celebrations, whether religious or secular, (if it is possible to draw such a distinction), is fully realised, and that neither Government nor any of their officers have the least desire to interfere in the matter further than is necessary for the preservation of the public peace, the protection of other sections of the public against annoyance and damage, and the general maintenance of order. It is obviously impossible to accept any theory which would subordinate those considerations to the religious views of either party. Theory apart Government officers have repeatedly shown their willingness in practice to allow soft music to continue when the difficulty could be got over by stopping the noisy music only. Where music has been stopped altogether, it has only been because no warrant of custom has been made out for endangering the public peace by allowing it. The one exception, if it can be called an exception, to that rule of which Government are aware, is the order recently issued at Poona, for the licensing of music in the streets.

The necessity for an order calculated to prevent the recurrence of disputes was recognised and insisted upon on all sides. The form which it took, that of an adaptation of the order in force in Bombay, was, as Government understand, dictated partly by general considerations and partly by a desire to remove the question from the domain of excited religious feeling. Subject to such modifications, if any, as may appear to the local authorities to be called for in view of the practical inconveniences which that order is alleged by the Sabha to involve, it appears to Government to be one which as opening to both parties a door of retreat without surrender from a dispute which had become a menace to life and property, deserves the support rather than the condemnation of bodies which, like the Sabha, claim to speak in the interests of peace and good will.

6 Finally, I am to observe that, while Government are not disposed to abandon, and will certainly not, on occasion, arising any powers of repression that the law now provides, they entirely concur in the views of the Sabha as to the policy of "preventing outbreaks, rather than that it should be necessary to resort to stern repression to put them down after they have broken out." To that end official conciliation and adjudication of disputes are means which deserve consideration, can be resorted to where advisable, and might, under certain conditions, which have not, however, in the opinion of Government, as yet arisen in Bombay, become indispensable. But concessions made and bargains accepted as the result of such arrangements are at best little more acceptable or more likely to be observed without compulsion, or broken without offence, than such magisterial orders based on a rough appreciation of the merits of the dispute and the immediate necessities of the situation as are a matter of ordinary procedure. It is only in the restoration of those feelings of genuine amity and mutual respect, which can hardly even now be far below the surface, that any real and permanent security against the constant recurrence of the necessity for repressive measures and distasteful restrictions can be looked for. There is, no Hindu or Mussalman so humble as to be unable to render, if he so pleases, material aid in bringing about that restoration, by abstaining himself and persuading his fellows to abstain from all unnecessary causes of offence, doing what in him lies to make amends for any injury or

annoyance that may have been caused to the other party, cultivating friendly relations in all matters outside the sphere of the dispute, and taking all possible means to show that even in regard to matters in dispute, there is no desire to be aggressive, or to take offence where none is intended. The question may be asked, "Which side is to begin?" The answer is that, if one side rather than the other should set the example, it should be the side which is strongest and has suffered least. But there is little need to fear that either side which may give evidence, in the manner indicated, of a genuine desire for reconciliation will have to wait long for a response. Whilst cordially appreciating the private efforts of the Sabha in the interests of peace, forbearance, and good will, I am to commend to the earnest attention of its members the above suggestion as a practical remedy, and one that is most likely to induce that constitutional harmony which alone can give real confidence in each other's good intentions to the disputants.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. W. VIDAL,
Acting Secretary to Government.

**A FURTHER REPRESENTATION ON THE SUBJECT
BY THE SABHA.**

No. 22 of 1895,

Sarvajanik Sabha Rooms,
Poona, 16th March 1895.

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

BOMBAY.

Sir,

We have been directed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 665 dated 7th February 1895, and in reply to submit the fol-

lowing further representation on the same subject for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council. The attitude taken up by Government in the letter under reply fills the Committee with the apprehension that Government have made up their mind finally on the subject and that no useful purpose is likely to be served by any further representation on the Committee's part. At the same time the Committee feels that in view of the importance of the subject, and in vindication of the character of its members and of the Sabha generally, it has a duty to discharge which requires that it should press the matter again on the consideration of Government, on whom rests the ultimate responsibility of taking or delaying administrative measures for purposes of conciliation and compromise.

(a) In the letter under reply it is admitted that the procedure followed in calling for names of members who had voted for the Memorial of the Sabha was unusual. It is also stated that such a procedure would not have been followed but for the impression Government were led to form that the Memorial was intended by the Sabha to set forth views approved by the representatives of the various communities whose members find room in the constitution of the Sabha. The Committee would, however, respectfully submit that it never intended to put forward any such claim, and it mentioned the fact of the mixed composition of the Sabha solely by way of explanation of the delay which had occurred on its part in submitting the representation. If instead of taking this unusual course, the question had been put more directly, the Committee would have at once disowned the intention attributed to it, and would thus have left no room for any possible misunderstanding.

(b) In the next place, the letter under reply states that a section of the Hindu community which is credited with bad intentions is represented in the Councils of the Sabha. The Committee have no means of knowing on what information Government have formed such an unfavourable opinion. It is obviously impossible for the Committee to know the individual feelings and sympathies of each one of the 160 gentlemen who compose the Sabha but the Committee is not aware that Government have better means of knowing them. At the same time if the statement in the Government letter was intended to convey the impression that in the deliberations of the Committee's views, inconsistent, even

in the remotest degree, with the interests of amity and reconciliation between the two contending parties were advocated by any members or that such views had influenced the Committee in any way in adopting the Memorial submitted by it, the Committee of the Sabha feels that it must enter its respectful but most solemn and emphatic protest against such a view as being entirely without foundation. Those who are aware of the local history of Poona during the past year or two must know full well, and will bear witness that the Sabha not only did not sympathise with the turbulent sections of either community, but did its best to dissuade all where it could reach from doing anything likely to give offence to their opponents. The same evidence could be appealed to with equal confidence to prove that the suggestions submitted by the Committee emanated from and reflected the soberest and best disposed opinion in Poona on the subject. The Memorial of the Sabha did not profess to represent the views of any particular section. It put forth a moderate compromise, and drew attention to the best method of bringing it about, a compromise which, in the opinion of the committee, was likely to be acceptable to the well-meaning leaders of both communities.

(c) The Committee of the Sabha feels some satisfaction at the qualified acceptance by Government of the two main positions elaborated in the Sabha's Memorial. His 'Excellency the late Governor also, in one of his last speeches, gave emphatic expression to these same views, namely that the wave of these disturbances came here from the far North and that religious prejudices and antipathies were at their root so far as they had shown themselves in the Deccan. Now if these positions are thus accepted, the suggestions made for their proper control and prevention follow as a matter of course. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that Government should have lent their ear to certain 'Hindu gentlemen,' described as 'men of high position' who have told the authorities that there was no active ill-feeling between the lower classes of the two communities of a sort to excite them to outbreaks and that the normal spirit of quiescent difference of opinion had been stirred up by the counsels and preachings of better educated but worst-disposed persons. The resolution does not disclose the names of these Hindu gentlemen, and it is therefore not possible to judge how far they are, by position and fairness of judgment better entitled to be the advisers of Government in such a matter than the

Committee of the Sabha. The Committee, however, is glad to note that Government have not felt themselves justified in placing implicit reliance on these Hindu gentlemen and that they are prepared to allow more weight to the statements made in the Committee's representation on the subject.

(d) The letter under reply next states that Government cannot understand the silence of the Committee in regard to the violent writings of a section of the vernacular press and the preaching of some members of the educated classes, and they peractically challenge the Committee to show that the breach once formed, was not widened by these writings and preachings. On this point the Committee of the Sabha would observe that it has never sympathised in any way with the excesses of the Press whatever they be and that it has all along deplored all action having even the most distant tendency to widen the breach between the two communities. At the same time it cannot help remarking that the excited tone of some of the news papers is due to a feeling on the part of the writers that their community was not receiving fair or equal treatment at the hands of the District authorities. It is impossible for the Committee to believe that any sensible person could, with deliberate malice, sit down to write or preach anything with the object of winding the unhappy breach between the two communities.

(e) There is one form of expression of opinion, however, which the Committee is not prepared to condemn in the manner in which Government have thought it proper to condemn it. Government seem to think that people ought not to have rejoiced when the Police failed to secure the convictions of men whom they knew or believed to be innocent and that they had no right or business to express their condolence when respectable men from their community were sent to jail for nominal breaches of regulations issued by the District authorities, when as a matter of fact these respectable persons were known really to have done their best to comply with these orders consistently with the necessary minimum of regard for their religious observances. Such an expression of sympathy has never been questioned before; it is a right which the people of this country have enjoyed under the British laws; and they cannot well be expected to forego it.

(f) The Committee of the Sabha thinks that the misapprehensions which it has endeavoured to remove in the foregoing

paragraphs have unconsciously led Government to take up an attitude adverse to a proper appreciation of the real state of affairs; though Government are pleased to state that they have not referred to these matters in a spirit of recrimination or accusation. It is obvious that they are inclined to the opinion that the Hindu community was in the wrong and merited their displeasure and this view led them to condemn acts which, in the absence of such misapprehension they would themselves have admitted to be harmless. The misapprehension has also had the unfortunate effect of keeping out of official view the weight and depth of the feeling which on one side or the other has embittered these feuds in the past and which, unless remedial measures are taken, may lead to troubles in the future. On both sides there is a sensitiveness felt in such matters which must be realised properly if all cause for anxiety or trouble is to be permanently removed and this can only be done by taking preventive measures, leading to mutual concessions and not merely by abstention from needless provocation. The Committee fears that this view of the matter has been till now but imperfectly realised by the District Officials, and things are not likely to be restored to *status quo ante* till conciliatory measures on the lines of compromise suggested by the Committee before are adopted by Government.

(g) The Committee does not question the sincerity of the desire of District Officials to do their best in restore quiet and order when troubles break out. The Committee, however, is not sure that they are equally solicitous of preventing by anticipation all cause of trouble. Of course this is a states of things for which they are not to blame personally. The vast power to quell out-breaks of disorder which they possess make them more indifferent than their predecessors in the matter of using their moral influence for the purpose of anticipating and preventing the out-breaks. Perhaps they mistake this indifference for impartiality and certainly they seem to think that in maintaining such an attitude of indifference, they have the approbation of Government for their conduct. After the trouble once break out, strong measures are generally taken hastily and one section or other comes to be looked down upon as troublesome and then peaceful reconciliation becomes more or less impossible to the official agency, however, well meaning it might be. It was on this account that the Committee suggested the method found successful elsewhere, viz, of requiring

the officials to consult the leaders on both sides and enlist their active pride and co-operation. An officer who fails in the performance of this essential duty would deserve the censure which it was suggested should be meted out to him, just as he who succeeded in keeping the district quiet by the exercise of his moral influence would merit the good opinion of Government. And it is difficult to see what ground there is for apprehending that such censure or approval would have the effect of demoralizing the service or of placing executive power in the hands of turbulent men bent upon setting authority at defiance.

(h) The Committee of the Sabha would also submit that the distinction it suggested in its Memorial between soft and noisy or religious and secular music, is a real one ought not to be ignored by Government. In this matter it is unfortunate that Government have seen fit to rely on the statements made in anonymous correspondence in newspapers and are inclined to overlook what is practically a recognized distinction, obvious to all who know anything of the constituents of native music. The Committee must also express its regret that such an obvious distinction should have escaped the responsible officers of Government. The Committee attaches importance to this distinction, because it suggests a compromise which ought to prove acceptable to moderate men on both sides. It need have no high value than that of a basis for the solution of this great difficulty—a solution, which whether it satisfies extreme men on both sides or not, is likely to find favour with the well meaning majority of the two communities. If Government officers at Wai, Yeola and other places had permitted soft music to be played without break last year, the disturbances would not have broken out or at any rate their chances would have been vastly minimized.

(i) Lastly, though Government approve the constitution of conciliatory boards, they think that the conditions have not yet arisen in this Presidency to make this agency indispensable. The committee of the Sabha can only express its regret that such should be the impression left on the mind of Government. Indeed in the opinion of the Committee the present time and conditions are pre-eminently favourable for the adoption of this measure. The comparative freedom from any kind of excitement which the whole Presidency at present enjoys should the Committee thinks, be at once

taken advantage of to adopt measures which will permanently ensure feelings of genuine amity and mutual respect between the two communities. The Hindus are expected by Government to begin the work of reconciliation by making amends. It is not however a question which community is to begin first. If the lower orders of one party have been at fault in one place, those on the other side have acted quite assdly in another. The interests of peace and progress require that both should begin the work together and that Government officers, in their official and non-official capacities, as representing not only power, but higher wisdom and moral onfluence should encourage both to begin and carry the work to a successful is one.

The concluding portion of their letter Government have been pleased to express their cordial appreciation of the pravitte efforts of members of the Sabha in the interest of peace, ferbearance and good will. The Committee begs to assure Goveanment that its public effort in this and other matters have been animated by the same spirit and that its members will always be ready to render similar serviance in future, as occasion may require.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Sd.) G. K. GOKHALE.

(Sd.) S. H. SATHE.

Honorary Secretaries Sarvajanic Sabha Poona.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE'S LAMENTED DEATH.

No. 4 of 1895

Sarvajanic Sabha Rooms,

Poona, 8th January 1895

To,

DIWAN BAHADUR

SHESHADRI IYER

DIWAN OF MYSORE.

Sir,

We beg most respectfully to express, on behalf of the Sabha and of the inhabitants of the City of Poona generally our deep and

heart felt grief for the sudden and unexpected death of His Highness Maharaja Cham Rajendra Wadiar, and our condolences and sympathy with the Maharani and the other members of His Highness's family, and to request the favour of your kindly conveying the same to them. We venture to assure you that it is not only the people of Mysore, but the entire population of India who mourn the death of so good and great a Prince and feel it as a personal bereavement.

Whether we look to the many excellent virtues that adorned His Highness, to the wisdom and beneficence of his rule, to his marked sympathy with the cause of Social Reform, to his earnest efforts in promoting the education and elevation of Indian women, to his high statesmanship and farsightedness in bestowing the inestimable boon of free and Parliamentary—institutions on his subjects, or to his fully realizing in himself the high ideal of being a Father to his subject, I can not help regarding the death of Maharaja Cham Rajendra as a national calamity. If His Highness had been spared some years longer, the many measures of reform social, educational and political—inagurated by him would have thriven under his fostering care, and born mature fruit, and Mysore would have stood as a bright example of a prosperous and progressive native state demonstrating at once the suitability of free political institutions to Asiatic races, and the capacity of these races to appreciate and assimilate them. Such an example is urgently required, at the present moment when a similar experiment is being tried, in other parts of India, with a timid and hesitating hand.

It has however, pleased the all wise Providence to cut short a life, so full of promise and usefulness, and our fervent prayer is that he may shower His blessings on the young "Yauvaraja" inspire him with a desire to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious father, and thus enable him to bring happiness to his subjects and solace to his beloved mother.

We beg to remain
Sir

Your most Obedient Servants
V. M. RHIDE

Chairman Sarvajanic Sabha Poona.
(Sd.), S. H. SATHE

Honorary Secretary Sarvajanic Sabha Poona.

Reply—

Mysore

13th January 1895.

To

VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE Esqr.

Chairman

Sarvajanik Sabha,

POONA

Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind letter of condolence of the 9th instant and to convey to the Sabha and the inhabitants of Poona the heart felt gratitude of His Highness the Maharani for the kindly sentiments of sympathy contained therein. It has been a great consolation to Her Highness to learn that so enlightened a body of Her countrymen as the Sarvajanik Sabha appreciated the character and aims in life of His Highness the late Maharaja.

Assistant Commissioner

with the Dewan of Mysore

ANOTHER UNWRITTEN CHAPTER.

THE SAINTS AND PROPHETS OF MAHARASTRA.

Saint Ramdas, the spiritual adviser of the great Shiwaji, is reported to have exhorted Shiwaji's son, Sambhaji, to follow the footsteps of his father, and the advice he gave on this occasion was tersely summed up in two sentences—"Unite all who are Marathas together," and "Propagate the Dharm (religion) of Maharashtra." The first advice represents the leading feature of the political movement which assumed its final shape under Shiwaji's leadership, and the second points no less clearly to the religious developement which was at the same time going on all over the country, and of which the political movement was itself only a reflection. The point naturally arises for consideration—what Ramdas could have meant by recommending this second feature of Shiwaji's policy, and exhorting Sambhaji to propagate, not the Vedic, Puranic, or the Hindu religion generally, but the religion of Maharashtra. What was there so particular and distinct in the religious belief of his contemporary countrymen which so strikingly attracted Ramdas's notice, and was deemed by him to be a sure remedy for securing the salvation of his people under the terrible mis-government of Sambhaji about the close of the 17th century? The close connection between the religious and political upheaval in Maharashtra is a fact of such importance, that to those who, without the help of this clue, have tried to follow the winding course of the growth of Maratha power, the purely political struggle becomes either a puzzle, or dwindles down into a story of adventures, without any abiding moral interest. Both European and Native writers have done but

scant justice to this double character of the movement, and this dissociation of the history of the spiritual emancipation of the national mind accounts for much of the prejudice which still surrounds the study of our struggle for national independence.

We propose accordingly in this chapter to trace in rough outline the history of this religious upheaval in Western India. Our main sources of information will be the voluminous biographies of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra, written by one of our own poets, Mahipati, towards the close of the last century, long before British influence was felt in these parts as a factor of any importance. Like the political struggle for independence, the religious upheaval was also not the work of a single man, or even of a single century. Its early commencement can be traced even anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan. Under the rule of the Yadava kings of Devgiri, Doyan Deva the first saint and prophet of Maharashtra, wrote his famous commentary on the Bhagvatgita in the spoken language of the country. The Mahomedan invasions for a time seem to have paralyzed all activity, but gradually the national spirit regained its healthy elasticity, and just about the time of the rise of the Maratha power, we had a galaxy of saints and prophets, whose names have become household words with the people of the country. The stream continued to flow in full tide for two centuries, and then it appears to have dried up, and with its ebb, the political domination also became a thing of the past. Roughly speaking, we may state that the history of this religious revival covers a period of nearly five hundred years, and during this period some fifty saints and prophets flourished in this land, who left their mark upon the country and its people so indelibly as to justify Mahipati in including them in his biographical sketches. A few of these saints were women, a few were Mahomedan converts to

Hinduism, nearly half of them were Bramhins, while there were representatives in the other half from among all the other castes, Marathas, kunbis, tailors, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, prostitutes, and slave girls, and even the outcaste Mahars. Much of the interest of this religious up-heaval is centred in the facts we have noticed above, as they indicate plainly that the influence of higher spirituality was not confined to this or that class, but permeated deep through all strata of society, male and female, high and low, literate and illiterate, Hindu and Mahomedan alike. These are features which the religious history of few other countries can match or reproduce, unless where the elevating influence is the result of a wide spread popular awakening. In Northern and Eastern India, a similar movement manifested itself much about the same time. Nanak stirred up the Punjab to rise, and made a supreme effort to reconcile Hinduism with Mahomedanism. Chaitanya in the far East sought to bring men back from the worship of Shakti and Kali to the faith of the Bhagwat; while Ramanand and Kabir, Tulsidas and Surdas, Jaya Deva and Rohidas, contributed each in his own way to the work of spiritual enlightenment. Their influence has no doubt been great and abiding, but it cannot be compared with the work done by the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. The names of Chang Deva and Dnyan Deva, Nivrutti and Sopan, Muktabai and Jani, Akabai and Venubai, Nam Dev and Yeknath, Ramdas and Tukaram, Shekha Mahomed and Shanti Bahamni, Damaji and Udhav, Bhanudas and Kurmdas, Bodhalebava and Santoba Powar, Keshav Swami and Jairam Swami, Narsingha Saraswati and Rongnath Swami, Chokhamela and the two potters, Narhari Souar and Savatiamali, Bahirum Bhat and Ganesh Nath, Janardanpant and Mudhopant, and many others that might be cited—furnish an array which testifies to the superior efficacy of this movement in Maharashtra. The Bramhins in these

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

parts furnished a much larger proportion of saints and prophets than was the case in any of the other parts of India, where the Kshatrias and Vaishya castes furnished a much larger contingent than the Bramhins.

As is the case with all biographies of saints, the popular imagination attributes to these persons wonderful and miraculous powers, notably those of raising the dead to life, healing the sick, and feeding the hungry. The stories which are told of the way in which they were helped by supernatural agency in their mission of love may or may not be accepted in these days of vigilant criticism. As Mr. Lecky has remarked, it is the atmosphere of child-like credulity which predisposes men to require and accept these wonders and miracles as events of ordinary occurrence. The saints and prophets themselves did not claim miraculous powers. They were meek and suffering men who placed their trust in Providence, and their trust was justified beyond their expectations, often-times to their own surprise. The moral interest of these biographies centres, however, not in their miraculous feats, but in their struggles, and in the testimony their lives afforded in vindication of the eternal verities of the moral law and man's higher spiritual life. It is with this aspect of their life that we are more immediately concerned in the sequel, and we hope to show that in this respect the work they accomplished was priceless and blessed beyond all comparison.

There is a curious parallel between the history of the Reformation movement in Western Europe and the struggle represented by the lives and teachings and writings of these saints and prophets who flourished about the same time in Maharashtra. The European reformers of the 16th century protested strongly against the authority claimed by the priests and the clergy, with the Roman Bishop at their head. The clergy and the Pope represented a tradition of authority which had come down from the remote past, and had done signal

service in its own time in humanizing and civilizing the hordes of the barbarian conquerors who devastated the Roman Provinces. In course of time, the priests, instead of being the servants, claimed to be masters and rulers, with temporal and spiritual powers, and intermediaries between God and man. The exercise of this intercession was hemmed round by numberless rites and ceremonies, and in course of time, many abuses crept in, and alienated general sympathy. These abuses assumed their worst forms about the time that Luther rebelled against the authority which issued indulgences and levied Peter's Pence, not as charity, but as a tax to subserve the temporal power of intriguing Popes and their vicious cardinals. The Reformation in Western India had its counterpart in this respect. Ancient authority and tradition had been petrified here, not in an ambitious Bishop and his clergy, but in the monopoly of the Bramhin caste, and it was against the exclusive spirit of this caste domination that the saints and prophets struggled most manfully to protest. They asserted the dignity of the human soul as residing in it quite independently of the accidents of its birth and social rank. The circumstances of their own birth and education naturally predisposed some of these preachers for the position they took up. As observed above, nearly half of them were of castes other than Bramhins, and some of them of very low castes indeed. Many of the Bramhin reformers also had some stain in their inherited purity which led or forced them to rebel against all artificial restraints. Dnyan Deva and his brothers and sister Muktabai were born to their father after he had retired from the world, and become a Sanyasi monk. His spiritual guide, Ramanand, came to know that this Sanyasi had not obtained his wife's willing consent to a change of Ashram and he ordered him to go back to his native place, and live with his wife. The children so born to the Sanyasi became marked objects of caste aversion, and the Bramhins refused to

perform the initiation ceremony when the brothers arrived at the proper age. The children remained in this unrecognised condition all their life, and were revered notwithstanding this defect in their caste respectibility. Another saint Malo Pant was married to a low caste girl, whose caste was not discovered till after the marriage, and the husband did not abandon her, but only held no intercourse with her, and, when on her death, he performed her death-rites as usual, a miracle was displayed which satisfied his worst enemies, that Malo Pant and his mahar wife were both holy by nature. Jayaram Swami's master, Krishna Das, was similarly married to a barber girl, and the inferiority of her caste was discovered after marriage. The holy life of the man had however such an effect that, at last, after much persecution, even the high priest Shankaracharya of the day raised no objection. Eknath, it is well known, made no secret of the little importance he attached to caste distinctions. He fed an hungry Mahar at his house, and when out-casted, allowed himself to be taken to the river for purposes of purification, when a miracle took place by which the merit of feeding an hungry Mahar was proved to be far greater than that of feeding many hundred Bramhins, for the former merit cured a leper of his foul disease, when the latter failed to make any impression. A very common miracle is reported to have been performed by many of the saints, notably by Dnyan Deva, Eknath, and Nagnath, when, on the refusal of the Bramhins to officiate on Shradha ceremonies in their places for breach of caste regulations, the deceased fathers of the obstinate Bramhins were made to descend to earth, and shamed their incredulous sons into the belief that their caste exclusiveness was wholly out of place. In Namdeva's biography, his God of Pandharpur, who had allowed Namdev to invite Bramhins to a feast, and himself partook of that feast with the saint, was himself ex-communicated, and then the story relates how Dnyandeva, who was

present in spirit, remonstrated with the Bramhin persecutors. He said.

"There was none high or low with God. All were alike to him. Never entertain the thought that I am high born, and my neighbour is low of birth. The Ganges is not polluted, nor is the wind tainted, nor the earth rendered untouchable, because the low born and high born bathe in the one, or breathe the other, or move on the back of the third."

The most touching incident, however, is that which occurred in the persecution of the out-caste Mahar Chokhamela for his having dared to enter the temple of Pandharpur. When remonstrated with for his temerity, Chokhamela replied that his God took him inside by force, and he did not go of his own accord. He remonstrated with the Bramhin worshippers of the temple in this strain—"What availeth birth in high caste, what availeth rites or learning, if there is no devotion, or faith? Though a man be of low caste, yet if he is faithful in heart, and loves God, and regards all creatures as though they were like himself, and makes no distinction between his own and other peoples' children, and speaks the truth, his caste is pure, and God is pleased with him. Never ask a man's caste when he has in his heart faith in God, and love of man. God wants in his children love and devotion, and he does not care for his caste." The Bramhins, as might be expected were not converted by this preaching of high wisdom, and they complained to the Musalman officer of the place and he like another Pilate of the Bible story, ordered Chokhamela to be punished by being tied to and driven by a team of bullocks, and tortured to death in this cruel fashion. God however miraculously delivered his worshipper, and baffled the oppressors, for the bullocks would not move from their place. The story of Bahiramhat is also interesting in this connection. Being a Shastri, he did not find rest in Bramhinism, and therefore became a Mahomedan

under the impression that its monotheism would satisfy the cravings of his heart, but failing to find the satisfaction he desired, he returned back to Bramhinism. Both Bramhins and Mahomedans found fault with him for these changes of faith, but he disclaimed being either Hindu or Mahomedan. Bahiram Bhat challenged the Bramhins to make him a true Bramhin as long as his circumcision mark was not removed, and he challenged the Mahomedans to fill up the holes in his ears, which showed that he was still a Hindu. The Mahomedan converts to Hinduism, represented by Shekha Mahomad's followers, even to this day observe the Ramjan fasts, and the Ekadashi fast, and make pilgrimages to Mecca as also to Pandharpoor. There are many other saints of great renown who, like Kabir, are claimed both by Hindus and Mahomedans as belonging to their respective communities, and worshipped and revered as such by both. These examples will suffice to show how the lives of these men have tended to elevate the national conception of man's spiritual nature, and shake the hold of caste intolerance.

The result of all this elevated teaching is seen in the fact that caste exclusiveness now finds no place in the religious sphere of life, and it is relegated solely to the social concerns of men, and even there its restrictiveness is much relaxed, as any one can judge who compares the Brahmins of Southern India with their exclusive caste prejudices, and their abhorrence of even the shadow of the lower castes defiling Bramhin street, with the comparative indifference shown in such matters in the Desh portion of the Maharashtra. This feeling of indifference is most accentuated at the times of the annual pilgrim gatherings, and the mixed greetings with which the Lord's Feast is celebrated on the last day. Just as in Europe, men ceased to believe that the priest was a necessary medium between God and man for purposes of salvation in this part of India, the domination of the Bramhin caste as the Gods of creation, whom the other castes should serve

and worship, lost much of its potency, and men and women, high and low, came to feel that they were free to attain salvation by faith and love in spite of their low origin.

The European reformers protested further against the institution of the monastic orders, and the celibacy of the clergy; and the unnatural retirement of women who exiled themselves from the world, and became nuns. There was a counter-part of this same protest in the way in which our saints and prophets raised their voice against self-mortification and fasts, and meaningless penances and endless pilgrimages. The same spirit prompted them to condemn the austerities practised by those who followed the Yoga system with a view of acquiring the power of working wonders which, it was supposed, the Yogis enjoyed in consequence. This contest between Yoga and Bhakti is well illustrated by the encounter of the proud Changdeva with Dnyandeva, when the former, in reliance on his Yoga powers, rode on tigers, and used serpent whips, and was put to shame by Dnyandeva riding on a wall, and a similar encounter between Dnyandeva and Namdeva when the former, by the exercise of his Yoga powers, became small in size, and drank the waters of a deep well, while Namdeva, by his devotion, brought the waters to overflow the well for all time, so that all who passed by, and felt thirsty, might drink to their heart's content. These stories most beautifully typify this feature of the teaching of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra.

The story of Kanoba Pathak, who was up-braided by a Bramhin of Benares for his inordinate love of children, and astonished his critic by throwing away his child into a well with seeming indifference, illustrates the vanity of the vows of celibacy, which cannot by themselves produce equableness of mind, and indifference to pains and pleasures. Eknath all his life lived with his wife and children, and so did

Tukaram and Namdev, though they were not blessed with sympathetic female relations. Bodhlebowas, Chokhamela, Damajipant, Bhanudas, the two potter saints, and many others lived in the midst of their families. Dyandeo's father who had become Sanyasi without obtaining the free consent of his wife, was directed by Ramanand to return to his home, and live with his wife. All these incidents prove that a very high conception of the sanctity of family-life was realised by these saints and prophets, and they did their best to correct the national weakness which shrinks from trouble and anxiety by retiring from the world's conflict. The lives of the female saints have a special interest in this connection. The biographies relate that owing to their devotion and implicit faith, God helped them out of their difficulties by assisting them in their daily household work and by assuming strange disguises permitted them the freedom they wanted to serve him without being missed by their jealous relations. There is a danger in all such stories of making Providential intervention too cheap, but this fault is more than atoned by the high moral which underlies these accounts. The sanctity of married and family life was nobly vindicated by these saints and prophets, and this was a signal moral triumph over the past traditions of asceticism.

All students of modern European history are aware that the Reformers achieved their most permanent success in the liberation of the national intellect from the thralldom of scholastic learning, and the oppressive preponderance of the classical Latin in which all the best books were till then written. The Bible was, by the help of these Reformers, for the first time made accessible to all, high and low, and the monopoly of learning, till then enjoyed by the priests, was shaken to its foundations. Here in India, the process of liberation was carried out on the same line. The professors of the old Sanscrit learning found for the first time to their great

surprise that the saints and prophets addressed the people, both in speech and writing, in their own vernacular, and boldly opened the hitherto hidden treasures to all and sundry, men and women, Bramhins and Shudras, alike. The final victory was not achieved without much struggle and considerable suffering. Dnyandeva was the first adventurer to stray into these forbidden regions, and his example was followed by Eknath and Ramdas, Namdev and Tukaram, Waman Pandit and Mukteshwar, Shridhar and Moropant. These last four gifted men are more celebrated as authors and poets than as religious teachers, but they derived their inspiration from the same sources. It is true the Vedas and the Shastras were not translated as the Bible was, but there was a sufficient reason for this difference. These early Marathi writers knew that modern India, after the Buddhistic revolution, was less influenced by the Vedas and Shastras than by the Ramayan and Maha Bharat, the Bhagwat Puran and the Gita, and these latter works were translated and made accessible to all. The pioneers in this field, Eknath and Tukaram, were each made to bear the brunt of Bramhin opposition. Their works were not burned as in Europe, but they were ordered to be thrown into water. The river Gods, however, so the story runs, would not let them be destroyed, and the works remained intact, and became more famous than ever. Waman Paudit, the great Sanscrit scholar, who would not deign to speak or write in the popular language, as unfit to be used by a Pandit, was, when brought, in contract with Ramdas, made to see the error of his ways; and a Bramhin translator of the Ramayan named Salya Rasal, who was over-proud of his superior learning, was similarly put to shame by a message from his Goddess, that he should get the work corrected by submitting it to the revision of the tailor Namdeva. Dnyandeva also was made the instrument of performing a miracle, by which a buffalo was said to have recited the Vedas by-

heart. This story is obviously an allegorical parody of the mental condition of those who prided themselves upon their ability to recite the Vedas without understanding their contents.

The struggle between the claims of the classical Sanskrit and the vernaculars, of which we hear so much in these days, is thus an old conflict, the issues in which were decided in favour of the vernacular or living languages long ago, and whatever scholars and antiquarians may urge to the contrary, there can only be one answer to the question,—the answer which was given by the saints and prophets when they laid Sanskrit aside as useless for their work, and spent all their energies in the cultivation and growth of their mother tongue. It may safely be said that the growth of the modern vernaculars in India is solely the result of the labours of these saints, and that the provinces, which showed most decided tendencies in the way of reform, also showed the most healthy development of their vernacular literature.

The Protestant reformers in Europe achieved another change of great importance in the way in which they raised their voice against the excesses to which image-worship and saint-worship was carried in the Roman Catholic Church. On our side this protest was also raised, but it did not assume the iconoclastic form which the Protestant reformers, especially the stricter sect among them, adopted. Polytheistic worship was condemned both in theory and in the practice of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. Each of them had his own favourite form of the divine incarnation, and this worship of one favourite form left no room for allegiance to other gods. Ramdas, for instance, worshipped God under the name of Râma,—Ekanath and Jayaram Swami worshipped him under the name of Krishna,—Tukaram, Chokhamela and Namdeo under the name of Vithaba,—Narahari Sonar and Nagnath under the name of Siva,—Janardan Swami and Narasiuka Saraswati under the

name of Dattatreya,—Moraya Gosavi and Ganeshnath under the name of Ganpati, and so on for the rest. Strange stories are told in these biographies of the way in which the saints when they visited other shrines refused to see the image in the form they did not worship God and as a consequence the image manifested itself to them in the form familiar to them. The supremacy of one God one without a second, was a creed with every one of these saints, which they would not allow anybody to question or challenge. At the same time, as observed above, the iconoclastic spirit was never characteristic of this country, and all the various forms in which God was worshipped were believed to merge finally into one Supreme Providence which all believed. This tendency of the national mind was a very old tendency. Even in Vedic times, Indra and Varun, Marut and Rudra, while they were separately invoked at the sacrifices offered for their acceptance, were all regarded as interchangeable forms of the one and supreme Lord of creation. This same tendency explains the comparative indifference with which the saints and prophets treated the question of image worship. It is a complete misunderstanding of their thoughts and ideas on this subject when it is represented that these gifted people were idolaters in the objectionable sense of the word. They did not worship stocks and stones. In Vedic times there was admittedly no idol or image worship. It came into vogue with the acceptance of the incarnation theory, and was stimulated by the worship of the Jains and Buddhists of their saints. Finally, it got mixed up with the fetish worship of the aboriginal tribes, who were received into the Aryan fold, and their gods were turned into incarnations of the Aryan deities. The saints and prophets, however, rose high above these grovelling conceptions prevalent amongst the people. Idol worship was denounced when the image did not

represent the supreme God. Both Tukaram and Ramdas have spared no words in denouncing these aboriginal and village gods, and their frightful rites and sacrifices. In the life of Bhanudas, it is stated that he told the king of Vidyānagar that the Goddess he worshipped served his God at Pandharpur in a menial capacity as a sweeper, and the king found it to be the truth when he visited Pandharpur. In the lives of two other saints it is stated that the Goddess Kālī, to whom human and animal sacrifices were offered, was so frightened by the protest of the saints in the name of Hari against such cruelty, that the sacrifices were given up by the command of the Goddess not only for the time, but for all time. These illustrations will serve to show, in what light image worship, as an aid to devotion, was utilized by these saints; and unless this distinction is borne in mind, it will be impossible to understand the true position occupied by these teachers in this important matter.

There is one point, however, in which the reforming saints and prophets in this country differed essentially from those who were working in the same cause elsewhere, the contemporary Protestant reformers in Europe. From the Vedic times downwards, the Aryan gods have been gods of love and brightness, of sweetness and of light. There were of course terrible gods also, such as, Varnua and Rudra who inspired awe, and filled the mind with terror. But the national tendency was to dwell in affection on, and contemplate chiefly the bright side of divine Providence, unlike the Shemitic ideal which dwelt upon the terrific manifestation of a distant god whose glory could not be seen, save through a cloud, severe chastiser of human frailties, and a judge who punished more frequently than He rewarded, and even when He rewarded, kept the worshipper always in awe and trembling. This conception lies at the root of all Shemitic religions, and it is to the credit of Christianity that it attempted and partly succeeded in

bridging the gulf by securing the intervention of God incarnate in the flesh, as Jesus Christ, who suffered for mankind, and atoned for their sins. This intervention was never found necessary in the Aryan religions of Greece or Rome or of India. God with us has always been regarded more as a father and a mother, a brother and a friend, than as a judge and chastiser and a ruler, not that He does not judge, or rule, but He judges, rules and chastises with the love of a father or mother, ever ready to receive the prodigal son back into His arms. The orthodox Brahminical conception does not bring out this feature of a kindly Providence so prominently as it is found to be realised in the teachings and life's experiences of our saints and prophets. They are emphatic in their assertions that they were able to see their God, and hear His words, and walked and talked with Him, and held intercourse with Him. In their higher moments they, no doubt describe Him as one who did not speak, but their most normal condition of mind was one of satisfaction when they realised His presence as we realise the presence of sensible things. The Yogis and the Vedantis only talk in their waking dreams of being one with god, but Namdeva and Tukaram, Eknath and Dnyandeve were not content with this distance and difficult union, which did not last during all the moments of their conscious life, and compared their own happiness in such daily intercourse with God as being above all the attainments of Yoga and Vedant. We may believe the miracles ascribed to these saints or disbelieve them, but we cannot disbelieve their emphatic statements on this point. All the love that, in Christian lands, circles round the life and death of Christ Jesus, has been in India freely poured upon the intense realisation of the every day presence of the Supreme God in the heart, in a way more convincing than eyes or ears or the sense of touch can realise. This constitutes the glory of these saints, and it is a possession which is treasured up by our people, high and

low, men and women, as a solace, in life beyond all value.

As a consequence of this conception of God's relations with man, the supreme efficacy of devotional love (Bhakti) over all other methods of attaining to His knowledge, became the cardinal creed of these Vaishnava sects. There is not a life in all these sketches drawn by Mahipati in which Bhakti and Faith (Bhāwa) are not emphasized as being far superior in virtue to all other forms of worship, such as the performance of rites and ceremonies of external worship, pilgrimages and ablutions, self-mortifications and fasts, learning and contemplation. These only have relation to the body or the mind, while the spirit is what God desires to see engaged in His service. The rites and ceremonies may be performed as indifferent matters, just as food may be taken and thirst quenched, and the rest of sleep enjoyed, as they come naturally without effort or unnecessary anxiety about them. The best ablution is when the senses are drowned in the ocean of God's presence about us, and the same presence is made to fill us inside and out. The best sacrifice and the highest Dān or gift is when we surrender ourselves to His sweet will, and for his service, and claim nothing as our own. The best mortification is that which makes the spirit humble before him, the best contemplation is when His glory is sung with all our powers. Neither knowledge nor Yoga powers, health nor wealth, nor children nor possessions, not even mukti (freedom from birth and death) is desirable in itself. What is desirable is to be always full of love for Him and His works, including all creation, men and animals. Namdeva cried while removing the bark of a tree, because he thought he saw blood coming out from the stroke of his axe, and he struck himself with the axe to see how he felt, and realise what the tree might feel. Shaik Mahomud, being sent by his father to practise the butchers' trade, first cut his own finger

with his knife to see how the animal would feel, and the pain he felt drove him to foreswear his trade, and retire from the world in which such pain had to be inflicted for earning one's livelihood. Tukaram felt that there must be something wrong about him when, on seeing him, the sparrows left the field he was sent to watch, though he did not intend to disturb them. This intense spirituality and absolute surrender of self may sound somewhat unreal to men not brought up in the atmosphere these saints breathed. But there can be no doubt about the fact, and there can also be no doubt that the national ideal of spiritual excellence has been shaped by these models. It may be that a stronger back-bone and more resisting power are needed in the times in which we live, but in an account of the saints and prophets as they flourished 200 years ago, we cannot afford to interpolate our own wants and wishes.

It may be interesting to note how these saints thought and spoke, and how when they came in contact with a militant religion like Mahomedanism, they faced their troubles and conquered them. The lives of Namdeva, Ramdas, Eknath and others, are full of such incidents. The most note-worthy fact in this connection is that several Mahomedans became converts to the Hindoo faith, and obtained such a public recognition that their help was invoked by the Hindu authors who wrote about those times along with the Hindu Saints. Shaik Mahamad and Kabir may be cited as examples of this catholic spirit of recognition. On the other hand, Tukaram and Eknath were so influenced by their contact with Mahomedanism that they composed verses in Urdu of so catholic a character as to be unobjectionable to the strictest Mahomedan. Ramdas did the same when one of his disciples (Uddhawa) got into trouble at Bedar. The story of Damajipant, a servant of the Bedar Kings, is

well known to all. In a time of famine he distributed the government stores of grain among the poor, and on being taken to task he was relieved by an unexpected remittance of the full value of the grain to the kings' treasury. The saints come out well in their struggles with their foreign rulers, and they prevailed not by fighting, or by resistance, but by quiet resignation to the will of God. There was a tendency perceptible towards a reconciliation of the two races in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Allah with Rama, and by the time Shivaji appeared on the scene, this reconciliation seems to have been almost complete, though occasional outbursts of Mahomedan fanaticism were not altogether unknown even then.

We have thus noticed all the principal features of the religious movement which, commencing with Dnyandeva, who lived in the 13th century, can be traced almost to our own times, as a steady growth in spiritual virtues. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the Shudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmins. It gave sanctity to the family relations, and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mahomedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, and of pilgrimages and fasts, learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it, in a way, no other nation in India was prepared, to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign

domination. These appear to us to be the principal features of the religion of Maharashtra which Saint Ramdas had in view when he advised Shivaji's son to follow in his father's footsteps, and propagate this faith, at once tolerant and catholic, deeply spiritual and yet not iconoclastic.

FIVE YEAR'S ADMINISTRATION OF LORD HARRIS.

When, five years ago, the administration of Lord Reay was reviewed in these pages, the writer wrote as follows in the course of the article:—"The rule which requires that Viceroy and Governors and other high functionaries should not hold office for more than five years is certainly based on high policy and often brings us a welcome relief. But we deplore its operation in the case of rulers like Lord Ripon and Lord Reay." No one could then have foreseen that the beneficent side of the rule would be illustrated so soon and that in the case of Lord Reay's successor, instead of deploring its operation, we should have occasion to feel indebted to it for the termination of a *regime*, which, whatever its merits, certainly failed to enlist popular sympathy on its side. It is true that the Anglo-Indian community generally and a few 'friends and admirers' of Lord Harris among the natives tried hard, a few days before his Lordship left the shores of India, to create an impression, by all manner of demonstrations and entertainments, that his Lordship had not on the whole, been an unsuccessful Governor. But partly because these 'friends and admirers' overdid their part and partly, perhaps mainly, because no such make-believe could under any circumstances overthrow the strong conviction of the Native community that his Lordship's rule had been a signal failure, the whole thing fell flat. It cannot be pretended that his Lordship's 'friends and admirers' believed themselves to be giving voice to the opinion of the general public in organizing the demonstrations. No more convincing testimony could be desired on this point.

than the fact that they abandoned the idea of holding a meeting open to the general public for inaugurating the memorial movement and confined it only to such as had by describing themselves as the friends and admirers of Lord Harris, practically given a pledge that they would support the movement. The speeches, too, delivered at the meeting have suffered from this consciousness on the part of the speakers. They are, for the most part, what the *Times of India* called five years ago 'apologetic eulogies,' and they are remarkable more for what they studiously avoid noticing than for what they dwell upon. If one were to judge from these speeches, one would imagine that the administration of Lord Harris was an entirely quiet, uneventful one, during which the work of progress went as steadily, though unostentatiously, that there were no incidents in it to chronicle, that no unpleasant controversies could have ruffled calm surface. Whereas, as a matter of fact, no *regime* has even left so many disagreeable memories behind. Certainly no *regime* within our memory was guilty of a more systematic defiance of public opinion, or set the rulers and the ruled wider apart. We do not charge Lord Harris with having done these things deliberately. There is no doubt that throughout he meant well and strove to govern according to his lights. But partly from causes over which he had no control or which he neglected to control, and partly owing to mistaken notions about the condition of the Presidency and the exigencies of the administration, his Government committed blunder after blunder till at last the mass of the population became thoroughly alienated and his *regime* came to be regarded as, if not the weakest, at any rate the most reactionary and unsympathetic administration that we have had for many years past.

It is instructive to contrast the feelings with which the Anglo-Indian and Native Communities respectively regarded the departures of Lord Reay

and Lord Harris from India. The termination of Lord Reay's tenure of office was hailed with almost open delight by the great bulk of the Anglo-Indian officials in this Presidency. Lord Harris on the other hand departed amidst tokens of deep and genuine regret on their part. The unpopularity of Lord Reay amongst his own country-men was such that one club in Bombay openly resolved not to entertain his Lordship at the time-honoured farewell dinner while another club managed to send its invitation so late that Lord Reay's programme of engagements was already filled up, and no evening could be spared for the dinner! Lord Harris on the other hand, was feted and entertained by the Anglo-Indian community on a scale never before witnessed in this Presidency. So great was their enthusiasm for him that the Byculla Club went out of its way to give him the unprecedented compliment of a farewell address! But with the Native community this measure of regard was exactly reversed. To them the departure of Lord Reay meant the loss of the most sympathetic Governor that they had had for many years past. He had worked for them and—what was still greater—had suffered for them in a manner which could not fail to win for him their warm admiration and gratitude. They had prayed for an extension of his Lordship's period of office, but the prayer proved fruitless. And they therefore organized their farewell demonstrations on a scale, which, except in the case of Lord Ripon, had no parallel. The Sarvajanic Sabha and the Presidency Association—the two bodies in this Presidency that represent the political aspirations of modern India—presented him with farewell addresses, full of sentiments of appreciation and esteem. The Bombay Municipal Corporation—a body which alone can claim to represent the vast and varied population of Bombay—also paid him a similar compliment. His Lordship's memorial movement had not to be confined to self-styled friends and admirers. The Native Press

with one accord, gave fitting expression to the regret of the people at his Lordship's departure. On the other hand, it is but the barest truth to say that the termination of the administration of Lord Harris was welcomed by the native community with a sigh of relief. Neither the Presidency Association, nor the Sarvajank Sabha nor even the Bombay Municipal Corporation would so much as think of presenting his Lordship with a farewell address. The memorial meeting had to be confined to friends and admirers. And the native press with wonderful unanimity struck only one note—viz. that of the satisfaction that his Lordship's rule over us was at last over. Now this contrast is undoubtedly significant and it suggests some very serious reflections. It means that the question is not merely one of the popularity or unpopularity of an individual with this class or that; it has a deeper meaning in that it serves to illustrate the daily increasing incompatibility between our interests and those of the Anglo-Indian officials in this country. These officials naturally desire to stereotype existing arrangements, whereby they enjoy almost unlimited power with comparatively complete immunity from responsibility, and the idea of giving the native any substantial share in the administration of the country or of allowing them to gradually rise to a position of equality with the rulers, howsoever they may profess to be in love with it in theory, is in practice entirely distasteful to them. With the progress of education and of ideas, however, a great change has come over the native community, and the definite formulation of the programme of new India by the National Congress has turned the vague feeling of dislike which the bulk of Anglo-Indians used till recently to entertain in regard to native aspirations into one of open hostility to our aims. The positions of the two Camps have thus become definitely marked and it is now distinctly felt by the Anglo-Indian officials that every step gained by us in the struggle

is one lost by them. Jealous of power, the bureaucracy is naturally anxious that Viceroys and Governors should live entirely in the world with which it would surround them. In its opinion, the ideal Viceroy, or Governor is one who sees or hears only through his officials, who maintains the members of the willing class in the full possession of their 'prestige' and who never misses an opportunity to discourage the tendencies which they so much dread. And judged by this standard, Lord Reay was naturally pronounced by his countrymen to have proved a failure, and Lord Harris a great success. Lord Reay with his broad sympathies, his independence of judgment, his anxiety to know the non-official view of everything and his determination to deal equally by all alienated the services but secured the respect and attachment of the native population. Lord Harris, with his evident desire to discourage Native aspirations, his exclusive reliance in all matters on the officials by whom he was surrounded, and his imperious and unsympathetic nature, entirely alienated the Native community, though these same qualities won him devoted attachment of his countrymen. The conflict, though deplorable, is perhaps inevitable. Rare as have been the Viceroys or Governors in the past, who have enjoyed an equal measure of confidence both for the Anglo-Indian and Native communities, they must become rarer still in the future !

Perhaps Lord Harris was specially selected to succeed Lord Reay to restore the Services to a more contented frame of mind. And perhaps his Lordship thought that the best way to effect this was to leave himself entirely in their hands. Certain it is that he was not long in India before he made this feature of his administration plain to every one. More than three years ago, in discussing Mhowra Bill in these pages, we wrote as follows :—" Lord Reay, though not free from blame in the matter of his Abkari administration, was an exceptionally enlightened

and high minded Governor; and he certainly never regarded it a virtue to carefully shut himself from all non-official light. A bill therefore which was twice discredited by the Government of India, which bore on its very face the print of oppression, and which required for its justification to be looked at solely through the spectacles prepared by the Abkari Department, could have no chance with him. With Lord Harris now at the head of the Administration, the case is different. His Lordship has the reputation of being a straight-forward gentleman. But one serious mistake that he has made since he took charge of his high office has been this; that he has by his conduct and occasionally by his words, studiously deprecated all non-official assistance in the matter of a right understanding of the various administrative problems of the Presidency and that he has all along been attaching too much weight to the views of his Secretaries and of the Departments." Lord Harris arrived in this country, however, under more promising circumstances. His Indian connection, his rather sympathetic utterances about India before coming out here, his seeking an interview with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and the late Mr. Bradlaugh, as soon as his appointment came to be announced, these were all regarded to be points in his favour. And though his being a Tory was not exactly a recommendation, the people of this Presidency were willing to believe that his Lordship's attitude in regard to Indian questions would not be influenced by his English politics. The first incident which made people rub their eyes and gave them as it were a foretaste of what was in store for them for the next five years was the cancelling of the engagement which Lord Harris had made to receive an address of welcome at the hands of a deputation of the Provincial Conference of 1890. We do not say that the gentleman who had made the engagement on behalf of the Conference did his part faultlessly. All the same,

we cannot help thinking that his Lordship should have overlooked small irregularities and accepted the address, though he might have been perfectly justified in openly declaring that he would not attach the same value to it as he would have done, if the draft had been submitted to the Conference for adoption and the deputation also named by that body. The unfavourable impression created by this incident was further deepened by the manner in which reckless charges against the Poona Municipality were embodied in a Government resolution on the mere strength of a report from the Collector of Poona. A disappointed member of the Poona Municipality, who however had the ear of Mr. East, the then Collector, had made certain reckless and misleading complaints to that officer against the Municipal administration in this city. The Collector therefore at once ordered a secret inquiry and submitted an entirely one-sided report to the Government. The Municipality protested against this high-handed procedure, but the protest was unavailing. And ultimately Government issued a resolution, containing specific allegations of misconduct against the Municipality generally and certain members of it in particular. The resolution was, however, soon torn to the shreds by the Press, and in a very able communication, the Municipality proved to the hilt the utter baselessness of the charges preferred. And when at last Government was compelled by the stress of public opinion and the representations of the Municipality to modify the positions taken up by it and virtually withdraw its censure, it did so in such grudging and graceless fashion that it became at once clear that Lord Harris was no great friend of Local Self-Government,—an impression amply confirmed by the treatment subsequently accorded by his Lordship to the Municipal Corporation of Bombay in the matter of the Infections Diseases Hospital as also in regard to the Police charges.

But these were small skirmishes between his Lordship's Government and the public opinion of the Presidency,—the first big fight took place in connection with the Mhowra Bill which Sir Charles Pritchard introduced in the local Legislature at the beginning of 1892. The measure had a previous history which was specially calculated to rouse popular feeling against it. Ten years previously *i. e.* in 1882, Sir Charles Pritchard, as head of the Abkari Department, had induced the Government of Sir James Fergusson to introduce and carry through the local Legislature a similar Bill. But while under discussion it had been fiercely opposed by all the non-official members, and ultimately the Government of India took the extraordinary course of vetoing it. With unusual frankness, the first Statement of Objects and Reasons of that measure (This Statement was afterwards set aside and another substituted in its place) had put the revenue argument in the very forefront. "Owing to the prevalence" it was stated, "of the practice of illicit distillation of spirits in portions of the Thana and Kolaba and other Collectorate *Causing material loss of Abkari revenue to Government and encouraging lawless conduct on the part of the villagers, and the facilities afforded to such illicit manufacture by the absence of any provision in the Bombay Abkari Act, restricting the collection, import, export, transport, sale and possession of Mhowra flowers, which are openly sold and used for the purpose of illicit distillation, it has been found desirable to amend the said Act by introducing a section after section 14 of the Act which will empower Government to make necessary rules for regulating and prohibiting the traffic in Mhowra flowers and thereby check the illicit distillation of spirits.*" This revenue consideration has in fact always been the true key to the position of Government in Abkari matters and his remarkable admission supplied a convenient opening to the attacks of the non-official

members on the policy of the Department. The opposition was led vigourously and ably by the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik who declared that in attempting to prohibit the free traffic in Mhowra flowers, the Abkari Department, having exhausted the pills, wanted the public to swallow the box and that, for his part, he declined to do it. Mr. S. D. Sassoon observed :—" I cannot imagine that any increase of the Abkari revenue would compensate for the injury that would be inflicted on the very poorest classes by depriving them of an article of sale or barter which has been provided for them by the bounty of nature and which they have freely collected from immemorial time. I cannot help, therefore, viewing with disfavour any repressive enactment such as this Bill embodies, which would place in the hands of ill-paid or inferior instruments a power of harassing the poor dumb ignorant population inhabiting the forest tracts of the country—a population which as inquiry has shown, are dependent on the Mhowra for subsistence for themselves and their cattle and on its barter for supplying the commonest human needs." Mr. W. M. Macaulay observed :—" It seems to me that the Abkari Act of 1878 and the Bill now before us have been framed with one object of increasing revenue. It is possible to be over zealous in that direction and the desire to make a department pay should not justify fresh legislation. If the Act be passed in its present form, and the result should be to bring some extra rupees into the treasury, they will be dearly purchased if they are extracted from the pockets of the poor ryots who are too ignorant to understand the necessity for new regulations such as the Act contemplates." Sir Jamsheji Jijibhey and Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh also followed in the same strain. The *Bombay Gazette*, in one of its leading articles, also wrote :—" The injury which the measure now proposed is calculated to inflict, especially on the poorer

classes, is so great that wise legislation would not purchase revenue at such a sacrifice." It was also pointed by the non-official members that Mhowra flowers were largely used by the poorer classes and the wild tribes to supplement their stock of food-grains and that they were also used as fodder for cattle. But in spite of this opposition, the Bill was rushed by Sir James Fergusson and his colleagues through the council. But these protests, though unavailing in the local Legislature, were not lost upon Lord Ripon who was then Viceroy of India. So strong indeed was the impression made by them on his Lordship's mind that he felt himself justified in taking the extreme step of withholding his assent to the measure. In doing so, his Lordship told the Bombay Government that he was not satisfied that case had been made out for so repressive a piece of legislation, and he asked Sir James Fergusson to make further inquiries to ascertain what truth there was in the contention of the non-official members that Mhowra flowers were used in Thana and Kolaba as food for men and fodder for cattle. The Bombay Government thereupon appointed two Commissions, one for Thana and the other for Kolaba composed entirely of official members to make the necessary inquiries. These Commissions, in the face of over-whelming evidence on the other side, recorded the conclusions which the Bombay Government desired. Even they, however, could not get over a great deal of the evidence taken by them and they had to get out of difficulty by confusing the issues which had been referred to them. The Committees were asked to find out if Mhowra flowers were ever used by the poorer classes of Thana and Kolaba as food for men or fodder for cattle. With the evidence that they had recorded they could not of-course say that the flowers were never so used. And they therefore recorded a finding in the negative by stating that flowers were never used as staple food and were not generally given to cattle. Armed with

these conclusions of the Thana and Kolaba Committees the Bombay Government again approached the Government of India on the subject but the latter again deprecated legislation !

Eight years were allowed to elapse since the second refusal of the Supreme Government and during all this interval nothing more was heard of the necessity of prohibiting the free traffic in Mhowra flowers. At last in 1892, Sir Charles Ritchard felt that his opportunity had come. With Lord Landowne as Viceroy and Lord Harris as Governor of this Presidency, and himself a Member of the Bombay Council, Sir Charles Pritchard must have thought that so favourable a juncture could not arise again for the Mhowra legislation. And the result showed that he was not wrong. So again the old argument of an increase in illicit distillation was trotted forth, and it was declared that it was impossible to bring about an improvement unless the free traffic in Mhowra flowers was prohibited. In vain was it pointed out on behalf of the public that the circumstances of 1882 and 1884 had not changed ; that if at all they had changed they had done so for better ; that the sudden outbreak of illicit distillation in 1887-88 was due to the action of Government itself in that Government had raised the price of illicit liquor so high that the temptations to distil liquor illicitly was exceptionally great ; that as soon as the temptation was removed, illicit distillation also grew less. Sir Charles had made up his mind to secure Mhowra legislation this time at all costs and this meant that Lord Harris had also made up his. The whole question was exhaustively dealt with in these pages, at the time and the statistics of Government subjected to rigorous examination. And the following conclusions were respectfully pressed upon the attention of his Lordship :—that compared with the figures for 1880-81 and 1881-82, the figures for 'recent' years (Sir Charles had

stated in the statement of Objects and Reasons that the legislation was necessitated by a 'recent' rise in illicit distillation,) showed not merely no 'very serious' rise but a very substantial fall off; that the fact that when assent to the Bill of 1882 was withheld by the Government of India, the Bombay Government were able by other means to materially reduce the heavy figures of offences detected in 1880-81 and 1881-82 in subsequent years and keep them within moderate bounds, showed that legislation prohibiting free traffic in mhowra flowers was not necessary for coping with the evil of illicit distillation; that the sudden increase that had taken place in the number of offences in 1888 was entirely due to the action of Government and that it was therefore unfair on the part of Government to take advantage of it to pass a piece of repressive legislation. That the figure for 1888-89, considerably higher as it was than that for 1887-88 did not represent Mhowra distillation exclusively but covered much illicit distillation of Toddy also and therefore it could not be said that there has been in that year a very serious increase in the illicit distillation of liquor from Mhowra flowers, that it was unfair to describe the increase that had taken place in 1888 as 'recent' for statistics for later years were available and they showed a material diminution in the number of offences; and that since the abolition of the experimental arrangements of 1888, the number of offences had been steadily and rapidly diminishing eliciting expressions of satisfaction from the head of the Abkari Department itself and that in the course of a short period, a return to the state of things which had prevailed prior to 1888 might be legitimately looked for. The report of the Thana Committee was also carefully analysed and the conclusions stated in the following terms:—"We hope to have shown that the report is not in accordance with the evidence given before the Committee and that its conclusions are recorded directly in the face of most

weighty and reliable testimony to the contrary. It is the high rate of duty which encourages and stimulates illicit distillation and as long as this is not remedied there will be no change for the better in the habits of the people. We have also shown that the Mhowra flowers are a very useful supplement to the poor man's stock of grain for himself and of fodder for his cattle and that the attempt to levy high duties and impose severe restrictions will still more demoralize the people by driving them to turn their hands to other articles from which drink can be made. The evidence warrants only affirmative answers to both the questions referred to the Committee and the negative answers given are not to the point and are not true as Statements of fact." An exhaustive memorial on similar lines was submitted to the Bombay Government by the Bombay Presidency Association also. Lord Harris however, had one advantage over Sir James Fergusson in the matter. Sir James had to encounter the vigorous and unanimous opposition of the five non-official members and when he carried his measure through the local Legislature he could do so only by means of his official majority, Mr. Mandlik and others opposing even the first reading of the Bill !! Lord Harris and Sir Charles Pritchard had managed to be more fortunate in their non-official colleagues. The result was that they were able to pass through the Bombay Council with the unanimous support of all members, the same piece of legislation which ten years before, Sir James Fergusson could carry only by his official majority, which was, however, vetoed by the Government of India in that year and which Lord Ripon would not allow the Bombay Government to revive two years later ! With this exception of the attitude of the non-official members, the Mhowra Bill of 1892 met with even fiercer resistance than that of 1882. Public meetings to protest against it were held all over Thana and Kolaba. The entire Press of the Presidency—Anglo-Indian as well as Native—also

condemned it unequivocally. But all these protests were absolutely lost upon a Governor who never cared to show the least shred of respect for public opinion. And thus in June 1892, the Bill passed its third reading in the local Legislative Council. In the speech which Lord Harris made on the occasion, he referred at considerable length to the articles in this Journal on the subject. The conclusions were not challenged; no attempt was made at refuting the arguments used. All that his Lordship did was to quote extract after extract from the articles and then exclaim that the thing had been very unfairly stated! It was in the course of this same speech that the late Governor advocated the necessity of Government having an organ of its own to defend its views and actions against the attacks of the Press! The Mhowra Bill soon received the assent of Lord Lansdowne and thus closed this important act in the drama of Lord Harris' unsympathetic and reactionary administration.

The next important measure which caused an equally wide feeling of dissatisfaction and created an equally bitter controversy was the allotment of the eight recommendation-seats in the Bombay Legislative Council which the Government of Lord Harris had to assign to different constituencies. By the new Indian Councils' Act, it was provided that the Bombay Legislative Council should consist of twenty-one Additional members, besides the members of the Executive Council, and that of these twenty-one, not less than one third should be recruited by election. The regulations framed by the Government of India under this Act, for the Bombay Presidency laid down that eight of these twenty-one seats should be thrown open to election and that nominations to these eight seats should be made on the recommendation of the following bodies:—

- A The Municipal Corporation of Bombay.
- B Such Municipal Corporations or group or groups of Municipal Corporations other

than the Bombay Corporation, as the Governor-in-Council might from time to time prescribe by notification in the *Bombay Government Gazette*.

C Such District Local Boards or group or groups of District Local Boards as the Governor-in-Council might from time to time prescribe.

D The Sardars of the Deccan or such other class of large landholders as the Governor-in-Council might from time to time prescribe.

E Such Association or Associations of merchant manufacturers or tradesmen as the Governor-in-Council might from time to time prescribe.

F The Senate of the Bombay University.

Two of the eight seats were thus already specifically assigned by the Government of India, and the local Government was called upon to exercise its discretion in regard to the distribution of the remaining six. This discretion was thus exercised by Lord Harris :—One seat was assigned to the Municipalities of the Northern Division. One was given to the District Local Boards of the Southern Division. The Sardars of the Deccan, a body of about 190 persons, and the Zamindars of Sind, a body of about 300 persons, were empowered to elect one representative each. One seat was placed at the disposal of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, a body composed of about 75 members. And lastly one seat was allotted to the Chamber of Commerce of Karachi, a body of 31 members. When this distribution came to be notified, it naturally produced a perfect storm of disapprobation. The entire exclusion of the Central Division from all participation in the franchise, the similar exclusion of native mercantile interests and

the over representation granted to minorities and especially to the European mercantile community, were the principal points in the scheme of Government which called forth the loudest protests. The agitation was led by the Sarvajanic Sabha, who lost no time in submitting a strong representation to Lord Harris on the subject. It was pointed out in this representation that the scheme of Government had given small minorities an overwhelmingly preponderant share of representation. The two Chambers of Commerce, consisting chiefly of European merchants, and the Sardars and Zamindars had among them secured two-thirds of the seats left to be distributed according to the discretion of the Bombay Government, and that only two seats had been set apart for the general public of the Presidency as represented by Municipal and Local Boards, though in all other Provinces four seats had been so set apart, in spite of their total recommendation seats being less in number than those in Bombay. It was further pointed out that the entire exclusion of the Central Division was utterly unjustifiable, seeing that that Division was the largest in the Presidency in area, population and revenue, and was besides, in point of education, its most advanced part outside the town and island of Bombay. The Sabha also protested against assigning two separate members to the Chambers of Commerce at Bombay and Karachi. "The Chambers of Commerce," it was observed, "at Bombay and Karachi, instead of being clubbed together get two independent seats. Although these Chambers contain a very small minority of native merchants, the overwhelming majority is distinctly European; and thus practically these two seats have been given exclusively to the European mercantile community. As representatives of trade these Chambers should have been joined together with the Mill-owner's Association and the Piece-goods Merchant's Association of Bombay; but the Native traders and manufacturers are shut out altogether and have been

left voiceless as before while the European merchants who are well able to take care of themselves and their interests, get two out of the eight election seats." After noticing other defeats of a minor character in the scheme of the Bombay Government the memorial of the Sabha suggested the following distribution as calculated to reasonably safe guard all interests and satisfy all reasonable expectations:—One seat to the Bombay Municipal Corporation; one to the Bombay University; one seat to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce with which might be associated all members of the native mercantile community who paid a certain high minimum of income-tax; one seat to the Sardars and the owners of entire villages of incomes over Rs. 1,000 a year; one seat to the Municipal and Local Boards of Sind alternately; one seat to the Municipal and Local Boards of the Northern Division alternately; one seat to the Central Division in the same manner and one to the Southern also in the same manner. And referring a second time to the exclusion of the Central Division, the memorial thus concluded:—"Should the Government unfortunately feel not inclined to reconsider these rules at an early date, the exclusion of the general public of the Central Division from all share in the proposed representation would be a permanent and unmerited reflection on their intelligence and public spirit, and would prejudicially affect their interests to a serious extent." The Presidency Association of Bombay also submitted a vigorous protest against the scheme describing it as entirely "loose and illogical," and condemning strongly the exclusion of the Central Division from all share in the representation. The Association also clearly showed how unfair it was on the part of Government to have assigned a separate seat to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce—a mere adumbration of the Bombay Chamber what the entire native mercantile community had been left without representation. The

agitation thus begun soon spread all over the Deccan and public meetings were held everywhere to protest principally against the injustice to the Central Division involved in the scheme. The suggestion that the nominee of the Sardars would represent the Central Division also was declared to be without weight and the people refused to be satisfied with any such make-shift. The memorial adopted at the Poona meeting exposed the hollowness of this argument very clearly. "It might perhaps be urged," said the people of Poona "that the Central Division would be, to some extent, represented by the nominee of the Sardars of the Deccan. But a little consideration will show that this cannot be the case. There are in this class some who represent the traditions of the old aristocracy of the land. But under the altered circumstances of the times, they cannot be taken to present the *varied rules and urban* interests of the general community of this Division. Some of the Sardars besides do not even belong to this Division. Therefore the people of the Central Division cannot be expected to be satisfied, if they are told that the nominee of the Sardars would represent their interests." The memorial thus concluded:—"My lord, it used hitherto to be the pride of the Government of this Presidency that in matters of this kind it was always in advance of the rest of the country. And the people of this Presidency too participated to some extent in this feeling. All that, however, appears now to have been changed. It would be a grave public misfortune, if the spirit of distrust exhibited in this instance were to continue to sway the policy of Government." Prophetic words these! Lord Reay at the out-set of his career as Governor of this Presidency had declared in speaking of the complaints of the people against the Forest Department that his aim was to substitute co-operation for antagonism, confidence for distrust and contentment for disturbance. One would imagine that Lord Harris, in taking from his pre-

decessor the reins of office, had set to himself exactly the opposite task. The result at any rate of his five years' administration undoubtedly was to substitute antagonism for co-operation, distrust for confidence and disturbance for contentment in all matters ! The protests of public meetings in Poona, Satara, Sholapur Ahmadnagar, Dhulia Nasik, and other places, were followed by similar representations from the Municipal Corporations of most of these towns. The Sarvajanik Sabha too followed up its first representation on the subject by two more representations. One of these contained a request that his Excellency the Governor should be pleased to receive a deputation of the Sabha and the Central Division, so that the aggrieved people of the Division might have an opportunity to lay their case personally before his Excellency. In reply to this, the Sabha was informed that Lord Harris would receive a deputation of the kind proposed on the 17th May in Poona, but at the same time the Sabha was to understand that this compliance with its request did not mean that there was any possibility of Government modifying its scheme in any way ! Later on, the Sabha was further informed that the deputation would not be allowed to make any statement as his Lordship was already in full possession of the public of the Central Division and that the members of the deputation were to do as to quietly listen to the remarks it might please his Excellency to address to them on the occasion ! Accordingly this farce of waiting in deputation on his Excellency was played on the 17th May, 1893 by a few members of the Sabha, two or three representatives from each of the District of the Central Division and a few members of the Poona Municipality ! And the occasion was taken advantage of by Lord Harris to make a long rambling statement in justification of the scheme adopted by Government. On the same day a lengthy Government resolution was issued containing the same points as his Excellency's speech, as a

reply to the objections urged against the scheme of Government in the various memorials. So far as argument was concerned, both the speech and the resolution were utterly inconclusive. The principal point of Government was that the scheme adopted by it was intended to secure not territorial representation, but a representation of "races, classes and interests," and that the territorial principle was introduced in the scheme only to occupy a very subordinate position. The chief interests of the Presidency, Lord Harris argued, that required representation were agriculture, trade, Local Self Government and education. And accordingly Government had assigned two members to agriculture, viz. the representative Sardars and the representative of the Sind Zamindars; two to trade, namely the representatives of the Bombay and Karachi Chambers of Commerce; three to Local Self Government, viz. the representative of Bombay Municipal Corporation, the representative of Municipal Boards in the Northern Division and the representative of Local Boards in the Southern Division. As regards the exclusion of the Central Division, the explanation of Government was this:—"It appears to his Excellency in Council," said the resolution, "that so far as the Central Division is concerned, neither the urban nor the rural population is divided, in regard to characteristics or interests from that of the neighbouring towns and districts in the Northern Division and the Southern Division by any such hard and fast line as to stand in need of separate representation. His Excellency in Council readily admits the importance of many of the Central Division Municipalities and Local Boards and the public spirit that animates their members; and the scheme would have been theoretically more perfect, if it had been possible to give the urban and rural populations and the landholders and gentry of all three Divisions a voice in the election of the members representing those three interests respectively. But

there were obvious practical difficulties in the way, at any rate at the outset of combining the votes of voting bodies of different territorial divisions in one electoral unit. The view of the position which His Excellency in Council commends to the memorialists is not that any particular bodies in any particular Division have been selected for representation to the exclusion of the rest, but that the Northern Division has been entrusted, through its Municipalities, with the duty of representing the urban population; the Southern through its Local Boards, of representing the rural population; and the Central Division, through the body of the Sardars, from whom for many years past members have been selected for the Legislative Council, who are undoubtedly the most prominent body of landowners and who have their head-quarters at Poona with that of representing the large landholders and gentry of the whole Presidency proper. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument that wide distinctions can be drawn between the characteristics of the urban and rural bodies of the Divisions of the Presidency proper, His Excellency in Council is unable to admit that the interests of the population of the Deccan cannot be adequately attended to by the gentleman whom the Sardars may elect or by the direct nominees of His Excellency in Council one of whom is and the other may be actually resident in the Central Division." This last point was further elaborated by Lord Harris in his speech. "I can see no reason," he said "why the gentleman elected by the Sardars should not fitly represent your interests. He will be able to watch the legislative measures introduced by Government and if these specially affect your interests he will be able to protect them. If you consider that there are actions of Government on which you require information he will be able to put any question you may wish him to ask. If you consider that you are being unfairly treated in the distribution of Govern-

ment funds, he can raise the question for you in the discussion on the Budget." In regard to the objection that the grant of a seat to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce was unfair, Lord Harria explained that in his opinion that Chamber represented a very important interest, in as much as "they were doing an inward, and outward trade of something like fifteen crores." His Lordship also urged that it was not correct to say that the Karachi Chamber was a mere adumbration of the Bombay Chamber, as 14 out of its 31 members had no connection whatever with Bombay firms. Of the remaining 17, 11 had corresponding firms in Bombay but acted independently and only 6 were branches of Bombay firms. His Lordship added:—"Well, it appeared to us that on this the first occasion of the introduction of the elective principle, it would be justifiable to mark clearly that we thought that that body, which, in great measure, was responsible for that which has made Karachi what it is, viz. trade, should be the first to have the compliment paid them." The answer of Government to the objection that the Bombay and Karachi Chambers were practically Associations of European merchants was as follows:—"His Excellency in Council also notices that underlying some of the objections, there is a suggestion that the Chambers of commerce represent European interests only. But the Chambers are open to native as well as British merchants and can and as a matter of fact do take up and press upon the notice of Government questions relating to trade and to postal and railway communication—on due cause shown,—whether they affect Native or European traders and merchants particular lines of business or trade collectively, or the interests of the general public." The same Governor who used this argument would not allow the Sarvajanic Sabha to use a similar argument two years later!

Various other points of a minor character were also dealt with in the resolution and the

Governor's speech, but we have no space to refer to them in this article. The speech and the resolution made one thing clear—they showed that Lord Harris absolutely lacked the higher gift of acknowledging a mistake and trying to rectify it even after it had been made abundantly clear to him that he was in the wrong. His Lordship himself must have seen that his speech and resolution were exceedingly weak as a defence of the course adopted by his Government, but in spite of all boasted frankness and straightforwardness, he could not bring himself to admit his mistake, fearing perhaps that thereby the prestige of his Government would suffer. After this resolve of the Bombay Government to stick to its own plan, all that remained for the aggrieved people of the Presidency was to appeal to the Government of India and the Sarvajanic Sabha promptly addressed an exhaustive representation to that Government on the subject. All the arguments of the Bombay Government were discussed and effectively replied to in this memorial. Dealing first with the plea of Lord Harris that it was not sought by his scheme to give territorial representation and that what he wanted to secure was a representation of "races, classes and interests," the Sabha observed:—"The Committee of the Sabha would respectfully submit that this is an erroneous principle to adopt, if the intention was to secure "a real, living representation" of the people of this Presidency in the local Council. (1) In all the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain, representation is territorial and not by races. It has been found by practical experience all the world over that a fair representation of the larger interests of a great community can be secured only by the territorial principle. A legislature generally passes laws for the entire community under its jurisdiction, and the occasions are exceedingly rare when legislation affecting only a particular class or classes is introduced. And if this is true of a legislature with unlimited powers, it is

much more true of a legislature like the Bombay Legislative Council, whose powers of legislation are, to a great extent, limited. A Vaccination Bill or a Police Bill, an Abkari Bill or a Forest Bill, affects the entire population of the Presidency, and if it is the object of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 that those who are subject to the laws passed by the Indian Legislative Councils should have some sort of voice—direct or remote—in the making of those laws, that object will not be attained by giving representation only to "classes and interests." (2) The interests of classes, which are virtually minority interests should, the Sabha submits, be provided for by the exercise of the power retained by Government in their own hands to nominate three or four non-official members in addition to those appointed to the eight recommendation seats. (3) If the territorial principle was really meant to occupy a very subordinate position, the condition of ordinary residence required by these rules regarding the representatives of the Local and Municipal Boards would not have been imposed. That condition is obviously meant to emphasize the necessity of local connections and is a plain recognition of the importance of the territorial principle. (4) The principle of recognizing races and creeds stands in no need of encouragement from Government, as the division of interests caused by it has already been the bane of this country. Representative men of these races and classes have latterly, and especially in the present agitation, shown by their deliberate conduct that they are rising superior to sectional interests. In regard to the argument that the representatives of the Northern and Southern Divisions might represent the urban and rural interests of the Central Division also, the Sabha in the first place questioned the accuracy of the assertion of Government that the characteristics of the three Divisions were not dissimilar. Besides, though there might be no conflict

of interests between them, still these interests, the Sabha urged, would generally be different. "It is one thing," the Sabha argued, "for the interests to be conflicting and another to be separate and unconnected. And although the occasions for conflict will perhaps be rare, absence of interest due to the ignorance or lack of sympathy will be a matter of the most common occurrence. Besides what obligation would there be on a member returned by the Northern or Southern Division to look after the interests of the Central Division? All that the member will feel himself bound to do is to represent to Government the wants and wishes of his own constituents, and when he has done that, he will naturally think that he has done his duty in the matter." The Sabha also asked why strict restrictions about ordinary residence were imposed by the rules on the candidates for the representation of the Northern and Southern Divisions, if these members were intended to represent the Municipalities and Local Boards of the whole Presidency. Referring to the suggestion of Government that the nominee of the Sardars might ask questions for the Central Division and generally look after its interests in the Legislative Council, the Sabha asked what obligation there was on that nominee to do all this. The question was not whether he would do this service to the Central Division as a matter of favour—that might be done by other non-official members or for the matter of that, by official members also—but whether the people of the Central Division had the right to require him to do them this service. The same reply applied in the case of the gentlemen directly nominated by Government who might be resident in the Central Division. Turning next to the grant of a seat to the Karachi Chamber, the Sabha urged that it was not the Chamber that had made Karachi what it was. It was the railways that had opened up the country by improving the means of communication and had developed the trade of

Karachi. If again, the volume of trade represented by the Karachi Chamber was something like 15 crores, that represented by the Native mercantile community of Bombay was over 50 crores. In regard to the contention of Government that the Bombay and Karachi Chambers were open to all races, the Sabha urged that it was a fact whatever might be its cause, that the Chambers chiefly represented the interests of European merchants and that as long as the unjust distribution of seats remained unchanged, the public would always feel that a race distinction had been made in giving representation to the mercantile community. Lastly with reference to the argument of Lord Harris that the franchise was conferred on the Sardars and the Zamindars, because agriculture required representation more than any other interest and these two classes represented agriculture best, the Sabha observed :—" So far as the Sardars of the Deccan are concerned, they have a claim to a seat in the Council as representing the ancient nobility. But the Committee of the Sabha cannot help observing that it is hardly fair to find their claim to representation on the ground of their being large landholders. In the first place a considerable number of the Sardars newly created by the Bombay Government have in no way connected with agriculture and have had the title of Sardar conferred on them only by way of distinction. The Sardars of the first rank are, indeed, rulers of large tracts of the Presidency, but the Sardars and the people of their territories are not subject to the laws of the Bombay legislature and pay no taxes to the Bombay Government. It is a distinct lowering of the nature of these Sardars to say that the franchise has been conferred on them, because they are representatives of the agricultural population. Again, assuming that the Sardars represent the agricultural interests, they, as also the Zamindars of Sind, represent only the land-lord class, whose

interests are in many respects, identical with those of Government, while the far more important peasant class—the agriculturists—who stand in need of being protected beyond all other classes, remain, except in the Southern Division, as unrepresented as ever. The interests of this class can be represented only by conferring the franchise on the Local Boards, appointed by those who pay the land-tax, and their title to speak in the name of the agricultural class is, beyond all comparison, stronger than that of the Sardars or the Zamindars." Other points in the defence of Government were also dealt with in the same manner and the Government of India was in conclusion requested to direct the local Government to reconsider the rules promulgated by it. The reply of the Government of India, though for the most part of the usual official type, was calculated to inspire some little hope. Of course the Supreme Government upheld what the local Government had done, but it gave the assurance that when two years later, the rules would come to be revised, the representation of the Sabha would receive full consideration. And we are happy to say that when recently the time did come up for a revision of the rules, the Government of Lord Sandhurst was pleased to admit, the justice of the claims of the Central Division and the fairness of the remonstrances addressed by the public to Lord Harris on the subject, by withdrawing from the Karachi Chamber the seat assigned to it by Lord Harris and placing it at the disposal of the Central Division! This reversal, on the part of Lord Sandhurst, of the policy of his predecessor was all the more remarkable after the unstatesman like, we had, almost said vindictive, statement made by Lord Harris only a few months previously that in the new distribution, the Central Division would continue to be excluded from the franchise as before, because of the strained relations between Hindus and Mahomedans in the Deccan!

The rules drafted by Lord Harris' Government to regulate first admissions to the new Provincial Service have created the widest dissatisfaction and alarm, and the conviction is deep and general in the the Presidency that unless those rules are modified on the lines suggested by the Sabha in its memorial on the subject, they will prove simply disastrous to the general interests of the Presidency and the interests of administrative efficiency in particular. The constitution of the Provincial Service was first proposed by the Public Service Commission which had been appointed by the Government of Lord Dufferin "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the people of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service." The proposals of the Commission were received by the public on the whole with feelings of keen disappointment, because the people of India felt that no such Service could do justice to their legitimate aspirations, and that the only solution of the question was the institution of simultaneous examinations. But disappointing as the Commission's recommendations were, they still had some good points, which were however taken away from them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in passing orders on the report of the Commission. The Commission had proposed recourse to Parliamentary legislation to detach 108 posts from the Schedule of the Act of 1861; the Secretary of State first reduced the number of these posts and then proposed to effect their detachment by executive action under powers conferred by the Act of 1870. The proposal to detach some of the highest posts in the Civil Service was further not allowed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Thus the public were already greatly dissatisfied with what Government had done in the matter. And they were therefore parti-

cularly anxious that the rules regulating first admissions to the Provincial Service should be as satisfactory as Government could make them. Naturally then, when the draft of the rules proposed by Lord Harris was given to the people of this Presidency by the *Times of India*, it fairly took their breath away. The proposals of Lord Harris are briefly as follows :—

(1) The new Provincial Service should be recruited partly by open competition, partly by nomination and in very exceptional cases by promotion from the subordinate service. (2) It should consist of all Subordinate Judgeships and Small Cause Court Judgeships on the Judicial side and all Deputy Collectorships on the Executive side, together with the eighteen posts detached from the schedule of the Act 1861. The Mamlatdars on the Executive side should be left out of the service. (3) The proportions of Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsees, who were to enter by the competitive door, should be notified along with the number of posts thrown open to competition six months before the date of the examination. (4) Candidates for the Competitive examination should be examined in (a) one of the vernaculars of the Presidency; (b) English sufficient to test the candidate's capacity to write and understand official reports; (c) Arithmetic up to Simple Interest; (d) Algebra up to simple equations; (e) Uclid, Books I and II; (f) General history of India and England; (g) A voluntary subject (probably as in the case of candidates for the U. S. F. Examination.) (5) The maximum age limit for the candidates appearing for the competitive examination should be twenty-five years. (6) Members of the Provincial Service should not be appointed to the posts detached from the Schedule of the Act of 1861 until all members of the Covenanted Service who had joined before 1881 had been provided for, and after that until the members of the Statutory Service had been provided for. Now the first point in these

rules that must strike the most casual reader is the incredibly low standard prescribed for the competitive examination. In this matter, it is hardly necessary to mention that it was the most earnest wish of the public that this competitive test should be, as far as practicable, identical with that prescribed for the London Examination for the Civil Service of India. For members of the Provincial Service were one day to be appointed to the posts detached from the Schedule of the Act of 1861, and unless they had passed as high an educational test as the Civil Servants, they were not likely to be held in the same esteem by the people as their Civilian Colleagues. The Public Service Commission itself had expressed this same opinion. Speaking of the qualifications which should be insisted upon in the case of candidates for the Provincial Service, the Commission had observed :—" As the conditions of admission to the Imperial Service aim at high English qualifications, so the conditions of admission to the Provincial Service should be framed with a view to secure the best qualifications obtainable in India. " And again, :—" The qualifications required for admission to the provincial Service must be such as to give fair promise that the candidates admitted to it will, in time, be fit to discharge the duties of high appointments formerly belonging to the Covenanted Service, but now to be amalgamated with the Provincial Service, will ordinarily in due course be promoted. " Now in a Presidency, where the University annually turns out graduates by scores and undergraduates by hundreds, it cannot surely be pretended that a test easier than even the matriculation or the University School Final Examination is the highest educational test available ! And well might the Sarvajanic Sabha say that in prescribing the proposed test, Government was courting for the Provincial Service the same failure that had been the fate of the Statutory Service. In the

memorial submitted by the Sabha to the Government of India on this subject, the whole question was discussed at considerable length and after stating that in its opinion the test for admission into the Provincial Service ought to be at least as stiff as the B. A. examination of our University, the Committee thus wrote:—"The Sabha begs leave to point out that at present most of the Subordinate Judges and Small Cause Court Judges in the Presidency are graduates in Law, which graduation requires the previous obtaining of a degree in Arts, and that a large number of Mamlatdars and Deputy Collectors are also graduates. The work of both these classes of officers has repeatedly been spoken of by Government in terms of high commendation. In the letter of Mr. Lee-Warner, already referred to, the Government of Bombay justly takes credit to itself for this great preponderance of men, possessing University degrees, in its Service. Government must be aware that high educational qualifications, such as are implied in a University degree, do not merely indicate intellectual development, though this latter is, in itself, highly valuable and necessary, but they also represent a high moral sense and an awakening of sympathy with the mass of the population without which no officer can discharge his duties worthily and well. The University studies have a tendency to 'open, invigorate and enrich the mind' (to borrow the words of Macaulay's Committee) and constitute an essential preparation for men seeking to be employed in posts of high trust under Government. The extremely low test proposed by Government will inevitably lower the standard of administrative efficiency and official morality at present obtaining in this Presidency and will give the people a class of officials wanting in general sympathies and in breadth of view. The proposal is of so retrograde a nature and is fraught with such detriment to the public service of this Presidency that the Committee of the Sabha feels

it cannot protest too earnestly or too emphatically against it." Another point with draft rules which is calculated to impair administrative efficiency and lower official morality is the exclusion of the Mamlatdars from the Provincial Service. We do not, however, propose to dwell on this point in this article, because it is now well known that the responsibility for this exclusion does not rest on the Bombay Government but that it was the Government of India that insisted on the exclusion in order to secure uniformity in the constitution of the Provincial Service in the various Provinces. The disastrous effects which are certain to ensue from this exclusion are exhaustively set forth in the memorial of the Sabha. The importance given in the rules to pure nomination as a mode of recruitment is also open to serious objection. In the first place, it is opposed to the recommendation of the Public Service Commission on the subject. That Commission was of opinion that in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, open competition would be the most popular mode of recruitment and it would also work in these Provinces most satisfactorily. We, of course, do not object to Government retaining in its hands to make direct nominations in exceptional cases, but nomination as a mode of recruitment to be regularly resorted to is highly objectionable. Open competition may not be ideally the best mode of recruitment, but there is no doubt that it is the best method available. The dismal failure of the statutory Service is a standing condemnation of the principle of pure nomination. On the other hand, the remarkable success of the Subordinate Judicial Service bears most convincing testimony to the superiority of the principle of open competition. The last important point in the draft rules of Lord Harris which calls for a protest is the proposal to distribute the posts to be thrown open to competition on the principle of races and castes. As the Sabha has stated in its memorial, "this is the first attempt in the history of British administration

in India to dispose of appointments in the Public Service on considerations of race or caste, and that it is absolutely inconsistent with the pledges solemnly given to the people of India in the matter by the Parliamentary Act of 1833 and the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of 1858." These pledges are that fitness alone is to be the criterion of eligibility for employment and that whatever tests of qualifications may be adopted, "distinctions of race or religion shall not be among the number." It may be said that the proposal is made in the interests of the backward communities but we venture to say that in this matter as in several others, Government is proposing just the wrong remedy. The interests of a community cannot be truly advanced by bestowing on its members places in the Public Service for which they may not be qualified by their educational attainments. It is only by giving special facilities to that community to come up educationally in a line with communities more advanced, that its real interests will be best served. The solicitude of Government, therefore, for the welfare of the backward classes should take the form of giving these classes special means and facilities of educating themselves, and herein Government would be clearly entitled to the active and sympathetic support of members of the more advanced communities.

These rules drafted by the Government of Lord Harris have not yet been promulgated as the final orders of Government in the matter and some may think, now that we have a new Governor, that there is yet room for hope that Government will desist from embarking on so disastrous an experiment. The reply of the Government of India to the memorial of the Sabha is most disappointing. It is again the old tale of maintaining the prestige of the local Government. The Government of India says in its reply that it agrees with the Bombay Government in thinking that the scheme of the latter should have a fair trial!

Let us, however, hope that Lord Sandhurst, who has already begun well, will see and will be able to induce the Government of India to see the necessity and importance of modifying the draft rules of Lord Harris so as to conciliate public opinion to some extent at least in the matter.

The recent revision of revenue assessments in portions of the Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts has inflicted very serious hardship in certain cases and has occasioned deep discontent in that part of the Presidency. The manner in which the Khots of the Devgad Taluka in the Ratnagiri District have been treated in this respect can have no parallel even in the heartless records of the grasping and relentless Survey Department. The assessments of their villages have been so fearfully enhanced that the new amounts which the Khots are called upon to pay to Government are greatly in excess of the rents which the Khots themselves have to receive from their tenants. In the village of Sangwe, for instance, the old assessment of Rs. 874 has been increased to Rs. 2,509, while the rents due to the Khots from their tenants are Rs. 881. In another village named Janavali, the old assessment was Rs. 834; the new assessment now is Rs. 2,318, whereas the rents due from the tenants to the Khots are Rs. 936. The same has been the case with Biravadi, Wagheri and several other villages. The consequence of these preposterous enhancements has been a practical confiscation of the property of the Khots, who, unable to meet the demand of the state from the rents received by them from their tenants, have had to give up their villages and face misery and destitution! The petition which these helpless men have submitted to Government in the matter has not yet been disposed of, though more than a year has elapsed, and though Government has more than once promised redress. The revision settlements in the Alibag and Panvel Talukas in the Kolaba district have also been very oppressive and

have besides been effected in the face of the promises given in 1874 and 1886. The resolution issued by the Government of Sir Philip Wodehouse on the subject has promised three moderating restrictions on the revision work of the Survey Department, viz.—that the enhancement in respect of an individual holding should not exceed 100 per cent; that in respect of a village should not exceed 66 per cent; and that in respect of a Taluka should not exceed 33 per cent. The legislation of 1886 has further expressly promised that the improvements of holders will not be taxed. And yet in the revision settlements of these two Talukas, both these promises have been, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, flagrantly violated. The increase in respect of individual holdings has in many cases ranged from 100 to 1200 per cent. The enhancement in respect of the whole Panwel Taluka has been 45 per cent, instead of 33 per cent. A similar increase has also taken place in the case of the Alibag Taluka. We do not wish to dwell longer on this subject on this occasion, as we intend to deal with it separately in a future issue of this Journal. We will not, however, conclude these remarks without making a passing reference to the amazing ignorance displayed by Lord Harris in speaking of this subject a day or two before his departure. His Lordship said that in England freedom of action in regard to the holding, fixity of tenure and fair rent were regarded as the three great desiderata of an agriculturist; that in India, he had at any rate the first two; and therefore if he was not ideally happy, at any rate he ought to be nearly so. It is difficult to realize that a statement like this could have emanated from so responsible a person as the Governor of a Presidency. Even putting aside the radical difference between the system of land tenure obtaining in England and that obtaining in this Presidency, it must still be clear to the simplest understanding that if the rent was excessive, the other two Fs. would

mean but little to the agriculturist ; and the present outcry in this Presidency is with regard to the excessively high character of the assessments !

The question of questions, however, during the last two years of his Lordship's administration was the outbreak of religious disturbances between Hindus and Mahomedans in various parts of the Presidency. A problem so difficult and delicate required for a satisfactory solution the highest effort of statesmanship. It required tact, resourcefulness and sympathy in a conspicuous degree, and Lord Harris showed that he was conspicuously wanting in all these qualities. His Lordship would seem to have imagined that he was sent out here to uphold the prestige of the European officials from the highest to the lowest by supporting them in everything that they might do. From the beginning of his administration, he left himself entirely in their hands, and it was this absolute surrender of judgment which proved so fatal to his reputation as an administrator. The policy of Government is undoubtedly one of strict neutrality in all religious matters. At the same time, there is also no doubt that in these Hindu—Mahomedan disturbances, the instinctive sympathy of most Anglo-Indians is with the Mahomedans. The officers themselves may, in some cases, be unconscious of any such leaning and yet the leaning is there, and it is to a great extent the natural out-come of their position. The religion of Islam has much more in common with Christianity than has the faith of the Hindus. Hindu ways and Hindu feelings, Hindu ceremonials and Hindu prejudices are so entirely different from those of our rulers that at times it is almost impossible even for the best disposed and most patient of them to understand them properly. The political activity of the Hindus is another important factor in the problem. We have already stated at the commencement of this article that the feeling of antagonism between Anglo-Indians as a class and

the representatives of the aspirations of new India is daily growing more pronounced and more bitter. Now this political activity has spread far more among Hindus than among Mahomedans, and this explains the greater sympathy which many members of the ruling class feel for the latter than for the former. In the Hindu-Mahomedan riots of the last two years, one of the principal difficulties of the situation arose from those anti-Hindu prejudices of Anglo Indian officials. We have no wish to go here into the details of these disturbances or to apportion in any way the blame or responsibility for them between the contending parties. The unhappy wounds show a tendency to heal and it would be most unwise to open them again by any means. We think it necessary, however, to offer a few observations on the manner in which Lord Harris and his officials dealt with so grave a problem. Though at one time Lord Harris was disposed to believe that these riots were due to the effects of Cow Protection Societies and the writings of certain 'designing and unscrupulous men' in the Native Press, he at last admitted in one of his last speeches that the wave had really come from East and North India and that the outbreaks were in the first instance due to the excited feelings occasioned by the affair at Prabhaspatan. We think it may safely be asserted that if there had been no outbreak at Prabhas-Patan, there would have been no outbreak in Bombay and that if the Bombay riots had not occurred, no one would even have heard of these disturbances in the Deccan. The anti Hindu prejudices of Anglo-Indians were illustrated in the Bombay riots by so fairminded a man as Mr. Vincent trying to fasten the responsibility of the outbreak in the Cow Protection Society there and by Mr. Acworth calling upon the Hindus to desist from trying to make proselytes to their religion by means of blood-shed, as though the Hindus had ever tried to make proselytes to their religion or that they had in

any way commenced the disturbances in Bombay! The conduct of the Bombay Government in connection with these Bombay riots was in the whole such as it should have been. The Government declined to accept the theory of Mr. Vincent that the Cow Protection Society of Bombay was responsible for the out break and it issued a resolution on the subject which was on the whole characterized by much fairness and impartiality. The excitement caused by the Bombay riots, however, soon spread itself all over the Deccan, unsettling the old relations between Hindus and Mahomedans and creating a general feeling of unrest. And this unrest found expression soon after in a serious riot at Yeola. If Government had dealt with this Yeola affair with tact and judgment, it was still possible to allay popular feeling in the matter. But under the advice of Mr. Leewarner, Lord Harris allowed himself to depart from his position of strict impartiality, and he singled out the Hindus of Yeola for special condemnation and punishment. In the Poona and Wai affairs also, a similar attitude was maintained by his Lordship towards the two parties. We have already said that we do not propose on this occasion to go into the details of these occurrences, as we have no wish to needlessly open old sores. We will however say this that in both the Poona and Wai affairs, the Police,—presumably acting under the orders of higher authorities, went perilously close to creating a state of disturbance by their own conduct. The cup of popular indignation was nearly full and had it not been for the splendid conduct of Mr. Jacob on the Bench, no one could say what might have been the consequences. The conduct of Lord Harris throughout these occurrences was of a most unsatisfactory and provoking character. Throughout he remained entirely passive himself, and allowed the district and Police authorities in different places to do just as they pleased. The entire Native press appealed to him again and again to give up this attitude of inaction and do

something in the matter by issuing definite instructions to District authorities and appointing Conciliation Boards to bring about an amicable adjustment of the differences of the two parties. Lord Harris only resented these appeals, and in a speech delivered at Ahmadnagar, he denounced their authors in intemperate language by describing them as designing and unscrupulous persons and charging the whole Deccan with disloyalty and insubordination ! At the end of November last, the Sarvajanic Sabha submitted an exhaustive memorial to his Lordship on the subject. Every body spoke highly of it at the time ; even the *Times of India* described it as a helpful intervention ; but Lord Harris first tried to pick a quarrel with the Sabha by attributing to a sentence in the memorial a meaning never contemplated by the authors, and then issued a resolution—and this he did only four days before his departure from India—once more laying the blame of the disturbances at the doors of the Hindu community !

We have so far briefly reviewed the administration of Lord Harris in connection with the four principal subjects which occasioned long and better controversies—the Mhowra Bill, the distribution of seats in the local Legislative Council, the Provincial Service rules and the Hindu-Mahomedan disturbances. Even the warmest friends and admirers of Lord Harris must feel that the record against his Lordship in regard to these subjects is exceedingly heavy and that it at once explains the extraordinary unpopularity of his Lordship with the bulk of the Native community. The popular belief in the matter is that much of this unpopularity might have been avoided if his Lordship had not allowed Mr. Lee-Warner to acquire so paramount an influence over him. So much has been made of his Lordship's encouragement of physical education. We gladly acknowledge that during his *regime*, love of sports and healthy games and exercises received great stimulus, but we do not

know how far this encouragement was due to any deliberately planned policy on the part of his Lordship's Government. His Lordship was a keen lover of sports and this love acted on the people under his rule. His Lordship's services to the cause of primary education must be acknowledged gratefully by every well-wisher of the country. Some of his appointments also were worthy of all praise—notably the appointment first of the late Mr. Telang and after him of Dr. Bhandarkar as Vice-Chancellor of the University, the appointment of Mr. Ranade to the High Court and the appointment of Mr. L. G. Deshmukh to act as Collector of Sholapur. Perhaps these acts of his Lordship, coupled with a little more sympathy for the people, might have made him a popular Governor, if his *regime* had in other respects been uneventful. As it was, however, no regime of recent times has been more eventful or more unpopular. The Anglo-Indian press has extolled Lord Harris beyond all measure for frank speech. We are not sure in the first place that his Lordship's speech was always frank. The explanation which his Lordship gave the other day in England that he was attacked by the native papers because he had endeavoured to safeguard the interests of the poor from the aggressions of the rich will not, we hope, be claimed as a sample of frank speech by any one. But we would go further and say that such frankness of speech as Lord Harris indulged in on occasions is, so far from being a virtue in a ruler, a distinct disqualification. His Lordship often showed an almost complete disregard for the feelings of others and he would seem to have imagined that no speech could be really outspoken which did not hurt somebody or other. A speaker at the Provincial Conference of 1894 thus described the main features of his Lordship's rule:—"An unbounded faith in the infallibility of the official hierarchy, a careful and complete shutting out of all non-official light, a systematic and almost

studied defiance of public opinion and an obstinate clinging even to errors under the mistaken notion that that was a sign of strength,—these have been the main characteristics of his Lordship's rule." A shade here or there may perhaps require to be softened in this description, but substantially this appears to us to faithfully portray the *regime* which came to a close in February last and which was undoubtedly one of the most unsympathetic and unpopular administrations that we have had in this Presidency for some time past.

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THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

Established on the 1st of Chaitra Shaka 1792 i.e. 2nd April 1870
for representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of
the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective
system under rules framed for the purpose.

WALEKAR'S WADA, DANE ALI

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Gentlemen, these are appalling figures. I am not exaggerating the misery of our women, for the figures are such that exaggeration is almost impossible. These figures ought to make you pause awhile and reflect before you condemn widow-remarriages. But this is not all, Gentlemen; what will be your feelings, when I tell you that as many as 1528 out of our fifty thousand widows are widows under 15 years of age, and fully thirty-three per cent of our child-widows are widows under nine years of age! Oh horror upon horror! One girl widow out of every three girl widows under 15 is under 9 years of age!! What a heart rending, what a soul-harrowing, what a blood-curdling tale of sorrow and shame is this!!! The bitterest opponents of widow-remarriages will stand aghast on contemplating this frightful state of affairs! They will find reason to stop singing the praises of the wisdom of our ancestors.

The question of widow-remarriages presents itself in a different aspect when we consider the figures in the 7th vertical column in my table. I say, men ought to allow widows to remarry, if not for the sake of making widows happy, at least for the sake of becoming happy themselves. Some men, with whom I have conversed on the subject of widow-remarriages, have expressly stated it as their opinion that it is highly desirable to uphold the dignity of the sterner sex by allowing them to enjoy superior privileges. It is necessary not to grant greater privileges to the fair sex than they now enjoy. Women ought not to enjoy the privilege of remarrying; for, then, they will come to be on a level with men and thus the dignity of men which lies in the enjoyment of superior privileges will be compromised. To these opponents I answer that for the sake of upholding that very dignity which is so very dear to them, they ought to allow widows to remarry. For a reference to the 7th vertical column will show that men are making themselves unhappy solely for the purpose of enjoying

the demonical pleasure of making women miserable. Such conduct is very vividly depicted in a fine line by Bhartri-hari.

ये तु व्रन्ति निरयकं परहितं ते के न जानीमहे ।

In Table A, we see in the first vertical column the numbers of males, and in the 2nd, we see the numbers of females. On comparing the figures for the 16 castes, we find that the numbers of males (with the exception of three numerically insignificant castes) are higher than those of females, and that therefore pairing man and woman together, there must be many men who cannot find wives, in the natural course of things. This is the lot of about 18,000 men. But when we consider that the number of females is further reduced by the circumstance that a large number of them is, by the artificial rules of society, rendered useless for conjugal purposes by being compelled to remain in the condition of perpetual and enforced widowhood; when, I say, we consider this, the odds become still more glaring. We have to deduct from the aggregate number of females viz. 2,56,695, the aggregate number of widows viz. 49,803, and take the remainder viz. 2,06,892 as being really the number of females available for married happiness. On comparing the number of males (2,74,786) with the number of available females (2,06,892) we find that the former exceeds the latter by 67,894, which is therefore the number of males who can find no lawful means to gratify their conjugal cravings. The proportion of this excess to the entire male population in these 16 castes is 24.7 or nearly 25 p. c. This percentage discloses a very important fact, which deserves to be very carefully considered by the orthodox people who praise the fabric of our society, and declare that widow-re-marriages ought not to be permitted. If the dignity of the sterner sex can be upheld by being prevented from marrying, and by being compelled to pine for want of wives, then I have nothing to say. But if the dignity of the sterner sex consists in having chaste minds in chaste bodies, then certainly that dignity is compromised by compelling

widows to remain outside the conjugal pale. If widow-remarriages were permitted the percentage of wifeless men would be brought down from 25 to 6. And moreover, old drones will not then be compelled to lead to the altar rosy girls of 12 years with the sickening, and terrifying prospect of widowhood before their weeping eyes.

Thus the question of widow-remarriages is intimately connected with the moral well-being of our society. At present as many as 25 per cent of the male population are compelled to remain without wives. One fourth of the entire male population is condemned by society to resort to enforced celibacy, or, what is worse, to unholy ways for pacifying their natural appetites, and thus it punishes itself for the injustice it metes out to its sisters in like proportion.

I do not mean to say that all this number resort to unholy ways. There are, I admit, many honorable exceptions. But when we consider how strong, how fierce, how uncontrollable men's sexual passions are, and when we consider the indulgence with which society punishes unchastity among men, can we hesitate to admit that a large proportion of these wifeless men must be resorting to unholy ways? Does not society deserve to be blamed for making so many men immoral? And even taking it for granted that not a single wifeless man resorts to unholy ways, still can we hesitate to charge society with throwing so strong temptations to immorality in the paths of so many men? It is the duty of every properly organised society to check immorality as much as possible. But when we find that a certain society encourages as it were immorality in men by making it impossible for as many as a fourth part of the males to find wives by artificially rendering ineligible a similar number of females, we are compelled to condemn that society as cruel and barbarous. Gentlemen, pardon me for the vehemence of my language. But as I am speaking out what I sincerely feel on the subject, you will not be angry with me. I must state the facts as they

appear to me. Well, the immorality of these wife-less men can be to some extent checked by increasing the number of marriageable women by admitting widows within the pale of eligibility for marriage. By allowing widows to remarry the number of wife-less men can be reduced from 24·7 per cent to 6·5. So many as 17·9 or nearly 18 per cent men will thus be rescued from unholy temptations.

I am aware that my argument based upon the number of wife-less men is liable to be contested on the ground that it includes a large number of boys, who are not in a condition to feel conjugal cravings. To this objection I reply by saying, first, that the boys included in the number of males will not remain boys for ever. They will sooner or later come to men's estates and require wives. These grown up boys must be provided for, and hence it will be a mistake to eliminate them from the number of males. Secondly we must consider that the number of females also includes a large number of girls, who, though now incapable of serving as wives, will one day be capable of fulfilling that obligation. Thus the number of boys is balanced by the number of girls, and our general conclusion cannot be said to be vitiated though we include these numbers in the numbers of males and females respectively. But to prove to you that our conclusions will not lose their strength even after eliminating the numbers of boys and girls, I have constructed Table B. The first vertical column of this Table shows the number of males in the various castes. The second column shows the number of males under 15 years of age. We can, I think, safely take this latter number as not requiring wives. The third column gives the number of males above 15 years. And this number we can take as that of males requiring wives, or of males who will shortly require wives. The 4th column gives the number of females, and the 5th gives the number of girls under 10 years of age (less widows under 10). This latter number we can take as being utterly incapable of serving as

TABLE B Statistical information regarding the civil condition of Deccan & Konkan Brahmins.

Miscellaneous Brahmins	Castes of Deccan and Konkan Brahmins.	Males	Males of 14 or under	Males above 14 years of age	Females.	Females married under 10 and unmarried under 10 years.	Widows of all ages.	Available females.	Wifeless men	Percentage of wifeless men to wife requiring males.
1	Chitpawans	23,430	8,326	1,510	2,300	7,331	3,975	11,696	3,408	
	Koknasthas	36,941	14,570	2,237	3,347	7,222	5,488	20,763	1,608	
	Total of Chitpawans and Koknasthas	60,371	22,896	3,747	5,647	14,553	9,463	32,459	5,016	13.3
	2 Deshasthas	1,48,968	48,974	9,994	1,39,601	34,084	30,418	75,099	24,895	24.8
	3 Karhads	17,362	7,774	958	16,038	3,002	2,512	10,524	— 936	
	4 Dewrukhes	3,685	2,178	1,507	3,399	691	654	2,054	— 547	
	5 Palses	153	48	105	148	34	32	82	23	21.9
	6 Tirgula	1,080	344	736	1,008	243	259	506	230	31.2
	7 Kirwants	68	32	36	65	24	15	27	9	25.0
	Total of 1-7 Castes.	2,31,687	82,246	1,49,441	2,16,734	52,631	43,353	1,20,751	28,690	19.2

TABLE B—Continued.

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Shenwi Brahmins	Castes of Deccan and Konkan Brahmins.		Males.	Males of 14 or under.	Males above 14 years of age.	Females.	Females married under 10 and unmarried under 10 years.	Widows of all ages.	Available females.	Wifeless men.	Percentage of wifeless men to wife requiring males.
8	Shenwis	...	3,499	1,230	2,269	3,315	806	712	1,797	472	20.8
9	Kudaldesharis	...	263	88	175	218	28	53	137	38	21.7
10	Sashtikars	...	136	25	111	152	14	13	125	14	
11	Bardeskaris	...	103	21	82	145	35	50	60	22	26.8
12	Gowds	...	17,603	6,309	11,294	15,627	4,714	1,969	8,944	2,350	20.8
13	Saraswats	...	10,627	3,546	7,080	9,909	2,410	2,167	5,332	1,748	24.8
14	Gowd saraswats	...	10,057	2,693	7,364	9,806	1,508	1,301	6,997	367	4.9
15	Gowd Sashtikars	...	673	391	282	656	191	156	309	27	
16	Gowd shenwis...	...	138	55	83	133	48	29	46	27	32.5
Total—of 8 to 16 castes.			43,099	14,359	28,740	39,961	9,754	6,450	23,757	4,983	17.3
Total—of 1 to 16 castes.			2,74,786	96,605	1,78,181	2,56,695	62,385	49,803	1,44,508	33,673	18.8

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

wives. Females above that age can be considered to be capable of serving as wives, or capable of doing so soon. From this number of females above 10 years of age we must subtract the number of widowed females of all ages, (shown in the 6th column), and the remainder will represent the number of females actually available for conjugal purposes. This number is given in the 7th column. On comparing the number of wife-requiring men (3rd column) with the number of available females (7th column), we shall see that the number of wifeless men is about as large as that shown in Table A. In the first 7 castes, the percentage of wifeless men to wife requiring men is 19.2 against 25.1 as shown in Table A; and in the next 9 castes this percentage is 17.3 against 22.4 of Table A, while in the sixteen castes taken in the aggregate, it is 18.8 against 24.7. We thus see that even on the vitiated principle of eliminating boys and girls from the total numbers of males and females, no appreciable improvement is seen in the percentages. If however, widow-remarriages were allowed in these castes, we shall find that, even upon this vitiated principle, a vast improvement will be secured. It is true that some females above 10 years of age will have to remain single, and our opponents will apparently be in a position to say that "while formerly there were unmated men, now there are unmated women, and that no improvement in the conjugal sphere has taken place; and it is more desirable that men should remain unmated than that women should remain unmated, and be in danger of having to violate their chastity." The objection appears at first sight to be plausible; but there is a very complete answer to it. The number of females remaining unmated if widows are allowed to remarry will be a little more than one fourth of the number of males remaining unmated now, when widows are not allowed to remarry, and so this will be a distinct improvement. Secondly, while formerly large numbers of both sexes had to remain unmated without any necessity, now only a

small number, and that too only of one sex, will have to remain unmated, and that through natural necessity, and not by reason of the artificial rules of society. Thirdly, this number of unmated females will contain a large number of girls under 15, whose chastity will be in no danger of being compromised for want of husbands. Fourthly, although for the sake of argument we have taken it for granted that every widow will remarry, still, practically there will be many widows who will voluntarily remain as widows in memory of their love for their departed husbands, and for the sake of their children by their first husbands, and so there will hardly be any females who will be compelled to remain virgins for want of husbands. Fifthly, many widows that have already tasted the happiness of married life, will, from feelings of delicacy, remain unmarried; and many others that have found the nuptial bed a thorny bed will be unwilling to sacrifice their independence. Sixthly, even admitting that girls will find it difficult to obtain husbands, I say that in the long run, this will be beneficial to society as tending to late marriages, as we actually see to be the case in some castes in which the number of females preponderates over that of males, and this tendency towards late marriages deserves to be encouraged rather than discouraged. And seventhly and lastly, as a consequence of late marriages, the school-going period of girls will be lengthened, which will also be a very desirable improvement.

Gentlemen, I shall not trouble you any more with my statistics nor with my conclusions. Suffice it to say that I have faithfully placed the figures before you as I found them in the census report, and I hope that I have made no mistakes in taking them. The conclusions that I have drawn from the figures are, to my mind, the most natural and logical, and I am not aware whether the same figures can, by more skilful hands, be made to yield conclusions other than those that I have derived from them, or to