

HENRY FAWCETT

A SKETCH OF
HIS LIFE AND HIS SERVICES TO INDIA



PUBLISHED BY
G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS

PRICE ANNAS FOUR

Friends of India Series.

THIS is a new series of short biographical sketches of eminent persons who have laboured for the good of India, which the publishers venture to think will be a welcome addition to the political and historical literature of the country. These biographies are so written as to form a gallery of portraits of permanent interest to the student as well as to the politician.

Copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the "Friends of India" on Indian Affairs are given in the sketches. Each volume has a frontispiece and is priced at As. 4 a copy.

LORD RIPON

LORD MORLEY

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

LORD MINTO

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

HENRY FAWCETT

CHARLES BRADLAUGH

JOHN BRIGHT

ALAN O. HUME

EDMUND BURKE

LORD MACAULAY

PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

C. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE "FRIENDS OF INDIA" SERIES.

This is a new series of short biographical sketches of eminent men and women who have laboured for the good of India, which the publishers venture to think will be a welcome addition to the political and historical literature of the country. These biographies are so written as to form a gallery of portraits of permanent interest to the student as well as to the politician. The aim of the publishers is not to cast them in any conventional mould but to portray in an appreciative spirit, with the strictest regard for truth and accuracy, the characters of the men and the extent and value of the services done by them. To make these sketches interesting to Indian readers, copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the friends of India on Indian Affairs have been given. This series includes, among others, the sketches of eminent friends of India like Lord Ripon, Lord Morley, Lord Minto, Lord Macaulay, Edmund Burke, Charles Bradlaugh, John Bright, Henry Fawcett, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton and Mrs. Annie Besant. With a view to place the series within the easy reach of the public, the sketches have been priced at annas four a copy.

The *Swadeshi* Movement.

A SYMPOSIUM BY

Representative Indians and Anglo-Indians.

CONTENTS:—Dadabhai Naoroji; H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda; The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale; The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose; Hon. Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey; The Hon. Md. Yusuf Khan Bahadur; Mrs. Annie Besant; Rajah Peary Mohun Mukerjee; Sister Nivedita; Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai; Dewan Bahadur; K. Krishnaswamy Row; The Hon. Mr. Harikishen Lal; Babu Surendranath Banerjea; Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Nath; Dewan Bahadur Ragunatha Row; Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., I. C. S.; Mr. A. Chaudhuri; Hon. Mr. Parekh; Mr. D. E. Wacha; Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta; The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswamy, Iyer; Hon. Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar; Mr. Myron H. Phelps; Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai; Mr. G. S. Arundale; Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.M.G.; Mr. David Gostling; Rajah Prithwipal Singh; Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E.; Sir E. C. Buck, K.C.S.I.; Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; Mr. Mujibur Rahman; Abdul Rasul, Esq., *Bar.-at-Law*; Babu Tara Prasanna Mukerji; Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer; Mr. Abdul Halim Ghuznavi; Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar; His Honor Sir Herbert T. White; Mr. Charles W. McKinn; Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak; Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose; Pandit Rambaj Dutt; Mr. Mushir Hosain Kidwai, *Bar.-at-Law*

This book also contains the views of H. E. Lord Minto H. E. Sir Arthur Lawley, H. H. Sir Andrew Fraser and Lord Ampthill. Price Annas Twelve.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty St., Madras.

Henry Fawcett.

HENRY Fawcett, the subject of this sketch, was one of those British statesmen who have shed lustre on the name of England as the seat and home of the august mother of free nations. He was one of the noblest of Englishmen. He had none of that insularity which narrows the vision and outlook of many an English politician who, like the Roman citizen of old, considers himself to belong to a privileged caste. Like Gladstone and Bright and Cobden he strove hard to employ the strong arm of British justice to protect the interests of those who could not, unassisted, do it themselves. He knew the place of England among the great nations of the world and used his knowledge in the spirit of the great maxim "righteousness exalteth a nation." He was, of course, no addist or fanatic. One-sided enthusiasm and limited range of ideas characterise the

faddist and the fanatic. But Fawcett was a man of liberal culture, large and luminous ideas, and deeply versed in the great art of responsible statesmanship. He possessed an imagination and a heart, which enabled him to understand the feelings of other differently circumstanced; and no Englishman of his time realised the magnitude and gravity of the Indian problem more fully than he did. India never had a greater and more sincere friend.

Henry Fawcett, who was born in August, 1833, was the third child of his father William Fawcett by his marriage with Mary Cooper, daughter of a solicitor who was agent for the Liberal party in the town of Salisbury. William Fawcett was a man of indomitable energy and enterprise. A native of Westmoreland, he left it to seek his fortunes in London. He did not long remain in London, but moved to Salisbury where he was first employed in the shop of a draper. On the retirement of his master he opened a draper's shop himself. He prospered in business to such an extent that in the year

of the Reform Bill he was elected Mayor of Salisbury by a Corporation the majority of which belonged to the Tory party. He was, of course, a political reformer, and so was his wife who was noted for her robust common sense ; and their son Henry inherited the qualities of both. William Fawcett was an ardent Free Trader, and Cobden and Bright were his personal and political friends with whom he had occasional discussions on public questions and financial policy. Henry Fawcett must have been influenced by what was passing around him. He must also have been impressed with the condition of the peasantry under Protection. But we are told that he was not a precocious child. His first teacher, Mrs. Harris, had occasion to remark that the boy preferred the streets to the school-room. It is, however, worthy of note that even as a boy his curiosity was aroused by whatever he came across. His biographer says that his father's patience was often tried by the ceaseless string of questions prompted by what he saw and heard. He was constantly enquiring about the prices of different

articles of food and their fluctuations, which certainly was proof of intellectual activity in a field in which he was subsequently to distinguish himself. In 1841, he was put in a school where he had been seized, says Leslie Stephen, by the normal attack of diary-writing. In 1847, he entered Queenwood College, which was a school and Agricultural College. He had already acquired a knowledge of Greek and French and begun practising Pitman's system of shorthand. At Queenwood, he had the advantage of a scientific training. Within a fortnight of his arrival at that seminary he was one of the two who were elected as joint editors of the *Queenwood Chronicle*. He wrote on all kinds of subjects, scientific, literary and economic. His lectures were serious compositions, and it is significant to note that the subject upon which he bestowed the greatest attention was economics. In the school, he was best at mathematics. He had, however, a passion for public speaking and practised elocution with great assiduity, and care. We are told that when the boys of his school talked of their future lives, he always declared that

he meant to be a member of Parliament, an avowal then received by 'roars of laughter.' His Queenwood experience lasted some eighteen months. In 1848-9, he was sent to King's College School where he carried off many prizes for his proficiency especially in mathematics. At this time Dr. Hamilton, the Dean of Salisbury, was consulted by Mr. Fawcett, senior, who showed him some of the boy's mathematical papers. The Dean said that the lad ought to go to Cambridge, and to Cambridge he went, the College chosen being Peterhouse. At Cambridge, though its moral standard, according to a distinguished authority was, in certain respects, far from elevated, Fawcett led a blameless life. His friends came to value him for his great intellectual qualities. "Half a dozen promising lads" says Leslie Stephen "can do more to educate each other than all the tutors and professors can do for them." Fawcett and his friends became a power for good. All the set were mathematicians, typical Cambridge men, who repudiated Carlyle as a reactionary and looked to John Stuart Mill as their great prophet. The centre of this group

was Edward Wilson, who afterwards took the place of eighth Wrangler, and he always asked his friends to read Mill. We are told that Fawcett took the advice to heart. In 1854, he joined the Cambridge Union and became soon afterwards one of its most prominent orators. Among the many subjects upon which he spoke at the Union was one relating to India. In May 1856, at one of its debates, he held that the annexation of Oude was justifiable. In the meanwhile, as he saw that his chances of a Fellowship at Peterhouse were diminished by the presence of several strong competitors he migrated to Trinity Hall where he formed the friendship of Leslie Stephen, his distinguished biographer. In the Tripos although he once had visions of the senior Wranglership, when the results were announced he sank to the seventh place. He had, however, done enough to win a Fellowship at his College, to which he was elected in 1856, carrying with it an income of about £250 a year.

Fawcett had fixed his mind upon political success. He was, however, a poor man. He

resolved, therefore, to approach Parliament through a successful career at the Bar. A friend of the family, Mr. A. T. Squarey, who was at the head of a firm of solicitors, encouraged Fawcett in his ambition. In October of the year 1854, Fawcett entered Lincoln's Inn, and one of his law lecturers was Mr., afterwards, Sir Henry Maine. In the meantime he continued to practise himself in public speaking at the meeting of a body called the Westminster Debating Society where he was leader of the Radical party. About the year 1856-7, it was found that consequent upon over-use, something was wrong with his eyes. But his resolution to enter the House of Commons was firm and in a letter to a lady-friend he informed her that among his objects was a desire to help in the removal of the social evils due to the mental degradation of millions. India was then much in his thoughts, for in his diary we find the following entry: "India, too, is the land I much desire to see and know; and it ought to be by any one who takes part in public life." We find another reference to India in his diary, in which he gives an ac-

count of a visit he paid to the House of Commons: "Not being able to read in the evening I have been a constant visitor to the House of Commons. I heard the whole debate on China, which certainly elicited the best of our Parliamentary talent and which resulted (most sadly to the people of India) in the defeat of the Ministry." He goes on to criticise the chief speakers; and about the performance of his future leader he says "Gladstone's mind is too subtle, but he has made the most effective speech to which the hearer ever listened. It cost a great excitement.....and I could not help feeling it was a triumph which you may well devote a life-time to obtain. He discussed the question on high moral grounds; his speech was said to have obtained many votes, for Lord Palmerston lost his temper and seemed entirely to fail in replying to it." These references in his diary even so early in his life proved Fawcett's sympathies and indicated his high purpose. India, we see, had begun to take a firm hold on his imagination, and from 1857 to the last day of his life he continued

to be a staunch advocate of its people. In the following year he completely lost his eyesight. He went out shooting with his father who fired at a bird. A few pellets, however, diverged and struck the son through the eyes, and Henry Fawcett was blinded for life. He had to abandon the idea of his being called to the Bar, but courageously set his mind upon entering the House of Commons, his maxim, in spite of his blindness, being that life might become a burden *if life no longer meant action.*

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Though blind he became an active figure at Cambridge. He entered, heart and soul, into the life of his University and contributed not a little to its amenities. He took part in many discussions and read papers at the meetings of scientific bodies elsewhere. He became profoundly interested in the writings of Charles Darwin with whom he kept a close correspondence. He, however, confined himself to the study of the subjects which were peculiarly identified with the University of Cambridge. Metaphysics, theology and the classics had no attraction for him ; and to no author was he so

devoted as to John Stuart Mill whose friendship he had already secured.

In those days among his friends was Mr. Alexander Macmillan, already a promising publisher. Macmillan, we are told, proposed to Fawcett that he should write a popular manual of political economy. Fawcett accepted the task and was at work upon his book in the autumn of 1861, and it appeared in the beginning of 1863. He did not claim a place beside the founders of the science. He confined himself chiefly to expounding or applying principles already enunciated. His book however stood him in good stead. He was elected Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge in November, 1863, defeating his rivals Mr. J. B. Mayor and Mr. Leonard H. now Lord Courtney. To the professorship was attached a salary of £300, and his election to it, in spite of his blindness, was a proof that he was respected and trusted by the University. His fellowship was already worth about £300 which, together with his salary as Professor of Political Economy, was an income sufficient indeed for him. In 1866, he was engaged to

Miss Millicent Garrett, and the marriage took place in 1867. The union was one of the happiest. Mrs. Fawcett was fully qualified to take an interest in all her husband's intellectual pursuits, and, indeed, shared his political principles.

One feature of his work as a political economist we must notice here since it has a certain bearing on a particular aspect of present Indian conditions. Co-operation, as illustrated in the constitution and working of Indian Co-operative Credit Societies, was first popularised, among others, by him. He maintained that co-operation would reconcile the advantages of large and small farming, and that in industries it represented the only solution of the perpetual conflict between capital and labour. It would lead workmen to recognise the necessity of leaving sufficient profits to the capitalist, give them interest in their work, and ultimately replace some of the advantages of the old domestic system which had been broken up under the growth of gigantic factories. Co-operation was valuable in Fawcett's eyes as it was a mode of elevating

the poor by the application of their own resources. He separated himself from the school of absolute *laissez-faire* by holding that the State must do something to stimulate private energy, without, of course, regarding, as Huxley did, that the doctrine of absolute *laissez-faire* meant State nihilism. He was also an advocate of a national and unsectarian system of education as a necessary condition of economic prosperity. He spoke and laboured in and out of Parliament in favour of a compulsory system of education, in order to improve the condition of the labouring classes,—he defended the scheme upon the strictest grounds of political economy.

EARLY POLITICAL CAREER.

Fawcett's first public appearance was at the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen in September, 1859, at which he read a paper upon the "Social and Economical Influence of the New Gold." He astonished the audience by the clearness with which he expounded his economic theory and marshalled his statistics; and the discovery of Fawcett was the most remarkable event of the meeting. Subsequently, he

read a paper on the "Protection of Labour from Immigration" at a meeting of the Social Science Association. His connection with this body brought him into contact with Lord Brougham who, though old and infirm, was its President. But his ambition was to enter the House of Commons, and J. S. Mill encouraged him. In November, 1860, the death of Sir Charles Napier caused a vacancy in the representation of Southwark, and Fawcett decided to try his chance: Mill and Brougham wrote encouraging letters, and the young Cambridge graduate made himself known to the electors by a series of able speeches. He had almost won his way to the front when a formidable rival whose name had for some time been mentioned, appeared on the scene, and, after closely surveying the situation, Fawcett retired with the satisfaction of having made himself known as a politician, leaving the door open to his opponent Mr. Layard. He made two other unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament, one at Cambridge and the other at Brighton. At last, at the age of 32, he was elected for Brighton at the General Election

of 1865, and in the same year his master, J. S. Mill, was elected for Westminster. He made his first speech on the Reform Bill of 1866. In the succeeding Parliament (of 1868) in which Mr. Gladstone was first time Prime Minister, he again sat for Brighton.

He had already established a position for himself in the House of Commons as an advanced Radical. He strove hard for the extension of the franchise to women and the benefits of the Factory Act to agricultural labourers. Electoral reform was another subject occupying his attention. But the questions upon which he came into sharp conflict with his leaders were on the subjects of free and compulsory national education on secular lines and University reform in all its aspects. In regard to the latter controversy he so far separated himself from the main body of the Liberal party that the Government Whips ceased to look upon him as a regular supporter; and he had many encounters with the members of the Government. He was considered a thorn on their side. Indeed, he contributed not a little to the weakening of their

position both in Parliament and out of doors in the country. But nearly all the principles for which he had then fought were given effect to in subsequent Parliaments by means of a series of popular legislative measures. What he then stood out against were half measures and incoherent compromises. He had a horror of what Leslie Stephen calls the disease of officialism. He was, of course, designated a theorist and a visionary. But the fact came out that no one spoke with a clearer and fuller knowledge of, and keener insight into, the existing state of affairs than he. His chivalrous hatred of oppression was shown, says his biographer, in his resolute exertions towards calling attention to the cases of enclosure of commons and of the grievances of the people of India. He insisted upon the preservation of open spaces as a permanent benefit upon society, especially upon the poorer members of it. After discussing the effects, in a series of lectures, of a divorce of the great mass of the population from the soil, he referred to the mischiefs resulting from the enclosure of commons. He declared from his own knowledge

of the agricultural labourer that cottagers could no longer keep a cow, a pig, or poultry, that the village greens had become extinct and that the turnpike road was too often the only play-ground for the village children. He doubted whether the enclosure of commons involving the breaking up of pastures had, in point of fact, permanently increased the wealth of the country; but the wealth in any case was dearly purchased, if purchased by a diminution of the labourers' comforts. Had he lived he might have been an equally vigorous critic of certain aspects of the Indian forest policy as well.

MEMBER FOR INDIA.

Henry Fawcett was the member of Parliament who was first known as member for India. Edmund Burke, Thomas Babington Macaulay and John Bright, among others, took a lively and practical interest in Indian affairs. But their political and other activities covered so large a field that India was only one of their many interests. Nor was their work for it sustained through life. Henry Fawcett, on the contrary, almost from the commencement of his

public career down to its close, was a warm friend of India whose devotion to its cause was a dominant feature of his public life. India occupied a place even in his school essays. In his undergraduate days, at Cambridge, he had taken up a book from the University library on India, which first roused his interest and kindled his imagination. There were other influences at work. His friends J. S. Mill and Thornton, the well-known critic of Mill's wage-fund theory, were both in the India Office and could speak with authority on Indian affairs. Another friend, C. B. Clarke, who was in the Indian Educational Department, furnished Fawcett with his own impressions. Some of Fawcett's vast store of knowledge about India thus acquired he made use of in his *Manual of Political Economy*. His first utterance on India was in 1867 when it had been decided to give a ball to the Sultan at the India Office the expenses of which were charged to Indian revenues. In reply to a question in the House of Commons by Fawcett, Sir Stafford Northcote justified the course adopted on the ground that the ball was a return for

assistance given by the Sultan towards telegraphic communication with India. Fawcett was not satisfied with this specious plea. He maintained that England, as well as India, was interested in the telegraphic communication. On July 19, 1867, a motion was made for a list of invitations to the ball, and he availed himself of the opportunity to enter his protest against the action taken by the India Office. He asked the Secretary of State how he would "reconcile it to himself to tax the people of India for an entertainment to the Sultan." He urged that the willing Indian peasant was not the person to pay for an entertainment to a foreign potentate. His words, however, fell on deaf ears. There was nobody in the House of Commons or elsewhere to back him up. In those days there was no Indian Parliamentary Committee, no Congress Committee in London, and the British press almost ignored India. But Fawcett stood firm, and single-handed, he fought the cause of India with a resoluteness, consistency, sense of justice and knowledge never surpassed in the annals of British public

life. He described the ball to the Sultan at India's expense as a "masterpiece of meanness," an expression which became celebrated and was used again by Mr. John Morley, with the adjective 'melancholy' thrown in, when India was saddled with the cost of the Indian contingent sent to Suakim. Soon afterwards, at the end of 1867, Parliament was summoned to provide for the Abyssinian war. Government proposed that the extraordinary expenditure should be paid by England, while India should continue to pay the troops at the ordinary rate. Fawcett protested strongly against this arrangement, but was defeated in his attempt.

He had always held the view that the natives of India should be given a fair share in the government of their country and that the most intelligent and capable of them should be provided with honourable careers in the public service. In March, 1868, he accordingly moved a resolution in the House of Commons in favour of holding the Civil Service Examinations in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, as well as in London, in order

to give Indians an equal chance of obtaining appointments. After a short debate, the resolution was withdrawn, but Fawcett's convictions were the same throughout life. In 1893, the House of Commons, however, passed a resolution similar to Fawcett's, at the instance of Mr. Herbert Paul, though nothing came out of it, as the Secretary of State, after consulting the authorities in India, declared it to be impracticable and inexpedient. Had he been living, Fawcett would have given a most cordial and ungrudging support to Mr. Paul and would have brought all the resources of his mind and the weight of his character to bear upon the Liberal Government of the day to come to a different conclusion.

He preached the doctrine that British rule in India was a sacred trust. He held that in the interests of the millions in India that rule must continue, and his whole purpose was to aim, by every means in his power, at impressing upon his countrymen their responsibility and encouraging them to bear it in a lofty spirit of benevolence. He had, in the fulfilment of his self-imposed mission, to encounter not

only the indifference of constituents but, as his biographer tells us, the more active dislike of some members of the Government. He was told that the House of Commons should not interfere in the affairs of India because it knew so little. In reply he pointed out that if that House did not interfere, India would suffer from all the evils of party Government and have none of its advantages. Parliament ought not, he argued, to be constantly meddling in details of Indian administration; but it should do its best to protect and advance its general and especially financial interests. He complained that under the exigencies of English party politics and owing to ignorance on the part of the British public, Indian interests were either neglected or treated with indifference.

In the course of a speech made at Brighton in 1872, he said that "the most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangle over the purchase of a picture or a road through a park, excited more interest than the welfare of one hundred and eighty millions of our Indian fellow subjects..... The people of India have not votes; they

cannot bring so much pressure to bear upon Parliament as can be brought by one of our great Railway Companies, but with some confidence I believe that I shall not be misinterpreting your wishes if, as your representative, I do whatever can be done by one humble individual to render justice to the defenceless and powerless." On another occasion, speaking in the House of Commons, he observed that "all the responsibility resting upon him as member of Parliament was as nothing compared with the responsibility of governing 150 millions of distant subjects." In the spirit of these declarations based on a close and careful study of Indian subjects he set to work with no reward in expectation other than that which comes to him who does his duty and obeys the voice of his conscience.

It is now a common complaint that the Indian Budget is taken at the fag-end of the Session of the House of Commons. This grievance is now not less than 40 years old. In 1870, Fawcett protested that the Indian financial statement was not made until a period at which the House of Commons was incapable of

attending properly to anything. In the same speech he mentioned that the presents of which the cost was estimated at ten thousand pounds, which were being distributed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, then in India, were also charged to Indian revenues. He quoted a statement made by Mr. Laing, once a member of Council, that the finances of India were constantly sacrificed to the wishes of the Horse Guards and the exigencies of English statesmen. He dwelt upon various other matters of importance and ended by moving that it was desirable to appoint a special Committee to enquire into Indian finance. Mr. Grant Duff, then Under-Secretary for India, met Fawcett's statements with contempt and derision. But Mr. Gladstone intervened and admitted the disadvantage of bringing on the Budget at so late a period and spoke in favour of appointing a Committee in the next Session. On this assurance Fawcett withdrew his motion. Accordingly in the Session of 1871, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the financial administration of India. The Committee sat during the four succeeding

years, and Fawcett was one of its most active members. Nothing definite and decisive came out of this Committee, but the mass of information collected and presented made a deep impression on British public opinion.

Fawcett presented a petition to the House of Commons from natives of India and European residents, demanding greater economy and complaining of the expenditure on public works. He moved that it would be desirable to send a Commission to India to obtain evidence on the spot. At the suggestion of Sir Stafford Northcote, he withdrew the motion. During the debate on it there was a sharp passage of arms between Fawcett and Mr. Grant Duff, the Under-Secretary. The latter used most provocative language and repeated all the familiar arguments about creating and deepening discontent in India by unwise and ill-timed discussion of Indian matters in the House of Commons. He anticipated what his successors in more modern times have been saying about the work of the friends of India in Parliament but Fawcett kept his temper. He had another

encounter with the Under-Secretary in connection with the new Engineering College at Cooper's Hill the establishment of which he criticised as a deviation from the principle of open competition. Mr. Grant Duff replied that competition was becoming a fetish with the British people; to which Fawcett replied warning the Under-Secretary against another fetish—the fetish of officialism.

In 1872 and 1873, he delivered two remarkable speeches on the Indian Budget; and competent critics of the time declared them to be among the most wonderful intellectual efforts that they had ever witnessed. Fawcett held that the finances were the key of the situation. To direct attention to the financial condition and thus to obtain security for better administration and clearer statements in future was his one great object. Fawcett's main contention was that India was a poor country. He maintained that the English people failed to appreciate the extreme narrowness of the margin which divided the great mass of the population from the starvation limit. His first object was "to make it obvious

that India is a country in which one more turn of the financial screw, or a single failure of crops, will at once bring millions of our Indian fellow subjects into the direst necessity." In order conclusively to demonstrate this point he argued that of the total revenue of 68 millions, not less than 22 millions was derived from land revenue, and nearly 20 millions from taxation proper. Neither of these sources could be relied upon. If from the total the counterbalancing charges were deducted, the net revenue became so illusory that the inelasticity and insecurity of the sources of income became transparent. Fawcett's position was strengthened by one of India's great administrators; for in 1873, Lord Lawrence told the Committee on Indian Finance that, after careful investigation, his Government had come to the conclusion that no new sources of income could be devised. The six main sources of revenue were land, opium, salt, excise, customs and stamps. Land yielded half the net revenue. One-fifth of this was derived from the districts under permanent settlement and was, therefore, incapable of augmentation. In a country

of frequent famines and with silver going down in value, no financier could depend upon land as a safe and stable source of revenue. As regards opium there was an element of uncertainty in an income dependent upon the demand from a foreign State, a demand which might be exposed to competition or prohibited altogether. The salt revenue was a tax upon a necessary of life pressing upon the poorest part of the population and admitting of no increase. It was Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that once said that he would rather have his right hand cut off than be a party to increase the salt tax. Customs, excise and stamps were not to be looked upon as reliable sources of income, and the repeal of the cotton duties by Lord Lytton in 1879 in opposition to the views of a majority of his Council as a concession to demands from Manchester was a proof of what Fawcett endeavoured to urge upon the attention of the House of Commons. The difficulties of direct taxation were then sufficiently indicated by the objections to the income-tax which was condemned by three successive finance ministers—Sir Charles Tre-

velyan, Mr. Laing and Mr. Massey——while the existing sources of revenue were considered unreliable and no new sources could be discovered without inflicting hardships on a poor population, the charges due to the rise of prices and to the growth of the administrative system were increasing, involving a corresponding addition to the burden of debt. Fawcett, therefore, urged a strict and unrelaxing economy in order to produce and maintain a perfect financial equilibrium. He pointed out that a sound position must be attained rather by restricting expenditure than by increasing income.

Parliamentary control over Indian affairs should, he pointed out, be effective. Quoting an expression of Lord Salisbury, he said that the jealous watchfulness of the House of Commons would be the best protection of the people of India against any injustice which the exigencies of the English party system might inflict upon it. The Secretary of State for India, he observed, belonged to a Cabinet in which he was the only member interested in Indian affairs. If, with the support of his

Council, he should oppose a demand from the British Treasury made with a view to effect economies in the British Budget the result would be, as Lord Salisbury said before the Indian Finance Committee of 1874, to "stop the machine." "You must either" said Fawcett "stop the machine, or resign, or go on tacitly submitting to injustice." In reply, Lord Salisbury said: "I should accept the statement barring the word tacitly—I should go on submitting with loud remonstrances." But Fawcett pointed out that remonstrances, however loud, might be unavailing unless backed by force of external opinion. Under the pressure applied by the House of Commons, every department in England desired to show a reduction in estimates. Naturally, the temptation, without any desire to be unjust, was to get money in the direction of "least resistance."

Fawcett was able to point to several instances in which charges were thrown upon the Indian exchequer, which ought to have been borne by the British Treasury. He had already called attention to the expenses of the Sultan's ball and the Duke of Edinburgh's presents. He

dwelt upon the contributions made by India to various Consular establishments and objected to the payment from the Indian revenues of the two members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He asked why the Colonies were not similarly charged. Fawcett's friend, Thornton, brought to the notice of the Indian Finance Committee in 1871 a more flagrant case. Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, agreed in April, 1860, to join with the English Government in laying a cable between Malta and Alexandria, India paying two-fifths of the cost. He stipulated, at the same time, that the cost of a line in the Persian Gulf should also be divided. But the latter stipulation came to nothing. India was left to construct the Persian cable at her expense which, with extensions, came to a million, while the Malta cable had to be sold for a trifle. The total loss involved in the transaction was £115,946. "You borrow money to buy a thing" said Fawcett to a witness before the Finance Committee, "sell it at an enormous loss, and then put down the result to income;" and he summed up the transaction

between the two countries by declaring that a similar conduct practised between two individuals would be regarded as "uncommonly sharp practice." He examined the Indian military expenditure and found that it amounted to 45 per cent. of the entire net revenue of India; and while the expenditure was elastic, the revenue was the reverse. Without entering into a discussion of the theories advanced by various experts on military organisation and military finance, he held that there were ample grounds for his demand for a close supervision of the whole matter and for the careful protection of Indian interests against "the thoughtlessness and selfishness of English politicians;" and he emphasised the desirability of exciting the public opinion of England, mainly through the House of Commons, "up to the point of integrity," in order that, as he put it, no portion of the English army was maintained at the cost of India.

Indian public works expenditure was carefully examined by him as a member of the Finance Committee. He was able to lay his finger on several cases of extravagance. In his

examination of expert witnesses like General Strachey he showed that the accounts kept were unsatisfactory; that disastrous bargains had been forced upon the Government by the pressure of interested persons; that the worst extravagance had occurred where the opinions of Indian officials had been overridden by the Home Government; that a better distribution of responsibility in the administration of public works, both in the buying of stores in England and the carrying on of the works in India, was urgently needed; and that Parliament would only do its duty by insisting upon a careful limitation of such expenditure and of the debt incurred for the purpose. He admitted that the railway and irrigation works had produced good results in the development of Indian resources, and that these results would only have been attained at the time through the guarantee system. But he pointed out that the great expenditure which it had involved made a departure necessary in the interests of Indian taxpayers.

Meanwhile, his labours on the Indian Finance Committee and in the House of

Commons for the welfare of India were attracting attention in this country. Educated Indians regarded him as their representative in Parliament and manifested their esteem and love for him in a variety of ways. In India, then, there were no proper organisations. It is, however, worthy of note that so far back as 1872 a public meeting held at Calcutta voted an address to Fawcett. One characteristic quality came out in connection with his advocacy of Indian interests. Applications were made to him, we are told, when his interest in India became known, to represent the grievances of various Indian magnates before Parliament. He invariably declined such requests on the ground that he was too poor a man to have anything to do with princes. On the same ground, he refused to become director of any rich company since he believed that such a step would tend to lower a poor man like him in the estimation of his countrymen and make them suspect the absolute purity of his motives. But he never ceased to be of service to the poor in India and helped Indians in their

efforts to improve their lot in life. In Great Britain, in spite of what his critics called his doctrinaire Radicalism, by all parties he was looked up to with respect and praised for his selfless devotion to the interests of India.

In the general election of 1874 he was one of the many Liberals who lost their seats. His defeat at Brighton was looked upon in India as a great loss, and a fund of £400 was at once raised in this country and transmitted to England to pay the expenses of another contest, followed by another sum of £350 also raised by public subscription in India. A favourable opportunity soon occurred, and he was elected member for Hackney.

In the new Parliament, dominated as it was by the Tory party under Disraeli, his position was stronger. His character and motives came to be better appreciated, and he enjoyed the privileges of a Parliamentarian of high aims, singleness of purpose and undoubted ability. It also came about that the principles he had at heart in regard to India—the principles of generosity to the subject race and of scrupulous care in managing the finances

and sharing the burdens of the Empire—were recognised to be not the property of either party ; and Lord Salisbury, the new Secretary of State for India, seems to have been nearer to him in point of principle than his predecessors during the period. Lord Salisbury had laid down strict rules against borrowing money for unremunerative purposes, and Lord Northbrook, the Governor-General of India, who was a genuine Liberal, was energetic in the reduction of expenditure. Fawcett resumed his labours on the Indian Finance Committee which was continued by the new Parliament. In 1875, he moved that the whole expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India should be paid by England. Disraeli and Gladstone alike resisted the motion, and the decision was arrived at, that India should pay £30,000 towards the expenses. In the year following he opposed a measure for giving pensions to members of the Indian Council ; and, in 1877, protested against the abolition of the cotton duties. Of course, he was defeated on both occasions after a strenuous fight ; but he had the satisfaction of attempting to carry

out his duty of enforcing responsibility to the House of Commons. In 1877, the great Durbar was held at Delhi, at which was announced the assumption of the Imperial title by the Queen. It was followed by a severe famine mostly in Madras, which swept away nearly two millions of people. Famine relief expenditure had risen so high, and the loss by exchange so keenly felt that fresh taxation was deemed inevitable. Fawcett's attention was devoted to these and other topics, and he criticised the policy of the Government with convincing force and eloquence, with the result that a Committee upon Indian Public Works was appointed, which, after a careful enquiry, reported in 1879 on the expenditure incurred under the various heads. The immediate outcome of the labours of this Committee was stricter economy and a more satisfactory system of accounts on the lines laid down by Fawcett. In May, 1879, he published three essays upon Indian Finance in the *Nineteenth Century*, setting out his views on Indian affairs in full, which produced a profound impression. We are told that they were received with a unanimity of

approval which surprised Fawcett himself, showing the difference generally observable between the reception accorded to the utterance of opinions of a comparatively unknown man and the utterance of the same opinions by a man who has slowly won his way to a prominent position.

The Afghan War was a work of Lord Lytton's Government, which brought the question of military expenditure in India and of Imperial policy once again before Parliament. Elsewhere in his sketch of the Life of Lord Ripon, the present writer has dealt with the subject. He has now only to call attention to the repeated efforts made by Fawcett to condemn the "forward policy" and to induce England to bear the cost of the war. His motions in the House of Commons on the question were supported by Gladstone, and though they were all rejected they demonstrated conclusively the unsoundness of the position assumed by the Tory Government and had the effect of committing the Liberal party to the policy advocated by Fawcett. In the Session of 1879, he brought forward one other

motion. He asked for a Select Committee to enquire into the Government of India Act, in order that the Secretary of State and his Council might exercise full and effective control over the finances of India irrespective of the exigencies of the British party system; and though he was supported by the Liberal leaders his motion was thrown out. In 1880, he saw his own party in power with an overwhelming majority. He became Postmaster-General in the new Government; and, at the same time, with Lord Ripon as Governor-General of India, he was satisfied that the principles he had laid down were obtaining full recognition.

CONCLUSION.

As Postmaster-General he had not a seat in the Cabinet. His blindness was an obstacle to his promotion. A member of the Cabinet has to see many confidential papers, and there would be a difficulty in admitting one into the Cabinet who would have to use other eyes for reading them. However, Fawcett's exclusion from the Cabinet was then much commented upon. He would have made almost an ideal Secretary of State for India.

But he himself said nothing about his not being promoted to Cabinet rank. On the other hand, he felt gratified at his inclusion in the Government. In a letter to his parents announcing his acceptance of office, he informed them that in making the offer Gladstone said that he gave him the appointment in order that he might have time to speak in Indian and other debates.

In office, Fawcett displayed some of the most essential qualities of a statesman— independence, soundness of judgment, and a power of commanding the sympathies without flattering the meaner instincts of the people. The Post Office has to carry on a vast business. Fawcett regarded it as an engine for diffusing knowledge, expanding trade, increasing prosperity, encouraging family correspondence and facilitating thrift. During the years he was Postmaster-General he never failed to act upon his convictions. He had five projects on hand : (1) The parcel post ; (2) the issue of postal orders ; (3) the receipt of small savings in stamps and the allowing of small sums to be

invested in the funds ; (4) increasing the facilities for life insurance and annuities ; (5) reducing the price of telegrams. He carried out these measures and effected several other improvements with characteristic energy and zeal.

His brilliant Parliamentary career and signal success as an administrator brought him to the front rank of British statesmen. Honours came thick on him. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He was made Doctor of Political Economy, with M. de Laveleye, by the University of Wursburg. The Royal Society elected him to a Fellowship. The University of Glasgow gave him the degree of LL. D. and in the same year, 1883, he was elected Lord Rector of the University, defeating his opponents Lord Bute and John Ruskin.

His health, in the meantime, was declining. He had an attack of diphtheria and typhoid, from which he had recovered though with diminished vitality. Towards the close of 1884 he fell ill again. On November 9th, 1884, he passed away in the presence of his wife and daughter

at the comparatively early age of 51. Her Majesty the Queen wrote to the widow one of those letters which she alone could write. The Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, wrote to Fawcett's father, who was still living, saying that there was no public man of the time whose qualities had been more fully recognised by his countrymen and more deeply imbedded in their memories. Perhaps, the highest tribute to his character came from the working men who, besides conveying their sympathies to the widow and daughter, asked for permission to raise a fund among themselves, a penny testimonial, in order to place Mrs. Fawcett and her daughter beyond the pinch of want. Mrs. Fawcett was deeply touched by this spontaneous outburst of feeling and genuine sympathy on the part of the poorest section of the people. She wrote back to thank the representatives of the working men and to assure them that her husband's forethought and prudence had left her in a position to make it improper for her to accept either a pension or a subscription. Various proposals were immediately made to honour Fawcett's memory, and most of

them have been carried out. In India, his death caused the greatest sorrow. She lost one of her best and truest friends, a great benefactor who laboured in her interests without any hope or expectation of reward or recognition. India cherishes and will continue to cherish his memory with sincere gratitude, affection and reverence.



APPENDIX.

FAWCETT'S INDIAN BUDGET SPEECH, 1873.

[The following is the full text of the speech (as reported in "Hansard") delivered by Mr. Fawcett in the House of Commons on the 31st July 1873, in connection with the Indian Financial Statement made by Mr. Grant Duff, the then Under-Secretary of State for India :—]

He had a great deal to say upon India, and he felt it his duty to say it. Some 13 years' ago the Queen, in the name of the English Nation, laid down the principle that they were bound by the most sacred of all obligations to attend to the interests of her Indian subjects. The announcement of that principle was accepted with the greatest satisfaction from one end of India to the other. Had they acted on that principle? On the contrary, Indian affairs were treated with a contemptuous neglect which he ventured to say would not be shown towards the most insignificant question in that House. From a quarter past 10 o'clock in the fag-end of the Session, that being the only evening which was allotted to Indian affairs, was all that was vouchsafed by the

Government of the time of the House for the consideration of this subject. The news would spread throughout the length and breadth of India, and the House might depend upon it that they had better postpone any subject of legislation than give the people of India the impression, which it would be very difficult to remove, that they did not give adequate consideration to their affairs. The Under Secretary had been kind enough to describe him as the spokesman of financial panics. He was not the spokesman of financial panics ; but he will tell the Under Secretary what he meant to do in future as long as he was a Member of the House—he would do everything that an independent Member could do to arouse an adequate amount of interest in Indian affairs. They might depend upon it that if they went on in the future as they had done in the past they would not be able to maintain their Empire in India, but would alienate the Indian people. Last year he promised that he would devote all the time at his disposal to Indian affairs, and the result had been that he could not now remain silent, although he was un-

willing to trespass on the indulgence of the House. He would proceed in the course of these remarks to prove, in spite of what had been said by the Under Secretary, that the situation of the Government of India at the present time was such as to offer no adequate guarantee for efficiency and economy, and that extravagance ensued. He would also bring forward facts to show that the state of Local Taxation in India should excite their grave apprehension, and if he wanted a witness to that he could confidently appeal to the right hon. Gentleman who had presided over the East India (Finance) Committee (Mr. Ayrton) with so much courtesy, urbanity, and impartiality. Although that right hon. Gentleman had been the Chairman of another Committee, he, unlike the Under Secretary, had never been absent from the Finance Committee. Again, this other conclusion had been impressed upon his mind—that the financial position of India could not be regarded as satisfactory, the Income Tax being the only financial reserve. He (Mr. Fawcett) was not going to dispute the accuracy of the Under Secretary's

figures; he would only say this much—that many different conclusions could be deduced from the same figures. He would begin with the subject of the Income Tax. If there was any truth in the doctrines which the Under Secretary laid down last year with reference to the Income Tax, then the Government had been guilty of one of the grossest of financial blunders. Last year, the Under Secretary said that the Income Tax was the only means of taxing the rich, and now he said that he had given it up, not for financial, but for political reasons, in consequence of the abuses attending its collection, and in consequence of the discontent it produced. There could not be a grosser blunder than to assume that because a certain tax was suited to one country that therefore it was suited to another, and there was overwhelming evidence to prove that the Income Tax was entirely unsuited to India. If that tax were suitable to the country then the Government had been guilty of a gross blunder in repealing it. The Under Secretary had cited authorities of Indian Financiers in favour of the tax, and in reply he would cite the author-

ity of three men who were successively Finance Ministers in India. The first abandoned an office, second only to that of the Governor General, rather than be a party to levying the Income Tax on the people of India; the next had stated that it was impossible to conceive a more obnoxious and objectionable tax; and his successor had declared that no power on earth would induce him to remain in office if he were compelled to impose the Income Tax as a permanent source of revenue. The Under Secretary had quoted the authority of Lord Lawrence in favour of the tax; but he had omitted to mention that Lord Lawrence had added, no other tax had produced more discontent in India. The Income Tax in the past had been constantly varying in India, and that accounted for the discontent of which Lord Lawrence spoke. The Indian people never knew from one year to another what Income Tax they would have to pay. The Under Secretary had said that in a few years it might be necessary to re-impose the tax; but he was prepared to show that if the present extravagance of financial adminis-

tration continued, the re-imposition of that tax would be not merely possible but absolutely certain. The Under Secretary had taunted him that evening with being the spokesman of financial panic; and although he last year announced that what he should have to say upon the subject would not be of the slightest importance, this year he appeared to entertain a contrary opinion. About four years since he (Mr. Fawcett) attempted to arouse more interest in Indian affairs in that House than had previously existed, by the proposal to appoint a Select Committee, and from that time there had been a reduction of expenditure to the amount of £6,000,000 per annum, which was an inducement to him to persevere in the course he had marked out for himself. The Under Secretary had greatly overstated his case in stating that the watchfulness of Parliament had led to the reduction, for he ventured to assert that the ablest financier in the country—not even the Prime Minister himself—could tell, if he devoted six months' attention to Indian accounts, to what extent the expenditure of India had been reduced

during the last three or four years. Indian finance had a confusion cast over it, owing to the unintelligible distinction that was made between Public Works Ordinary and Public Works Extraordinary, and to the appropriation of capital to income. Then, again, the fluctuations of cash balances to the extent of £16,000,000 within the same period of time, gave an unbounded field for exploits in financial ingenuity, and until they knew the nature of the cash balances it was impossible to place any confidence in the statements of expenditure and revenue. Nobody had been able to give an intelligible explanation of what the cash balances were—they were, in fact, a hotchpotch into which everything was thrown. Then the proceeds of the sale of Government land in India had been improperly transferred to the revenue account in defiance of the special Act which declared that under no circumstances should the proceeds of land be appropriated to income. That Act was disregarded, and it seemed to him that the appropriation of capital to income which, according to the evidence given before the

Committee, was practised in India was not characteristic of the conduct of a prudent Government, but rather of the conduct of a spendthrift who grasped every farthing on which he could lay hand to meet his current expenditure. A great sensation had been created lately in this country by what was known as the Post Office scandal, which simply consisted of the transference of capital in one form to capital in another. Yet so serious was the appropriation considered to be that the Government expected a Vote of Censure upon it. Now, Governments had before to-day resigned on a less Vote of Censure, and if the present Government thought the proceeding to which he was referring so wrong that they submitted to be censured like lambs, what language, he should like to know, could properly characterize the far more grave proceedings which happened every year in India of appropriating capital to income? The Committee would now, he thought, understand why the subject had been passed by so lightly by the Under Secretary of State. But there was another reason why no confidence could be placed in

the existence of a surplus in any particular year in India. Nobody, he believed, could tell to what an extent a comparatively favourable balance between expenditure and revenue was created by the suspension for a time of public works. No Department in India had been characterized by so much waste mismanagement and extravagance as the Public Works Department, and nothing had contributed so much to that result as the impulsiveness with which public works had been undertaken, and the suddenness with which they had been abandoned in order to obtain a favourable balance of expenditure and revenue. The Under Secretary had stated that during the present year £4,500,000 out of the cash balances had been expended on Public Works Extraordinary. But the Government would not have that resource next year, and where then, he should like to know, was the money to be procured to continue those works unless it was by borrowing? The resource, in short, was simply temporary, and there would be a deficiency of £4,500,000 next year unless the system of borrowing were to be resorted to.

The Under Secretary had, he might add, recommended to hon. Members a certain course of reading during the Recess. He had advised them to read the evidence of Lord Lawrence. That reading would, he hoped, be supplemented by an examination of the evidence of General Strachey. He could multiply instances out of number of the waste and mismanagement of the Department of Public Works, and he would give one short narrative, every fact of which was proved by official testimony. The Saugor Barracks were constructed by the Department. They cost £150,000, and it took four years and a half to complete them. When they were finished it was found out that they were so badly constructed that the Government found the best thing they could do was to pull them down. And what led to that inevitable result? Those works were watched over by an European Engineer officer with two European subordinates. Now, it appeared that not one of those persons had the slightest experience in masonry work, and it was for that reason, apparently, that they had been selected. The works were found to be so rotten that one could stick a

walking-stick into them up to the arm, and the mortar dropped away like corn from a hopper. Indeed, the Committee could have no idea of the amount of officialism connected with the subject. Above the European Engineer there was a Superintendent Engineer, who visited the works only three times while they were being constructed, and who wrote only one report. He, again, was presided over by the local Engineer of the district, who never visited the works once, and who had not thought it worth while to write a report at all. Not a bit of the work, he might add, was undertaken by contract. It was all committed to the hands of the Public Works Department, to which it was now proposed to intrust the expenditure of £70,000,000 of the money of the people of India. But, leaving that point, he would direct his observations to some more general principles bearing upon the financial position of India. There was a broad distinction between the financial position of that country and that of England. In England, the revenue went on increasing so rapidly that the income derived from the Income Tax was 100 per cent. more than when the tax was originally imposed,

while the tea, spirit, sugar, and tobacco duties brought in a greatly larger amount. The result was that the great expenditure of this country, as had frequently been pointed out by the Prime Minister—and no one could deal with the figures in a more masterly way—had been accompanied by a reduction of taxation. So that while we were spending £70,000,000 the country was, he believed, less heavily taxed to the extent of £40,000,000 than when we were spending only £50,000,000. That, however, was not the case in India, although, no doubt, there was an increase in the land revenue. He would quote the words of one the loss of whom they all regretted, and who many of them knew intimately—Lord Mayo was no alarmist; he was a man of courage, and not the spokesman of a financial panic; but he declared that the increase of expenditure in India, unlike that of England, was producing a wide feeling of discontent from one end of the Empire to the other. That testimony had been supplemented by Lord Napier, who declared that in consequence of the increase of expenditure there was probably no time in the history of our dominion when

we had so small a hold on the affections of the people. The military expenditure of India was to a great extent under the control of the War Office and the Horse Guards, and what might be an excusable piece of expenditure in a rich country like this would be a monstrous act of extravagance in the case of a poor country like India. Any day, from some emergency arising from war or unpropitious seasons, we might have to raise £5,000,000 of additional revenue in India. But suppose we had to raise such a sum in England, there were 20 different ways in which it might be done. A Minister who had the confidence of this country might, in case of a great emergency, raise £10,000,000, £15,000,000, or £20,000,000 additional revenue without for one moment affecting the stability of the Government. But how could they raise £5,000,000 of additional revenue in India? He had examined Lord Lawrence at length on this point, and what did he say? The land revenue was only susceptible of a very small increase. He next referred to the tax on opium; but Lord Lawrence said the opium revenue was much more likely to decrease than to increase. The

Under Secretary had stated that in regard to opium we had Providence on our side; he (Mr. Fawcett) thought it was exactly the reverse. The Government of China, finding that their efforts to discourage the growth of opium were defeated by our persistent determination to force it on the people of that country, would sanction the growth of it in China itself. Then as to salt, could they get more revenue out of it? The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal said the other day that he would rather have his right hand cut off than be a party to increase the salt duty. Lord Hobart expressed a similar opinion. An increase of 18 per cent. on salt only produced an increase of 12 per cent. The heavy duty on salt was checking consumption, and there was an extraordinary unanimity of opinion in India that owing to the heavy duty on salt there was great disease among the cattle of that country. The next item of revenue was the Customs, which only yielded £2,750,000, which to a great extent was paid by the European, not the native population. Lord Lawrence did not know a single Customs duty that could be increased. He asked Lord

Lawrence whether he could suggest on an existing tax in India that could be increased, and he could not; could he suggest the imposition of any new tax to raise additional revenue, and the reply was "No." Under those circumstances, he thought that he had proved his position—that if any additional income was required in India the only reserve from which it could be supplied was the Income Tax. Unanswerable arguments had been given against a tobacco tax, and lately the corn tax had been abandoned. He now came to the subject of Local Taxation—one which the Under Secretary had passed over very glibly. In England, if it were proposed to increase local taxation, it could only be levied on land and houses. A man's income or his furniture could not be rated. That was not so in India. There local taxation was not only levied on land and houses, but upon everything a man possessed—the cloths he wore, his food, his furniture, his income, were all liable. Would such a state of things be tolerated for a moment in England? But, said the Under Secretary, local taxation in India only produced £3,200,000. He forgot to remind the House of the extraordinary

difference between the wealth of India and of England. Here an income tax of 2*d.* in the pound produced nearly £4,000,000; there it would produce only £500,000. The population of India was therefore eight times poorer than that of England. In other words, in a country seven times as great as England, a source of taxation only produced one-eighth what it would in England. Nothing could be more delusive than to make comparisons between the taxation of two countries unless the relative wealth of the two were taken into account. The highest authority on such a subject, Lord Lawrence, said that the mass of the people were so poor that they could barely obtain the means of a miserable existence. Not only did the Indian system of local taxation press with great cruelty upon the people, but it seemed to have been devised with a view to producing the maximum amount of torment and terror. Was the Under Secretary aware that in Bombay an Act existed—the Act was suspended merely, not repealed; it was held ever the people's heads, and might be enforced any day—authorizing the imposition of an income tax

on incomes of £5. In the history of the world was so monstrous a tax ever before devised by human perversity? While the extravagance to which he referred was being practised, the people of India, who found the money that was being squandered, were suffering under a taxation as grievous as any that human ingenuity had ever conceived. It might be asked how it was that local taxation had of late years occupied so permanent a position, and his answer was that the decentralization scheme of Lord Mayo was responsible for it all. The scheme involved the local authorities in an expenditure so vast they had been compelled to very considerably increase the local imports in order to meet it. Decentralization was all very well in England, where to a great extent the prosperity and power of the country depended upon its local institutions; but it was altogether out of place in India, where the circumstances were altogether different. He might be asked to point out remedies for the state of things of which he complained, and he would endeavour to do so, but not until after he had pointed out the objectionable features of the case as they appeared to him. The

most striking fact, as it appeared to him, was to be found in the mode in which the country was governed. The Secretary of State in England and his Under Secretary were at the head of affairs, although nominally the supreme control was in the hands of the Governor General ; and, therefore, it would be seen that the destinies of India were in the hands of high officials who had not been nominated or appointed in any way by the population they ruled, but were Members of the Home Government and might be removed, as they had been elected, by the will of the English people. There was nothing in the present administration of India to supply the place of that protection and watchfulness which India enjoyed under the East India Company. It might be said that no proofs could be adduced to show that the interests of India were sacrificed to those of England. One of the oldest Indian officials had, however, declared that under the present system he scarcely knew an instance in which the interests of India did not go to the wall when they conflicted with those of England. Sir Charles Trevelyan went out to India at the age of 17.

When he returned to this country he became Permanent Secretary to the Treasury. He afterwards returned to India, and when he saw the system of Government which had replaced that of the East India Company he averred that things were done now that could never have been done in the days of that Company, and that India was made to pay charges that would formerly have been out of the question. Formerly, under the Company, her finances were managed with remarkable frugality ; now they were administered with reckless extravagance. Take the payments made by India for the Malta and Alexandria Telegraph, the payment by India of a portion of the expenses of the Abyssinian War with which she had nothing to do, and other smaller charges of a like character. Why was India made to pay those charges ? Because she was unrepresented. The Duke of Edinburgh not long since visited India, and India was made to pay the travelling expenses of his companions from England. It was no defence to say that the sum was small, for sometimes small impositions of this kind produced more discontent than larger grievances. India had suffered to

the extent of millions of money because she had not been protected against certain commercial interests in this country. Scheme after scheme had been guaranteed and 5 per cent. had been assured upon million after million upon contracts carelessly drawn. The Orissa Company had been bought at £450,000 more than its market value. The Madras Irrigation Company had a guarantee of 5 per cent. upon £1,600,000, but had never returned 1s. of interest. About £8,000,000 had been expended upon the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi Railway, which returned 12s. 6d. per cent. upon the outlay. India bore the loss of these guarantees, and the £100 shares of these Companies so disastrous to India figured in our Stock Exchange lists at from £4 to £7 premium. The Under Secretary stated that the Secretary of State for India was solicitous to reduce the military expenditure in India; but whenever he received from India a suggestion for its reduction he had to forward it to the War Office and the Horse Guards, and they invariably considered the question with reference to English and not to Indian interests. As a proof of the waste and

extravagance of the military expenditure it was only necessary to state that during the last ten years, although the European forces had been decreased by 12,000 men and the Native troops by 16,000 men, yet the military expenditure was positively £1,500,000 more than before that reduction was made. To one enormity of Indian military expenditure he would call the attention of the House. In the Staff Corps, an officer might enter after three years' active service, and he might rise to the rank of Major General and retire on a pension of £1,200 a year, without having ever done a day's work other than civilian. There was another point connected with military expenditure, which showed the unhappy position of India at the present time. India was charged by the War Office an extravagant price for recruits. She was made to pay at least one-third more than if she obtained them for herself. This had been protested against; but for six months no notice had been taken of the protest by the War Office. The Indian Council had disappointed the expectations of many of its friends. How was that to be remedied? Not by abolishing it, but by strengthening its

hands. The proceedings of the Council should be published. If that were done it would form an intelligible basis on which to found our interference in Indian affairs. The whole future of our dominion in India simply depended on the extent to which the House in future was prepared to a greater extent to recognize its responsibility to India. There was no excuse, in his opinion, for continuing the Governorship of either Madras or Bombay. They should be governed as the Punjab was, by Lieutenant Governors, with regard to whom he might observe that they were almost invariably appointed by the Governor General, and consequently were subordinate to the Viceroy; but the Governors of Madras and Bombay were appointed by the Secretary of State, and were therefore House of Commons' appointments, such Governors being appointed to serve party or political considerations. If it had not been for the extravagance of Bombay, many of the financial difficulties of India would have been avoided. He might mention, as an instance, that the Governor of Bombay pulled down his house, which was valued at £35,000, and when reproved by Lord Lawrence, the then

Governor General, he said his intention was to build another house of equal value. The matter was then passed over by Lord Lawrence; but the Governor of Bombay incurred enormous expense at the cost of India in erecting another house. He had incurred a cost of £90,000 on the house. [An hon. MEMBER: Name, name!] Sir Bartle Frere. What sum did the House think was drawn from the people of India for the house? Not less than £160,000; and while that enormous sum was drawn from the finances of India to build a country-house for the Governor, yet the Government of India could not or did not furnish the means to found 16 scholarships for deserving youths of the Presidency. Lord Lawrence again remonstrated with Sir Bartle Frere on the enormously extravagant sum drawn for the house, and Sir Bartle Frere thereupon wrote to the Home Government, and what did the House think was the result of his representation? Why, the Home Government actually gave him £20,000 to furnish his country-house. Another reform which was absolutely required was to give the people of India a greater voice in the government

of the country. No native could even obtain employment in the Civil Service except he came to England to compete; neither could he become an engineer in his own country unless he appeared at the College at Cooper's Hill. India required what *The Times* recently called good State housewifery, because hitherto her affairs had been muddled, not managed. With those remarks of the leading journal, which well summarized his views on India, he would draw his remarks to a close. What was required for India was wise frugality, watchfulness of small details, and that careful attention, in short, which distinguished a well-managed household. They required above all to create greater bonds of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Scientific systems of jurisprudence, reforms in the law would do nothing unless the people were made to feel that they were to become greater sharers in the government of their country. Unless England did that, she could not discharge the responsibility she had assumed in obtaining dominion unasked over 200,000,000 of people.

Dadabhai Naoroji's

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

This is the first attempt to bring under one cover an exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the speeches and writings of the Venerable Indian Patriot, Dadabhai Naoroji. The first part is a collection of his speeches and includes the addresses that he delivered before the Indian National Congress on the three occasions that he presided over that assembly; all the speeches that he delivered in the House of Commons and a selection of the speeches that he delivered from time to time in England and India. The second part includes all his statements to the Welby Commission, a number of papers relating to the admission of Indians to the Services and many other vital questions of Indian administration. The Appendix contains, among others, the full text of his evidence before the Welby Commission, his statement to the Indian Currency Committee of 1898, his replies to the questions put to him by the Public Service Committee on East Indian Finance.

860 pp., Crown Octavo, Rs. 2.

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Re. 1-8-0.

Recent Indian Finance.

BY MR. DINSHA EDULJI WACHA.

This is a most valuable collection of papers relating to Indian Finance. It deals with such subjects as The Case for Indian Reform; The Growth of Expenditure; Enhanced Taxation; Revenue and Expenditure; Reasons for the Deficit, etc. No student of Indian Politics should be without this handy little volume from the pen of the most brilliant and authoritative critic of the Indian Financial Administration. Price As. 4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Friends of India Series.

THIS is a new Series of short biographical sketches of eminent men who have laboured for the good of India, which the publishers venture to think will be a welcome addition to the political and historical literature of the country. These biographies are so written as to form a gallery of portraits of permanent interest to the student as well as to the politician.

Copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the "Friends of India" on Indian Affairs are given in the sketches. Each volume has a frontispiece and is priced at As. 4 a copy.

LORD RIPON:—The awakener and inspirer of New India. The sketch contains a detailed account of his Indian Viceroyalty, with copious extracts from his speeches and writings. Price As. 4.

LORD MORLEY.—One of the makers of the India of to-day, whose career as the Secretary of State for India and the promoter of the New Reform Scheme mark a glorious epoch in Indian History. This sketch deals with his life and his political creed and an account of his services to India, with copious extracts from his speeches on Indian Affairs. Price As. 4.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, (Bart).—In this booklet we get a clear idea of the great and good work which this noble Englishman has for years past been doing for India quietly and unostentatiously: An account of the many schemes of reform which he has been advocating in the Indian administration and his various acts of self-sacrifice in the cause of India will be read with great interest. Price As. 4.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.—A sketch of her Life and her Services to India. *In Preparation.* Henry Fawcett. Edmund Burke. Charles Bradlaugh.

PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Morley's Indian Speeches.

AN ENLARGED AND UP-TO-DATE
COLLECTION.

CONTENTS:—Indian Budget Speech for 1906. Indian Budget Speech for 1907. Speech at Arbroath. The Partition of Bengal. Indian Excise Administration. British Indians in the Transvaal. The Need for Reform. The Condition of India. Speech at the Civil Service Dinner. The Reform Proposals. Second Reading of Indian Councils Bill. The Creation of Provincial Executive Councils. Closing Speech on the Second Reading of the Indian Councils Bill. Third Reading of the Indian Councils Bill. The Hindu-Mahomedan Problem. The Indian Civil Service Probationers. Despatch on the Reform Proposals. The Forward Policy. Back to Lord Lawrence. The War beyond the Indian Frontier. The Stupendous Fabric of Government in India. An appreciation of Lord Morley and a good portrait.

"Opportune Publication * * * ought to prove an invaluable book in the book-shelf of every Indian Politician and Journalist."—*The Indian World*.

"Should command a wide and ready sale."—*The Empire*.

Double Crown 8vo. 300 pages, Price Re. 1.
To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, As. 12.

THE Reform Proposals.

A Handy Volume of 160 pages containing the full text of Lord Morley's Despatch, the Despatch of the Government of India, the Debate in the House of Lords, Mr. Buchanan's statement in the House of Commons, and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's scheme presented to the Secretary of State for India and also the full text of his speech at the Madras Congress on the Reform Proposals.

"Will be found invaluable as works of reference by all who try to follow current events in India, and they are sure to find a ready sale."—*The Empire*.

Price As. 4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras

Swami Vivekananda.

AN EXHAUSTIVE & COMPREHENSIVE COLLECTION OF
HIS SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

This publication is the first of its kind. It is the first exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the works of Swami Vivekananda hitherto published. It contains, among others, his eloquent character-sketch of "My Master;" his celebrated lecture at the great Parliament of Religions at Chicago; all the important and valuable speeches delivered in England, America and India on Gnana Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga Vedanta and Hinduism; Selection from the inspiring speeches he gave in reply to Addresses of Welcome that were presented to him at different towns and cities in India, during his historic journey from Colombo to Almora, on his return from America; a choice collection of the contributions of the Swami to various papers and periodicals hitherto not available in book form; some of his private letters to friends; and a selection from his poems.

DETAILED CONTENTS.—My Master; Hinduism as a Religion; Reply to the Addresses of Congratulations from Madras and Calcutta; The Ideal of Universal Religion; God in Everything; Immortality; Is the Soul Immortal; The Freedom of the Soul; Maya and Illusion; Maya and the Conception of God; Maya and Freedom; The Real and the Apparent Man; The Absolute and Manifestation; Unity in Diversity; The Cosmos; The Macrocosm; Realization; Karma-Yoga; Metaphysics in India; Re-incarnation; Bhakti or Devotion; Vedanta; The Vedanta in Indian Life; The Mission of the Vedanta; The Sages of India; Christ, The Messenger; The Relation of Buddhism to Hinduism; The True Method of Social Reform; The Reform of Caste; Education on National Lines; The Conquest of the World by Indian Thought; The Himalayas; Max Müller—A Vedantist; Japan Poems. Contains also *Four Portraits.* PRICE RS. 2.

To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Sri Sankaracharya

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

BY C. N. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., L.T.

HIS PHILOSOPHY.

BY PANDIT SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN.

Price As. 12. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 8.

Sri Madhwa & Madhwaism

A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCH.

BY C. N. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., L.T.

Price As. 12.

To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 8.

SRI RAMANUJACHARYA

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

HIS PHILOSOPHY.

BY T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, M.A., B.L.

Price As. 12.

To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," As. 8.

Industrial India.

BY GLYN BARLOW,

Principal, Victoria College, Palghat.

CONTENTS:—1. Patriotism in Trade. 2. Co-Operation.
3. Industrial Exhibitions. 4. The Inquiring Mind.
5. Investigation. 6. Indian Art. 7. Indian Stores.
8. India's Customers. 9. Turning the Corner.
10. Conclusion.

Price Re. 1-8. To Subscribers of the "Review," Re. 1.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIAN TALES.

AMUSING READING:—As. Four Each.

NEW INDIAN TALES.—Nineteen amusing and instructive tales. By Mr. C. Hayavadana Rau, Fellow of the Anthropological Institute, London. Price As. 4.

TALES OF RAYA AND APPAJI.—By T. M. Sundaram. 16 amusing and instructive stories. The stories are characterised by a great deal of wit and humour. Price As. 4.

TALES OF KOMATI WIT AND WISDOM.—Twenty-five amusing and instructive stories. By C. Hayavadana Rau, B.A., B. L. Price As. 4.

TALES OF TENNALI RAMAN.—The famous Court Jester of Southern India. (21 Amusing Stories.) By Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri. Third Edition. As. 4.

FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.—A collection of forty-two highly amusing and instructive tales. By G. R. Subramiah Pantulu. Price As. 4.

TALES OF MARIADA RAMAN. (21 Amusing Stories.) By P. Ramachandra Row Avergal, Retired Statutory Civilian. Second Edition. Price As. 4.

THE SON-IN-LAW ABROAD, and other Indian folk-tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, Cunning, Wit and Humour. By P. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L., Retired Statutory Civilian. Second Edition. As. 4.

MAITREYI: A Vedic Story in Six Chapters. By Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Second Edition. As. 4.

Glympses of the Orient To-Day.

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

In this book, Mr. Singh describes the transition that has taken place in Asia during the last few decades, traces the causes of the awakening and offers a prophesy as to its ultimate effect. He graphically portrays the modern women of the Orient, the political, social and industrial life of India, Persia, Japan, China and other Asiatic lands. Price Re. 1. To Subscribers, As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

A Fragment On Education.

BY J. NELSON FRASER, M.A. (*Oxon.*),

Principal, Secondary Training College, Bombay.

CONTENTS:—Theory and Practice; The Ideals of Education; Psychology; Childhood and Boyhood; Youth and Manhood; What is Education? The Training of the Intellect; Trainings of the Feelings; The Training of the Creative Power; Moral Training; Guilt and Punishment; The Sexual Life at School; The Private Hours of Boys; The Teacher and His Pupils; Teaching as a Profession; Education and the Individual; Education and Society; The Unsolved Problems of Education; Examinations and Cramming; The Training of Teachers; The Teaching of Science; The Importance of Little Things; The English Public Schools.

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 12.

The Vaishnavite Reformers of India.

CRITICAL SKETCHES OF

THEIR LIVES AND WRITINGS.

BY T. RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR, M.A., B.L.

CONTENTS:—(1) Nathamuni; (2) Pundarikaksha; (3) Yamunacharya; (4) Sri Ramanujacharya; (5) Sri Vedanta Desika; (6) Manavala Maha Muni and (7) Chaitanya.

These are a Series of Seven Essays on the Lives and Writings of the principal Religious Reformers of the Vaishnavite or Visishtadwaita School of India. The treatment is critical and historical; but special prominence has also been given to the literary side of this School's activity. A clear account of the growth of Vaishnavism is intended to be conveyed by these Lives of Eminent Reformers. The growth of Vaishnavism in Northern India is briefly dealt with in the last Essay, that on Sri Chaitanya, wherein that great Saint's career is also fully described.

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Aspects of the Vedanta.

CONTENTS.

The Vedanta—Some Reasons for Study.

The Late Mr. N. Vythinatha Aiyar, M. A.

Veda and the Vedanta.

The Late Prof. Max Müller.

Vedanta Toward All Religions.

Swami Abhedananda.

The Vedanta in Outline.

Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan.

The Vedanta Religion.

Professor M. Rangachariar, M. A.

The Ethics of the Vedanta.

The Late Mr. N. Vythinatha Aiyar, M. A.

Rao Bahadur Vasudeva J. Kirtikar.

The Philosophy of the Vedanta.

Dr. Paul Deussen.

The Vedanta Philosophy.

Swami Vivekananda.

The Vedantic Doctrine of the Future Life.

Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan.

The Vedanta : Its Theory and Practice.


Swami Saradananda.

The Vedanta for the World.

Swami Vivekananda.

PRICE AS. 12.

To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, As. 8.

 *The Annual Subscription to the "REVIEW" is Rs. 5 (five). Subscription can commence from any month. Any one who wishes to buy books at the reduced rates must remit Rs. 5, one year's subscription to the "Review" in advance. Those in arrears cannot have concession rates.*

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Biographies of Eminent Indians.

A Series of Uniform Booklets each with a Portrait.
FOOLSCAP 8vo. PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

The aim of this Series is to present within a short compass sketches of the lives and careers of all eminent Indians. Each volume besides giving a succinct biographical sketch, contains copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the personages described. The Series has been pronounced by the Press to be "the most welcome addition to Indian biographical and critical literature."

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

SIR P. M. MEHTA.

DINSHA EDULJI WACHA.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.

THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE.

THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE.

LALA LAJPAT RAI.

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT.

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE.

W. C. BONNERJEE.

BUDRUDDIN TYABJI.

SIR SYED AHMED.

LAL MOHUN GHOSE.

M. K. GANDHI.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

BABU KRISTO DAS PAL.

PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Shakespeare's Chart of Life:

BEING STUDIES OF

HAMLET, KING LEAR, OTHELLO & MACBETH.

By the Rev. Dr. William Miller, C.I.E.,

Principal, Madras Christian College.

CONTENTS:

KING LEAR AND INDIAN POLITICS.
HAMLET AND THE WASTE OF LIFE.
MACBETH AND THE RUIN OF SOULS.
OTHELLO AND THE CRASH OF CHARACTER.

Dr. Miller does not appear as an annotator or critic. He fixes his students' attention especially on the ethical side of Shakespeare's teaching. According to him the plays of Shakespeare, whether designedly or not, are not calculated merely to amuse. They have each "an inner meaning," & "central idea," which it does the student good to search out and assimilate.

The Madras Mail.—Dr. Miller has taught Shakespeare for over 40 years to hundreds of students, who have passed through the Christian College. And in his classes, if he has enforced one lesson more than another, it has been that these plays must have been written with the object, among others, of making plain the moral principles, which underlie the ordinary occurrences in human life, and that it is this feature of Shakespeare's plays which makes them not only an intellectual discipline but a means of real benefit to those upon whom they have their full and proper influence. **PRICE RS. 4.**

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Rs. 3.

AVAILABLE SEPARATELY. RE. ONE EACH.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE LEAST OF ALL LANDS: Being seven chapters on the Topography of Palestine in relation to its History. Price Rs. 2.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE INDIANS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Helots within the Empire ! How they are Treated.

By H. S. L. Polak, Editor, *Indian Opinion*.

This book is the first extended and authoritative description of the Indian Colonists of South Africa, the treatment accorded to them by their European fellow-colonists, and their many grievances. The First Part is devoted to a detailed examination of the disabilities of Indians in Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, the Cape Colony, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Province of Mozambique. Part II, entitled "A Tragedy of Empire," describes the terrible struggle of the last three years in the Transvaal, and contains an appeal to the people of India. To these are added a number of valuable appendices.

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 12.

M. K. GANDHI : A GREAT INDIAN.

This is a sketch of one of the most eminent, and self-sacrificing men that Modern India has produced. It describes the early days of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's life, his mission and work in South Africa, his character, his strivings and his hopes. A perusal of this sketch, together with the selected speeches and addresses that are appended, gives a peculiar insight into the springs of action that have impelled this remarkable and saintly man to surrender every material thing in life for the sake of an ideal that he ever essays to realise, and will be a source of inspiration to those who understand that statesmanship, moderation and selflessness are the greatest qualities of a patriot. The sketch contains an illuminating investigation into the true nature of passive resistance by Mr. Gandhi, which may be taken as an authoritative expression of the spirit of the South African struggle. With a portrait of Mr. Gandhi. Price As. 4.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose's Speeches.

AN EXHAUSTIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE COLLECTION.

(With a portrait)

Price As. 12. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Essays on Indian Art, Industry & Education.

BY. E. B. HAVELL.

Late Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta.

Author of "Indian Sculpture and Painting," etc.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE.


The various Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education which are here reprinted, though mostly written some years ago, all deal with questions which continue to possess a living interest. The superstitions which they attempt to dispel still loom largely in popular imagination, and the reforms they advocate still remain to be carried out. * *

CONTENTS:—The Taj and Its Designers, The Revival of Indian Handicraft, Art and Education in India, Art and University Reform in India, Indian Administration and 'Swadeshi' and The Uses of Art. Crown 8vo., 200 pp.

SELECT OPINIONS.

The Englishman, Calcutta.—Mr. Havell's researches and conclusions are always eminently readable. * * His pen moves with his mind, and his mind is devoted to the restoration of Indian Art to the position it formerly occupied in the life of the people, to its reclamation from the degradation into which Western ideals, falsely applied have plunged it, and to its application as an inspiring force to all Indian progress and development.

The above are a few ideas taken at random from the pages of this remarkable little book. It is full of expressions of high practical utility, and entirely free from the jargon of the posturing art enthusiast.

 *The Annual Subscription to the "INDIAN REVIEW" is Rs. 5 (five). Subscription can commence from any month. Any one who wishes to buy books at the reduced rates must remit Rs. 5, one year's subscription to the "Review," in advance. Send a postage stamp for As. Two for a free specimen copy.*

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.


The Swadeshi Movement.

A SYMPOSIUM BY

Representative Indians and Anglo-Indians.

CONTENTS:—Dadabhai Naoroji; H. H. The Gaekwar of Baroda; The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale; The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose; Hon. Sir Vitalhas Damodar Thackersey; The Hon. Md Yusuf Khan Bahadur; Mrs. Annie Besant; Rajah Peary Mohun Mukerjee; Sister Nivedita; Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai; Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswamy Row; The Hon. Mr. Harikishen Lal; Babu Surendranath Banerjee; Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath; Dewan Bahadur Ragunatha Row; Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S.; Mr. A. Chaudhuri; Hon. Mr. Parekh; Mr. D. E. Wacha; Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta; The Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer; Hon. Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar; Mr. Myron H. Phelps; Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai; Mr. G. S. Arundale; Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.M.G.; Mr. David Gostling; Rajah Prithwipal Singh; Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E.; Sir E. C. Buck, K.C.S.I.; Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; Mr. Mujibur Rahman; Abdul Rasul, Esq., *Bar.-at-Law*; Babu Tara Prasanna Mukerji; Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer; Mr. Abdul Halim Ghuznavi; Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar; His Honor Sir Herbert T. White; Mr. Charles W. McKinn; Mr. Bal Ghangadhar Tilak; Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose; Pandit Rambaj Dutt; Mr. Mushir Hosain Kidwai, *Bar.-at-Law*.

This book also contains the views of H. E. Lord Minto, H. E. Sir Arthur Lawley, H. H. Sir Andrew Fraser and Lord Amthill. Price As. 12.

 *The Annual Subscription to the "INDIAN REVIEW" is Rs. 5 (five). Subscription can commence from any month. Anyone who wishes to buy books at the reduced rates must remit Rs. 5, one year's subscription to the "Review," in advance. Send a postage stamp for As. Two for a free specimen copy.*

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Essays on Indian Economics.

BY THE LATE MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.

CONTENTS:—Indian Political Economy; the Re-Organisation of Real Credit in India; Netherlands India and the Culture System; Present State of Indian Manufacture and Outlook of the same; Indian Emigration; Iron Industry—Pioneer Attempts; Trial Conference; Twenty Years' Review of Statistics; Local Government in England and Emancipation of Serfs in Russia; Prussian Land Reclamation and the Bengal Tenancy Bill; the Law of Sale in British India.

Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the "Review" 1

Light On Life.

A Selection of Five Spiritual Discourses 1

BABA PREMANAND BHARATI.

CONTENTS:—The Real Life; Have You Loved Life? We Live; Thought Force; Sages; Saints and God.

Price As. 8. To Subscribers of the "Review," 1

Sri Sankarachary

SELECTED WORKS:

SANSKRIT TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY S. VENKATARAMANAN.

Containing more than 700 verses in all and including among others the following:—

Dakshinamurthi-Stotra; Hari-Stuti; Dattatraya-Stuti; Sataloka; Sadachara; Atmabodha; Vakyanasudha; Svatmanirupanam; Aparokshanubodha

Bound in Cloth. Price Re. 1-8.

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Rs. 1-8

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

The Bhagavad-Gita

THE LORD'S SONG.


With the text in Devanagari & an English Translation.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Note.—It has long been my ambition to place within reach of the English-reading public a cheap edition of the Bhagavad-Gita with the text in Devanagari and an English translation of the same. Mrs. Annie Besant, that warm and tried friend of India whose services to our land it were vain to count, has enabled me to realise that ambition by generously granting the use of her English translation. It is devoutly hoped that this great scripture of the Hindus will find a place in thousands of homes both in India and elsewhere. —G. A. NATESAN.

Price per copy, As. 2 (Two) only.

When ordering mention the number of copies.

 Stamps will not be received.

Agricultural Industries in India.

BY SEEDICK R. SAYANI.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR VITALDHAS DAMODAR THACKERSEY.

CONTENTS:—Agriculture; Rice; Wheat; Cotton; Sugar-Cane; Jute; Oilseeds; Acacia; Wattle Barks; Sunn Hemp; Camphor; Lemon-Grass Oil; Ramie; Rubber; Minor Products; Potatoes; Fruit Trade; Lac Industry; Tea and Coffee; Tobacco; Manures; Subsidiary Industries; Sericulture; Apiculture; Floriculture; Cattle-Farming; Dairy Industry; Poultry-Raising; An Appeal.

Sir. Vitaldhas Thackersey writes:—

Mr. S. R. Sayani, I think, has given valuable information regarding the present state and future possibilities of the principal cultivated crops of India.

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review," As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

The Indian National Congress.

An Account of Its Origin and Its Growth.

Full Text of all the Presidential Addresses.

Reprint of all the Congress Resolutions.

Extracts from all the Welcome Addresses.

Notable Utterances on the Movement

Portraits of all the Congress Presidents.

This is an exhaustive and complete Collection of all the Congress Presidential Addresses and the Resolutions passed at the sittings of all the Congresses. The book also contains extracts from the Welcome Addresses delivered at all the Congresses and several Notable Utterances on the Congress Movement by men like the late Charles Bradlaugh, Robert Knight, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Sir Richard Garth, Lord Cromer, Sir Charles Dilke and others. An attractive feature of the book is a collection of the portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Cloth Bound. Over 1,100 pp. Crown 8vo. Price Rs. 3. *To Subscribers of the "Review," Rs. 2-8.*

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Speeches.

THIS is the first collection of his speeches and may claim to be fairly exhaustive, no important pronouncement of his having been omitted. The book contains four parts and an appendix. The first part includes all his utterances in the Supreme Legislative Council and in the Bombay Legislative Council; the second, all his Congress Speeches, including his Presidential Address at Benares; the third speeches in appreciation of Hume, Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta and Bonnerjee; the fourth, miscellaneous speeches delivered in England and India. The appendix contains the full text of his evidence both in chief and in cross-examination before the Welby Commission and various papers.

Crown 8vo., 1,100 pp., Cloth Gilt. Price Rs. 3

To Subscribers of the Indian Review, Rs. 2-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Biographies of Eminent Indians.

A Series of Uniform Booklets each with a Portrait.

FOOLSCAP 8vo. PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

The aim of this Series is to present within a short compass sketches of the lives and careers of all eminent Indians. Each volume besides giving a succinct biographical sketch, contains copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the personages described. The Series has been pronounced by the Press to be "the most welcome addition to Indian biographical and critical literature."

DADABHAI NAOROJI.
SIR P. M. MEHTA.
DINSHA EDULJI WACHA.
MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE.
SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA.
SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.
THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE.
THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE.
LALA LAJPAT RAI.
BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.
ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT.
ANANDA MOHAN BOSE.
W. C. BONNERJEE.
BUDRUDDIN TYABJI.
SIR SYED AHMED.
LAL MOHUN GHOSE.
M. K. GANDHI.
MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.
R. N. MUDHOLKAR.
BABU KRISTO DAS PAL.

PRICE ANNAS FOUR EACH.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE INDIAN REVIEW.

A HIGH-CLASS MONTHLY.


EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

HAS AN EMINENT LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, INCLUDING POSTAGE.	{	Inland	...Rs. 5 (Five).
		Great Britain.	Ten Shillings.
		U. S. A.	Three Dollars.

Special Features.

A NUMBER of original contributions by well-known Indian and English writers on a variety of subjects. Critical Reviews of the latest Books. Summary of noteworthy articles in leading English, American and Indian periodicals. Selections from the notable Utterances of the Day. Notes and News on Industrial, Commercial and Agricultural matters; also select notes on Literary, Educational, Legal, Medical, Scientific, Personal, Political and General Topics. Among other special attractions of the 'Review' may be mentioned 'Current Events,' 'Diary of the Month,' 'Indians Outside India,' 'Feudatory India,' 'Questions of Importance,' 'List of Books on India,' 'India in Indian and Foreign Periodicals,' and Portraits and Illustrations.

 Each issue contains at least eighty pages (crown quarto) of solid matter.

Single Copy, As. Eight; Annual Subscription, Rs. (Five) only.

If you have not already seen "The Indian Review," send a two-anna postage stamp for a free specimen copy to Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, 3 & 4, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Georgetown, Madras.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.