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NOTES AND NEWS.

ON another page we print the text of the Sugar Duty Bill, together with the "Statement of Objects and Reasons," and a full report of Sir James Westland's speech introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council. The influence of American example is confessed. "The wording of the Act," he said, "is the same as the wording of Section 5 of the United States Act of July 24, 1897." The recent economic history of the United States, unfortunately, has hardly been such as to incline a prudent statesman to imitation, especially when such imitation involves a serious and marked break of the common economic policy of India and England. We must admit, however, that the Hon. Mr. Allan Arthur and the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu both approved of the Bill, the latter "welcoming it gladly."

The "Statement of Objects and Reasons" is scrappy and perfunctory enough to indicate a foregone conclusion. It is necessary to turn to Sir James Westland's speech in order to see the grounds he adduced in support of the measure. He expressly acknowledged that he was "proposing to open an entirely new chapter of our fiscal history." He laboured to show that it was "an ascertained fact that the sugar industry of this country has been very adversely affected." Now, as we hold, even if this were proved beyond all controversy, it would not remove the objections on grounds of principle. But Sir James's proof is far from satisfactory. He admits that "the immediate effect upon cultivation has not been very great"—an estimated diminution of acreage by 13 per cent. The admission is enough to ruin his case: and the conservatism of cultivators and their obligations on advances give him but little help. Sir Antony MacDonnell, whose territories are specially affected, reports:—

There has been a substantial decrease in the acreage under cane in those parts of the Province where the margin of profit on the cultivation is least, this decrease being probably due to the competition of bounty-fed sugar. Further experience is, however, required to arrive at certain conclusions in this respect.

Obviously, there is nothing here to indicate that it would have ever occurred to Sir Antony to concoct a Bill to meet the case in his own Province. He does not even commit himself to the opinion that bounties have anything to do with the matter. And "in the Punjab, cultivation, though not extending, has not fallen off."

With regard to the effect on the refineries we are still without definite information. If, as Sir James Westland has no doubt, "refineries are closed because of a falling-off in the cultivation," then it is plain on his own showing that they must be extremely rickety concerns. If, as he admits, and must admit, "the effect upon cultivation has not been very great," what is the sense of talking about the dire results of non-cultivation upon the refineries? But let us get to the facts. Sir Antony MacDonnell reports:—

It (foreign sugar) has already caused the closure of numerous refineries, while it has seriously endangered the stability of others. The director gives statistics showing that 120 refineries have stopped working, but his figures on this point are incomplete. He has since informed the Lieutenant-Governor that no less than sixty have been closed in a part of the district of Azamgarh alone, of which no account is taken in his memorandum.

We referred on a former occasion to the statement of the

Bengal Chamber of Commerce (in their last Annual Report), that "in any case, a continuance of the unrestricted importation of bounty-fed sugar would probably result in the closing of the remaining sugar refineries in the district of Jessore, a large number of which had already ceased to work."

Now, is it not really scandalous to legislate on such meagre information? Apparently the Government could not wait till they had got the facts down from Allahabad. Sir Antony is worrying his Director, and the Director is scrambling about for the required information; and it is not even yet forthcoming. Half of the Bengal Chamber's dictum rests upon a "probably," and the remainder is vague and intangible. It looks menacing to refer to 120 refineries, and then 60 more, "a large number" from Jessore; but what does it really mean? It must mean that all, or nearly all, these refineries are rather small undertakings. On March 14, Mr. Maclean directed Lord George Hamilton's mind to the real point. "What is the annual production of sugar from these refineries?" asked Mr. Maclean. Lord George had the grace to advert to the point in his answer, where he stated that "many small refineries" had been closed. How "small"?

What has to be admitted then is that in some districts certain cultivators of sugar-cane and certain refiners are for some reason or other subject to a temporary strain. The precise facts were not before the Council, but we are ready to admit them when they are proved in definite figures. As for the consumer, Sir James Westland states that "although the consumer has benefited by the cheapness of the bounty-fed importations, yet this consumer who was benefited is not the poorer classes but the classes who were comparatively well able to bear the burden of the removal of the cause of cheapening the sugar." Well, if these classes are willing with their eyes open to bear the burden we have nothing to say, except that it is a grave and threatening breach of economic principle, and that they ought to have had a fuller opportunity of informing themselves and of expressing their opinion. But, as we pointed out before, the rise in refined sugar is certain in no long time to affect the "gur" of the poorer classes.

Mr. Maclean in a further letter to the *Times* (March 30) dwells upon the responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament: "It is not the Viceroy but the Secretary of State for India who is responsible to Parliament for what has been done; and, now that the Government has at last expressed its willingness to come out of the shelter trench kindly provided for it by Sir Howard Vincent, we may hope to have the mystery cleared up why Lord George Hamilton considers himself justified in establishing Protection in India without the authority of the House of Commons and in defiance of public opinion in England." The spirit of these remarks is excellent. But they suggest that Mr. Maclean has not quite realised the actual irresponsibility of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Lord George Hamilton may very well retort that there is no mystery to clear up—that he is, in fact, able to snap his fingers at "the authority of the House of Commons and public opinion in England." The forthcoming debate will fail in the point of vital importance if it does not demonstrate to Parliament and to the public the anomalous self-sufficiency of the rulers of India.

Lord Curzon is developing an air of Oriental mystery. "It is not unlikely," he said in his speech on the Budget the other day, "that we may be invited before long to inaugurate momentous changes in the financial system of the Indian Empire. What these changes may be none of us as yet know. We reserve our entire liberty to examine

and consider them when they are submitted to us by her Majesty's Government as the result of expert enquiry now proceeding in London." This seems unnecessarily cryptic. A Committee has been appointed to consider (or, as some think, to approve) a scheme of currency tinkering suggested by the Government of India with the acquiescence of the India Office. Does Lord Curzon reserve "entire liberty to examine and consider" his own Government's scheme? Or is it thought that the Currency Committee may find a verdict of disapproval, in which case the Government of India will nevertheless follow its original plan?

Later Lord Curzon said he agreed with Mr. Allan Arthur's remarks on the expediency of a reduction of telegraph charges. "He regarded the present high rate as inimical to trade, a barrier to the ever-growing intercourse between India and the mother-country, and as obsolete and anomalous in itself." Nor was that all. "He had already considered the question, and had placed it in a category of twelve important questions, all of them waiting to be taken up, all of which ought to have been taken up long ago, and to which he proposed to address himself. What those questions were he did not propose to relieve the curiosity of the Council by stating." The *Spectator*, we see, takes Lord Curzon to task for this language:—

Such speeches, of course, break up the monotony of Indian life, and may perhaps act on the Services as a stimulus to thought, but the wiser men in the Empire will doubt whether they will not inspire more unrest than confidence. India ought to be governed as a Church is governed, with a conviction that while all details can be improved, its foundations are beyond discussion. Lord Curzon should remember also that he is the head of an absolute Government, and that to interest one's subjects greatly is to invite them to dissent as well as to acquiesce. Empires like India are not governed by well-chosen words.

Our complaint against Lord Curzon is just the opposite of the *Spectator's*. Lord Curzon said not too much but too little. He ought to have disclosed his twelve questions. "I have made a list of a dozen important questions. Wouldn't you like to know what they are? But I won't tell you." Surely this is the language, not of the Imperial Legislative Council, but of the nursery.

Lord Curzon's remarks at Lahore (March 30) on frontier policy were sensible enough:—

It was sufficient to say that his desire was to keep India safe; to respect tribal independence; to be friendly with those who would be friendly, but to be firm towards those who attacked without provocation. No man could forecast what might happen in a region so fertile in surprises as was the Indian border. He would not, perhaps, err if he recorded his own conviction that frontier politics were not an exact science, and that their prudent management was less dependent upon hard and fast rules than it was upon methods and manners, and still more upon men. The ideal frontier was that in respect of which its own sons were largely enlisted in its defence.

The most important words are "to respect tribal independence." All this is much better than high-sounding nonsense about a "scientific frontier" and an "irresistible destiny" that "drives us to the banks of the Oxus."

It is always pleasant, in these days of railway mania, to find a Viceroy of India chanting the praises of irrigation, and Lord Curzon seems to have become almost lyrical at Lyallpur on Tuesday. "A new Viceroy, on coming to India, learns many interesting lessons and sees many surprising things. Among the most novel and gratifying is the operation of the great system of irrigation, which in England we dimly know has filled up numerous blanks in the map of India, made the wilderness to blossom like the rose, and provided sustenance and a livelihood for millions of human workers. What we do not and cannot know there is the sort of experience I have been able to derive to-day from a visit to the actual scene of one of those beneficent reclamations, and from the study of the reports and information presented to me in connexion therewith." And Lord Curzon, for the benefit of his "fellow-countrymen in England, under whose eyes these words may subsequently fall," went on to speak of thousands of miles and millions of acres, "startling progress" and "remarkable triumph."

The grounds for congratulation are obvious enough.

But do not let us forget that there is another side to this "startling progress," a side noticed by the *Hindu* (March 11) in a review of the Public Works Department:—

The department has control over the work of irrigation as well as over the work of buildings. The former affects the cultivator and the latter not. And the effect on the cultivator is not direct, palpable and immediate loss, but imperceptible and indirect injury. His suffering is not acute but chronic. It is a continuous misery, of which the agony is not always fully realised, though it is none the less severe. His fields suffer from want of water, when the rains are propitious and he need suffer on no account. And they are inundated and the crops on them are destroyed even when they could have been saved with ordinary care and at no great expense. And where irrigation is from rivers, his plantations on their banks, reared at great cost and labour, are carried away by the current, and the labourer is in a moment bereft of the fruits of his labour.

For these things the *Hindu* blames, not Providence, but the Public Works Department, which is busy spending other people's money.

Our complaint is that the Executive Engineers seldom inform themselves of the requirements of the localities they visit. They are mostly inaccessible to the general public. They have too large an establishment under them and get into bahadurish ways because of the habitual servility of their official and non-official dependents. They spend annually large sums of money and many dogs are ready to lick the hand that is wet. And this engenders in them a spirit of hauteur and they are good, adding off hundreds and thousands of rupees to favoured mortals.

Official eulogists of official beneficence in India are a little too apt to forget that it is the Indian taxpayers who have to pay the bill.

One cannot read Lord Curzon's speech at the annual meeting of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund without feeling with Mr. Maclean that somebody ought to put on the drag. Half the speech was little pertinent to the occasion, consisting of a jejune summary of dubious speculation in origins and debatable propositions about the application of Western learning to Eastern peoples. However, he did his best to foster a favourable interest in the institution. The main figures are remarkably suggestive. Lord Curzon said:—

I find the class of those whom it aids lies for the most part outside those affected by already existing institutions, and that, whereas the women who were treated in hospitals and dispensaries in India offered by women are rapidly increasing in numbers from year to year—from 100,000 in 1888 to 600,000 in 1893, and to 1,377,000 in 1897—the figures for women who were treated in Government hospitals and dispensaries in India offered not by women but by men are increasing in a similar ratio—2,126,000 in 1888, 3,171,000 in 1893, and 3,756,000 in 1897.

Lady Curzon is the President of the Fund. "Her heart is in this work," said the Viceroy by her direction, "and during the time she is in India she recognises the tie that binds her as a woman to the women of India, and she will do whatever lies in her power to alleviate and to brighten their lot." It is well said. The difficulty is in the performance.

Lord George Hamilton, in his speech in the House of Commons on February 14 last in defence of the Calcutta Municipal Bill, said (*INDIA*, February 17, p. 88):—

The sanitary condition of Calcutta during the last few years had unquestionably deteriorated, and in ten years the death-rate had increased thirty per cent. In earlier days, no doubt, the work of the municipality was well done; but in recent years it was the almost universal opinion there had been a steady deterioration both in the character of those who served on the municipality and in the work done.

We should like to know upon what authority the assertion that "in ten years the death-rate had increased thirty per cent." is supposed to rest. The *Bengalee*, in its issue of March 11, not merely denies the assertion, but says "it is a remarkable fact that the year 1898 has despite the plague been the healthiest year of the quinquennium both for the town and the suburbs." Moreover, it gives the following figures "taken from official sources":—

Year.	Death-rate. Town.	Death-rate. Suburbs.
1889	26.9	36.5
1890	26.5	37.2
1891	25.9	37.1
1892	27.1	34.8
1893	25.9	37.1
1894	30.0	39.0
1895	35.8	47.8
1896	33.1	41.2
1897	32.2	44.7
1898	27.2	35.6

By way of clinching the matter the *Bengalee* adds:—"The

general mortality of the Province under Government control is much higher, and yet it is seriously proposed to place the municipal affairs of Calcutta practically under Government control!" What has Lord George Hamilton to say in reply? What is wanted is not "almost universal opinions," but the facts and figures.

The *Hindu* states that "by many well-informed men in Calcutta it is now believed possible, though not quite probable, that Lord Curzon will not accept the Calcutta Municipal Bill in its present form. His Excellency cannot, however, in obedience to the usual procedure, interfere with the passage of the Bill through the Bengal Council, but will make some modifications agreeable to Calcutta public opinion, when it is sent up to him for his sanction." That is important, if true. But it would be still better to postpone the Bill for that further consideration of which it so manifestly stands in need.

The Indian journals comment with proper severity upon Lord Onslow's inadequate and inaccurate reply to the questions recently put by Lord Stanley of Alderley in the House of Lords with reference to fatal assaults by European soldiers in India upon Indians. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (March 16) asks, pertinently enough, "Will some member of Parliament take up the subject again and ask for a return showing the number of such cases of outrage which have occurred within the last decade?" But we hope it will be made quite clear what sort of a return is wanted. The point of the matter is well put by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :—

The ordinary law of the land provides that when a man murders another, he is sentenced to death. Nay, more. A number of Natives are now and then hanged for the murder of a single person. But was ever a British soldier sent to the gallows for having murdered an Indian? On the other hand, is it not a fact that, as a rule, whenever such cases crop up, the European jury, with very rare exceptions, find the offenders either "not guilty" or "guilty" under some minor counts? All this is known to every one in India, but it was left for the authorities in England, paid by the Indians to protect their rights and defend their cause, to declare in Parliament that not only were only three murders committed in India by British soldiers within the last decade, but that the offenders were adequately punished! No wonder the British public labours under the impression that India is even better governed than England itself!

Obviously, then, what is wanted is a return, say for the past ten years, showing not merely the cases in which European soldiers have been convicted of the murder of Indians but all the cases in which Indians have died in consequence of assaults committed upon them by Europeans. Cases in which the culprits were soldiers might be indicated separately, but the return should include European civilians as well. Lord Stanley's suggestion—excellent in its way—that only "good-conduct men" should be allowed out with dangerous weapons does not go far enough.

The *Pioneer* says it "would not be surprised if some hysterical humanitarians at home took exception to the punishment recently meted out to the Chamkannis on the borders of the Kurram Valley." "Their sympathies," says the *Pioneer*, "will be ill-bestowed. The Chamkannis are nothing but professional cut-throats and slave-dealers, murderers of women, children, and unarmed men." But the *Pioneer* does not produce evidence of these things. We turn to the report of its "special correspondent," who was engaged on the operations. Why were the Chamkannis raided? Because they "remained obdurate, refusing to pay their fine or give up their quota of rifles, and showed the spirit they were in by a couple of bloodthirsty raids"—precise details again wanting. How were they punished?

The Chamkannis lost 8 killed, 113 were taken prisoners, 3,000 head of cattle were captured, and 11 villages destroyed; a large portion of their seed, grain, and agricultural implements must have been destroyed. Altogether they have received a blow that they will take years to recover from.

The *Pioneer* may call us by any names it chooses: we say the raid is a piece of disgusting barbarity and impolitic beyond expression.

The case of Mr. H. Ambler, who slapped a coolie who presently died, is coming up shortly before the High Court, on a motion for the enhancement of the sentence passed by the Judicial Commissioner of Chota Nagpur—namely, Rs. 10 fine and a day's imprisonment. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is very properly outspoken as to the

necessity of having the deceased coolie adequately represented. It is to be hoped that the Government will make a point of seeing to this, especially as the case has made so much stir in the country.

From the Bengal Administration Report it appears that "taking one year with another, about three-fourths of the whole number of deaths from all causes are ascribed to fever." The ravages of fever, moreover, have been steadily on the increase for the last ten or twelve years. "It is no exaggeration," remarks the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, "to say that more than 75 per cent. of Kayesthas, Brahmans, and Vaidyas have been swept off by this fell disease; and if things go on at this rate, these classes will altogether disappear from Bengal in the course of the next few decades." Every death, Dr. Gregg, the late Sanitary Commissioner, estimated, represents twenty or more attacks. On this the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* speculates :—

From this calculation, upwards of one million people suffered from fever in one year in a single district of Bengal, Faridpore, where deaths from this cause alone (in 1896) amounted to nearly 50,000; and those who escaped death were most of them totally broken down in health, to drag a most miserable existence. "Wretched beings," to quote the language of Dr. Gregg, "of sallow and ghastly countenance, looking twice their real age, with attenuated frames, shrunken limbs, muscles thin and powerless, tongues of silvery whiteness, pulses feeble and irregular, spleens and livers enormously enlarged, and pitifully languid gait."

This is worse than a Bombay plague. The Bengal Government lay the blame upon defective drainage and the absence of a proper supply of pure drinking water. "There is another reason," adds the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, "which the Government will never admit, namely, hunger, that is to say, insufficiency of food."

We print elsewhere a letter signed by various British Indian traders in Rhodesia which we commend to the notice both of the India Office and of the Colonial Office. The treatment meted out to these unfortunate men is all of a piece with the action taken by British colonists throughout Africa and elsewhere. But it is instructive that in the territory which takes its name from the high-priest of "Imperialism" British Indian merchants should be subjected to violence because they are "undesirables." Our "Imperialists" are slowly but surely teaching the people of India the lesson that, while they are very useful for perorations about the extent of the Empire, they are not to be treated as fellow-subjects for any purposes other than those of rhetoric. The Legislative Council of Rhodesia, it appears, is to be asked to empower local bodies to refuse trading licenses to "undesirables." But the "undesirables" may well say that "as we are allowed to trade freely in some parts of South Africa, under the Portuguese, French, German, and Dutch governments, we cannot understand why we should be opposed in British territory seeing that we are by right under the protection of the British flag." It is the duty of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord George Hamilton to take forthwith such measures as will prevent injury from overtaking these industrious and law-abiding subjects of the Crown.

In the notes which we printed last week describing the provision made in all large Indian cities and many cantonnments of appliances for vapour baths ready to deal with cases of supposed rabies the phrase occurred, "by the generosity of a philanthropic and public-spirited body." But this last word should have been "lady." The "elder and elect lady" to whom this comprehensive act of enlightened mercy is due would shrink from having her name bruited abroad. But it is worth noting that there are still in these days a few benevolent souls who, having the means, themselves dispense their bounties without waiting for the action of committees or other "bodies" which is too often slow and uncertain. For another reason it is worth while again to draw attention to this *sudorific* mode of treatment, inasmuch as it is being applied to the hitherto all but hopeless malady of bubonic plague. These baths, though steam instead of hot air is used, have been applied in one or more of the Bombay hospitals by a young medical man named Leslie. Under this method the percentage of recoveries has been consistently larger than under drug treatment either on the European or Native Indian medical systems. These favourable results have been confirmed on investigation by Mr. Leslie's seniors in the Medical Service.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

THERE has just been published the "Third Quinquennial Review" of the "Progress of Education in India," extending over the years 1892-93 to 1896-97. It is an extremely laborious volume, over 400 pages, packed with statistics and tables, and illustrated by maps graphically representing the statistics. The facts are drawn from the reports of the local Directors of Public Instruction, and boiled down under convenient heads following for the most part the framework of the preceding Quinquennial Reports by Sir Alfred Croft and Mr. Nash. The name of the editor, Mr. J. S. Cotton, is a guarantee that the work has been executed with the utmost care and discretion.

Will anybody study it? Will anybody attempt to sound the depths of its meaning? "The main object has been to show the nature and extent of the progress made during the last five years, partly by an elaborate analysis of the statistics and partly by copious extracts from the provincial reports." The figures and the opinions of experts are left to speak for themselves, and criticism is rigidly reserved so that every reader may draw his own inferences without the very suggestion of bias or even direction. But it is not everyone that can draw inferences like Foote the actor, who professed himself ready to draw a cartload of them. Nor, it must be said, is it possible for one to draw the precise inferences that one would like to get at. One learns that there exist a certain number of institutions of this or that grade in such and such a Province; that the numbers in attendance have fluctuated for one reason or another; that varying numbers have passed certain examinations; that more or fewer rupees have been spent upon the schools or colleges; and so forth. But after all one feels a long way off a close and clear sense of what is the real practical significance of the movements recorded. Here things seem to be better, there worse, yonder much about the same. We certainly want all this mass of comparative statistics, but we want somebody to materialise them in a readable history so as to get a really definite conception of what is doing educationally somewhere and everywhere. The effects of the famine of 1896-97 are necessarily seen in a reduction of attendance and of maintenance funds. "But the strength of the educational organisation and its hold upon the people is strikingly revealed by the fact that there is no actual decrease in 1896-97, as compared with 1895-96, either in the total number of pupils or in the total expenditure, but only a retardation of the rate of increase shown during the previous years of the quinquennium." This seems to indicate that the education plant is a hardy one with a strong grip of the soil.

Mr. Cotton gives copious extracts from the Resolution of the Government of India, dated July 23, 1896, effecting what is judiciously called a "reorganisation of the Education Department"—"the most important change during the quinquennium." On this precious document we have already commented (March 11, 1898, Vol. IX, p. 147). Mr. Ananda Charlu has denounced it as "a manifest type of injustice to the indigenous talent of India," which might have been allowed an open career in education, if anywhere; and "as such," he said, "it has called forth a chorus of disapprobation from all men who were at liberty to speak out their minds." Mr. A. M. Bose, speaking to the Congress Resolution against the scheme in December, 1897, traced the gradual differentiation against the Indian members of the Educational Service from 1880 onwards, and pointed out concisely and clearly the effect of the Elgin scheme. Thus:—

A native of India, however high his education may have been at the Universities of Europe, can, at the end of his life in the Provincial Service, expect to rise only to Rs. 700, possibly after twenty-five or more years of service. . . . Whereas, in the higher branch, which is open only to Europeans, at the end of ten years alone, the salary, if is now provided, shall be Rs. 1,000. Or look at the matter in another way. A European member will get Rs. 700 a month—and he will not stop there—at the end of four years of service; while an Indian member, who may have taken the same or a higher degree, will at the end of his life draw no more than that amount of Rs. 700, and will probably enjoy the further honour of being the subordinate of the former. ("Shame!")

The Elgin Resolution signifies distrust and undervaluation of the Indians, and has justly excited feelings of regret and indignation. It is not only a disturbing retrogression in the Education Department; it gives one more shock to the glad confidence of the Indians in the solemn professions

of their rulers. It is a fresh canker at the root, and a totally gratuitous canker.

Apart from the oversight and direction exercised by Government officials, the "other controlling agencies" vary greatly in the different Provinces. It is gratifying to observe that, in Bengal, "harmony is year by year more in evidence" between district boards and the departmental officers. But when it is stated that in some districts the administration of primary education by local boards "is not generally attended with success," and that "the experiment of giving these bodies a share in the control of secondary education was marked by failure," we feel the lack of explanation. In the North-West, "valuable assistance is rendered to the cause of education by missionary bodies, and also by certain Native societies;" and "in several large towns there are schools supported by subscriptions or the liberality of private gentlemen." In the Punjab, "the part taken by the people themselves in education increases every year." Indeed, Mr. Cotton selects as "the most prominent feature in the history of the quinquennium," "the degree to which the people have learnt the lesson of self-help, by opening unaided schools and by increasing the payment of tuition fees over two lakhs in five years;" and he thinks "the facts are sufficiently remarkable to be quoted in detail." Leaving aside the more backward parts of the country, one cannot but see that the people realise more and more, and in a very remarkable degree, the essential importance of education in all subjects and in all grades. What is especially needed is this: that the departmental officers should look at the working of the institutions in proper perspective, with due regard to the antecedent and concomitant conditions, and especially with a conciliatory and patient bearing towards the educated Natives, who are so willing to forward the cause. They will get on by judicious leading; they will simply hamper and embroil the whole business by injudicious driving and snubbing.

The Universities may not yet have developed great strength, but still "they are able to dominate the entire system of higher education," and they "are practically self-supporting," with the exception of the Punjab University, and "most of them have accumulated out of fees a considerable surplus, which is invested as a reserve fund." The curious variations in the numbers of graduates show that neither the internal arrangements of these institutions nor the sources of their supply are yet settled down on a solid basis. This is not surprising at all, and need be no occasion for adverse comment; the education system is not by any means developed, and even at home similar fluctuations may be easily paralleled. But very notable and very encouraging is "the growing number of students who continue to work for the severe M.A. course, which usually requires two years of additional and advanced study." Mr. Cotton marks this as "the most notable feature in the recent history of Indian Universities." In ten years "the number of candidates has increased by sixty per cent., and the number of passes by sixty-three per cent." Unfortunately the statistics of the examinations in law, medicine, and engineering have not been compiled on a uniform basis, so as to justify a numerical comparison between the Provinces; but they at least show "that the general tendency evidently has been towards progress, and that the average of success seems to be fairly uniform." It was to be anticipated that in the Arts examinations "the general superiority of colleges under public management" would be "clearly demonstrated." The Universities are no doubt open to internal improvement in various respects; but obviously their chief need is the constant and judicious fostering of their roots in the secondary and primary institutions, and closely connected with this requirement is a revival of the general prosperity of the country.

The total University expenditure "has increased during five years by just two lakhs of rupees, more than the whole of which is provided by the fees of candidates for examinations." It does not necessarily follow, however, that the expenditure is sufficient or wholly in the right directions. For the five Universities the total in 1896-97 was but Rs. 6,70,895, as against Rs. 4,73,142 in 1891-92. In such institutions, one would expect special posts for special research, notably in the important subjects of languages, literatures, and institutions. They fall very far short of their functions when they limit themselves to mere examinations of youths in elementary learning.

There is a national side to be considered; and the longer this is delayed, the more severe will be the loss to the future. With anything like reasonable State economy, the Universities could easily be amply furnished. The total expenditure on the Arts Colleges in 1896-97 was Rs. 23,31,258, an increase of 16 per cent. on 1891-92, though the increase of 1891-92 or 1886-87 was 25 per cent. The variations in the different Provinces are attributed to very different causes. The provincial revenues contribute an average of 15.8 per cent. of the direct expenditure; municipal funds, 1.9 per cent.; in both cases a decrease. There has been a considerable increase in the attendance at law institutions; and the expenditure has risen from Rs. 99,596 to Rs. 1,35,504, derived almost wholly from fees, which, in Government institutions, show a surplus of Rs. 6,106. But there is nothing to indicate the difficulties that have arisen in Madras and Bombay, in part at least from insufficient professorial arrangements; and it is humiliating to learn from the Director of Public Instruction at Calcutta that "there seems to be very little real teaching in any of the law institutions; the students attend lectures merely for the purpose of obtaining the certificate of attendance, without which they cannot gain admission to the examinations." The expenditure on English Secondary Schools has increased by Rs. 11,45,832, or 15 per cent. as against 21 per cent. in the preceding period; and the expenditure on Vernacular Secondary Schools has increased by Rs. 1,40,503, or 16 per cent. as against 11 per cent. The total expenditure on Primary Schools has increased by Rs. 12,50,923, or 15 per cent., as against 19 per cent. The falling off of the increase does not look well; though if the field were becoming exhausted the tendency would be natural. But the field is still rank and uncultivated, and it needs more labourers and more liberal working. No doubt a vast deal has been done and is doing. But the distinct impression remains that more energy and money is needed in this fundamental duty of Government. Those who realise the value of education are crying for more, and there is no reason whatever but the perversity of general policy why the cry should not be answered. The wretched dread of the political effects of popular education must be driven away; and the Government must go forward boldly with this essential and beneficent work.

CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM.¹

OF the many profound sayings in the "Novum Organum" few are more suggestive than that in which Bacon draws a distinction between two orders of minds—the mind that is prone to see resemblances, and the mind that is prone to see differences. General Strong's mind belongs most emphatically to the former class. His passion for seeing analogies and identities is such as to remind one of the great Oxford teacher whose philosophy was (most unfairly, it is true) summed up by a witty pupil, "Induction is the same as deduction, and the universal is the same as the particular, and subjective is the same as objective—and it doesn't very much matter."

General Strong's object in composing his "symphony" has been to enable Christian readers to "grasp the solidarity of religious thought and aspirations throughout the world," by directing attention to the many points of likeness between Buddhism and Christianity. As he conceives that comparisons between the lives of Christ and Gotama, and between their ethical teaching, are already sufficiently familiar, he devotes the main part of his treatise to a comparison of Buddhist and Christian metaphysics. His chapter on "God and the Kosmos" brings together some striking approximations to Buddhist teaching from the writings of recent English and Scotch philosophers, Mr. Andrew Bradley, Mr. D. G. Ritchie and Professor Seth. General Strong's own attitude may be divined from his assertion that "there is no line of demarcation between the noumenal and phenomenal; the one fades into the other." The two chapters on "Soul, Self, Individuality and Karma" and "Heaven and Nirvana" attempt to clear away some misconceptions of the doctrines of Karma and Nirvana commonly entertained in Europe. If there is little that is new in these pages, they bear

witness to wide reading and honest endeavour after truth and impartiality. Oldenberg, Dr. Paul Carus, and Mr. Lafcadio Hearn are the authorities chiefly followed, but many other writers have been consulted.

Without attempting to pass any final verdict on the value of such a "symphony" (or "harmony," to use the old-fashioned word, which is the better word after all) as General Strong has composed, one may say that its chief utility is likely to be for that order of mind which is opposed to his own. For those—and they are the larger number—who are prone to dwell on the things that divide and to ignore the things that unite, such a treatise might furnish a very valuable lesson, if only they could be persuaded to read it. The same lesson has been lately taught with great force in a very different quarter and in a quite different connexion. Protesting against the tendency of Christian writers to dwell on the baser side of Paganism, Professor Dill in his "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire," writes as follows: "It shows but little faith in the Father of all souls to believe that He consigns whole generations of His children merely to the worship of devils, without any glimpse of Himself, and to dwell on their blind aberrations of superstition in groping towards the light, and on their frantic efforts to calm the terrors and the longings which are inspired by the ineradicable faith in a world beyond the grave. Rather should we welcome indications that God never utterly forsakes the creatures of His hands, and that in the decay of ancient heathenism there was a moral and spiritual life which was to be nourished in an unending future by the divine ideals of Galilee." On the other hand there are undoubtedly minds which carry the tendency to see resemblances and discover identities to a point where it becomes more harmful than helpful. They lose all distinctness of vision; all outlines become blurred to them. They can hardly fail to lose in consequence their steadiness of grip, that "will like a dividing spear" which is so essential to good work in the world. The admission on p. 43 that the idea of a personal moral ruler of the Universe is "entirely foreign to true Buddhism" shows how wide the difference is after all between Buddhism and Christianity as it is understood by those to whom it is a living faith. Such differences are vital, and nothing is gained by ignoring them. Again, to General Strong a vague ecstatic feeling of aspiration, a fusion of thought and emotion such as is given by music, is evidently the most valuable part of religion. But many deeply religious minds, which make religion the law of their life, set no store by this feeling and hardly understand it. "He who knows only his own religion knows none," we may say with Professor Max Müller. But for a true and helpful comprehension of other men's religions it is necessary that we should appreciate points of difference as well as points of likeness. One small, and yet important, criticism in conclusion. General Strong quotes repeatedly from "the Bible" without giving a more precise reference to author or book. To do this is to ignore that historical interpretation of the Scriptures which has done so much for the enlightenment of Christian teaching in recent years, and to take a retrograde step which cannot be within the author's intention.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DURING the last week or ten days the House of Commons has ceased from troubling and the weary have been at rest, or at least at comparative rest. The Easter recess cannot be said to fill a long-felt want, for the Session from which it is a relief is but a few weeks old. Yet it affords a welcome breathing space to those whose noses are kept by Fate pressed close against the parliamentary grindstone. In such circumstances one is naturally inclined to look on the bright side of things and to be thankful for small mercies. So I for one do not intend to indulge in any ill-conditioned sneers at the fact that Lord Salisbury has appointed Lord George Hamilton the Captain of Deal Castle. I do not pretend that this appointment makes our coast defences any more secure than they were before, but on the other hand they are not less secure. We may all sleep o' nights just as securely as we did a year ago.

¹ "The Metaphysic of Christianity and Buddhism. A Symphony." By Major-General D. M. Strong, C.B. (late Indian Army). (London: Watts and Co.)

It may be that some of my readers in India would like to know just what are the duties of a Captain of Deal Castle. It is a natural curiosity, but I regret that I cannot satisfy it. I doubt if anyone could explain the mystery—not even Lord Salisbury who makes the appointment, nor Lord George Hamilton who has accepted the position. This much is certain, Lord George, one of the most fortunate men in public life, has had conferred upon him the use for life of a charming sea-side residence, built by Henry VIII in 1539. It may, or may not, be of interest to the noble lord to know that close to the spot on which the castle stands Julius Cæsar with two legions landed from eighty-two ships in 55 B.C. He (I allude to Lord George, not to that other adventurer Julius Cæsar) has had a singularly successful career. He has retained a seat in the House of Commons for nearly thirty years; he was one of the favourite young men of Mr. Disraeli, and since the death of that statesman Lord George has had his interests carefully promoted by Lord Salisbury. There is in all this ground for presuming that he has capacity of some sort, and the fact that I have not been able to detect it may only show my lack of insight.

The quiet of the little recess has been broken by the roar of political controversy in the Harrow Division of Middlesex. An election has been in progress in this constituency, as the reader will very likely remember, owing to the fact that Mr. Ambrose, Q.C., has been rewarded for his long services by being given the post of Master in Lunacy. This means £2,000 a year in the way of stipend, and quite another £1,000 a year saved from there being no longer any need to "nurse" the constituency. It is, I am afraid, a hopelessly Tory seat, and Mr. Irwin Cox, the Tory candidate, and chairman of the local Conservative Association, will by the time this is in type no doubt have beaten Mr. Corrie Grant the Liberal candidate. Elections are, however, not decided on the merits of the case always, and the Government's champions have made but a sorry show in and around Harrow. Indeed they have done as badly down there as they have done in the House of Commons, and that is saying a good deal. It is not necessary to take more than one point to prove this. Was there ever a more disgraceful and flabby surrender to sheer funk than that evidenced by the Government's action in connexion with the Automatic Couplings Bill? The lives of hundreds of men are sacrificed every year in this country by the old-fashioned method of coupling railway coaches and trucks. All things are as they were from the beginning of railway matters in this respect, for men have to stand between the moving vehicles and fasten them together. Scarcely a day passes without some poor humble shunter being crushed to death in this way. Even in America, where railways are almost almighty because of their millionaire "controls" and "corners" and "trusts," the law has insisted on mechanical devices being used which have reduced the loss of life enormously.

This Government of ours which has prated loudly about its social programme introduced a Bill to remedy this evil. But the voice of the railway director made itself heard in the land—and what is more it made itself heard in the House of Commons. In that House the railway influence is enormous. The Bill if passed would have meant a large expenditure of money; as things are the expenditure is also large, but only in human life. Some half-dozen members of the Government itself are railway directors, and so I need not say that the Bill has been dropped. All this has been well brought out by Mr. Corrie Grant in this Harrow contest. And though the Government may have succeeded in retaining the seat such a damaging and damning exposure cannot do it good in the country eventually.

The holiday has been marked by a terrible disaster in the English Channel, a steamer belonging to the London and South-Western Railway Company, on a trip from Southampton to Jersey, having run on the rocks known as Les Casquets and sunk in about ten minutes. The papers have been filled with realistic descriptions of those supreme ten minutes and of the fifteen hours following in which those of the passengers who managed to put off in boats drifted about in the Channel. There seems to be no doubt that the captain was indiscreet in travelling at full speed (18 knots, or more than 20 miles an hour) in a thick fog. Yet those who have read the details which show with what superb heroism and coolness he tried to minimise the fatal results of his blunder will be slow to denounce him

too strenuously. He kept perfect order among his crew and among the holiday crowd on deck; he saw to the safety of the women and children first, then of the men; and without a thought of saving himself he sank with the ship he had lost. I do not say that such conduct, admirable though it be, excuses the original mistake, but it certainly makes it unpleasant for anyone to pass harsh criticisms upon it.

It may be that few of my readers have ever seen a London Bank Holiday. I do not know whether I ought to recommend such a treat or not, even when, as on Easter Monday this year, the weather is delightful. If one gets away from the crowded resorts there is almost any amount of unsuspected beauty in the suburbs of London. I was bicycling in the neighbourhood of Wimbledon Common, and the surroundings were ideal, almost as rural as the centre of Salisbury Plain or the New Forest. But later on I saw trains coming into town from the Crystal Palace (where 98,000 people had flocked) and from other similar resorts. Those trains were stuffed with sweltering crowds, squalling children, weary, tired women and sulky, drunken men. The great Bank Holiday institution has two sides, one admirable, delightful and health-giving, and the other—well, precisely the opposite of all this, unlovely, disgusting and debauching. But I don't think the institution should be blamed for this.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, March 30.—The final revenue account for the year ending March 31 was issued, showing a net increase in the Exchequer receipts of £1,722,189 over the yield of the previous year.

The Viceroy of India, in a speech at Lahore, said he could not then make any pronouncement upon the frontier question. No man, Lord Curzon added, could forecast what was likely to happen in a region so fertile in surprises.

FRIDAY, March 31.—News was received of a terrible disaster which occurred in the English Channel yesterday afternoon. The steamship "Stella," belonging to the South-Western Railway Company, was making the first daylight trip of the season from Southampton to the Channel Islands. A thick fog caused the captain to lose his bearings, and the vessel ran upon the dangerous Casquet rocks, eight miles west of Alderney. The boats—five in number—were got out at once, but the vessel sank within a few minutes, before all on board could be got into them. There were about 140 passengers, with a crew of 40; of these between 90 and 100 were said to be missing.

It was reported that in consequence of the threatening attitude of the Chinese in the province of Shantung, the roadstead of Ngan-tung-wei had been occupied by German warships. These had landed parties of men who would seize two places where anti-foreign disturbances had occurred, and hold them until China gave guarantees for the preservation of order in future. The inhabitants of the province had, it was said, suffered terribly from the last Yellow River flood, and the native officials could not restrain them.

The Paris *Figaro* began the publication of the report of the Criminal Chamber upon the Dreyfus case—obtained no one knew how. To-day it printed various documents, mostly relating to Major Esterhazy and to the proceedings of the military board of enquiry which sat last year to enquire into his conduct.

The American troops captured Malolos. The enemy's resistance was slight, but they set fire to the town before they retired, and a large portion of it was burnt down. It was not considered likely that the Filipinos would be pursued into the mountains at present.

SATURDAY, April 1.—The newspapers published narratives by passengers of the ill-fated "Stella," describing their experiences at and after the wreck. All were agreed in their testimony to the admirable behaviour of the crew and to the remarkable quickness with which the boats were lowered and filled with passengers. The sufferings of some of those in the boats before they were picked up or landed were very great. The number of lives lost could not yet be definitely stated, but it seemed certain that at least 74 persons were either known to have perished or were missing. The London and South-Western Railway Company's steamer "South-Western," which was sent to the scene of the disaster to render assistance, herself went ashore in the fog at Cape La Hague, but it was hoped that she might be got off safely.

At a meeting of railway men held in Birmingham a resolution was carried urging that Mr. Ritchie's Bill regarding automatic couplings should become law in its entirety, and protesting against any alteration of it.

President Kruger visited Johannesburg and delivered an open-air speech to an audience of several thousand persons, after receiving addresses from the Chambers of Mines and Commerce and other public bodies. Discussing the question of

the franchise, he said he made no distinction between nationalities, but only between loyal and disloyal people. He said he would propose to the Volksraad to reduce the qualifying term of residence by five years, and if that proposal were adopted he would, after a short period, propose to make the time still shorter; but newcomers must first forswear their own country before becoming burghers in the Transvaal.

The *Paris Figaro* continued its publication of the enquiry of the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation into the Dreyfus case. The publication was creating great interest, and had already elicited numerous contradictions and corrections. The *Figaro* was to be prosecuted for publishing the report, but denied that it was a judicial document such as could not be legally published before a trial.

The Chinese authorities notified the British Consul at Tientsin that the entire foreshore of the recently opened port of Ching-wan-tao had been reserved for the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company. The British Legation protested against this course, which rendered nugatory the opening of the port.—Friendly relations were maintained between the German Legation and the Tsung-li-Yamen, although a detachment of German troops were marching through Chinese territory to occupy I-chan-fu. It was believed that the German movement was a preliminary to the occupation of the capital of the province, and the assumption of its administrative control.

MONDAY, April 3.—Mr. Kingston, Premier of South Australia, in a statement of policy before the general election, said it was the unaltered determination of the Government to give the first place to federation, but they would not consent to further blemishes in the Bill to suit New South Wales.

Colonel Macdonald and his party from Uganda arrived at Aden. They reported that the mutiny among the Sudanese troops was now nearly quelled.

The *Paris Figaro* continued its publication of the proceedings of the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation in regard to the Dreyfus case, reproducing *in extenso* the deposition of M. Cavaignac, the ex-War Minister.

The latest official report with regard to the Siberian Railway gave a very optimistic view of its future prospects as to traffic in grain, live stock, and minerals. It was estimated that within five years the annual goods traffic of the line would exceed one and a-half million of tons.

TUESDAY, April 4.—At a conference of the National Union of Teachers, held at Cambridge, Professor Jebb, M.P., delivered an address on the relations of primary to secondary education. Primary education in this country, he said, had long been highly organised; but secondary education still remained a chaos. The distinction between them, which was real enough so far as it went, had been exaggerated, and there had been too great a disposition to assume that secondary education could not be brought under any kind of rule. One cause of this state of things was that elementary school teachers had long been regularly trained, while for secondary teachers no such training had been provided. It was now, however, generally conceded that the secondary teacher, no less than the primary, should be regularly trained for his work, and the new discipline for which provision was being made would bring more clearly into view the importance of the unity of education and of the mental habits which learners acquired under their first teachers. The attitude of the public mind in this country towards education was still very largely one of apathy and indifference, but a perception was being gradually developed that technical instruction, to produce satisfactory results, must be given in a large and liberal sense, so as to train the intelligence.

The Queen sent to the general manager of the London and South-Western Railway a message expressing her grief at the news of the wreck of the "Stella," and her heartfelt sympathy with the relatives and friends of the victims. The Acting Prefect of the Alpes Maritimes called at the Hotel Regina at Cimiez to convey to her Majesty the expression of the regret and sympathy of the French Government at the disaster.

The *Paris Figaro* continued the publication of the enquiry of the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation into the Dreyfus case, giving the depositions of MM. Poincaré and Develle, ex-Ministers, and the first part of the deposition of General Roget.

WEDNESDAY, April 5.—Mr. Thomas Ellis, M.P. for Merionethshire and Chief Liberal Whip, died from brain fever at Cannes, whither he had gone a few days ago to recruit after an attack of influenza. He was born in 1859.

Polling for the Harrow Division of Middlesex took place, and resulted in the return of Mr. Irwin Cox (Conservative), who received 6,303 votes, against 5,193 recorded for Mr. Corrie Grant (Liberal)—a majority of 1,105. The Conservative majority at the last contested election was 2,619.

Mr. Courtney, addressing a meeting of his constituents at Landrake, dealt with the Budget prospects, and observed that the increase in public expenditure was serious. He did not think indirect taxation should be increased by enlarging the number of articles taxed, nor did he believe that the income-tax was too heavy. He was opposed to the imposition of countervailing duties on sugar and to the revival of the duty of 1s. a quarter on corn, and urged that the Government should

not abandon the principles of free trade. He suggested a fractional increase of the income-tax and a proportionate increase of indirect taxation to meet the forthcoming deficit, which he estimated at about three millions.

The *Figaro* published at great length a continuation of General Roget's deposition on the Dreyfus case before the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation.

THE SUGAR DUTY ACT.

TEXT OF THE MEASURE.

SIR JAMES WESTLAND'S SPEECH.

The *Gazette* of India for March 11 publishes the text of the Sugar Duty Bill, together with the "statement of objects and reasons." We extract the passage:—

The following Bill was introduced in the Council of the Governor-General of India for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations on March 10, 1899:—

No. 2 of 1899.

A Bill to further amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894.

Whereas it is expedient to further amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (i) This Act may be called the Indian Tariff Amendment Act, 1899; and

(ii) It shall come into force at once.

2. After section 8 of the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the following section shall be added, namely:—

"8A. (i) Where any country, dependency or colony pays or bestows, directly or indirectly, any bounty or grant upon the exportation therefrom of any article and the article is chargeable with duty under the provisions of this Act, then, upon the importation of any such article into British India, whether the same is imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether it is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by manufacture or otherwise, the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, impose an additional duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, however the same be paid or bestowed.

(ii) The net amount of any such bounty or grant as aforesaid shall be, from time to time, ascertained, determined and declared by the Governor-General in Council, and the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make rules for the identification of such articles and for the assessment and collection of any additional duty imposed upon the importation thereof under sub-section (i)."

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

During the last two years there has been a rapid and large increase in the amount of bounty-fed sugar imported into India, especially from Germany and Austro-Hungary. This appears to be seriously affecting the important sugar industries of India, as it is reported that many refineries have already ceased to work and that others are on the verge of being closed.

2. The present Bill has been prepared with the object of enabling the Government of India to impose countervailing duties on bounty-fed articles at the port of importation and thus to preserve the sugar cultivation and industries of this country.

March 10, 1899.

J. WESTLAND.

H. W. C. CARNDUFF,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

We add a full report of the speech of Sir James Westland in introducing the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, Calcutta, on March 10 last:—

THE HON. SIR JAMES WESTLAND moved for leave to introduce a Bill to further amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894.

He said: I see that it is stated in the list of business that my object is stated in the title of the Bill. With all deference to the honourable member who has charge of the Legislative Department, I think it would require a large amount of perspicuity for anyone to say that the object is stated in the title of the Bill. As a matter of fact I am proposing to open an entirely new chapter in our fiscal history, and which I have already endeavoured to make plain, in language which is not legal and not legislative, but which I fancy has been understood by the statements made in the newspapers.

I propose to ask the leave of the Council to introduce a Bill which will have the effect of conferring upon the Government a power to impose countervailing duties in the case of bounty-fed imported sugar from European countries. I shall not take up the Council's time by explaining the economic effect of bounties and of countervailing duties. I take it for granted that honourable members know these matters as well as I do myself, and if I refer to them for a short time it is only with the object of stating to the Council facts with regard to which I shall have to satisfy them in asking leave to introduce this Bill.

It is well known that the effect of bounties is twofold. It affects in two entirely opposite directions the interests of the consumer and the producer. So far as regards the consumer it brings the article of consumption to the market at a cheaper price than would otherwise be available to him. In that respect he receives the benefit. But the

producer looks at it from a different point of view. It supplements in the market the progress which he would otherwise bring to it by a competitive produce which has attached to it an artificial advantage. England of course is, as regards sugar, a nation of consumers. No project for the imposition of countervailing duties has there been made; but India, on the other hand, is to a very large extent a nation of producers, and the productive interests of the country, as I hope to satisfy the Council, are extremely important and ought to be safeguarded by any measures that we can take. As regards the interest of the producer, I shall quote some official documents which have reference to them, and will show that sugar is a particularly important product in this country. Honourable members will, no doubt, excuse my beginning my quotations by a reference to an old Financial Statement—that of 1877-78.

Then, again, when the Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, made a representation about a year ago on the subject of sugar, they also drew attention to the extreme importance of the productive interests connected therewith. They said (*i.e.*, the firms interested in the sugar industry in Calcutta): "The importance of cane cultivation in the agricultural scheme of almost every Province in India is perhaps hardly appreciated, except by those officials whose duties have brought them into association with the settlement of land revenue. The remark may be found in many a settlement report that in such and such tracts the entire rent, and therefore the entire revenue is paid from the cane field. 'The peasants say,' writes the Settlement Officer of Bareilly, 'that sugar-cane is to other tillage as the elephant to other beasts of burden.' The same remark is made in the gazetteer of the Punjab, of the North-West Provinces, and of Oudh, the extremely important position held by sugar-cane in maintaining agricultural prosperity is prominently noticed, as the extracts quoted below sufficiently indicate," and then they proceeded to make the extracts justifying the statement. Again, in a report from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces received the other day, talking of the possibility of the reduction of the cultivation in the North-West, says: "The closing of refineries must lead to a contraction in the acreage under sugar. This reduction might, if the refining industry were destroyed, reach a maximum of 250,000 to 300,000 acres. Such a reduction in the acreage under a valuable and paying crop would cause far-reaching hardships, tend to increase the poverty of the population, and might affect the well-being of the rural classes to an extent that would produce serious discontent in the sugar-cane growing regions. The stability of the Government revenue would be affected, not indeed directly, because the land revenue assessments are not ordinarily made on the special crop rents that are in some places paid for land let out for a cane crop; but because the reduction of the profits of a valuable crop would impair the rent-paying capacity of the tenants, and thus cripple the resources of the landlords."

Perhaps these extracts will show the importance which is attached from the agricultural and economical point of view to the maintenance of sugar cultivation. With reference to the interests of the consumer, which I mentioned are entirely in the opposite direction, there is one very considerable discount to be reckoned on in India, and that is that the bounty-fed sugar is refined sugar, and the sugar which is affected by it in this country is mostly the refined article. The common people of this country, that is, the poorer classes, do not, for the most part, consume refined sugar, but they are taking it in larger quantities. Latterly the principal staple, however, of consumption is unrefined sugar, and so far as we can trace it is not present, although some refined sugar has to a certain extent been affected by the large importations to which I will presently allude. Bounty-fed sugar, still it is mostly in the direction of the cheapening of refined sugar that the effect of this bounty-fed import has been seen. Accordingly, although the consumer has benefited by the cheapness of the bounty-fed importations, yet this consumer who was benefited is not the poorer classes, but the classes who were comparatively well able to bear the burden of the removal of the cause of cheapening the sugar. I find that the report made by the West Indian Commission expresses this view even with regard to England. They state: "It has, we believe, been argued that the reduction in the price of sugar which has resulted from the bounty system, is such a source of gain to the British Empire as a whole, that it would not be right for your Majesty's Government to initiate any measures to bring about the abolition of that system. In that argument we do not concur. The benefit which the British Empire as a whole derives from any lowering of the price of sugar due to the operation of the bounty system is too dearly purchased by the injury which that system imposes on a limited class, namely, your Majesty's West Indian and other subjects dependent on the sugar industry. We have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that the abolition of the bounty system is an object at which your Majesty's Government should aim, if they should see their way to securing that result, and that the accomplishment of such an end is worth some sacrifice, provided always that such sacrifice would be really effective, and would not involve evils out of all proportion to the which it is desired to remove." Of course we are not, as far as this Legislative Council is concerned, considering the interest of the West Indian subjects of your Majesty, but the very expressions here used might be adapted to India, with small variation, and we might say that the benefit which India as a whole derives from any lowering of the price of sugar due to the operation on the bounty system is too dearly purchased by the injury which that system imposes on a limited class, namely, the agricultural population, which is dependent on the sugar industry in the country. I wish to bring before the Council the actual facts of importations into this country, so as to show to what an extent in recent years the importation of bounty-fed sugar has increased. I have before me the statistics of importation for the last twenty years stated in thousands of hundredweights. The facts are that for the first ten years the importation of sugar was about one million hundredweight; towards the end of that period it had risen to one million and a half hundredweight. By far the largest portion of this, almost the whole of it, was Mauritius sugar. European sugar hardly entered into the figures at all. In none of the first five years was there any European

importation at all, and during the last five years there was an importation of 15,000, 10,000 and 11,000 hundredweights in three of the years concerned, but after 1890, although the importation from Mauritius continued and rather increased; that is to say, had moved up from one million to seven hundred thousand, to one million six or seven hundred, yet the importation from Austria and Germany vastly and suddenly increased. The year 1890-91 was almost the first year in which German sugar was imported, and in that one year 709,000 hundredweights were imported. The figures then fell off for a short time, but during the last three years, 1896-97-98, the amount which has been imported from Austria and Germany combined has been 874,000 hundredweight: then the year after that more than two million hundredweight, and in the ten months of this year more than a million hundredweight has been received. This is a very large and a very sudden increase, and I will mention the facts to which it is due. In 1895 the Government of the United States passed an Act, upon which the Bill now before the Council is framed, by which they imposed countervailing duties on sugar. The effect of that act was to cut out the bounty-fed sugar of Europe from the market of the United States. The consequence was that that bounty-fed sugar was driven to find its market very suddenly and very abundantly. Hon. members are no doubt aware that a couple of years ago the attention of her Majesty's Government was drawn to the critical condition of the sugar industry in the West India Islands. They sent out to enquire into the subject a Commission of which two members were my own distinguished predecessor, Sir David Barbour, and the Hon. Mr. Collier, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Norman. They made a report in which they showed that the sugar industry of the West India Islands, upon which the commercial prosperity and even administrative possibilities of the West India colonies depended was in an extremely critical state, and they attributed it all to the existence of the bounty system. Thereupon her Majesty's Government took what they considered the only means of having the bounty system revised, namely, they proposed to call a Conference of the various European Powers, in order to consider the whole question of bounties. At that time the Government of Belgium had its attention drawn to the subject in the same way, and they met the invitation to the Conference issued by her Majesty's Government and the Hon. Mr. Collier, and already I have mentioned the Conference of the Powers. This Conference took place in Brussels in the summer of 1898. It was a Conference which came to no practical conclusion. The proposals regarding the dropping of the bounty system were opposed for various reasons mainly by France and Russia, but no practical conclusion was come to. The Conference separated on the understanding that the Government of the King of the Belgians would continue by diplomatic action to pursue its object. At the instance of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce we had taken measures to have India represented by a member at that Conference, and Mr. Ozzane, who was a recently retired civil servant of the Presidency of Bombay, was the Government representative. After the Conference separated, we received a letter from the Chamber of Commerce of Madras, and also from the Chamber of Commerce of Upper India, in which they recommended us, as the proposal of the Brussels Conference proved ineffective, to at once take measures to impose a countervailing duty. Madras is to some extent an exporting Province, and it grows a fair quantity of sugar, but Cawnpore is the centre of a most important sugar industry and is much more in touch with the subject and much more closely affected by it than any of the other Chambers. The Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta has also taken up the subject. But I am a little in advance of the subject when I refer to the closing of the sugar refineries. I wish to show that it is not merely a matter of theory, but an ascertained fact that the sugar industry of this country has been very adversely affected.

In India altogether about 3,000,000 acres are under sugar cultivation. Of this 1,300,000 are in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1,000,000 are in Bengal, and the remaining 700,000 are scattered over the other Provinces of India. It is obvious, therefore, that by far the most important Province from the sugar-producing point of view is that of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Now, we have obtained very full particulars of the recent condition of the sugar cultivation and of the sugar refining industry in the North-West Provinces, and I may at once say that the immediate effect upon cultivation has not been very great. Apparently the production has diminished, taking the whole of India from about 3,000,000 to about 2,600,000, that is to say a drop of about 13 per cent.; but there are many reasons why cultivation should not be immediately affected. In the first place the natives of this country are extremely conservative in their habits and customs. It is very difficult to move them from their traditional occupation, and they will for a long time sustain loss in that cultivation before absolutely giving it up. Moreover agriculture is largely carried on under advances for delivery of actual produce, and these obligations are obviously obligations which can only be carried out by continuing cultivation, so that the mere depression in the price of sugar does not make itself immediately seen in the reduction of cultivation. It will do so ultimately beyond a doubt; but as regards refineries, we have strong evidence that the importation of bounty-fed sugar is causing very serious disaster. In a letter from his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces he tells us:—

"There has been a substantial decrease in the acreage under cane cultivation in those parts of the Province where the margin of profit on the cultivation is least, this decrease being probably due to the competition of bounty-fed sugar. Further experience is, however, required to arrive at certain conclusions in this respect.

"Foreign sugar does not as yet compete with *gur*, but it is now competing with refined sugar for home consumption, of which article it has seriously reduced the exports. It has also already caused the closure of numerous refineries, while it has seriously endangered the stability of others. The Director gives statistics showing that 120 refineries have stopped working, but his figures on this point are incomplete. He has also informed the Lieutenant-Governor that no less than sixty have been closed in a part of the district of Aizimghur alone, of which no account is taken in his memorandum.

"The price of refined sugars has been reduced about 12 per cent. in five years, and this decline has had a general lowering effect on all sugar prices."

He goes on to report also that:

"The information available points to the probability of the further cheapening of the production of bounty-fed sugar in the future, to its importation in increasing quantities, and to the further underselling of the native refiners."

"It is of much more importance to these Provinces to preserve their sugar industry on the basis of present arrangements than to have a cheap foreign sugar supplied to the consumers of the refined article."

"There is no prospect of Native processes being so improved that refineries could hold their own against the foreign competition, assisted by bounties."

I may mention that in the description of the condition of things in the North-West Provinces, we are not dependent upon the reports of the North-West Provinces alone. For example, in reply to our enquiries, which we issued last September, we have a report from the resident of Hyderabad regarding the sugar consumption in Berar. He says: "In 1893-94 the imports of refined sugar from the North-West Provinces were 27,702 maunds; in each subsequent year there has been a slight increase, till in 1897-98 the quantity imported amounted to only 11,638 maunds, or considerably less than half the former quantity. A more than corresponding rise is to be observed in the imports of refined sugar from Bombay port; commencing at 50,168 maunds 1893-94, the figure has now risen to 127,625 maunds, or more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the former imports." So that, whether this sugar, which had been imported in Bombay and Berar, is bounty-fed or not, it is obvious that the conditions of the trade are at present such that a Province which had formerly a larger supply than the North-West Provinces, has ceased to derive its sugar from there. The same is the case as regards the Punjab. The Government of the Punjab have not as yet sent us their report, but they have sent us in anticipation of the report a telegram which I shall read. They say: "Imported sugar almost entirely superseding Indian refined sugar in towns. Consequently great falling off in imports of refined sugar from North-West Provinces, previously the chief source of supply. Native sugar refineries are also gradually being closed. In the Punjab cultivation though not extending has not fallen off, as the demand of the agricultural population, which is chiefly for unrefined sugar, is still sufficient to maintain prices at a level which renders cultivation profitable."

It will be seen, therefore, that the information which we have received as to the condition of the North-West Provinces in respect of their sugar industry, whether we look at what has been said by the Government of the North-West Provinces itself, or by the effect as observed from the outside by the Government of the Punjab, and the Resident of Hyderabad who represents the Berars, is the same, namely, that the prospects of the industry in the North-West Provinces are very much like the prospects which have been described by the Commissioners who were sent to investigate the matter in the West India Islands. As regards Calcutta it may be sufficient for me to refer to the statement of the Chamber of Commerce in their last Annual Report—a statement which I have already quoted, "In any case a continuance of the unrestricted importation of bounty-fed sugar would probably result in the closing of the remaining sugar refineries in the district of Calcutta, a large number of which had already ceased to work." I have some further information which I might lay before the Council regarding the falling-off in the price of sugar which, of course, is the direct effect of the importation of bounty-fed sugar, and through which those deleterious effects I have been describing have been operating. The general falling-off in prices during the last three years has been a falling-off of about one and a-half rupees out of a price of about 11, 12 and 13 of sugar per maund—a sufficiently serious falling-off to necessitate the closing of the refineries, and refineries are closed no doubt because of a falling-off in the cultivation. I think, therefore, the Council may take it, and I trust they are sufficiently convinced that the case is so, when, if we are to protect our sugar industry in this country, which is extremely important, it is necessary for us to take measures against bounty-fed importations. Of course we might wait a little longer; we might wait till our refineries are still further closed, and till the rayats are so impoverished as to give up cultivation altogether; but it is better in these matters, I think, to take protective measures beforehand, because it is far easier to revive and encourage an existing industry than to restore one which has been by adverse circumstances extinguished. It is hardly necessary for me to touch upon the extent of bounties, or on their effect upon the trade of foreign countries. We are legislating only as regards India. But I would like to point out that the measure we are taking, in which I am asking the Council to take, is not necessarily a measure that condemns the action of foreign countries in putting bounties upon their sugar. We have only regard to our own internal concern, and it may be perfectly possible for us even to approve the action of foreign Governments in putting a bounty upon their sugar and at the same time to take measures to prevent their having an injurious effect upon our own cultivation. I observe that the argument which the representative of France laid before the Brussels conference as justifying the granting of sugar bounties in France was this: "He said it is all very well for England to denounce sugar bounties—England is the mistress of the seas; she can look forward with confidence even to a state of isolation arising out of war; foreign ports will still be open to her and to importation from foreign countries; but in the case of France it is exactly the opposite. If France is isolated and an enemy of France has command of the seas then the result might be a very serious national disaster. It is the duty of the Government of France as a mere question of national preservation to take care that France shall be independent of foreign countries in the matter of her provisionment. If a certain quantity of sugar is absolutely necessary for the inhabitants of France, and inasmuch as the Government of France must take care that that amount of sugar shall be forthcoming if the cultivation under normal

circumstances is not sufficient to produce it, it is legitimate for it by the operation of bounties to give sufficient encouragement to the internal cultivation of sugar. It is therefore a matter of internal administration." What I point out with regard to this is that we may quite agree with them. We are not bound in any way to denounce the system of bounties as a matter of internal administration of any foreign country. We only wish to protect our industry, and we claim the same right to preserve our industry in this country, as foreign nations no doubt claim to preserve and encourage the sugar industry and sugar cultivation in their countries.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The hon. Sir James Westland introduced the Bill. He also moved that the Bill and statement of objects and reasons be published in the *Gazette of India* and in the local official *Gazette* in English. He said: "The Bill I may state is a sufficiently simple one. It is copied in its wording from the Bill which is actually operative in the United States of America. We take power to impose in addition to the ordinary tariff which is imposed by the Tariff Act a further duty equal to the amount of bounty which is imposed by any foreign nation. The wording of the Act is in short the same as the wording of Section 5 of the United States Act of July 24, 1897. In the United States they have a slightly different form of legislation from ours, that is to say, the Act itself imposes the duty, but lays down directions that the Executive shall lay down rules for its assessment and regulations for the carrying out of the purposes of the Act. In this case we have slightly modified the procedure, and we give the Government power to impose the necessary duties as well as to lay down those rules and regulations. I hope that the Act will be considered sufficiently simple to pass without being referred to a Select Committee, and it is the intention of the Government to pass it, if possible, without its being examined by a Select Committee during the currency of the present Session."

THE PRESS IN INDIA ON THE NEW ACT.

I.—ANGLO-INDIAN JOURNALS.

THE "ENGLISHMAN."

The measure introduced into his Excellency's Council on Friday by Sir James Westland marks, as the hon. member said, a new departure in the fiscal policy of the Government. Few people in this country will be found to deny the perfect right of India to protect herself against hostile bounties such as are in process of ruining one of her most important industries. Fortunately in this case there is no Lancashire interest to be conciliated; no considerable class at home will be a penny the worse for the legislation that will shortly be enacted, and if any stern free-traders in the House of Commons feel inclined to get up and air their sentimental grief at the retrograde character of the measure, they will scarcely be listened to, and will certainly fail to secure any substantial support. We congratulate Sir James Westland on his perception of the urgency of the case, and provided the interests alluded to by Mr. Allan Arthur are safeguarded the sooner the Bill passes the better. (March 16.)

THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

If the continental countries which send sugar to India need a greater stimulus to the abolition of bounties than seemed to be required last year they will find it in the proposed Indian legislation, and for that reason, as we have said, Sir James Westland's Bill should be regarded with keen satisfaction in England. The promise of an open market in India to their sugar on condition that they put an end to the bounty system should weigh with Germany and Austria in the diplomatic efforts that are still being made on the Continent to bring about the objects of the Brussels Conference. What that Mauritius sugar on a natural footing they will have to find out for themselves. The superstitious appeals to the canons of free trade that were so familiar when the bounty system was first assailed will not be heard again in this controversy. They will not be heard in India, where no section of the community has been taught to believe that there is any freedom of trade in a system which would endeavour to utilise the money of a continental Government to deprive an Indian sugar grower of his profits and to bring about the closing of Indian sugar refineries. There is said to be a growing demand for continental refined sugar. If that is so there will be nothing to hinder those who require this commodity to pay for it at its natural price. It will be no hardship upon them to do this, whether they have to pay it in the shape of a counterbalancing duty added to the selling price or in the shape of a price brought up to the level at which the no longer subsidised producer can supply it. (March 18.)

II.—INDIAN JOURNALS.

THE "AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA."

We said the other day that bounty-fed sugar affected the sugar industry of the Americans, but having only to look to their own interests, they at once stopped the mischief by imposing a countervailing duty upon foreign imports. This was a little bitter, it carried with it a suggestion that the Government of India had other interests to serve besides those of the Empire. The Government gave, however, a sufficient reply to our accusation by introducing the Sugar Bill about a week after we had made it. When introducing the Bill, Sir J. Westland said: "The honourable members should not pause to consider what effects this measure would have upon foreign countries, in a matter like this they should only consider the interest of their own country." This is very good, and we are glad to be able to agree with Sir J. Westland—a blessing which is rarely permitted us. The Honourable Mr. Ananda Charlu welcomed the Bill with enthusiasm, and this was a spectacle not frequently seen in this country, of a representative of the people welcoming it with a hearty manner a Bill introduced by the Government. By this move the Government has shown to the people that they have a *taboo* Government, protect their interests. This is the first work of Lord Curzon, and it promises exceedingly well. We do not agree with Sir J.

Westland when he says that England is not concerned in this matter, because she is not a grower but consumer. Surely if the sugar industry of India is destroyed, the European sugar will then adjust its own price. Besides, if the sugar industry in India is destroyed, the country will be impoverished, and certainly that means something to England. (March 16.)

THE "INDIAN MIRROR."

In taking up the Sugar Duties Bill, Lord Curzon has acted with his wonted promptitude and decision. He certainly did not wait for a mandate from the Secretary of State. Lord George Hamilton knows what sort of a Viceroy he has got to work with. No more mandates now. Or if there are to be mandates, they will be issued from Calcutta or Simla. The Sugar Duties Bill has trenchanted upon the vested interests of certain people in England who export beet sugar to this country. Questions have been asked in Parliament on the subject, and Lord George Hamilton has said in reply, that the Bill was introduced in the Imperial Council with his approval, and it was not intended to interfere with the independence of the local Legislature. India has got a new Viceroy, and it is becoming more and more evident day by day, that Lord George Hamilton is attempting to turn over a new page. There is no Lord Elgin now to register the decrees of the Secretary of State. There is Lord Curzon instead, and that makes all the difference. (March 14.)

BRITISH INDIANS IN RHODESIA.

"UNDESIRABLE" FELLOW-SUBJECTS.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to us from Durban under date March 11:—"I venture to enclose herewith a copy of a letter received by the Indian community in Natal from the Indian traders in Umtali, Rhodesia. The letter speaks for itself. The authorities seem to have rendered assistance to the Indians, but in my humble opinion nothing less than an emphatic declaration from the Colonial Office to the effect that the white settlers in British South Africa cannot with impunity interfere with the liberty of the British Indian settlers, in addition to adequate punishment to the wrong-doers, will meet the case. It will be noticed that the justices of the peace and other prominent Europeans took part in the violence. The omission on the part of Mr. Chamberlain to take any notice of the unlawful proceedings of the Durban mob in 1897 has, I am afraid, led the white settlers to think that they can do anything they like with the Indians. But we here feel that a despatch from Mr. Chamberlain strongly disapproving of the whole thing would have produced a salutary effect."

(Enclosure.)

Umtali, Rhodesia,

January 22, 1899.

Gentlemen,—We beg to call your attention to the following circumstance.

We have been trading both at Beira and Macquese, and last March we applied for a license to trade at Umtali, in Rhodesia, which was granted in April. We then built a store, but found that the European traders were very indignant, and they held a meeting protesting against the issue of licenses to British Indian subjects, as they considered them undesirable, but they were not supported by the High Commissioner.

We traded peacefully up to December 7 last, when a countryman of ours (a merchant of Beira) also applied for a trading license, which he got. This again excited the traders of Umtali, and they laid the matter before the Chamber of Commerce, requesting that body to take the subject up and oppose the granting of licenses to Asiatics. Their meetings were reported in the local papers, and had a serious effect upon the minds of the public. The Government however took little or no notice of the agitation. Later the European merchants of the town, headed by justices of the peace and officers of the local volunteer force, in all a mob of about 150 persons, attacked and broke into our store by violence about nine p.m. on January 4, 1899. Seeing how violent the attitude of the mob was and how unlawful their action was we were very frightened, but fortunately before our person or goods were removed over the Portuguese border, Inspector Birch with some constables came on the scene and informed the raiders that their action was grossly wrong and illegal and that the ringleaders would be prosecuted.

The police only being ten in number the raiders practically defied them. The inspector fearing violence, which certainly would have been accompanied with loss of property and possibly with loss of life, suggested that we should be allowed time to make arrangements about leaving. After a good deal of discussion this was agreed to. Immediately the crowd had dispersed the inspector informed us that we were not even to think of going, but that he had merely suggested this allowance of time in order to summon assistance. All the available mounted police were then called in from Old Umtali and a guard placed over our store. The same evening, about midnight, fifteen Englishmen attacked the store of Allah Akh Hassis in this town. They broke the doors open, threw the

goods about, assaulted the shop-assistants and the policeman. The assistants, three in number, ran away, deserting the store and leaving the goods to the mercy of thieves. Inspector Birch, acting on behalf of the Government, has rendered us all the protection in his power.

On the morning of January 5 the members of the Chamber of Commerce came over to our store and reminded us that the time for packing up and going had already expired. We replied that matters were now altered. The promise to go was extracted from us by violence and not binding, further that there were sufficient police in the town to protect us from the mob. The members of the Chamber of Commerce then left in a dissatisfied humour. The ringleader of this raiding has been bound over to keep the peace towards us for three months in sureties of one and two hundred pounds.

Two of them had been committed to the High Court for trial. We have resumed business as usual, but the Rhodesian merchants are now fighting the question of allowing Indian traders in Rhodesia.

Their first step will be to bring the matter before the new Legislative Council of Rhodesia praying them to grant power to local bodies to refuse licenses to "undesirables" (which is the term they apply to us). They have been guided in this line of action by the decision, recently upheld by the Privy Council, *re* the refusal of the Licensing Board of Newcastle, Natal, to grant a license to an Indian. We understand your Congress have taken this in hand.

In conclusion we beg to inform you that the Europeans in South Africa in combination are fighting hard for our expulsion from this territory. We also desire to combine and fight for our rights as British subjects. We respectfully request you to give the matter your earnest consideration and take up our cause, and in fact that of the British Indian subjects in general.

As we are allowed to trade freely in some parts of South Africa both under the Portuguese, French, German, and Dutch Governments, we cannot understand why we should be opposed in British territory seeing that we are by right under the protection of the British flag.

It appears also to us the Indian policy of Great Britain is directly opposed to the persecution of British Indian subjects.

We have communicated with our English agents about this matter, and also with Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India. We are determined to have the matter brought before the British Parliament, and we would pray for your assistance in fighting out this great question upon constitutional lines.—We have the honour to be, Sirs, your obedient servants,

P. P. NATROO VALLEY & Co.

(Signed) B. R. NAIK,

ALLAKAHIA HASSIM,

(Allarakia.)

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "SPECTATOR."

The Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir James Westland, closes his term of office amidst a blaze of glory. He produced his Budget on March 20th, and showed that while there was a deficit for 1897-98 amounting to Rs. 5,630,000, there was in 1898-99 a surplus of Rs. 4,760,000; and there will be, it is calculated, another in 1899-1900 of Rs. 3,930,000. The result is due to an improvement in exchange, the average having been 1s. 4d. the rupee, and to an increase in almost every branch of the Revenue. There is to be no decrease of taxation, as the Indian Government, like every other great financial concern, wishes to form a reserve fund, and as large operations may still be necessary in connexion with currency reform. We note with sadness that the military expenditure has increased since 1882-83 by Rs. 7,456,000, and do not follow Sir James Westland when he says the increase in England has been still greater. What has that to do with the matter? Railway extension still goes on, 1,451 miles of new line having been opened during the year, and 1,570 further miles carried on, so that they will this year be finished. The total railway mileage in India will then be 24,220 miles. That is excellent progress, but Indian lines ought to pay much better than they do. No hint is given as to the line which currency reform will take, the idea being to await the Report of the Commission now enquiring into the subject, and also to leave the hands of the new Chancellor, Mr. Dawkins, quite free. (March 26.)

THE "SPEAKER."

The handsome surplus shown by the Indian Budget is not held to justify any remission of taxation, inasmuch as the heavy deficits of two former years have to be made up. But it removes any justification, so far as the revenue is concerned, from the Sugar Duty Bill; and the Viceroy's speech in the Indian Council makes it clear that this Bill is simply and solely Protectionist. The Viceroy, indeed, hopes that it may be "a factor in the Imperial problem."—we suppose in an Imperial Zollverein, though that device would not impossibly solve the problem by dissolving the empire. But for the present the Bill is introduced in the interest of India alone. One cannot help asking why capital should be artificially drawn into an industry which the bounty-fed sugars have rendered unprofitable, when India has not enough capital for her own purposes, especially if, as the Viceroy says, refined sugar is a luxury only consumed by the well-to-do. But the Bill clearly cannot be considered solely from an Indian

standpoint. Already the German Press is contending that, if India excludes German bounty-fed sugars, Germany need not feel bound to give the most favoured nation treatment to Indian or to British goods. (March 25.)

THE "STANDARD."

The rapid increase of population is, in truth, a phenomenon which forbids Anglo-Indian statesmen to contemplate the future with equanimity. Every year in which drought or excessive rainfall diminishes the crops finds the Government responsible for saving the life of additional millions. No improvement in processes of cultivation, no recourse to waste lands, can cope with this tremendous annual increment of human beings who must be fed; and, though the development of other industries and the provision of better means of communication may tend to lighten the task of the State, some time or other the limit of elasticity will be reached. However enlightened our aims may be, whatever may be the sagacity with which we strive to adapt the machinery of rule to the wants of our Indian fellow-subjects, the problem of the future remains unsolved. What we have achieved is to permit, under normal conditions, so many more millions of men and women to enjoy the comfort of existence than would have been possible under any of the *v-gines* which we have supplanted. Even in the days of the wisest and best of the Hindu or Mahometan sovereigns, natural checks on the increase of population—hunger, and feuds, and epidemics—were allowed free play. We impose peace on all; we set up hygienic barriers against the dissemination of disease; we assert, in theory and in practice, that there shall be no loss of life by a failure of the crops. It is a noble ideal, conscientiously worked out. But no thoughtful official can stifle the fear that the result is to call into being millions of units for whom, in quite conceivable contingencies, we cannot guarantee immunity from calamities of the old type. (March 29.)

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

The surplus gives the Indian Government a noteworthy basis for the maintenance of exchange during the coming year. Sir James Westland does not propose any further borrowing on the one hand or any discharge of debt on the other, though he hints that in the event of the conditions continuing favourable some of the accumulated sterling balance in London may be utilised for the discharge of debt. Meanwhile it is pretty broadly hinted that for the present the surplus is to be held as a reserve for assisting the Government in holding up exchange, or in other words maintaining the so-called gold standard sixteen-penny piece. Possibly it is in order still further to strengthen the position that Sir James Westland has estimated the Council drawings for next year at £17,000,000, or £1,000,000 more than last year's estimate. With an improved exchange this increase ought not to be strictly necessary; but Sir James Westland has probably impressed on his successor the desirableness of making hay while the sun shines—in other words, the wisdom of accumulating gold in London so long as a favourable Indian balance of trade makes buyers there willing to give 1s. 4d. or upwards per rupee for Council bills redeemable in rupees in India. (March 21.)

THE "MORNING LEADER."

Sir James Westland makes his annual financial statement at Calcutta to-day, and we print this morning the usual *sermo* from the Viceroy. Lord Curzon and Sir James Westland, contemplating the financial position of India, regard it as "all very capital." But they avoid the enormous and increasing debt of India and they do not explain that at this moment a Committee is being invited to tinker with the currency in order, by a veiled increase of taxation, to make the path smoother for a spendthrift Government. The Indian accounts and estimates are presented to Parliament and to the public in a way which of set purpose baffles comprehension. We get three sets of statements: (1) The Budget for the coming financial year; (2) the Revised Estimates for the past year; and (3) the closed accounts for the year before last. When the "Indian Budget" comes before Parliament, all that the House of Commons can do is to adopt a motion stating that the totals in number (3) are so-and-so. That is the full extent of Parliamentary control over Indian financial policy! Two facts plainly emerge from the rosiest statement sent home by Lord Curzon—that a deficit has been prevented by a fairy godmother in the shape of improvement in exchange, and that, nevertheless, Sir James Westland's calculations may be upset by the outbreak of fresh hostilities. Those who in such circumstances, and in spite of the enormous debt and the oppressive taxation of India, can join in the official congratulations of officials, must be easily pleased. (March 20.)

THE "DAILY GRAPHIC."

One of the most interesting features of Lord Curzon's speech on the Indian Budget is his declaration that he intends seriously to consider what are the causes which have hitherto checked the free flow of British capital into India. That the causes are largely artificial Lord Curzon virtually admits, while he barely conceals his opinion that the Indian Government itself is to blame. The truth is that the Indian Government has never shaken off the distrust of private enterprise which prevailed in India when John Company had a monopoly of the trade to the East. Even as recently as the middle of the century Lord Lawrence said that "private enterprise meant the robbery of the Government," and though high officials in India no longer express their opinions quite so crudely, they continue to act as if Lord Lawrence's dictum was an accepted maxim of government. It is only a maxim with Governments which are both autocratic and timid. In all other parts of the British Empire, except India, it has long ago been realised that the strength and the wealth of a Government depend on the strength and the wealth of its subjects. By attracting private capital to India the Indian Government will not merely add to the wealth of the country, and therefore to the potential wealth of the Government, but it will also create independent centres of resistance which might be of the greatest value in case of any attempt to repeat the mutiny of 1857. (March 29.)

THE "FINANCIAL NEWS."

The Budget estimate for the forthcoming year gives a surplus of Rs. 3,930,000—no inconsiderable surplus; but we shall be surprised if the revised estimate does not repeat the previous performance and show a considerable augmentation of the balance; for the above figure is based on a 1s. 3½d. rupee, and the recent progress of the exchange certainly gives no ground for fearing that the rupee will in the near future get down to this level. The inevitable comment is, either that the Indian Government knows what is to be the outcome of the Currency Committee's investigations, and expects that outcome to be unfavourable in its influence on trade and revenue, or else that it is merely playing up for the credit of a bulging surplus—which may be clever politics, but is not very good finance. This comment is strengthened by the announcement that "the Government has not overlooked reduction of taxation, but has decided against it because it is considered desirable, first, to make up for the deficits of the past two years, and also to maintain as strong a position as possible in view of the expected measures of currency reform." We should be the last to counsel rashness; but the revised estimate for 1898-99 has filled up such a lot of the hole left in the two previous years, and there is, moreover, so strong an apparent likelihood of an even greater surplus in the coming year, owing to the low price put upon the prospective rupee, that the caution seems a little overdone. (March 21.)

THE "GLASGOW HERALD."

Favourable as are the results and the forecasts, the Indian Government does not see their way to make any reduction in taxation until the deficits of the two famine years are fully made up and the question of currency reform is settled. . . . Considering the successive calamities with which India has been smitten, the financial position is wonderful. But it is still capable of improvement by readjustment of the onerous burden of the home charges. (March 20.)

The stronger the financial position of the Government the better will it be able to deal with the reform of the financial system. It needs something more than such reform, however, to attract that flow of British capital to India which the Viceroy desiderates, and which is so necessary to the economic development of India. There is needed a complete reform of the attitude of Indian bureaucracy to private enterprise, and therefore it is agreeable to learn that Lord Curzon proposes to devote a large portion of his time while at Simla to the whole question of the policy of the Government in respect of railways and to the relation of the Government towards private enterprise. (March 29.)

Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Sitalvad (formerly member of the Bombay Legislative Council) is on his way to England.

Lord George Hamilton, who has been appointed by Lord Salisbury to the post of Captain of Deal Castle, rendered vacant by the death of Lord Herschell, is to be presented by the Deal Corporation with an address of welcome.

At a meeting held at the India Office on the 22nd inst., the following members of the Indian Civil Service being present—Sir S. C. Bayley, Sir C. J. Lyall, Mr. F. W. Porter, Sir P. P. Hutchins, Mr. A. J. Lawrence, and Mr. F. S. Bullock—a letter from the president of the Indian Civil Service Association (Bengal Branch) to Mr. A. J. Lawrence, suggesting the institution of an annual Indian Civil Service dinner in London, was read, and it was resolved to form an Indian Civil Service Dinner Club in London, the treasurers of which should be Messrs. Grindlay and Co. An annual subscription to be paid on the lines of the existing Indian Service dinner clubs. The following gentlemen were requested to act as a general committee to make arrangements, and those with asterisks to their names to act provisionally as a sub-committee to carry out the details:—Birma: Sir C. Crosthwaite, Sir C. Bernard; N.W.P.: *Mr. A. J. Lawrence, *Mr. F. W. Porter, *Mr. F. S. Bullock; Bombay: *Mr. J. A. Baines, Sir W. Lee Warner, Mr. W. H. Probert; Bengal: Sir C. C. Stevens, Sir W. Ward, Sir Stewart Bayley, *Mr. E. R. Henry; Madras: Sir P. P. Hutchins, *Mr. J. Kelsall, Mr. C. A. Galton; Punjab: *Mr. G. R. Elsmie, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir J. B. Lyall; Central Provinces: Mr. John Neill. It was proposed to have the first dinner on June 28 next, at the Hotel Cecil. Any member of the Indian Civil Service, active or on the retired list, desiring to join the club or to attend this year's dinner, is requested to send his name to Mr. Austin Low, of the firm of Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W., who has been asked to act as hon. secretary.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will on May 28 address the Westbourne Park Sunday afternoon Conference.

On March 24 a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee lectured on "India and Its People" at Cheetham Hill, Manchester. Mr. Ramsay, President of the Women's Liberal Association presided over a good attendance. The lecturer commented on Lord Curzon's recent speeches and spoke of the necessity of some remission of taxation in India.

On March 28 a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee addressed a crowded audience at the West End Reform Club, Burnley, on "India." The lecture, which was illustrated by lime-light views, was listened to with marked attention. Mr. J. A. Mackie presided.

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