

# India

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\*. An Index with Title page to Volume XII of INDIA (July to December, 1899) is now ready. A Copy will be forwarded gratis and post free to any Subscriber on application to the Manager.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Governor-Elect of Bombay was duly dined by the Northbrook Club on Tuesday night (January 9), and his health was proposed by the Secretary of State for India. Lord George Hamilton said that "he did not believe that in the length and breadth of this land it would have been possible to find a better man" than Sir Stafford Northcote. That was very well, no doubt, for an after-dinner speech among friends; and we have no wish, hopeful as we are of Sir Stafford's future, to hold Lord George to the letter. But, for all that, there is another "land" which fell well within the scope of selection. Is Lord George ignorant of the opinion of his friends in the Anglo-Indian Press? By no means. For does not the careful limitation of his expression indicate that he knows what a volume of Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion cried out for Sir Antony MacDonnell?

Sir Stafford Northcote adopts for himself and his co-workers in India Lord Curzon's watchword of "courage and sympathy." We anticipated as much, and we trust he will observe it faithfully. He said:—

They needed courage, for the field in which they would have to labour was indeed a vast one, and the labourers were few. They needed sympathy, because there was no English official worthy to be an official and a subject of our revered Queen-Empress who did not approach his task with the most earnest desire at all times to evince the utmost sympathy towards those among whom he was called to live, and who would not remember that every English officer had a deep debt to discharge to those Natives for the direction of whose destinies he was so largely responsible.

Very good. The real difficulty lies in translating the feeling and speech into action in an atmosphere of Anglo-Indian ideas of a woefully different character. As Sir Stafford says, there is a corresponding duty on the Native side. But never yet have we heard of any failure, or slowness, on the part of Indians to respond to sympathy, or to appreciate courage.

Lord G. Hamilton's studies are progressing. Time was when he used the term "savages" in an unfortunate context. Now he sees that many Indian aspirations "emanated from races that had attained a high state of civilisation at a period when we were still savages." That is a decided improvement. We congratulate him upon it, and hope he will now see his way to gratify some of these aspirations, were it only for the good of the British Indian Empire and the greater comfort of its rulers. But we still have somewhat against him, and on a point of Indian history again. "It was British rule," he said, "which had saved India from being in a chronic condition of war, of desolation, and of oppression, and had substituted for that unhappy condition, peace, prosperity, and advancement." This is the picture as seen through rose-coloured official spectacles. But Lord George would find in the India Office records of a sentence of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Francis in these terms: "The wonderful mass of wealth we found here proves without argument the actual lenity of the ancient Government and the simple unerring wisdom of its institutions" (Nov. 4, 1776). Where is that "wonderful mass

of wealth" now, and the "unerring wisdom" of the rulers of India?

The Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom gave a banquet to Sir Stafford Northcote on Wednesday night, at which Lord George Hamilton made another speech. He announced that he had decided that it would be inexpedient to make an appeal to the British public for relief of the famine. "At the present moment the whole public mind was entirely absorbed in the war in South Africa, and he thought it would be very unfortunate if a public appeal were made and if, owing to the exceptional circumstances, it were to meet with an inadequate response." This seems rather odd. How does Lord George Hamilton know what the response would be? Even if it were inadequate, would that be more unfortunate than making no appeal at all? Lord G. Hamilton went on to pay, as everybody is paying, a high tribute to the work of Indians as stretcher-bearers in the war in South Africa. "In South Africa," he added, "the native Indians were not treated on those terms of equality which both the Secretary of State for the Colonies and he himself had endeavoured to obtain for them." Where, one wonders, is the evidence of these endeavours? The Colonial Office, after giving away the rights of British Indians in the Transvaal under the London Convention, did indeed make a protest at the eleventh hour. But what has the India Office done in the matter? And British Indians have been so shamefully used even in British colonies that Lord George Hamilton has to express the hope that when the war is over the gallantry of Indian stretcher-bearers in Natal may prove "the means of securing happier conditions under which they might live in the Colony." What a commentary upon the policy hitherto pursued by the "Imperialists" of Natal!

We, of course, hold no brief for President Kruger and the Boers, and our readers will remember how fully we have remonstrated against the shocking treatment accorded to British Indians in the Transvaal. But, after all, the saddle must be placed on the right horse. We quite agree with the description of the indignities and oppressions heaped upon our Indian fellow-subjects in the Transvaal as set forth in the *Times* of January 10 by the able writer on "Indian Affairs," and do not wish to modify a single tint of the dark picture. "The result is," undoubtedly, "that the Indian races, including some of the most intellectual and highly-civilised types of humanity, are, as a matter of fact, confounded in South African opinion with Hottentots, Basutos and Zulus." How, then, did this result come about? The *Times* writer traces it to a deliberate project on the part of President Kruger in subservience to his grand purpose of "a war of expulsion of the English." Any such purpose yet remains to be proved; but that may pass in the meantime. President Kruger, then, foreseeing how important a factor our Indian troops would be in the struggle, "took steps to dissociate our Indian subjects in South African opinion from the other subjects of her Majesty, and to confuse them with the African races." By persistence and skill and audacity he succeeded. Thus he was able to issue "the infamous edict of last summer," turning the British Indians out into specified locations both for trade and residence.

The writer goes on to state that "the Boer element is strong in our self-governing colonies, and it found allies in the lower class of British traders, who were apprehensive of the competition of Indian merchants." Accordingly, "their combined vote led to the imposition of legislative disabilities upon British Indian subjects within the British territories of South Africa." But "the in-



famous edict of last summer" had been issued on November 10, 1898, to come into operation on January 1, 1899, and had been held over. Again, does "the lower class of traders" include, or control, the Attorney-General, who declared for the policy of "keeping the Indian for ever a hewer of wood and a drawer of water," and the other Natalian legislator who wished "to make the Indian's life more comfortable in his native land than in the colony of Natal"? If so, then President Kruger's influence has inflamed the British colonists of Natal to a very disgraceful course of conduct. But, more than that, the same principles of action have been embodied in statutory Acts in some of the Australian colonies. Is it in the least degree credible that the *Times* expresses the true order of the historical development of this monstrous treatment of British Indians? We do not believe it for a moment.

For, surely, however completely President Kruger, or others, succeeded in branding all British Indians as "coolies," and in classing them in African opinion with "Zulus, Amatongas and Poudos," this would not have confused the vision either of the British or of the Indians in India, or of any civilized nation in the world. For South African purposes—such as a "hewer-of-wood-and-drawer-of-water" business—the confusion is intelligible enough; but for the minimising of the importance of our Indian troops as factors in a war, it seems extremely feeble. In any case, what have our Downing Street authorities been doing all this time? The substance of the matter will be found in two articles of our issue of September 16, 1898 (INDIA, vol. x, pages 153-4), and in two further articles in our issue of December 16, 1898 (INDIA, vol. x, pages 316-7). We may, however, repeat here one or two points.

Article 14 of the London Convention of 1884 provided that "all persons other than Natives" should "have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic." But the Boers understood that Indians were included in "Natives"; and, under the lax handling of the question by Sir H. Robinson and Lord Derby, the Volksraad passed, with the approval of the Colonial Office and the British Government, a law (No. 3 of 1885) enacting that the Government "shall have the right to point out," to "persons belonging to one of the aboriginal races of Asia, among whom are comprehended the so-called coolies, Arabs, Malays, and Mahometan subjects of the Turkish Empire," "their proper streets, wards, and locations where they shall reside." The Boers understood that all Indians were included under the term "coolie"; the British understood only Indian labourers as "coolies." Lord Granville had succeeded Lord Derby at the Colonial Office, and President Kruger introduced the new argument of sanitary precautions. So everybody agreed that the law as amended should run: "The Government shall have the power for sanitary purposes of showing them fixed streets, wards, and locations for habitation"—a form finally accepted by Mr. Edward Stanhope, Lord Granville's successor, in 1886. The allegations of unsanitary conditions have long been shown to be absolutely groundless. The subsequent difficulties, especially the question whether "reside" includes "trade," were by common consent referred to arbitration, and the arbitrator (the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State) decided that all such matters were subject to "sole and exclusive interpretation in the ordinary course by the tribunals of the country." A test case was decided against the British contention that "residence" did not include place of business. In September, 1895, Mr. Chamberlain professed that his hands were tied by the negotiations of his predecessors, and could only promise "friendly representations" with President Kruger on behalf of the British Indians. The story of Natal oppression is very similar. So, really, it is not President Kruger that is to blame, but rather the Colonial Office—and, on the theory of collective responsibility, the British Government. The *Times* would do well to look into this.

The *Bengalee* points out a curious discrepancy between the views of two Cabinet Ministers—Lord Lansdowne and Lord George Hamilton—on the objects of the war in South Africa. Lord Lansdowne declared recently that of all the iniquities of the Boers none affected him more than their unjust treatment of the Indians. But the Secretary of

State for India declares that the war has no concern with the rights of Indians. Explaining why no Indian troops were employed in South Africa, he said that

the quarrel in South Africa was a racial quarrel. All we wanted was equality of conditions between our race and the Dutchmen. It was therefore thought inadvisable that there should be sent over a race other than the white race in South Africa, or that we should introduce any extraneous element.

Observe, "all we wanted." According to Lord George Hamilton, the war is not a matter which concerns the Empire, but only one of the many races included in the Empire. From his point of view the Indians have no interest in the matter at all.

Recent events have apparently brought some slight touch of shame to the people of Natal who have so long ill-used their Indian fellow-subjects. The Colonists have seen their homes protected by troops supported for years by impoverished India; and they have been witnesses of the devotion with which the Indians of Natal, not being permitted to serve as soldiers, have volunteered to aid the wounded. The Natal papers that have just come to hand contain accounts of an address given by the Hon. Harry Escombe to a number of Indians proceeding to the front for ambulance work. In the course of his speech, which was preceded by one from Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Escombe said:—

And it could not be forgotten that the Indians in Natal—who had been treated with more or less justice—had sunk their grievances, and claimed to be part of the Empire and to share its responsibilities.

"More or less justice"—such is the Natal way of describing gross injustice; but it is to be hoped that when the war is over, the better feelings aroused by the devoted loyalty of the Indians will cause the laws against them to disappear from the Statute Book.

We are glad to see that Professor G. K. Gokhale has been elected (by the District Boards of the Central Division) a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Those who have read the evidence he gave before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure do not need to be told how valuable his work as a Councillor will be, especially in the extremely important department of finance. Professor Gokhale, it will be remembered, was recently thanked by Lord Sandhurst on a public occasion for the excellent work he had done in combating the plague in Poona. His election to the Bombay Legislative Council marks a notable accession to the little group of Indians who, to the best of the limited opportunities that are offered them, represent so faithfully in the Legislative Councils the views and wants of the dumb millions of India.

We are asked to state that a concert will be held in St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross, on January 30, under the patronage of the Duchess of Connaught, Lord Reay, Lord Hobhouse, Lord Harris, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others, with the object of raising funds towards the relief of famine in India. Among the artists who have already consented to assist are Madame Belle Cole and Miss Greta Williams. Tickets (at the price of half-a-guinea, five shillings, or half-a-crown) may be obtained from Miss E. A. Manning, Hon. Sec., National Indian Association, 5, Pembroke Crescent, W., and Mr. Gilmour McCorkell, 97, Ladbroke Road, W.

The announcement of the concert is supplemented by a brief statement from Mr. Gilmour McCorkell, formerly Judge of Ahmedabad. We quote the following passage:—

In the December Number of the *Indian Magazine and Review*, there is a touching article entitled "Hard Times in India," in which the writer describes the condition of affairs in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and appeals for help to the great British Public, as follows:—

"Full as we in England are of this Boer revolt, and loss of life among our brave men defending Natal from their ravages, I am sure public sympathy would, even now, be loudly expressed, as it was two years ago, if we could realise the state of matters in a great part of Western India."

Shortly before the appearance of the above article, a private appeal was received from the Commissioner N.D., Bombay, in whose jurisdiction most of the affected districts are situated. In his letter he writes:—

"The monsoon crops and grass have entirely failed. Water is already scarce in parts. Rayats are bringing in their bullocks worth Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 apiece, and selling them for a rupee to get themselves a meal or two. It is a pitiful sight. Instead of cotton, and seeds our exports this year are hides and bones."



It does not require many words to recommend the claims of such an object as the present to the minds of the charitable. As one who has lived several years in Gujarat, I can fully endorse the words of the Commissioner N.D. in his letter, in which he asks for help for "the relief of a people whom to know is to like, and whose patient endurance is beyond words."

On the authority of a local paper, the *Bengalee* gives an account of the performance of Dinga Puja by the European manager of the Chandighat tea estate. Not only did he perform sacrifices as if he were a Hindu, but he entertained the coolies with a display of fireworks and distributed fifty rupees in pice. We have so often had to call attention to the ill-treatment of coolies by the managers of plantations, that it is a great pleasure to be able to report the case of one who is so evidently a father to his people and sympathises so strongly with their feelings. As the *Bengalee* quaintly puts it, "the sahib deserves to be honoured and even worshipped."

Here is a curious story from Maimansingh, reported in the *Bengalee* and in *Power and Guardian*. A sub-inspector was sent to attach the moveable property of three defendants. After he had done so in the case of the two first, he went off to refresh himself, leaving a Chowkidar in charge of the property of the third. While the sub-inspector was absent, the Chowkidar is said to have asked the plaintiff for his rations, which the plaintiff refused on the advice of another man. When the sub-inspector returned the Chowkidar laid the case before him, with the result that the man who had given such dangerous advice was beaten and pulled by the ear. The man who was thus ill-treated prosecuted the sub-inspector; and the joint-magistrate at Maimansingh not only dismissed the case, but ordered the sub-inspector to pull the complainant by the ear in open court.

As our readers will remember, we have had occasion from time to time to quote the views of the *Hindu* on the trials of the Tinnevely rioters. Our contemporary, keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings of the police, found very much to disapprove. It now appears on the authority of Mr. A. C. Tate, the special sessions judge, that there were very good grounds for fearing that a grave injustice might be done. Fortunately, Mr. Tate took a strong and independent view of the matter. He discredited the story put forward by the prosecution, and disbelieved the witnesses. The police made a strong point of the discovery of stolen property, but the judge held that the searches were illegally conducted, that not a single article of any value had been identified, and that the police work in the case seemed exceedingly bad. Mr. Tate does not scruple to speak of particular allegations made by the prosecution as "fabrications" and "distinct and deliberate falsehood." Thus the *Hindu*, which has all along protested against the free hand given to the police and the use they were making of it, finds its protests endorsed from the Bench.

At first sight it might be thought that the disarmament of a district could only result in promoting its peacefulness. *Power and Guardian*, however, points out that this is very far from always being so, and that the effect of the Arms Act may be to disarm the law-abiding part of the population and leave them at the mercy of the law-breakers. Recently at Kala, a village only two miles from the head-quarters of the Jhelum district, which is renowned for the bravery of its people, some half-dozen robbers armed with quick-firing rifles kept nearly 2,000 Sikhs at bay, killing two who ventured to brave them, and getting away with their plunder. Of course, the Sikhs had been carefully disarmed. Our contemporary thinks if the Government is unable to protect the people, it should at least not deprive them of the means of protecting themselves.

On the subject of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill, the *Tribune* gives publicity to the complaint of a zemindar from Gujranwala that the Government has not tried to find the real causes of distress. These he sums up as follows:—First, the strictness with which the Government revenue is collected in cash; secondly, the hard and fast rules about Takawi advances; thirdly, the Law of Limitation, which obliges the land-owners to renew their bonds frequently and spend large amounts on stamps and registration; and, fourthly, the expensiveness of litigation. He

believes that the effect of the Bill if it becomes law will be that the land-owners will find themselves unable to satisfy the Government demand in time, that their lands will be forfeited in consequence, and that they will ultimately sink into the position of Government tenants.

Just at the moment when India has been relieved of the unnecessary expense entailed by the keeping up of an army evidently much larger than she needs, there comes a new proposal for increasing military expenditure. And this increase, if once made, is likely to be permanent, while it is possible that the relief due to the despatch of troops to South Africa may not outlast the war. The new proposal is to increase the number of officers in each Indian regiment by two. The *Hindu* devotes a long article to the discussion of this new plan, and while protesting against any unnecessary increase of military expenditure in the financial condition of the country, it warmly opposes the appointment of any additional European officers. Let the new officers be Indians, is its cry; and it repudiates the idea that Indian troops cannot be relied on in battle unless led by Europeans.

It is a favourite argument used by English publicists against the claims of the educated Indians that not only do they fail to represent the "dumb millions," but that they do not include in their numbers the old governing classes of India. This view at one time so strongly impressed the Government of India that they even established an inferior branch of the Civil Service to which admission should not be by examination. The result was not satisfactory. Men appointed by reason of their position and family connexions were not always suitable for the work, while the inferior position of the service failed to satisfy the ambitious. Assuredly, competitive examination has its disadvantages; but it is a great point that Indians entering the Civil Service should have, under so many difficulties, beaten their European competitors in an open contest, and should commence their official career on terms of complete equality. And it was certain that the Indian nobility would not find the examination an eternal barrier. Indeed, that barrier has already been surmounted. It is announced that Kuma Manmatha Krishna Dev has been posted as Assistant-Magistrate at Tippera, his being the first instance in which a member of the Bengal nobility has competed for and won a place in the Indian Civil Service.

The Telegraphic Press Messages Bill, Reuter informs us (January 5), has been referred to a Select Committee. The Bill was first taken up on July 14 at Simla, and was handed over to a Select Committee on July 30. Remonstrances quickly poured in, however—notably, a telegraphic message from the Bombay Presidency Association on July 27, urging that the Bill, "being of a controversial and non-urgent character," should not be further considered till the Council assembled at Calcutta and the Indian members could be present. We have already exposed the hurtful nature of the provisions of this measure (INDIA, vol. xii, p. 96). It is intended to protect all press messages despatched from any place outside British India to any place within British India against publication by anyone except the receiver or persons authorised by him "until after a period of thirty-six hours from the time of first publication in British India," or of sixty hours from the time of receipt. "Publication" is a comprehensive term: it forbids all comment upon the contents of the message, and even "any reference" to the intelligence. Professedly, the Government wants to protect enterprise in telegraph communications. In fact, the result will be to favour gratuitously individuals of a very narrow class, and to place the public at a disadvantage that may easily assume serious features. We trust the Bill will be opposed determinedly. It ought, of course, to be dropped at once.

The Earl of Onslow, Under-Secretary of State for India, was to have spoken at a Conservative meeting at Newport, Mon., on Wednesday night, but Lord Tredegar stated that the Earl had been summoned to an important meeting at the India Office, and was consequently unable to be present. One is curious to know the object of this important meeting which was allowed to come between Lord Onslow and his audience.



## THE INDIAN FAMINE.

A VERY long time has passed since anything approaching famine has been experienced in Western Europe. Even in the gloomy years at the close of the eighteenth century, when for season after season the crops failed, there was no starvation. In England the price of grain rose, and there was distress in all parts of the country, but the scarcity never developed into famine. Yet now in India, if famine comes, it is proclaimed as a natural and inevitable result of the failure of harvest, beyond the power of man to prevent or to remedy. The most that can be done is to keep the starving people alive on relief works and wait for better times. But if this be examined a little more closely, it becomes evident that a failure of the crops is not the cause but only the occasion of famine: that it could only be the cause if the failure were worldwide. Such a failure causes no famine in Western Europe, because there exists the wealth with which to import food from elsewhere. It is only where poverty exhausts the surplus of the good years, and makes purchases of food elsewhere impossible, that scarcity develops into famine. In other words, famine is the result of poverty; and if the impoverished populations of Russia and India are to escape this scourge, it can only be by increasing their wealth and prosperity. The population of India grows slowly, so slowly that in any society economically healthy the increase of wealth would far more than keep pace with it. The Indians are a people famous for their frugality; yet the good years pass by, and leave them without resources for the time of want. The Government has organised a vast system of relief ready for application whenever it is needed; the need recurs again and again; but for any plan by which famine can be extirpated the authorities are as far afield as ever. Nay, far from extirpating the evil, are they not fostering it by their expensive and alien system of government, by the drain on India's resources involved in the Tribute, and by the continual enhancement of the land-tax which this expensive and alien system of government renders necessary? But it is much easier to shut one's eyes to the true causes of famine, as distinguished from scarcity, and put it all down to the failure of the rains.

The present famine was certainly unexpected. "A famine once in ten years" had become almost an established formula, and a much longer time had elapsed between the preceding famine and that of 1897. But here the country has hardly escaped from the terrible visitation which formed so sinister a background to the celebration of the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign, when another follows it. And let no one imagine that this famine is a small affair. The area, it is true, is not so great as on the last occasion, but the severity is even greater. Lord George Hamilton congratulated India on the speed with which she had recovered after 1897. As has been shown in our columns, a detailed examination of the statistics of beats of burden and young stock in one of the districts affected gives ground for serious doubts as to this supposed recovery. And now another famine has spread over a great part of the country. Especially is the case of the Central Provinces worthy of attention; for there at all events to ascribe the famine solely to the failure of the rains is obviously preposterous. There, where as Mr. Dutt recently showed, the land-tax has been unusually oppressive, the crops began to fail in 1893, and have never really recovered. Against all the optimistic platitudes of those who believe in the perfection of the Indian Government the Central Provinces rise in judgment; for where the poverty is greatest, the pressure of the most expensive administration in the world is sure to be felt first.

There was at first a disinclination on the part of the authorities to admit the existence of famine; but the facts soon became too strong for concealment; and from the time when the distress was admitted, its increase has been rapid. It is unnecessary to say that the numbers on relief works always fall far short of the real number of those who are suffering. Many will always cling to their homes, hoping against hope, long after their misery has become acute. Nevertheless, the numbers of those attending the relief works form the most accurate guide to the spread of the famine. Now we find that between the beginning of November and the beginning of January, the numbers increased almost fourfold, that is, they rose from 708,000 to 2,748,000, and this in a period of only

eight weeks. As for the geographical distribution of distress, here is the list corresponding to the total last given:

	Numbers on Relief
Bombay .. .. .	528,000
Punjab .. .. .	111,000
Central Provinces .. .. .	1,173,000
Benar .. .. .	199,000
Ajmere .. .. .	111,000
Rajputana .. .. .	203,000
Central India .. .. .	31,000
Bombay Native States .. .. .	330,000
Barda .. .. .	61,000

A list which sufficiently shows the terrible situation in the Central Provinces, even when compared with other afflicted districts. The suffering that underlies these figures is only too obvious. We hear of poorhouses full of living skeletons, some dying every day. In Bombay it is said that water as well as food has disappeared. Nor is it man alone that directly suffers; for in many places the cattle have already died by tens of thousands, which means that to misery in the present is to be added impoverishment in the future. That nothing can now stop the famine is admitted. The Government long held fast to the hope that the Christmas rains would save some at least of the crops, but Christmas has come and gone and no rain has fallen. And yet the famine is only beginning.

The situation, no doubt, is disagreeable enough for the authorities. They were just in hopes that the relief to the finances of the country due to the withdrawal of so many troops for service in South Africa, and the abandonment for a time at least of military adventures beyond the North-West frontier, would secure them a splendid surplus—at least on paper. But now they have too much reason to fear that all this will be swallowed up in famine-relief. Already there is talk of abandoning all public works which cannot serve this purpose. The correspondent of the *Standard* thinks that four crores of rupees will be expended before the end of March. But whatever is required, nothing seems so far to have been stinted. The Government of India has long prided itself on its exertions in famine relief—on the excellence of its system, the devotion of its officers, and the readiness with which it puts forward all its resources. If it has been lax in prevention, it has at least been zealous in cure. If it has failed in any case, the failure has been rather owing to hoping too long than in staying its hand after the worst was known. The policy to be followed is thus expressed in a letter written by Mr. Richmond Ritchie on behalf of Lord George Hamilton:—

The Government is pledged to spare neither outlay nor effort in the attempt to relieve distress and save life in the present famine.

There have indeed been some slight indications of an inclination to draw back from the policy thus described, or at least to use a specious anxiety for the prevention of waste as a cloak for parsimony. But we prefer to believe that, however anxious the Government may be to check useless expenditure, it will not allow this anxiety to interfere with that full and efficient relief to which it is pledged and which it is never tired of extolling as one of the chief glories of Anglo-Indian administration.

In one respect India is obviously much worse off than she was during the famine of 1897. The sympathy and the material help which then flowed out to India—small as it might be considered when the financial relations of the two countries were taken into account—is now wanting. England is absorbed in her own troubles; and her soldiers occupy the chief place in the thoughts of the people. Yet there is much in the present situation which should open the hearts of the English people to their Indian fellow-subjects. When India was fighting beyond her North-West frontier in a war detested by the Indian people, she had yet in her poverty to bear the whole expense. Now we are maintaining the fight in Natal by means of English troops drawn from India—troops unnecessary to India since they can be spared in the hour of danger. And those troops have been maintained for years and kept in efficiency at the cost of the Indian treasury. Would it be an extravagant return for this that England in her wealth should do as she did before, and spare some crumbs for the poverty-stricken people of India?

And is it not time both for the Government of India and the people of England seriously to consider whether these famines are so completely beyond the power of human intervention as has been asserted? Where the old practice of each family keeping its store of grain in



readiness for famine has died out, there must be some reason for the disease. Where famine and a high land-tax are so closely associated as in the Central Provinces, the association cannot be purely fortuitous. Where one country has to pay a vast tribute to another, the debtor country must be impoverished. And poverty is the mother of famine. Is it not time, when we have had two great Indian famines in three years, that some efforts should be made to eradicate their fundamental causes?

#### THE BRITISH PRESS AND THE CONGRESS.

"THE Indian Government, we fear," wrote the *Manchester Guardian* (December 29), "is not very likely to take any notice of suggestions coming from the Indian National Congress." There is but too much ground for our contemporary's fear; for, seriously as the Government needs such suggestions as the Congress is peculiarly fitted to offer, and effusively as Lord Curzon invites the opinion of the people of India, the bureaucratic fetish of "prestige" dares the Government to appear to listen to anything of the nature of criticism emanating from popular sources. The Congress can afford to wait. Meantime the Government may be edified by the notice that the recent session of the Congress has received in the press at home. Last week we were able to publish a considerable number of comments—mostly favourable, partly unfavourable, yet still notices—and this week we add to the number. Not one of these notices but bears a strong significance. It is not a small thing, by any means, that a journal of the brilliant ability and high standing of the *Manchester Guardian* should pointedly comment on Mr. Dutt's treatment of the famine and seriously conclude that "it would be well for the Empire if the home Government would take up this question." For, "if our Indian administration is impoverishing the peasantry, who are and must always be the foundation of Indian society, then something must be seriously wrong with that administration." That is a statesmanlike pronouncement. On the other hand, we have journalists who do not seem to have got well into the first page of the primer of statesmanship. The *London Morning Post* says Mr. Dutt's "futilities" show "how incapable he and his like are of grasping the first principles of administration." How so? "We would all have a little more to spend if we paid no taxes; but then how would the Government be carried on?" If there be any journalistic "futility" capable of outdistancing this remark—and that is saying a good deal—we should be interested to inspect the curiosity. We are not aware that Mr. Dutt advocated "no taxes"; we should be surprised to learn that the writer imagined he did; but the astounding thing is that one of the great London morning journals should condescend to such a gross misrepresentation and fancy that it is doing a public service. When the *St. James's Gazette* says "the recurrent famines are simply and solely due to the extraordinary fertility of the Indian people," it is merely ignorant. But neither misrepresentation nor ignorance will contribute to the solution of an exceedingly grave problem.

Gratified as we are at the appreciative comments of so many of the British journals, we are more concerned to deal with mistaken views of the position, and must, therefore, ask the friends of the Congress in the press to be content with a general word of thankful recognition. The *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle* will not misunderstand us if we take exception to a single point in their otherwise excellent treatment of the Congress meeting at Lucknow. Both have declared against the Calcutta Municipal Act, or at least have regarded it with grave doubts. "The difficulty," says the *Daily News*, "is to reconcile sanitary efficiency with popular government in the great towns of India, and these are not times when it is safe to disregard the science of health." The *Daily Chronicle*, holding the Act to be "undeniably a retrograde step, tending to restrict the representative principle in the matter of communal administration," yet adds this unfortunate qualification, "it must not, however, be forgotten that it was the indifference of the municipality in regard to measures of vital moment to the health and well-being of the city that almost compelled the Indian Executive to the decision which the President of the Congress deprecates." Such was the allegation of the Bengal Government, but then where are the proofs? They have not, to our

knowledge, ever been exposed to the light of day. On the other hand, all the known facts decisively negative the allegation. The English official Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, Sir Henry Harrison and Mr. H. Lee, have recorded opinions (which we have quoted again and again) directly denying the allegation. And, as a matter of fact, the Corporation has both improved—vastly improved—the health of Calcutta, and maintained the improvement in the face of the menace of plague with conspicuous success. The "indifference" of the Corporation is an official fiction; and the Corporation has, in fact, "reconciled sanitary efficiency with popular government." As we have already said, there is not a large town in the three kingdoms that would not have lost itself—government with Calcutta, if the same argument had been allowed to prevail in an attack on its administration. The *Morning Post*, with great assurance, tells its readers that the Calcutta Municipality "did nothing but talk." We prefer the testimony of Mr. H. Lee, the late Chairman. "No charge," said Mr. Lee, "could be further from the mark. In all my experience—and that has covered full three years—I have seldom listened to a speech that has not been useful and to the point." Can the *Morning Post* produce like testimony on behalf of any municipality in the three kingdoms, or even of the House of Commons?

Some of the writers, we observe, have not got beyond the stage of talking about the "so-called" Indian National Congress. We regret that the *Daily Graphic*, which exhibits a breezy frankness that promises well, should in this particular have linked itself with the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Saturday Review*, and we may add the *St. James's Gazette*, which is hardly enough to deny that the Congress "represents the views and sentiments of the Indian people" and to affirm that it is "entirely out of touch with the needs of the great mass of the population." The variety and complexity of Indian races, beliefs, and needs must, of course, be recognised; and it would be unwise to assess too highly the political knowledge or interest of the vast mass of the rayat population, which our beneficent and expensive rule has battered into the soil more effectually than all the trampling armies of devastating conquerors. The Congress delegates are elected on a representative principle, indeed, but nobody claims that the voters are on a par with the constituency of the University of London. At the same time it hardly follows that these delegates are not fully acquainted with the thoughts and feelings of their compatriots who are unable to voice their own grievances and needs. On the contrary, it would be rather interesting to learn what other persons are more competent to do this particular thing. Our abusive critics might ask themselves how many of our voting Hodges are capable of giving a reason for the faith that is in them when they cast their votes in the ballot box; and, while the Congress has been in existence only half a generation, how many centuries our people have been struggling up even to such representative government as we have yet attained. How far, it may be suggested, was the English Parliament representative of Englishmen before 1832? It is not prudent to cast stones about in glass houses. The Congress is well known to be thoroughly representative, to the extent of its professions. It is not worth while to quote again Sir Richard Garth's analysis, or to set forth any fresh analysis of the constitution of the Congress; but if the *St. James's Gazette* did itself the justice to inform itself as to the facts, it would be aghast at its own foolishness in asserting that the Congress is "entirely supported by the babu." For once the revilers may take it from the *Irish Independent* that "it is noteworthy that the Congress includes 400 Mahometans and 600 Hindus," and that these figures "should be considered an indication that the people of India are uniting to some purpose." We content ourselves with sharing the well-founded belief of Sir W. W. Hunter that "this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India which is showing itself not in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in India's commercial development, and in many signs of a new national life." But we recommend our critics, especially the abusive ones, to make some little enquiry as to this "new national life."

It is a notable feature of the times that the younger and more alert section of the London press has taken this trouble while the more staid journals are less thoroughgoing. Witness the precision and incisiveness of the *Morning Leader*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Star*, the *Echo*,



the *New Age*, and such technical papers as the *Investors' Review* and *Commercial Intelligence*; while many country papers effectively support the truly Liberal lead of the *Manchester Guardian*. It is a pity that Liberal journals like the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle* should mar the effect of their sympathy in principle by strange lapses through lack of grasp of the details. But what is to be thought of the silence of the *Times* and the *Standard*? This year they have not even abused or belittled the Congress in their editorial columns. The *Times*, indeed, blew an indirect sort of blast in its column on "Indian Affairs," which we dealt with faithfully in our last issue. What can be the reason of their judicious reserve? This deliberate self-restraint can scarcely be ascribed to a change of feeling, to a mitigation of the bitterness of their hatred and contempt, or even to a conviction that the Congress is not worth their powder and shot. Perhaps they may feel that this is hardly a favourable moment for vilification of the natural leaders of the Congress and of the Indian community, when India is seen to be seething, not with "sedition" (as we were industriously led to suppose), but actually with enthusiastic loyalty. The stand made by the Boers has brought the Jingo sharply up to his bearings, and the loyalty of India and the devoted service of the despised and oppressed Natal Indians have exploded the virulent nonsense about "sedition," and shamed into silence the usual vituperation against the Congressmen, who are the very corner-stones of Indian loyalty. These things throw light upon the texture of the "Imperialism" of those that most loudly boast themselves "Imperialists." The true Imperialist, the man that seeks to bind all races under British sway in common sympathy and justice, would hasten to acknowledge his mistake—like the *Natal Advertiser* with "Ramsummy Naidoo"—and welcome the Congressmen with frank brotherliness as the real pillars of Indian statesmanship of the British Imperial dominion. But that demands an insight, a sympathy, a courage, and an honesty that we have not yet begun to associate with "Imperialism."

## NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

### LORD CURZON AND THE NATIVE STATES.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, December 22.

The Viceregal tour is at an end, and the Viceroy is now back at the seat of Empire. But all State pomp and pageantry are not over yet. The Christmas season is in full swing in Calcutta. The metropolis generally wears a holiday aspect and is often gay. Perhaps the gloom which the war has spread in England may check the usual gaieties. But it is always pleasant to be in Calcutta during Christmas week. This time the Nizam has gone there to pay his respects to the representative of the Queen-Empress, who, polished courtier as he is, will no doubt receive the premier feudatory prince of India with all the honour that is his due and the cordiality that the Paramount Power extends to the rulers of first-class Native States. It is said that the Nizam, since he assumed the reins of government, has not hitherto travelled beyond the limits of his dominions. Practically, therefore, at Calcutta he will see a new world and a new population vastly differing from that which he is accustomed to at Hyderabad. It is to be hoped that when his visit has terminated at Calcutta, he will travel over Upper India. A prince of his position has not many opportunities of travel beyond the borders of his own territories. If a tour through various important parts of India is an education to a Viceroy, it is not less so to the Nizam and other feudatories of his position. The State is benefitted by such tours if they are judiciously arranged. The prince is impressed with new ideas and is brought into contact with other civilisation and environments. These things must always have for an educated feudatory a chastening and broadening influence the effect of which should be perceived later in his administration. In this respect no first-class feudatory educated himself more zealously or conferred greater boons on his subjects than the late Mahārāja of Mysore. Thanks to his Dewan, a most able and statesman-like official, Sir Sheshadri, that prince at the outset of his rule, after attaining his majority, was advised to make a long tour, the permanent effects of which were plainly to be seen in his

own person and in his administration. The Mahārāja of Baroda is another instance. He is really a much-travelled prince. But of course first-class princes and chiefs owe it to their subjects not to be absent from their dominions for many months in the year. The political effects of prolonged absence are not always good. The *Raj* and its officials, in the absence of the head of the State, are apt to become demoralised, and once the rot sets in it is hard to eradicate. In this matter, as in others, the golden mean is to be preferred.

Lord Curzon no doubt wishes to cultivate very friendly relations with the principal feudatories of the Empire. It is said that he is anxious to follow in the footsteps of the late Lord Mayo, than whom no Viceroy is more remembered by our indigenous princes and chiefs. It would indeed be well if our present Viceroy should achieve a like fame. The good of the British Indian Empire demands that the Government of India should be on the most amicable terms with the various Native States, independent or protected. There ought to be a solidarity between them, as the mutual influence of the one on the other is most needed for the progress of the people.

Unfortunately it is here that there is to be perceived a rift in the lute. The attitude of our modern political agents at the court of the principal feudatories is not such as can be approved by the Indian public. The paramount power, filled with the sentiment of "prestige," looks on calmly and remains inert. It seldom bestirs itself to remonstrate with these modern autocrats which the genius of British Indian administration has created. There is a vast difference between the old order of political agents, the soldier statesmen of the first seventy years of the century, and those that have succeeded them. Everywhere you miss a Todd or an Outram, a Keating or a Coghlan. In their place you have mediocrities intoxicated with an almost absolute power which even a Viceroy does not wield. Many indeed are the deeds of rampant autocracy of our so-called political agents in Native States. They are really the monarchs while the poor princes and chiefs are so many dumb driven cattle. And as to their acts of high-handedness, if they are not known it is because none dare reveal them. It is only when Courts of Law have, by some accident, been invoked to see justice done that we get a glimpse of the general attitude and action of our "Political Bahadurs." They are mightier than the mighty. All goes well so long as the prince or chief is docile—a humble and obedient automaton. But woe be to that State which dares to come between the Bahadur and his will. The sword of despotism, under one pretext or another, will hang over his head like the sword of Damocles. We all hope that Lord Curzon, who is so intent on emulating the action of Lord Mayo in connexion with our Indian feudatories, may reform the entire system that now regulates political agencies in various parts of the empire. The new century will soon be upon us. It is devoutly to be hoped that it may speedily usher in a reform which is one of the most urgent for the permanent good of British India.

Plague and famine, I regret to say, are sticking fast in our midst. As to the former, we in the city are just experiencing the fourth year of the scourge. Nothing seems to avail. All efforts are baffled. Already half-a-crore has been spent on prevention, but to no effect. The total mortality in the city ranges at an average of 58 per 1,000 of the population, which is, indeed, frightful. Plague contributes to it as much as 20 per cent. When this grim monster may leave us it is impossible to say.

As to famine the area of distress is extending week by week. The deficiency of the south-eastern monsoon in Madras is already causing great anxiety in the Southern Presidency. The scarcity of water involves a new element of privation for people in Gujerat and Kathiawar. The Press is doing good service in suggesting means whereby to allay the thirst of the hungry and starving—man and beast alike. Artesian wells are strongly recommended. And it is now stated that the Bombay Government has invited an expert, who arrived here some three months ago to advise the Bombay Municipal Corporation on drainage and water supply, to give his opinion as to the feasibility of sinking such wells in certain water-bearing areas.

Lastly, I must not omit to refer to one Imperial matter. It is said that the Indian Government is asked by the Home Government to increase the number of officers with the Indian forces. This is no cheerful news. It means an addition to the military expenditure which is already so burdensome and



against which we have been crying out these many years. While we appeal to the Government to reduce the European army by 20,000 men, who are really a superfluity, as events have conclusively demonstrated, here is the Home Government, panic-stricken at the casualties in South Africa, coolly proposing an augmentation of the number of officers. Of course, India has no voice in the matter. And the order of the War Office will be obeyed, though it is to be hoped not without a strong protest from the Viceregal Government.

## THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

### THREE MILLION PERSONS RECEIVING RELIEF.

According to a telegram from the Viceroy, published on January 5, there were then 2,748,000 persons on relief in India.

A further telegram despatched from Calcutta last Friday says: "Three million persons are now receiving relief in India."

An Anglo-Indian correspondent called attention in our columns last week (page 1) to certain expressions contained in a Reuter's telegram, dated Calcutta, December 29. As we find that this telegram was omitted from some newspapers, we reproduce it here:—

Owing to the great number of persons receiving relief, almost three millions at the present time, the Government has issued a resolution inquiring whether the proper precautions and adequate tests have been enforced.

The Famine Commission of 1878, which advocated the present system of relief, calculated that the population likely to need relief in the worst months would not exceed fifteen per cent., but this has already been exceeded in some districts, and the relief being given is on a vastly greater scale than in 1897.

Lord Curzon, while having the fullest sympathy with the zeal and devotion of the officers engaged in the work, is anxious that the defects may not undermine the whole system, and calls the careful attention of all concerned to the subject.

The Government is now spending nearly two lakhs of rupees daily in the British provinces, and the cost to the end of March is likely to amount to three crores of rupees.

The notion that the calculations of a Famine Commission can determine the number of persons who need relief is sufficiently curious.

### PROPOSED MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The following letter from Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., appeared in the *Times* of January 9:—

Sir,—It may seem unreasonable to lay heavier burdens on the willing horse at this time of war pressure. The response to the claims of the sick and wounded is noble, but so absorbed are we by the exciting work in South Africa that we are forgetting the dreadful famine through which India is passing. Though the area affected is not so large as in the last famine, the severity is even greater, and there are large parts of the Bombay Presidency and of Central India where the sufferings of the people are awful, and where water as well as food has almost disappeared.

I am told that multitudes of people must perish unless more liberal aid is afforded. The Native princes of India are most generously offering aid for our Army in South Africa. Would it not be wise and timely to start a Mansion House fund for the sufferers by the Indian famine? We would not expect to raise as much as we did on the last occasion, but there is ample wealth in the country to make a handsome contribution to India as well as to the imperious claims of the war.—I am, yours truly,

Carlston, Prince's Park, Liverpool.

SAMUEL SMITH.

JANUARY 4.

### WORSE THAN IN 1896-97.

The *Times* of India (December 23) has the following:—

The number of persons in receipt of relief in India continues to rise steadily. The total number in receipt of assistance during the present week was 1,630,267, or an increase of 215,718 over the figures of the preceding week. In the British Provinces alone the Bombay number has increased by about 64,000, the Punjab by 15,000, Pesar by 25,000, Ajmere-Merwari by 10,500, while in the Central Provinces there was an increase of over 100,000. In the Native States there were 596,291 receiving aid, or an increase of 50,533 over the preceding week. Rajputana shows an increase of 35,000, Central India of 5,400, and Baroda of 13,000. There was, however, a small decrease of about 3,400, in the Bombay Native States. In all India there are now, therefore, over two-and-a-quarter million persons in receipt of assistance, or an increase of about a quarter-of-a-million in seven days. These figures, it may be mentioned, are considerably higher than those for the same period in the famine of 1896-97.

The *Bombay Gazette* (December 23) says:—

The famine in the Bombay Presidency is now assuming serious proportions. Every week the number of persons on relief increases by thousands, the advance during the week ending December 9 totalling at over 82,000. Not only is grain at famine prices, causing great destitution, but the continued absence of rain is causing a water famine also. With the exception of one cent., which fell at Ahmednagar, not a single district had a drop of rain during the week, and in consequence it is impossible for cultivators to work on their holdings with a view to sowings for spring crops. With but few exceptions, all districts report the condition of the cattle as bad, and even where the animals have been fed in the past, the store of fodder is running short, with a consequent deterioration in their condition. The increasing demand for labour has necessitated the opening of additional relief works, and at Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Sholapur, and Ahmednagar the new work is in connexion with the improvement of tanks. At Sholapur the distress has become so acute that in addition the authorities are employing persons on the construction of roads. Distress is also deepening in the Nasik district, and at Ahmedabad there are now five relief works to which special civil officers have been appointed. An additional assignment of a lakh of rupees has just been made to the Commissioner, Southern Division, for takavi advances in the Karnatak districts, and it is satisfactory to note that a boring apparatus has been purchased for the Kaira district. This is to be used to assist the recipients of tagavi in the search for water. An increase in crime is the companion of famine, and with a view to prevent and suppress lawlessness, the police staff of the Panch Mahals has been strengthened.

The *Pioneer* (December 22) writes:—The Meteorological Reports for the next few weeks will be studied with almost as much interest as those which are issued in the monsoon period, so much will depend on the winter rains. The area over which famine in a severe or modified form now extends is very large, for if the North-West Provinces, Bengal, Assam and the southern part of the Peninsula be excluded the whole remainder of India may be said to be feeling the effects of the failure of the rains. In the Central Provinces the people are seeking relief in hundreds of thousands, and similarly in Kathiawar, Baroda, the greater portion of Rajputana and in several districts of the Punjab the figures are steadily mounting up week by week. The distress already is severe, but it should be remembered that as in 1897 the worst pinch will come next spring and summer. Proliferant rain during the ensuing cold weather may do much to save the position, but with scanty showers where there is now only scarcity there will be famine, and a general rise in prices all over the country must inevitably follow. Fortunately there is a 95 per cent. rice crop in Bengal, while in Burma the prospect is excellent. The Local Governments which are directly responsible for saving the people from the worst effects of a bad monsoon are taking every precaution to meet the demand that will soon come for relief on a large scale; while the Viceroy, having seen with his own eyes how matters stand in some of the Provinces, has gained knowledge which will be of the greatest service hereafter. In the various Native States, where already large numbers of people are receiving relief, careful supervision will need to be exercised by the Political Agents and British Officers placed on famine duty; but there would seem to be every inclination on the part of the Durbars to do their duty manfully and not to wait upon events. Money will have to be freely spent, but the ruling Chiefs know that they will receive the sympathy and support of Government in their efforts and in any financial operations, such as the raising of loans which they may have to undertake.

### SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 6) wrote:—Every week now sees the famine in India become more serious. Last Wednesday week the numbers in receipt of relief from the Government were 2,441,000; on Wednesday of this week the numbers had risen to 2,748,000, showing an increase in seven days of 307,000. Very soon the Government will have three millions of destitute people on its hands. This is "only the beginning of a distress which will become, it is anticipated, more acute every month for at least six months to come." The winter crops have failed utterly through the drought in Bombay and Central India, and through the dreary months of waiting till the summer crops ripen, the State will have to support all those who are now in distress and all who before then come to the end of their scanty resources. The food-famine is complicated by a water-famine which is destroying all the cattle, to the lasting injury of the farmers, and it is only too likely to be followed by a fresh outbreak of the plague, which has not yet been conquered and which finds the famine-stricken a ready prey. The Indian Government has hitherto assumed that a severe famine of this kind was not likely to occur more often than once in ten years. Three years only have passed since the terrible famine of 1896-7, and India is already face to face with a new famine that will probably be still more disastrous than the last. It is clear that henceforth Indian statesmen will have to take the possibility of famine more seriously into account in framing their general policy.



The *Daily Chronicle* (January 4) said:—While we are ready to admit that the Indian authorities are doing their utmost to cope with the exceptional distress unhappily existing in so many districts of our dependency, we feel constrained to add that the scheme of relief elaborated by the Special Commission of 1887 must be regarded as something very much like a failure. The anticipations of this body have been falsified in every respect almost, and their scheme, prepared to meet the emergency which has now arisen, is altogether inadequate, both in scope and in method. As the event proves, the Commission was entirely mistaken in its estimates as to the possible area of famine, the numbers likely to be affected by it, and the cost of the necessary relief works. In the circumstances it is no reflection upon the authorities to suggest that the whole subject calls for thorough reconsideration on the part of our Indian Executive. It is essentially a case of prevention being better than cure, and, what is equally important, far less costly in the long run. The weak point of the system of dealing with famine adopted at present is unquestionably the great waste of money involved with no gain hereafter. And this is entirely due to the fact that the relief works upon which the people are employed in the affected parts are mostly of an unremunerative character. As a rule, the poor creatures are set to make an ordinary unmetalled roadway, a track of earth like a low railway embankment, rising a little above the level of the fields around. If a long spell of dry weather ensue, the road is simply blown away; if heavy rains come on, it is mostly washed away. In either case there is nothing to show for the outlay. We shall spend before March is ended close upon two and a half millions sterling on relief works in the famine districts, the larger portion of which might, so far as the permanent returns go, be as profitably and as usefully devoted to mopping up the Ganges.

It can hardly be asserted that this is as it should be. If relief could be given in no other way, and remunerative tasks were impracticable, the Indian taxpayer would have to submit and say nothing. But this is by no means the case. Work which would pay in a commercial sense, and at the same time tend to restrict the area of possible famine in the districts now liable to recurring crop failures, could by effective organisation, be readily provided. The only effective method of fighting famine in India, the only permanent preventive of distress due to dearth, and the urgent need of the country everywhere, is irrigation. And there is absolutely no reason why the enormous sums now being spent upon relief works in the shape of roads to be blown or washed away, should not be devoted to productive irrigation undertaking in those parts where irrigation is most needed to make up for absence of rain, and where famine is consequently, most likely to occur from time to time. The Chenab Canal, which has been the means of reclaiming hundreds of miles of desert and converting it into some of the finest wheat land of India, shows what can be done in this way. And such works yield a return on capital as good as any sunk in railroads or similar business undertakings in Hindustan. Money devoted to irrigation would be trebly beneficial. It would tend in time to diminish the area liable to famine, it would help to reclaim large tracts of land now worthless, and it would add to the revenue while proving a sound investment for capital. Hundreds of years ago the Mahometan invaders of India realised all this, and the ruins of their huge reservoirs and canals remain to shame their British successors. We shall never effectively combat famine and the distress to which it gives rise in our dependency until our relief measures tend to prevention as well as cure, and our expenditure is directed to works of a permanently productive character rather than to ephemeral and unremunerative undertakings as at present.

The *Investors' Review* (January 6) wrote:—The latest figures relating to this appalling calamity show the following numbers employed on relief works: Bombay, 523,000; Punjab, 111,000; Central Provinces, 1,173,000; Berar, 199,000; Ajmere, 111,000; Rajputana, 203,000; Central India, 37,000; Bombay States, 330,000; Baroda, 61,000. Total, 2,748,000. The Viceroy's telegram adds: "No rain. Crop prospects becoming worse as the rain holds off, though in North-Western Provinces and Oudh germination is good, and irrigated areas there and in Punjab are safe." To give some faint idea of what is now going on over large areas of the Peninsula, we quote the following extract from the letter of a Bombay official dated Ahmedabad, December 8, 1899. So far we have not heard of a finger being lifted in this country to help the perishing people, but the Simla Government is still adding to its stock of gold in London, having bought £50,000 worth on Thursday, making the total in stock here £801,000, against which it forces out paper money on the Native money markets. The forces of folly could hardly further go, as these notes, which are enormously in excess of any bullion held against them, must by-and-bye prove an additional and most dangerous source of trouble to the already over-weighted finances of India.

I came here on tour and find there is every evidence of famine, but the wholesale mortality of cattle is the most striking feature at present. Trains full of hides are to be seen going to the Bombay market, and this splendid breed of Guzerat cattle have already died in tens of thousands. It will take many years to make good the loss.

I am afraid this will be the worst famine the Bombay Presidency and India generally has had for very many years past: the area is so extensive and the failure of grass and crops so absolute, in addition to which the water supply is failing. In this usually fertile province of Guzerat, Rajputana and Katiwar they have had no such visitation within the century, and in the Deccan, alas, this, is the second acute famine in three years. It really seems as if this battle of saving life from plague and famine were never to cease.

I went to the poor-house here, which has only been started a short time, for people who are picked up about the City precincts too weak to work, and exhausted from nothing to eat. There are already 220 in the house little better than living skeletons. Some die every day in the poor-house. It is only the beginning of what will get worse, more acute every month for at least six months to come.

There is not the slightest doubt that were the British Government not here now whole provinces would get depopulated, and with all the resources at our command the Government is scarcely able to stand the enormous drain on its resources. The Government of Bombay has long since had to get assistance from the Government of India, for three years of plague and famine have been too much.

The *Investors' Review* in a previous article wrote:—At last Lord George Hamilton has spoken, been graciously pleased to admit that 30,000,000 of our fellow subjects in India may be "affected" by the calamity of famine this winter. Nice word "affected," nice cold, guinea-pig director sort of letter altogether, but such as it is we have to take it and be thankful. Will it suffice to raise a million or two through the agency of the Mansion House? We doubt it. All our thoughts are bent upon "revenge." We must "smash" and destroy the two South African free republics which are the scourge of India lost if need be—a crumbling wreck in our hands. Yet it will not be merely 30,000,000 that this famine will "affect" before it has run its course. Thrice that number begin to taste the sweets of hunger already in higher prices for food, and it is a famine on the top of famine, a disease become chronic in India, not because our "mild and beneficent rule" has been conducted to "over-population," as the cant economics of the day smoothly put it, but because we have harried and lied the people by the extravagance of our Government, by our demonic haste to make money out of "improvements" professedly undertaken for their benefit, really designed to fill our own pockets; by the diligence with which our decorations and title-hunting militarism has fomented little wars and big for its own glory and gain, and by a fatuous and fatal oblivion to the havoc we were playing. There is room in India for another hundred millions of inhabitants were her latent resources developed with wisdom, forethought, and economy, wholly in the interests of the people. But we care for none of these things. Ours the affectation and pride of "a ruling race," progressing by mortgage, and with our heads in the air, sniffing in overweening conceit at all who dare to say, "Fools, see ye not the yawning chasm at your feet?" We see nothing but blood, blood now; never at any time aught but our own sublime virtues and at least 5 per cent. for our money. And behold, India perishes, sinks by millions of its population yearly into deeper hopelessness and the despair born of hunger. But how nicely and measuredly Lord George talks about famine! And you will send your mite to the Mansion House, won't you, good reader, if your African charities towards those refugees at the Cape non-combatants, they who blubber their woes into their soup and wine, as the *Daily Mail*, for variety letting truth find escape through its columns, described? We would rather send ours to some Native distributing agency, say the Indian Congress, if it would only take the work in hand. Native men of wealth are working and spending nobly now, and if we knew of a channel through which to send them our help, we would gladly open a subscription list in these columns. Money thus spent would bring the races more together, races now drifting further and further apart.

The *Daily Graphic* says:—Not the least of the evils of war is the manner in which it necessarily diverts our attention from all minor issues. Three years ago, when India was suffering from a serious famine, the hand of England was generously outstretched to give such relief as mere money could bring. To-day when another Indian famine nearly as severe is raging the fact passes almost unnoticed. Under such circumstances it would be futile to attempt to raise a fresh subscription. India will have to fight through this trouble with her own resources. Happily those resources are far more ample than they were three years ago. The rise in the exchange rate of the rupee, accompanied by a considerable reduction in military expenditure, has placed India for the moment in an exceptionally strong financial position. If there had been no famine the present financial year would have closed with a handsome surplus, but as there are now over two million people on relief works there is little chance of much of the surplus being left by March 31 next. Though it sounds paradoxical perhaps the best way in which England could help India at this crisis would be to borrow more troops from her, if any more could safely be spared; for the whole cost of the troops borrowed is borne by the Imperial Government, and the resulting economy to India is a matter of appreciable importance at the present time of stress.



## THE NEW GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

## DINNER OF THE NORTHBROOK SOCIETY.

A dinner was given on Tuesday night by the Northbrook Society at the Imperial Institute to the Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Governor-Designate of Bombay. There were present, among others, the Earl of Northbrook (in the chair) Lord George Hamilton, M.P. (Secretary of State for India), Lord Harris, the Earl of Onslow, General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, Lord Wenlock, Lord Hobhouse, Sir James Fergusson, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. G. G. Butler, Sir Richard Temple, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, the Hon. F. W. D. Smith, M.P., Sir Julian Dangers, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Frederick Abel, Sir M. M. Bhowagregree, M.P., Sir Raymond West, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. R. Krishna, Admiral A. L. Douglas, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Stenay Bayley, Mr. M. Bayley, Captain George Burne, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. J. S. Bhungara, Sir Edward Bradford, Mr. M. M. Bhowagregree, Mr. N. H. M. Moçty, Sir Andrew Sooble, Mr. H. M. Birdwood, Sir William Lee Warner, Mr. A. N. Wollaston, Sir James B. Peile, Sir Francis de Winton, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. J. S. Slack, Mr. M. R. Boyce, Mr. E. J. Dinkhar, Mr. Deaumont, Mr. Hutton, Mr. N. M. Parvez, Mr. R. W. E. Middleton, Mr. Austin Low, Mr. Eric S. Mathews, Lieutenant Gerald E. Maitly, R.N., Mr. H. T. Hartley, Mr. H. B. Hartley, Mr. Claud P. Hill, Mr. F. S. Bhisia, Mr. Eshwar Das, Colonel D. Warlike, Mr. J. N. Baladurji, Mr. W. R. Pratt, Mr. L. R. W. Forrest, Mr. Frank Northcote, and Mr. E. Bailhe.

The President, before proposing the toast of "The Queen-Empress," announced that among others who had written expressing regret at inability to attend was Mr. Balfour, who said that he had the highest opinion of the character and abilities of Sir Stafford Northcote, their guest. (Cheers.) Proceeding to ask the company to honour the toast of "The Queen-Empress," Lord Northbrook said they all knew how entirely her Majesty sympathized with her subjects in the losses some of them had sustained and how she shared the admiration we all felt for the gallantry of her forces. If there was anything that could give her Majesty satisfaction and the calamity of which it was that she was able to appreciate the loyalty and devotion of the Native Princes of India, ruling over territories more important than those of the South African Republics, who were proud to be under the suzerainty of the Crown. (Cheers.)

Lord Wenlock proposed "The Naval and Military Forces of the Crown," the toast being acknowledged by Admiral Douglas and General Sir Henry Norman.

Lord George Hamilton, in proposing "The Health of the Guest of the Evening," said that there were many in the room who must personally have come in contact with the most distinguished father of Sir Stafford Northcote—Lord Iddlesleigh. (Cheers.) For many years he had the privilege of being in the House of Commons as a Parliamentary colleague and supporter of that most distinguished man. Every one who came in contact with him was struck by the depth and acuteness of his information, by his sapient and quick judgment, and by his serene and courageous temperament, which enabled him to face any untoward events or any sudden difficulties with perfect self-possession and equanimity. He believed those qualities had been inherited in no small degree by their guest, and being to a certain extent responsible for the appointment to the Governorship of Bombay he did not believe that in the length and breadth of this land it would have been possible to find a better man. (Cheers.) All of them were aware that in ordinary times the functions and responsibilities of the Governor of Bombay were those which would largely test a man of ordinary calibre. But exceptional difficulties had now to be faced. Lord Sandhurst had battled heroically year after year with the combined evils of plague and famine, and he had devoted himself to his task with an assiduity and a success which had won admiration from all who had served under him in the Presidency of Bombay. He felt satisfaction that when their guest went out to Bombay he would find the plan of operations in force against both those evils thoroughly well organised and very difficult to improve upon. (Cheers.) He could not help feeling that there was one redeeming feature in connexion with those operations against plague and famine. He heard on all sides that now that the intentions of the Government were fully known and appreciated there was the most hearty co-operation between the officials of the Government and Native gentlemen and representatives of all the local districts in which operations were now being carried on. (Cheers.) What British rule had done for India he thought could be ascertained only if they threw back their recollection 100 years and saw what the condition of that country was then and compared it with what it was now. It was British rule which had saved India from being in a chronic condition of war, of desolation, and of oppression, and had substituted for that unhappy condition peace, prosperity, and advancement. (Cheers.) So successful had the great men who had controlled Indian administration been during the past century in achieving that object that a good many evils were now found to exist who denied the very existence of evils from which British intervention saved India. But with great advances in material prosperity and internal peace, the conditions of the country were naturally enough, associated enhanced aspirations on the part of the educated Natives of India. The difficulties which surrounded many of those aspirations were such that we could not acquiesce in them. Still, he always thought we should not lightly or cavalierly brush them on one side. Many of those aspirations emanated from races that had attained a high state of civilisation at a period when we were still savages, and he did not think it was unreasonable that they should attempt to utilise to the utmost the favourable conditions which British rule had substituted for theirs. In a speech by a critic of British administration in India which he read the other day it was admitted that British administration had conferred great benefits on India, and that it was conducted for the people; but the critic wished to substitute another system, and desired that the Government of India should be conducted by the people. Well, one of the functions

of the Secretary of State for India was that he had constantly to see and to receive distinguished Natives from India who had travelled throughout Europe. He had always made it a point, when he had come in contact with those distinguished and intelligent men, of asking them what most impressed them in the tour they had made, and he generally got the same reply—that it was the extreme similarity which existed between all European races in dress, in food, in religion, in customs, and in habits, and they thought that all the differences in Europe were infinitesimal compared with the differences which existed between races, religions, and creeds on the continent of India. In that one statement of theirs he had at once an answer as to what was the origin of the British rule in India. The secret of its success was that, animated by a sense of fair play, having established our rule we had endeavoured to deal equal justice to all these warring and antagonistic races and creeds. He believed that in the whole history of the East there was not one single instance of any stable government created and maintained by the people of the country, even where that people was homogeneous. If that was true, it must be self-evident that government by the people in a country such as that of India, which contained such an infinite number of different races, and religions, and creeds, and sects was an absolute impossibility. But if government by the people were an absolute impossibility, government for the people was the best and end-all of British rule in India, and therefore, if we separated the chaff from the wheat, if we could get our Native fellow-subjects in India to concentrate their attention on that which was practical and to avoid that which was impractical, he was perfectly confident that in any approaches which might be made to the future Governor of Bombay for the purpose of improving the administration of India and making it more in accord with what may be the wishes and wants or the exigencies of the Natives living in his Presidency, he would not lastly or peremptorily cast on one side any reasonable propositions which might be made to him. (Cheers.)

Sir Stafford Northcote, who was received with prolonged cheers, said that he trusted that he and those with whom he was about to work would all take for their watchword the motto pronounced by Lord Curzon, "Courage and sympathy." (Cheers.) They needed courage, for the field in which they would have to labour was indeed a vast one, and the labourers were few. They needed sympathy because there was no English official worthy to be an official and a subject of our revered Queen-Empress who would not approach his task with the most earnest desire at all times to evince the utmost sympathy towards those among whom he was called to live, and who would not remember that every English officer had a deep debt to discharge to those Natives for the direction of whose destinies he was largely responsible. He trusted, on the other hand, that the Natives of India would more and more realise that, although our national temperament differed from theirs, and although our ways were not as their ways, yet the Englishman had, as the primary motive of everything he did, the sole desire to do all that in him lay to preserve the life and the health and to enhance the material prosperity of those among whom he was called upon to work. (Cheers.) With regard to the present circumstances of Bombay, they might all hope that the darkest hour would be that which came before the dawn, and that when his successor took his place at their hospitable board, and he even hoped, long before that time came, they might be able to speak of affairs in the Presidency in a more optimistic tone than they were at present justified in adopting. Bombay had not entirely lost, even in the present depressing circumstances, that go-aheadness on which Lord Sandhurst found himself five years ago able to congratulate it. He would, fortunately, be aided in his work by the efforts of a loyal, intelligent, devoted, hard-working, and hard-headed body of men, the Indian Civil servants of the Crown, and with their co-operation and assistance he would endeavour to approach his work, he trusted, in no spirit of light-heartedness, and with no feelings of over-confidence, but with the determination to do all that might lie in his power to discharge his duty, and with the fervent hope that, in so discharging it, it might be his good fortune to be of some service to his fellow-men. (Cheers.)

Lord Harris proposed the toast of "The British Empire," and to this Sir James Fergusson and Sir M. M. Bhowagregree responded.

## THE LUCKNOW CONGRESS.

## FURTHER OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

## THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW."

Gladly, if we had space, would we print all the excellent presidential address delivered at the Lucknow meeting of this Congress on Wednesday, the 27th ult., by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., were it only to show the multitudes in this country, perfectly ignorant of Indian affairs, how broad are the ideas and how firm the grasp of domestic questions possessed by Indian politicians of the higher order. It is a statesmanlike address, admirable in substance and in temper. Mr. Dutt reviews the salient features in the current history of the Native country in a spirit not only of loyalty but of enlightened criticism, and it is impossible that a body of delegates meeting every year to come in contact with men of this stamp can be anything except disseminators of enlightened ideas throughout the country. Perhaps the most remarkable feature about these gatherings is their power to draw men of all castes and races together. The quick-witted Hindu undoubtedly takes the lead always at these gatherings, and the very life and soul of the Congress movement has been Mr. Banerjee, so well known in this country as a leading member of the Calcutta bar, and a man of wide culture and tolerance of mind. It would not, therefore, have been surprising had the Mahometan population stood aloof, and for a time we rather think they did, but every year sees their leaders drawn more and more into harmony with the general national feeling, and no less than 400 out of the total of 1,000 delegates gathered at Lucknow were men of the Mahometan



faith. We have no space to say more now, but should like to quote one or two passages about the causes of famines in India, because that is not only a lamentably burning subject in the Peninsula to-day, but because Mr. Dutt's statements are remarkably on all fours with what has been advanced from time to time in this *Review*. He, as it will be seen, agrees fully with us, and his knowledge entitles him to be heard with respect in declaring that over-population has nothing whatever to do with the distress and want periodically devastating large tracts of our dependency. We also agree emphatically with Mr. Dutt in his opinion about the steps made in the political path to protect the agriculturist by depriving him of the power to sell or permanently mortgage his only asset. Readers ought to buy *INDIA*, the organ of the Congress in this country, and read the whole speech, as well as the proceedings of the Congress, for themselves. It is an admirable little paper in spite of Lord George Hamilton's sneers at and denunciations of it. A nation that cannot bear to hear the other side in any question affecting the interests of peoples subject to it, is not likely to long maintain its place at the head of the empires of the world. (January 5.)

[To these remarks a considerable extract from our report of Mr. Dutt's presidential address was added.—*EN. INDIA.*]

#### THE "BARTER."

About a thousand Indian delegates met in conference at Lucknow last week, including, almost equally, Mussulmans and Hindus. Educated men of all religions in our Eastern dependency are united in their efforts for the advancement of their race. This is the fifteenth Indian National Congress, gatherings that are of vast and ever increasing import, as five thousand visitors sufficiently testify. Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt, the President, is a retired Indian Civil Servant of distinction. At the opening of the Congress he delivered an admirable address reviewing the whole social and political field. Mr. Dutt recognised the excellence of the administrative work done by the Indian Civil Service. He contended, however, that the Service represented only the official side of Indian questions, and claimed that the Indian National Congress is doing a service to the Government the value of which can scarcely be over-estimated. He expressed his confident belief that India is destined to move onwards as a portion of the British Empire, and that the future will bring some measure of progress and self-government under the Imperial rule of England. The Indian people increase less rapidly than the people of England or Germany, the real cause of the poverty of the agricultural population is, it seems, that, except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. We might evidently turn, with present and prospective advantage, some of the energy we are expending on the conquering of new worlds upon the wise and just government of the far-flung Empire we already hold in trust. Why should we not be as earnest in yielding "equality" as we certainly are in demanding it? (January 5.)

#### LORD CURZON AT LUCKNOW.

The following is a full report of the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Lucknow on December 13:—Talukdars and Durbaris of Oudh.—In the concluding stages of a tour, which, while it has been one of hard work and of some strain, has yet taught me much and enabled me to reach much that the view of India ought to know, it is with no small pleasure that I meet in the dignified and time-honoured function of a Durbar, so famous and so loyal a body of her Majesty's subjects as the Talukdars of Oudh. Already upon my arrival at Calcutta you have paid me the compliment of an address of welcome, presented to me by the hands of your President the Maharaja of Ajodhya, and now in the historic capital of your own province, to which so many memories cling that are dear both to your race and to mine, an opportunity is presented to me of returning the compliment, and of recording your name in the annals of the past and traditions of the Talukdars of Oudh. I regard a Durbar as an occasion of no ordinary significance, not merely because of its picturesque and stately ceremonial, or of its harmony with the venerated traditions of an ancient polity, but because of the opportunity which it furnishes to a Viceroy to meet in becoming surroundings the leading men in the community, and to exchange with them those formal assurances which, to my mind, are invested with a much more than conventional courtesy, inasmuch as they are the real foundation-stones of the stable fabric of her Majesty's Indian Empire. Open speech and clear understanding between the Queen's representative and her trusted lieges are essential to the solidarity of a dominion which is built upon the co-operation of both, and while I am honoured by holding my present office, I shall welcome instead of shrink from any occasion for such an interchange of confidence and renewal of understanding. Indeed to me it seems that the times have passed by when rulers or the deputies of rulers can anywhere live with impunity amid the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from the hill tops and visit the lair of man; they must speak to their fellows in their own tongue and must be one in purpose and in heart with the people; and only so will they justify their high station, only so will their authority be free from challenge, because it will be founded upon trust. It was in such a spirit that Lord Canning came to Lucknow in October, 1859, to obliterate the scars of the Mutiny, and to inaugurate the new régime of generous clemency and beneficence to which the Talukdars of Oudh owe their status and their rights. In this assemblage to-day there are doubtless some who remember

that historic occasion and call to mind the assurance of Lord Canning that so long as the Talukdars remained loyal and faithful subjects, and just masters, their rights and dignities should be upheld by every representative of the Queen, and that no man should disturb them.

It was in pursuit and in confirmation of Lord Canning's policy that Sir John Lawrence came here in 1857 to acknowledge the liberal manner in which the Talukdars had met his efforts to mitigate certain hardships which had resulted from the arrangements of 1858. It was in a similar spirit that in 1882 Lord Ripon received the Talukdars upon the very spot where Lord Canning had presented to them their charter twenty-three years before, and while it is on the same site, it is also, I assure you, in an identical spirit, that after a further lapse of seventeen years another Viceroy has come here to-day to renew to you the friendly assurances of the Sovereign Power and to mark yet another stage in the history of the undisturbed and happy relations that subsist between the Talukdars and the British Government. It was not till I had ascertained from enquiry that you yourselves were most anxious that the Durbar should be held, and that you recognised in it a compliment to your position as well as a confirmation of your privileges, that I arranged with Sir Antony MacDonnell for the ceremony of this afternoon. I am not one of those persons who would venture to claim that the politics of the British Government in India had always or everywhere been distinguished by the foresight of the statesman or the sagacity of the diplomat, and we have perpetrated some failures. I am not sure that Oudh has not been the scene of some of these experiments, and perhaps also the witness of some of these failures. We have sometimes poured new wine very hastily into old bottles, and have been surprised if they have burst in our hands, but whatever the errors or miscalculations of the British Government in the past may be, I think, claim with truth that we do not depart from our pledged word, and that British honour is still the same, as it is the safeguard of British administration. It was once said by the most brilliant writer who has yet devoted his genius to the illumination of Anglo-Indian history, that English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity. I agree with those words. Where the faith of the Government has been pledged, there, even at a loss to ourselves, at a sacrifice of our material interests, and sometimes even to our political detriment, we have, so far as my knowledge extends, uniformly held to our word, and I hope we shall continue to do so to the end. If ultimately, we have profited by this conduct, no such considerations of expediency, believe me have been our motive. We have pursued justice and truth, it may be sometimes with faltering steps, but for their own sake and for that alone.

Our relations with the province of Oudh afford a not inapt illustration of our steadfast adherence to this high standard of public honour: for forty years our policy towards Oudh has never deviated from the ideal which, when the Mutiny was over, was deliberately accepted and promulgated by Lord Canning, and at a later date was ratified by Sir John Lawrence, viz., that of maintaining the existence and privileges guaranteed by binding engagements of the landed aristocracy of this province. With this object have been devised the various measures of legislation that have from time to time been passed with reference to the land question in Oudh—the Oudh Estates Act of 1869, the Talukdars Relief Act of 1870, and the Oudh Rent Act of 1888. It is with the same object in view that your present Lieutenant-Sir Antony MacDonnell, has recently framed the settled Estates Bill which, with the patience worthy of a statesman and with the anxious desire to consider every point of view, and to conciliate all reasonable opposition that has uniformly characterised his public career, he has successfully guided through the earlier stages of its inception and introduction. It is unfortunately too true that some members at any rate of your body have fallen upon evil times, and that the pressure of financial embarrassment, due sometimes to extravagance and folly, but sometimes also to circumstances beyond human control, has resulted in increasing transfer and alienation, in other words, in the breaking up of estates which it has always been the desire of the British Government equally with yourselves to conserve from these dangers, the unarrested progress of which would be fraught with mischief to the entire community. The Talukdars themselves petitioned Government to find for them some relief, and it is in deference to this request that the Bill of which I speak has been drawn up and brought in. Gentlemen, I rest with yourselves whether you think this has been a wise law, or take the view of it or not. In deference to our engagements, in the faithful execution of our pledged word, we cannot and we should not propose to dictate to you a curtailment of rights which if acceptable to some might be superfluous and obnoxious to others. We can but provide the means by which without prejudice to the legitimate rights of creditors those of you who desire to ensure the maintenance of their hereditary estates by direct settlement may be able to do so. If the Court of Wards Bill which has been introduced, and passed by the local legislature with the same disinterested and conservative aim, be regarded by the Talukdars as a supplement of the Settled Estates Bill, to whose successful operation it should lend a great reinforcement of strength, I see no reason why you should not obtain a speedy and permanent relief from the embarrassments of which you complain. But I repeat that the Government have played their part it is now for you to play yours in the same temper of loyalty and good faith that has uniformly marked your relations with the supreme Government since the present system was instituted.

Under legislation there through the India I observe an increasing spirit of public activity and an awakening to the conditions of modern life, which convinces me that the conservatism of the most conservative of countries is not incompatible with a keen recognition of the necessities of an age of progress. The spread of railways, the increase of education, the diffusion of the Press, the construction of public works, and the expansion of manufacturing and industrial undertakings, all of these bespeak not the placid reveries of the recluse, who is absorbed in abstract thought or in idyllic contemplation of the past, but the eager yearnings of a fresh and buoyant life.



This spirit as is natural is most visible in the great centres of population, and in the districts which are traversed by the main lines of railway, but it is also penetrating to unconsidered corners, and is slowly leavening the mighty mass in this province, the natural richness of which has caused it to be designated "The Garden of India." You have greatly profited by recent railway extensions, and you possess a railroad system which, running parallel in the main to the course of your great rivers with frequent lateral connexions, appears to be well adapted to the exploitation of your abundant resources. We hope before any very long time has elapsed to supply you with a further connecting link in the shape of the Allahabad-Fyzabad line, with a bridge across the Ganges. This important link, together with shorter communication with Lucknow, should be of great benefit to the province.

The name of Lord Curzon, to whom you owe so much, is perpetuated in the title of the College which exists in the city. It is not an unflattering tribute to his memory that the Talukdars should have lent so consistent support to the Canning College since its institution thirty-five years ago, and I am glad also to be informed that you take an equal interest in the Colvin Institute, specially designed as it was for the education of your sons. While you thus show that you are not indifferent to the claims of that higher education to which we owe in so large a measure the development of that growing energy and vitality of which I have already spoken, pray remember that among your tenants in country villages and districts, are many to whom the higher education will never be anything more than a riddle, but to whom you owe it that their elementary education shall be something more than a name. In the ingenious glosses and paraphrase to which a Viceroy's utterances in this country are frequently exposed, he is apt to find that praise of one thing is interpreted as involving unconscious disparagement of another. When I praise you therefore for your support of the higher education of your sons and families, I must not be understood to deprecate the claims of primary education among the masses of the people, and when I invite your attention to the great importance of the latter subject, I must not be supposed to be offering an affront to the former. In the proportion as the present population is poor and backward, and helpless, so is the responsibility greater that devolves upon their superiors to furnish them with the rudimentary means by which they may raise themselves in the world.

In Oudh may be observed a happy reproduction of a system with which we are very familiar in England, where the traditions and spirit of territorial responsibility resulting from the growth of centuries are exceptionally strong. There we find the country gentlemen sitting in gratuitous and voluntary discharge of the administration of justice among his neighbours to their complete satisfaction, and with no small advantage in the shape of increased knowledge and power of good to himself. I am glad to think that this graft from an English stock, which after all is only an adaptation in Western form of a custom familiar in the East, has found so congenial a climate in the province of Oudh, and I should like to tender my thanks to those Native gentlemen who have thus assisted the Government by acting as Honorary Magistrates. Every case which by a simple and straightforward decision they succeed in keeping out of the law courts involves in my judgment not merely a saving of expense, friction and heartburning to the parties concerned, but also a positive service to the community.

Finally, gentlemen, let me say with what satisfaction I have met to-day in this great assemblage, and have had presented to me, a number of chiefs, some of them sons or grandsons of those who stood by us in our great hour of trial forty-two years ago, some of them, a dwindling number, the still surviving actors in those solemn and immortal scenes. I have noticed upon the breasts of others here a present, a sash and a gallant battle medal that tell me of participation in the defence of the Residency, of lives risked and of blood shed in the cause of the British Government, with which was indissolubly bound up in the agony of that fateful struggle the cause of order as against anarchy, of civilisation as against chaos. Standing here at this distance of time I, who am of a later generation and was not even born when these brave men performed deeds at which the whole world has since gazed with admiring awe, count it as among my highest privileges that I should see the faces and, as her Majesty's representative, receive the homage, of these illustrious veterans. Still prouder and more inspiring is the thought that in this great Durbar, where are gathered in loyal harmony with our old allies the descendants of some who took another part, I may read the lesson of great reconciliation, and may point the eternal moral that mercy is more powerful than vengeance.

### LORD CURZON ON TOUR.

[FROM THE "NEW AGE."]

The Viceroy of India in spite of apparent lapses from time to time, is exhibiting a fairly independent mind, and working more and more into the hopes and confidence of the Indian people. From the very first and in the face of his extravagant record on Indian questions, we anticipated that Lord Curzon would still turn out well, the prime certainty in the case being that Lord Curzon would take care of the reputation of Lord Curzon. Accordingly his wild frontier ideas have all gone by the board, whether on his closer study of the situation or because the exchequer was emptied; and, although it is unsafe to prophesy about the North-West, yet it now seems as if the usual order were to be reversed, and that the Viceroy that went out like a lion would pass his time like a lamb. All the better for the country, which requires above all things rest and recuperation. No sooner, however, was there external peace than the Government was confronted with the awful invasion of famine and a recrudescence of plague. Lord Curzon judiciously deter-

mined to see with his own eyes the condition of the afflicted people. He got himself and his staff vaccinated, more for example to the Natives than for necessary precaution, and visited the plague-stricken centres. Then he proceeded to see the actual state of the districts suffering from the famine. The people, always generously responsive to demonstrations of sympathetic interest, assessed his action at quite its full value, and drew a marked contrast between him and his predecessor, not to the advantage of Lord Elgin. Thus his retrograde action on the Calcutta Municipality Bill, on the Press Messages Bill, on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill, and so forth, has been temporarily forgotten in appreciation of his sympathy with the people in their dire distress under the double scourge of plague and famine. Not that there are wanting Indian critics that reserve their judgment; and truly there is but too good reason for doing so. The kiss is all very well in its way but the dread of the blow naturally remains. One can but hope that Lord Curzon has seen enough to induce him to take home to himself his own prescription of the remedy of "moral snasion."

In the course of his viceregal peregrinations, Lord Curzon has visited the Native States of Bhopal and Gwalior, where he was received with marked demonstrations of loyalty. At Bhopal the Begum herself proposed the toast of the evening, declaring that "in this vast Indian Empire there is none to-night who is so fortunate as I am," because of the presence of her august guests, Lord and Lady Curzon, and that "no ambition of mine has been greater than that of surpassing my ancestors in loyalty and devotion to the British Crown," invariably loyal and devoted as these had been. Lord Curzon handsomely acknowledged his "right royal welcome" and the Begum's "honourable reputation for enlightened and public-spirited administration" during more than thirty years. No less gallant was the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. Passing by his noble efforts to combat the famine with modest reference, "I need hardly say," declared Scindia, "that the whole of the resources of my State, including my army, are at the disposal of her Majesty whenever and wherever they are required, for my greatest ambition would be to serve in person against the enemies of the Queen-Empress, if possible in the front line, or failing that I would gladly seize the opportunity of serving in any capacity or anywhere, even at the base of operations, with the armies of the Queen." How could Lord Curzon do less than acknowledge such "profound and chivalrous devotion," and do justice to the Maharaja's administrative achievements by declaring it to be "a record which any ruler might be proud to point to and any Viceroy gratified to receive"? These demonstrations may be taken as typical of the attitude of the Native States generally, and they ought to find their place in the British mind at home side by side with the best national enthusiasm of the present emergency. It is easy to hint distrust; but those who have the best right to a judgment on the point will discern no insincerity and no ground for insincerity, in Lord Curzon's frank and emphatic acknowledgment: "I am convinced that his Highness is speaking from the bottom of his heart when he declares that he has no higher ambition than to serve in person against the enemies of the Queen in any capacity or place, where the opportunity may be offered to him, and I shall not fail to pass on to her Majesty his loyal statements and his manly and patriotic words."

By contrast to the conspicuous personal conduct of Scindia, Lord Curzon was able to speak a word of reasonable warning to those Native chiefs who have not yet realised the duties of their position. He pointed out most properly that "the Native chief has become by our policy an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India." "I claim him," he said, "as my colleague and partner." Great and small, Lord Curzon has close upon 700 of such "colleagues and partners," ruling over a territory of some 650,000 square miles and a population of some 70,000,000 souls—the British Indian territory being about 1,000,000 square miles and the population rather more three times than that of the Native States. The relations of these 700 rulers to the Paramount Government are of the most various character, and it is hardly worth while to seek for an exact term to designate such a medley. They are the result of a historical development under the successive governing ideas of non-interference, subordinate isolation, and union. The consequence is that the relations have continuously been drawn closer and closer, and it is plain that there is no longer any place for "a frivolous and irresponsible despot." Maladministration in a Native State cannot but affect unfavourably the neighbouring peoples, whether under Native or under British direct government. It is to be remembered, however, that some at least, if not all, of the less worthy Native chiefs have the right to lay some part of their shortcomings at the door of British example and encouragement; and not a little consideration is due to the deficiencies of those who have been overmastered and paralysed by the high-handed British residents in their capitals. Lord Curzon was somewhat lax, perhaps, when he spoke of "the smooth harmony" of the operation of the parallel powers of Native States and of the supreme Government. What to the Viceroy may seem harmony may present itself in a very different light to the Native chief.



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