

# India

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## NOTES AND NEWS.

THERE is, after all, to be an enquiry into the causes of famine in India. We owe it, however, not to the Government of India, but to a great English journal. The *Manchester Guardian* is sending to the famine districts Mr. Vaughan Nash, the well-known writer on economics who, with Mr. Massingham and Mr. Harold Spender, lately resigned his post on the editorial staff of the *Daily Chronicle* rather than acquiesce silently in the present war. Mr. Nash will approach the question of famine in India in the spirit of impartial enquiry. The results of his investigation are therefore likely to be important and helpful.

A Calcutta telegram of Wednesday's date reported that Lord Curzon had asked all the provincial Governments in India to convene public meetings in aid of the Famine Fund. On Wednesday evening the Mansion House Fund amounted to £78,200, and a further remittance of £30,000 was made to Lord Curzon. We are glad to see that at a public meeting in Manchester, convened by the Lord Mayor on Tuesday, it was unanimously resolved "to open a subscription list with a view to supplementing the efforts now being made by the Indian Government to meet the calamity." A representative committee was appointed, and subscriptions to the amount of £4,000 were at once announced. Lancashire is plainly determined to maintain its tradition of public-spirited liberality.

Among the subscriptions received at the Mansion House before the formal opening of the Indian Famine Fund was a donation of £263 11s. 6d. from the "Headmaster and Assistant Masters of Clifton College." This sum was contributed in response to a circular letter sent out to his colleagues by one of the senior masters who has, by a series of lectures on great Indian administrators, done much to interest the school in Indian affairs. Clifton College has peculiarly close relations with India, from the large number of its former pupils who hold posts in the civil and military services there; so that this recognition on the part of the staff of a duty owed by Englishmen to India at the present time has a special interest.

The Special Commissioner of the *Times of India*, generally the firmest supporter of the Government among the Anglo-Indian journals, contributes a very striking account of the relief work accomplished in the Poona district—striking not because the distress is especially great there, for it is much less than it is in many other places, but because it shows how baseless are the strictures of Lord Curzon on the readiness of the people to seek relief. And this is done with all the greater force because it is done incidentally and without any such purpose having been present to the mind of the narrator. It appears that when "the pinch began to be felt," a relief work was opened at Yosant to which 450 persons resorted; but rain falling from September 7 to 13 every one of them went away, for there seemed good hope of the rabi crop. This hope was doomed to disappointment. The rain ceased, and the people returned to Yosant. On October 12 another work was opened at Khed. To this there came 2,500 persons, but half left at the end of the first week, being dissatisfied with the wages. "Famine, however, is relentless." They were soon back again, and others also. Another relief work was opened on November 1, and two more on

November 7; but for nearly a month scarcely anyone came to the latter. At one of these, that at Khadkala, after it had been much resorted to, a chance of grass-cutting or a hope of saving some remnant of their own crops led to a general exodus, only nine remaining. By January 29, however, the number on relief at the various works in the Poona district amounted to 20,000. Here, then, we see little evidence of a desire to crowd to the works without necessity. On the contrary, there is a desire to leave whenever any other chance of keeping body and soul together presents itself. *Famine, however, is relentless.* Is not this a sufficient explanation of the numbers who seek assistance?

While the *Times of India* thus unintentionally refutes the Government's aspersions on the Indian people, the *Champion* attacks their new policy. Our contemporary reminds its readers that no less than thirty-seven crores of rupees have been spent by the Indian Government on wars and expeditions, and it contrasts this profusion with the fear excited by a much smaller expenditure on famine relief:—

Here is an enemy at its very door—the enemy of the State which deprives it of its productive population by millions. And yet the Government is alarmed because it thinks that with large numbers resorting to the relief camps, State expenditure may swell. What of that? The last famine cost seven and a-quarter crores. What if this famine, admitted to be severer, cost ten or even twelve crores? Will they be well-spent or ill-spent? What are these twelve crores to the ill-spent thirty-seven on wars and expeditions? But simply because peaceful lives by the lakh are to be saved, the victims of our own east-india policy of land revenue, we make all this noise, issue circulars and mandates, make speeches in the Council, and show the greatest solicitude for the tax-payer's monies? May we ask the Government of India whether it displayed the same solicitude for conserving the interest of the tax-payers when war was waged with the unhappy Shere Ali? Did it display the same solicitude when Chitral was annexed? Did it care for the taxpayers' interests when the military expenditure was permanently increased by three and a-half crores per annum? Did it care for the taxpayer when unhalloved exchange compensation was allowed to the military and civil officers to the tune of one and a half crores? Did it care for the taxpayers' interests when it closed the mints and at one stroke of the pen diminished by 50 per cent. the value of the savings of the same masses, most of whom are now going on famine relief?

And to these questions what answer is possible save that the extension of the Empire and the interests of its officials are nearer to the heart of the Indian Government than the lives of the Indian people?

At the very moment when the Indian Government were contemplating a change of policy in regard to famine, and an abandonment of that system of liberal relief of which they have been wont to boast so loudly, the Viceroy took occasion, during his recent tour, to claim for British rule that it had been the first to recognise its responsibility to afford relief in time of famine. As is so often the case in glorifications of our Empire, this does injustice to our predecessors, and, as the *Indian Spectator* points out, there is a passage in the last Famine Report which tells a different tale. The Famine Commissioners say:—

We must not permit ourselves to be deceived by the vain hope that the famines of recent years have been more difficult to deal with than those of the past, nor have we any right to suggest that those who have gone before us were less humane than ourselves, for there is direct evidence to the contrary.

For people who so very much object to criticism on themselves, are not Anglo-Indians a little rash in their criticisms on others?

How far missionaries should be entrusted with the relief of famine on behalf of the State, has long been a matter of dispute. Sir Antony MacDonnell during the last visitation was much blamed for not accepting the services of the missionaries as freely as they were offered. On the other hand, the suggestion in the letter addressed by Lord George Hamilton's secretary to the Lord Mayor



that defined areas or special branches of famine relief should be entrusted to Christian missionaries has evoked some protests in India. The *Indian Spectator* thinks that State relief should be kept separate from sectarian or voluntary charity. The masses, both Hindu and Mahometan, are inclined to believe that a bad famine is the great opportunity for conversions to Christianity. The *Tribune*, which is the very soul of toleration, while feeling the full force of all this, points out that the missionaries have some advantages, quite apart from Government favour:—

The real fact is that the missionary has funds and arrangements ready to take charge at a moment's notice of large numbers of orphans, or distribute food to large bodies of starving people. Hindus and Mussulmans have no such *bandobust*. The orphan rescue movement in the Punjab only dates from the last famine, and before this the Christian missions were alone in the field. Besides, the resources, etc., of our Native associations are utterly insignificant compared with those of the missionaries. And they have acquired great experience in this sort of work from long practical experience which the local authorities from motives of utility are glad to avail themselves of to cope with widespread scarcity. However it is, the fact remains that the Hindu and Mussulman masses believe that a bad famine affords the best opportunity to *Padris*. Therefore, too much care cannot be taken to distribute Government relief through non-Christian agencies.

The account given by the *Hindu* of the distress in the Tanjore district of the Madras Presidency has attracted widespread attention in India. Everywhere the crops are withering. The drastic assessments prevent the peasants from making any provision to tide over a period of famine. There is no green fodder for the cattle and dry fodder can only be obtained at a great price. Yet it is said that the land revenue is being collected with redoubled energy. The numerous petitions that have been presented are either rejected, or referred from one authority to another, until at last an enquiry is held, of the fairness of which there is no guarantee; and while the enquiry is slowly proceeding, the petitioner has to leave his fields untouched. Finally, if among those fields under one survey number there is a single plot which promises to bear a crop, remission must be refused. The *Friend of India* strongly endorses the remarks of the *Hindu*, and calls the last rule "absurd."

The London Indian Society has made arrangements for a "conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom," which will be held in the Westminster Town Hall at 2.30 p.m. on March 1. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will preside, and will move the first resolution as follows:—

That this Conference is of opinion that Famines of India are preventable; that the main cause is the evil of the drain from the resources of India caused by an unnatural economic system of government, and that until this cause is fully faced and dealt with there is no chance for an effective remedy or for the general welfare of the people of India; that for the immediate remedy for the present calamity this Conference, while very thankful for the Mansion House Fund and other similar efforts, prays for a substantial financial assistance by a direct grant from the British Exchequer.

The resolution will be seconded by Mr. C. M. Thacker. The other resolution will be moved by Dr. Sarat Mullick and seconded by Mr. A. G. Pirzad:—

That this Conference views with deep concern the political disabilities and troubles of Indian subjects of Her Majesty in South Africa, and urges the Government to effectively remedy this state of affairs on the conclusion of the present war.

The *Morning Post* is not exactly the place where one would expect to find Lord George Hamilton firmly trowled. But our contemporary has more brains than to lend itself to a facile concurrence in such an answer as Lord George considered it consistent with his duty to make to Sir William Wedderburn in the House the other evening. In reply to a question by Sir William, the Secretary of State said that the Imperial Government does not propose to make a Treasury grant to India for the purposes of the famine, "as we have no reason to believe that the financial means and credit of the Government of India are insufficient to meet the demands on them." The *Morning Post* deals very satisfactorily with this cool reason of State, and says plainly that "the last ground we should have urged for the views expressed by the Secretary of State would have been the existence of adequate means at the disposal of the Indian Government." This is very good indeed. But we hope our contemporary will return to the subject and deal with one little word in Lord George's statement which it seems to have treated with inadequate notice—the little word "credit." The meaning, of course, is: "Prepare for another Indian loan." Let the *Morning Post* run its eye over the history of the Indian debt, and say what it thinks of another resort to "credit." Our

contemporary agrees with Lord Curzon's perilous carelessness for the distribution of relief, and holds that there must be a "rigid avoidance of any semblance of helotage." "Helotage," we presume, is simply a hasty expression for undue dependence—sponging. But where are the proofs of any such thing?

We are sorry to learn that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been suffering severely from an attack of bronchitis and pneumonia. Mr. Naoroji, who adds to the experience of age the energy and buoyancy of youth, has for many months past been working at high pressure upon the Report of the Royal Commission of Indian Expenditure, and it is to be feared that this incessant labour, combined with the effects of the recent hard weather, has somewhat overtaxed him. Indians and all others who care for India will hope that the "Grand Old Man of India" may speedily be restored to health and strength.

The first annual Report of the Alakote Agricultural Syndicate is a very interesting and hopeful document. The Syndicate was formed "for the purpose of helping the indigent rayats with funds, of assisting them in their agricultural operations and the sales of their products, and otherwise ameliorating their present far from prosperous condition." In spite of the initial difficulties of the undertaking, the very limited resources at the command of the association, and the complications introduced by famine, it is clear that the organisers have hit upon a most promising plan. They started with a cattle census of a typical village, and found "that only 20 per cent. of the agriculturalists had a sufficiency of plough cattle, while 40 per cent. were content with only half the number necessary, 30 per cent. could not even boast of a fourth part, and the remaining 10 per cent. had absolutely none to speak of." So the Syndicate, generously supported by the administration, set about providing oxen for those who had none, on the principle of self-help. "The Syndicate hopes by such means not only to recover the monies, but with the low interest earned therefrom to recoup the State partially, and gradually to wipe off the principal, while assisting other helpless rayats who may demand aid of this nature later on." The details are well worth study.

Another aspect of the work of the Syndicate is the giving of "assistance to impecunious rayats in meeting the annual State demands." Such timely assistance saves the rayat from borrowing from the sowcar, disposing of his produce at a cheap rate to meet the sowcar's demands, and depriving himself of a sufficiency of grain to last him the year round—a threefold benefit. There is also in preparation a scheme for establishing a store of grain to meet emergencies, by enlisting the co-operation of the rayats themselves; and another scheme for helping the rayats in the purchase of seeds, the seeds brought from the bazar or the money-lender being of an unsatisfactory character, and obtained on "conditions which are oppressive, if not ruinous." The Report says:—

The Syndicate advanced money to certain of the poorest rayats at a low rate of interest, and secured their crops with a view of disposing of them in the markets at their fair value. The operation resulted in great pecuniary advantage to those rayats. They were able to stand somewhat on their legs, and greatly freed from the hands of their former money-lenders. The Syndicate hope to be able to achieve a great deal more in this direction as time progresses, for it is here that the root of the rayat's indebtedness is to be discerned.

The experiment is indeed "fraught with the most beneficial consequences to the future welfare of the impoverished peasantry." That is, always provided that it is carried out with vigilant and thoughtful care. It is a great object lesson, which will be watched with close interest by all who are concerned for the revival of agricultural prosperity in India.

In the midst of war, pestilence, and famine such minor losses as those due to rifle thieves have been almost forgotten; but they have been going on all the same. Thus on the night of January 27, fifteen Martini-Henry rifles were taken from the N. W. I. Volunteer armoury, though a special watchman is employed. As a consequence the Sibi volunteers are without rifles, or dependent on some borrowed from Quetta.

Private O'Gara (?) of the Scots Fusiliers has been acquitted in the Chief Court at Lahore on the charge of murdering a punkha-coolie at Peshawar. The defence did not deny that the deceased had met his death by violence, but



claimed that O'Gara was not the murderer. The jury accepted this view and also acquitted the prisoner on the minor charge of inflicting grievous hurt. Private O'Gara is to be congratulated on his delivery from the painful position in which he has so long stood. But it is unfortunate, if that be not too mild a term, that the real perpetrator of the crime—for the existence of a crime is not denied—has not been brought to justice. It is, however, a good sign that the *Civil and Military Gazette*, an Anglo-Indian organ, asks when the Government will take disciplinary action to check the frequent assaults on punkha-coolies by soldiers. It also blames the Government for allowing punkha-pulling contracts to be farmed so that the work is given to the weak and the decrepit. With all this we thoroughly agree; but if India, only a short time ago, had ventured to assert that punkha-coolies were frequently assaulted by soldiers, how we should have been held up to execration as slanderers of the British army.

We have often referred to the trials of the Tinnevely rioters. It will be remembered that the Madras Government withdrew the privilege of trial by jury in respect to the Anti-Shanar riot cases. But Mr. Tate, additional Sessions Judge, is doubtful whether this is legal. He seems to think, according to the *Madras Mail*, that Section 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code, under which the Government professed to act, contemplates a classification of offences not of persons. By the Government order those implicated in the Anti-Shanar riots are to be tried without jury while other persons accused of the same crime would be tried with a jury. The Government, according to his view, should have declared that certain kinds of crime were not triable by jury. Mr. Tate has now announced that pending a reference he has made to the High Court he has postponed all the cases before him.

Lord Curzon made some instructive pronouncements in his speech in Convocation of the University of Calcutta (February 17). He had the good sense to express his surprise not at the egregiousness of the failures, but at the quality and number of the successes. That is the proper attitude to take up, undoubtedly; and Lord Curzon's example may be advantageously followed by those who think it smart to gird at "Babu English" and the like, as if they themselves were proficient in (say) Bengali. On a wide view, the Viceroy, says the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (February 19), declared himself "struck by the extent to which, within less than half a century the science and learning of the Western world had entered into and penetrated the Oriental mind, teaching it independence of judgment and liberty of thought, and familiarising it with conceptions of politics, law, and society to which it had for centuries been a complete stranger." This liberty of thought, this independence of judgment, this familiarity with expansive conceptions of politics, law, and society—these are agencies that work as a potent and irrepressible leaven throughout the community. If, indeed, they have not yet penetrated far below the surface, they are unquestionably operating every day, and will eventually leaven the whole. It is for Lord Curzon to point the moral of this process to others of the authorities who may not have come into close contact with its workings, or who have not yet, apparently, begun to appreciate the nature of the forces we have set in operation in India, notwithstanding the clear warnings of men like the late Sir William Hunter.

That the results are satisfactory, and that there is no alternative but to accept them, Lord Curzon testifies in unequivocal language:—

I see clearly that the die is cast and there is no going back. If I did not think that higher education were producing satisfactory results in India, I should be ready to proscribe your examinations and burn your diplomas, to carry away in some old hulk all your teaching and professorial staff, your syndicate, senate, vice-chancellor—even your chancellor himself—and scuttle it in the Bay of Bengal. It would be better to revert to the old Adam than to inculcate a hybrid morality or nourish a bastard civilisation.

When such is the opinion of the Viceroy, it is somewhat disconcerting to recall the Hon. Mr. Nugent's assertion that when the order for retrenchment goes round the first department to suffer is "Education!" Nor is it reassuring to reflect on the recent legislation on the subjects of freedom of speech and freedom of the Press, with the ancillary apparatus of Press Committees. Nor, again, is it less than

perplexing to understand the persistent discouragement of Native aspirations after the honourable fulfilment of the promises of 1833 and 1858. We trust that Lord Curzon will exert himself to diminish the unhappy conflict of official profession and official performance, which is so glaring a feature in the administration of India. Of course, he sees that primary and secondary education must be nourished as the very foundation of higher education; and, though he expects secondary education to be provided gradually in the main by private agency, he recognises the permanent State claims of primary education. Well, it is all a matter of policy. Given a wise abstention from warlike enterprise, and a judicious handling of the finances, there would be plenty of money to foster, as it is our plain duty and plain advantage to foster, Indian education in all its departments and in all its grades.

Again, however, the Government of India is pricked on to expensive warlike preparations. Strangely enough, the tale is taken up by a representative of commerce; as if commerce, of all things, were not the very first to profit by a careful limitation of expenditure. Mr. Allan Arthur, the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, addressing the annual meeting (February 20), took a leaf out of the ill-compiled book of the Secretary of State. He is reported by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* to have said:—

The lesson of the present war is that a force well-armed with weapons of the most modern description can keep in check—only temporarily, in this case, I believe—a numerically stronger and better disciplined force. Lord George Hamilton, in his recent speech, appears to have applied this lesson to the subject of the defensibility of the Indian frontier. But, in order to place this point beyond all doubt, the time has come when the Indian army should be re-armed with the most modern rifle just as the British garrison was re-armed some years ago. From a commercial point of view there can be no reasonable defence for the present policy except that the expense of re-arming would doubtless be heavy.

The defence of lack of money is good. The defence on military grounds is even better, if either Lord George or Mr. Arthur understood the conditions. "The defensibility of the Indian Empire" is, as things stand, "absolutely secure," and the expenditure on re-arming is absolutely unnecessary at the present time. When will commercial people understand that their harvest depends on the prosperity of the country at large, and that it might be multiplied many times over by the relief of the people from the grinding oppressiveness of gratuitous expenditure?

The Telegraphic Press Messages Bill has at last been reported on by the Select Committee of the Viceroy's Council to which it was referred, and a month is to elapse from the date of report (February 2) before it is to be brought up to pass. It has undergone modification in the right direction, though insufficiently. The clause making editorial comment penal has been struck out. The period of probation has been reduced from sixty hours to eighteen—that is, it will now be practically one day. The Report is signed by all the members, but riders are appended by Mr. Mehta and the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Mr. Mehta strongly dissents from the official view that the penal treatment of offences against the Act will be more efficacious, and insists that the remedy ought to be civil only. In view of his generation of legal experience, his opinion on this point ought to carry exceptional weight. The Maharaja of Darbhanga urges that a far more appropriate method of attaining the professed ends of the Government would have been a much needed reduction in the rates for telegraphic messages, even at the expense of a subsidy. He also thinks that, on the expressed views of the Government, inland as well as foreign telegrams ought to come within the scope of the Bill; and that it should be clearly laid down that the Bill is intended to apply only to such papers as really compete with each other. This latter point, however, would not suit the Anglo-Indian promoters of this obnoxious legislation; for then they would lose the anticipated satisfaction of preventing Indian papers, which do not really compete with them, from utilising their telegraphic information. If the Government professions were genuine, namely, that the advantage of the public is the first consideration, obviously the Maharaja's contention ought to prevail. The Maharaja further agrees with Mr. Mehta that the remedy ought to be civil. The Bill is, of course, less offensive than before, but it is a pitiable example of legislative discrimination against the Indian papers at a most inopportune conjuncture.



## HELP AGAINST THE FAMINE.

IN another column we reprint an appeal by a good friend of India, Mr. A. J. Wilson, editor of the *Investors' Review*, for a Famine Fund which he has started in co-operation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Of course it is most desirable that the Mansion House Fund should prove a great success, and it is not the wish either of Mr. Wilson or of the British Committee to do anything that would tend to diminish or restrain the flow of charity to the Mansion House. But it is a well ascertained fact that many persons kindly disposed to India look with a certain amount of suspicion upon the modes of distribution of funds passing through the Mansion House, as well as dislike the expenditure of a percentage of them on long lists of donors in a multitude of newspapers. It may, indeed, be urged that such advertisements do much more than pay themselves, considering that vanity moves people to charity as well as genuine and instructed sympathy. Anyhow, those that lay stress on the point will be satisfied to know that the fund proposed by Mr. Wilson will go straight to the suffering people without deduction of a single copper for advertisement or for management, and that Sir William Wedderburn has assured Mr. Wilson that the British Committee will be able to distribute the money satisfactorily, "by means of local friends and organisations in complete touch and sympathy with the suffering people in different parts of India." Mr. Wilson, it will be seen, adds to his general appeal a special appeal to other newspapers to adopt the same plan, and to initiate local collections to be passed on to him for delivery to the British Committee. It is not only on economical grounds that Mr. Wilson wishes to see private collections set in motion, but also "because India, more even than money, wants a consciousness of British sympathy in her present appalling distress." "A shilling given with a kindly touch of confidence and neighbourly feeling may," as he says, "be worth more than pounds distributed perfunctorily." We may confidently assure him that India will hear of his sympathetic action with a profound sense of gratitude, and we trust that his expectations of support will be amply realised.

Mr. Wilson refers pointedly to a letter to the editor of *Capital*, published in the last number that has reached him, which contains this suggestive remark: "I have certainly seen some people get fat on famine relief in India, but such people were not the coolies on the relief works." To a certain extent we suppose it is inevitable, when an army of distributors is employed by the Government, that some pickings should stick to the fingers of a few. At the same time such a heartless concomitant of charitable relief on the large scale is especially repulsive in the lamentable condition of the victims of distress from famine, and the difficulty of guarding against it is not vividly realised by sympathetic people at a distance from the scene, to whom it is all the more offensive. How far the mischief actually prevails on the present occasion there is no means of knowing here; the only certainty is that it does prevail in some degree. The explanation of the remark of the correspondent of *Capital* is given by Mr. Wilson as follows:—

It is all the more necessary that an unofficial effort of this kind should be made because the overworked Government servants are too often compelled to leave the management of charity as well as State funds, placed in their hands, to low class Native underlings, who all too generally misuse their power; or else the help of European leaders or "out-of-works" from every part of India is called for, with the consequence that these amateurs, who generally know nothing of the conditions under which relief ought to be given, and sometimes care nothing, draw their salaries and look on. Do our readers now comprehend "X" (the correspondent's) bitter sarcasm?

Obviously, it will be an immense advantage that this source of waste of the money collected on the large scale will be completely avoided under the arrangements that will be made by the British Committee for the distribution of Mr. Wilson's fund. Mr. Wilson has not intimated any preference as to the destination of the collections, but Sir William Wedderburn notes that he desires "special attention to the need for replacing the cattle lost through drought." The salvation of the people themselves is the

very special duty of the Government—a duty we trust that no considerations whatever will divert it from, notwithstanding the ominous circular letter, which has caused so much anxiety and dissatisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The Mansion House Fund was duly and formally opened by the Lord Mayor on the 16th, but he had already been able to send £50,000 by telegraph to the Viceroy's meeting in Calcutta on the same day. He struck the right chord when he invited the English people to "come forward to succour and preserve their afflicted fellow-subjects in the East, and to show, by the exercise of bountiful and wisely-administered charity, that the sympathy which binds India with the Mother Country and the Colonies is no mere sentimental attachment, but is stronger and closer now than at any former period of our history." In the circumstances, the tender key is most affecting and effective, on both sides. The English people like to feel that they are playing the part of "a subordinate Providence," and in any case they are always prompt to exhibit the magnanimous generosity of the strong in the presence of weakness and distress. The Lord Mayor impatiently brushes aside the suggestion that the South Africa war has exhausted, or even strained, the compassion of the public. He is entirely right. The country has contributed about three quarters of a million sterling to his War Fund, and it would not turn a hair to contribute an equal amount to his Famine Fund. The only fear is that the way in which the application of the Famine Fund has been put before the public may lead people to imagine that the need of the occasion is greatly less than it in fact is. Led by Lord George Hamilton's information, the Lord Mayor has intimated that the money will be applied to subordinate and supplementary purposes. This arrangement follows the recommendations of the Famine Commission. The objects are thus stated:—

(1) The provision of extra comforts in the shape of food and clothing over and above what is provided by the State; (2) the maintenance of orphans; (3) the relief of persons who, though in want, are unwilling to declare themselves publicly as applicants for charitable assistance; and (4) the provision of help, mainly in the form of agricultural implements and cattle, to those who may have lost their property in the famine, and who, without such help, would be unable to make a fresh start in life.

All these objects are admirable, and objects of pressing necessity. Yet it does seem that the subordinate and future character of them conveys the notion that the need is less serious than in actual fact it is. Besides it seems to suggest that the Government is not so pressed, after all, to make provision for the starving population on relief works, and diverts attention from the essential elements of the case which it is so important that the British public should understand and realise, namely, that famine threatens to overpower the people despite the whole organisation of remedial agencies, and that it is high time to strike at the root of the mischief by means of anticipation and prevention.

The Lord Mayor does well to lay emphasis on the point that "the burden of Empire entails responsibilities as well as privileges." We are, indeed, very familiar with the expression of this indisputable and far-reaching proposition. In the Lord Mayor's letter, it is an appeal to duty, side by side with the appeal to compassion; but he is not to be blamed if he has not entered into any consideration of the implications that lie within it. If he were to follow out its significance in detail, he could not have a more appropriate audience than the British people, nor a more impatient listener than their representative in this matter, the Secretary of State for India, unless, indeed, it were his predecessor in office. How far the lesson of the present famine will come home to the India Office authorities yet remains to be seen. The famine of a quarter of a century ago gave rise to the Famine Commission of 1878, which for the first time really organised the plan of campaign and for the first time attempted to discuss the question of prevention in supplement to the questions of remedy and mitigation. It may be that the present experience, grievous in spite of all the preparations for the attack, will emphasise the hopelessness of any further reliance on the means of remedy alone. The Famine Code is, probably enough, a marvel of administrative device. But it is plainly no longer able to cope with the increased force of famine. The plan of frontal attack is found to be inadequate. The authorities must, one day or another, fall back on policy, and the sooner they recognise the



higher importance of policy the sooner will they prove themselves equal to the discharge of their Imperial responsibilities. Meantime they labour to thwart the efforts of non-official persons to bring into public prominence and into actual operation the most obvious means of enabling the people to resist the onset of calamity. They seem vastly more concerned to defend their *amour propre* than to fulfil their grave responsibilities; and probably they will continue to take perilous risks, at the expense of other people, rather than even appear to yield to the suggestions of persons, however well-informed and capable to advise, outside the charmed circle of officialdom. The facts of the situation cannot too soon engage the most serious attention of the public, so that the opinion of the constituencies may be brought to bear with effect on the self-regarding, and unwise perversity that reigns in the highest places of Indian government. "The burden of Empire entails responsibilities;" let the British public address themselves to the earnest consideration of what the proposition implies, and reflect on what must be the consequences of slack performance.

Further, the Lord Mayor judiciously acknowledged the striking fact that the people of India, in spite of their own distress, have not lagged behind any other part of the Empire in "genuine concern" for the succour of our own people that need a helping hand in South Africa. They have testified their sympathy "by the collections spontaneously raised among Native troops for the families of their British comrades with whom in past campaigns they have fought shoulder to shoulder for the Empress-Queen;" and "those enlightened rulers, the Native Princes, have exhibited their traditional and most munificent liberality." Yes, and in other ways that the Lord Mayor did not specify. At the same time the Viceroy was holding his opening meeting, amid great enthusiasm, in the Town Hall of Calcutta. He spoke of the famine as one of "unprecedented magnitude," aggravated by the ravages of the plague at Bombay, and emphasised by the helplessness of "classes and strata of society hitherto exempt" from attack. "In the Punjab," he said (according to Reuter), "the loss of crops is the greatest on record. The Central Provinces are likely to have two millions on the relief fund. Even fertile Malwa in Central India is stripped bare, and Jodhpur State has lost ninety per cent. of its cattle. And—distress is spreading." Even more frightful than the spread of distress is the fact that it is deepening; the involvement of "classes and strata of society hitherto exempt" is of the most ominous significance of the exhaustion of the country. The Queen-Empress put down £1,000, the announcement of which "was received with deafening applause," for the Queen is honoured as much as officialism is suspected. Other members of the Royal Family have generously contributed to the Mansion House Fund. This practical expression of Royal sympathy will evidently be much appreciated throughout India. The Mahārāja of Darbhanga, who is nobly following in the footsteps of his excellent predecessor, gave a lakh and a half of rupees—as Lord Curzon justly said, with "princely generosity"; the Maharani of Hatwa, one lakh; the Nawab of Dacca, half a lakh. Handsome contributions were made by Anglo-Indian trading companies and commercial men, including £5,000 from the British Indian Steamship Company. Lord Curzon himself gave Rs. 10,000, and Lord Northbrook sent £500. No less than five lakhs were subscribed. This is a promising start. We have no doubt that the regions of India untouched by the famine will liberally respond to the clamant needs of their afflicted fellow-countrymen; and we trust that the Mansion House Fund and minor private collections in this country will rise to a figure worthily representing our boasted wealth and our expressions of sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects. Both the Viceroy and the Lord Mayor have intimated that in the distribution of the funds no difference will be made between the claims of the Native States and of British India. This is as it should be. In the last resort we are responsible for both, and in any case calamity has put both on the same footing of need. And let the charitable not forget that "distress is spreading." Nor, when the clouds roll by, let the splendid loyalty and sympathy of India be forgotten or go unrewarded in the spheres of legislation and administration, any more than the Indians will forget the sympathy and generosity of England in their time of unparalleled distress.

## NON-OFFICIAL RELIEF AGENCIES.

By G. PARAMASWARAN PILLAI.

I AM glad to find that the *Investors' Review* has opened a separate famine fund for the suffering people of India and that Sir William Woderburn has agreed, on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to undertake the judicious distribution of this fund. I have no doubt that this generous attempt to relieve the sufferings of the people will be welcomed throughout India, as the distribution of the fund, I understand, will rest entirely in the hands of honest and capable gentlemen, European and Indian, quite independent of Government and in complete touch with the masses. The most important object to be attained in the administration of a charitable fund like the famine fund is that the whole of it should be utilised for mitigating the sufferings of the people and that no portion of it whatever should be appropriated by any agency appointed for its distribution. It is also necessary that the agency employed should be such as not only to command the complete confidence of the people but also to be in a position to know when, how, to whom and to what extent relief should be granted. These objects can be best secured, in my opinion, by a non-official agency: and I am confirmed in this belief by the knowledge and experience I gained as a member of the Executive Committee of the Madras Branch of the Indian Charitable Relief Fund during the Famine of 1897. The successful administration of charitable relief in Madras during the last famine was in a large measure due to the fact that both the Central Committee in Madras and the various sub-Committees in the Presidency were composed to a large extent of gentlemen of social position and influence, quite independent of Government. Though there were some officials in these Committees, they served merely as representatives of the people appointed at public meetings held at different centres. The non-official members of these Committees were able to prevent fraud and urge immediate and judicious relief whenever necessary, by keeping a strict and close watch over those entrusted with the distribution of funds and examining and checking all accounts. Members of municipalities and District and Local Boards, journalists and lawyers, merchants and missionaries, the great majority of whom were members of the Indian National Congress were the men who had a leading hand in the distribution of relief.

In administering charitable funds in Madras, the Executive Committee discovered that there were certain classes of people who would on no account accept help from Government or receive any money passing to them through an official channel. These people had to be approached by leading and influential members of their own community from whom and whom alone they would accept help. There were also *Goshas* women who thought it a dishonour to accept relief from a Government source but were willing to accept it from private sources and, in a manner, surreptitiously. In such cases, it is highly desirable that the fund which is intended for their relief should have no official connexion whatever. The opinion that charitable funds should not find their way to the people through official channels is shared in India by Europeans and Indians alike. An English missionary of some fifteen years' experience in Southern India, in the course of his examination before the Indian Famine Commission in Madras in 1898, said, in answer to the question why he wished that when grants were given by the Indian Charitable Fund, they should not be made through official channels, that

whenever a *ryat* gets anything extra, the usual custom is that people like the village officials and those above them get a share of it. If the grants are made through non-official channels, this could be avoided. . . . If you have magistrates and Tahsildars and other similar people and make them responsible for deciding who the proper persons are for receiving grants, they might say "We have done so much for you, won't you give us something in return?"

Non-official men were also the first to discover and bring to the notice of the Madras Committee, the deplorable condition of certain hill tribes to whom relief was granted by Government only after the Committee had led the way and whom, under other circumstances, relief would have in all probability reached too late. The Madras Committee, though for all practical purposes non-official and independent, was heavily handicapped in its operations as it had to depend on an official source for



money. At one stage of its work, it found that it had not sufficient money to give adequate relief; but at another, the closing stage, it found that it had a surplus of a lakh of rupees with which it could do nothing. The fact was that the Committee curtailed all grants in proportion to the small funds doled out by official authorities and when it discovered that it had a large balance, the money was of no use to the rayat, the time for sowing seeds and buying cattle having gone by. The Committee was in this way prevented from according adequate and prompt relief. If the Committee on the other hand had been dependent on a purely non-official source for money, the relief would have at least been prompt, even if inadequate.

I am also glad to note that the *Investors' Review* calls prominent attention to the necessity for utilising the fund for the purpose of replacing cattle lost through drought. This was one of the important directions in which the Madras Committee had to utilise its funds. It had to supply fodder with a view to prevent the destruction of cattle and offer money to enable rayats to buy fresh cattle in the place of those that had perished. The Committee bought fodder in Madras and sold it at a cheap rate to the rayats in the Presidency; and great care was taken by means of non-official supervision that only poverty-stricken rayats had the benefit of this arrangement. In some cases, money which was advanced for buying cattle was too late to be useful; but the contingency could be avoided by a purely non-official agency.

Finally, I have no doubt that the method of distribution suggested by the *Investors' Review* is such as to bring home to the suffering millions of India a deep and abiding consciousness of British sympathy in their present struggle against adversity.

February 20, 1900.

## OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

IMPERIALISM is leading Lord Rosebery into strange company. After his speech in the House of Lords last Thursday the ex-Prime Minister was belauded by the Jingo press as a second Chatham. The rôle actually assumed by the former leader of the Liberal party was more like that of a second Cassandra. In his mind's eye Lord Rosebery sees this country menaced by the three corners of the world in arms and he is more than doubtful of our ability to shock 'em. The presence of this incalculable personality on the Opposition benches is certainly quickening public interest in the debates of the House of Lords. His interventions are generally unexpected and they are always electrical. The speech which made such a sensation at the end of last week was one of the most amazing performances ever witnessed in Parliament. Lord Rosebery spoke with the vigour and passion of a prophet. His audience, a handful of elderly peers, were sorely disconcerted by the orator's unseemly vehemence. They can bear with the noisy declamation of Lord Wemyss, but it is a new and startling thing in the House of Lords for an ex-Minister to raise his voice in swelling anger or lower it to a dramatic whisper, to thump the table and dart fiery glances at a supine Government, to deviate in short from the demeanour of an automaton. Strange to say, this remarkable outburst was quietly ignored by the Prime Minister, who would probably not have spoken at all but for a direct challenge subsequently thrown out by Lord Kimberley. Even then, Lord Salisbury refrained from direct allusion to the most significant passages of the preceding speeches. He evidently felt that the question of Russia's designs in Persia and on the Afghan frontier was too delicate a matter to be discussed in the spirit of Lord Rosebery's flaming rhetoric.

On the following day the episode had a curious sequel in the House of Commons. It is not in accordance with Parliamentary etiquette for a speaker in one House to criticise speeches made in the other. Nevertheless, the leaders of the two parties in the Commons lightly broke this salutary rule—not, it is true, in the letter but certainly in the spirit. The transgression was contrived with consummate adroitness. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *apropos de bettes*, advanced to the Table, and in brief, telling phrases, favoured the House with a definition of Liberal policy in relation to militarism. The exposition was received with enthusiasm by the bulk of the Liberal members, who were especially elated by their leader's repudiation of the

doctrine of conscription and his finely expressed tribute to the power of peace. "We are a great and a strong empire," exclaimed Sir Henry, "and we are great and strong because we are an empire of peace." Ostensibly, the speech was a reply to one of Lord Salisbury's many cryptic utterances on the subject of conscription, but everyone felt that Mr. Balfour had hit the nail on the head when in following the leader of the Opposition he twitted the latter on the skill with which he had disowned Lord Rosebery. Sir Henry accepted the compliment with a smile. Perhaps he was pleased to find that he had not veiled his meaning too successfully.

A significant reception was given to Mr. Chamberlain's threat of reprisals against the Boers by arming the natives of Zululand. This sinister proposal sent a thrill of horror through the House of Commons. "Arm your barbarians!" shouted one of the Irish members mockingly, whereupon the Ministerialists broke into a cheer of defiant approval. Meanwhile the Liberals sat silent and startled. There was no note of hesitation or regret in the Colonial Secretary's voice as he dwelt on the prospect of a war of South African savages fighting under the British flag against a race of Christian white men. Mr. Balfour showed greater feeling in his statement on the subject. The impression derived from his reply to Mr. Yerburgh was that the contingency so complacently anticipated by Mr. Chamberlain was after all felt to be extremely remote. There is, of course, as Mr. Balfour pointed out, no analogy between the native tribes and the troops whose services have been offered by some of the Indian princes. The assistance of the latter would be welcomed under ordinary conditions, but the Transvaal war "is not a war under ordinary conditions." In other words, should it become a "war under ordinary conditions"—a consummation depending, paradoxically enough, on the employment of armed savages—the native soldiers of India may be permitted to join their British fellow-subjects in the field. The distinction promises to be somewhat invidious.

All that was wanted to complete the illusion of Mr. Chamberlain's stirring performance on Tuesday evening was a good, strong limelight. Injured innocence was at a disadvantage on so colourless a stage. The effects of the rouge-pot were too obvious; you could almost see the marks of the brush. Nevertheless, it was as fine a piece of histrionics as has been witnessed in the lifetime of the present Parliament. Virtuous indignation, the pathos of self-pity, furious invective, scorn, sarcasm, biting innuendo—all the elements of passion were represented. Those who deplored the absence of argument were in the wrong, for argument is out of place in declamation. Mr. D. A. Thomas and Mr. S. T. Evans had suggested that recent disclosures justified a demand for further enquiry into the circumstances of the Jameson Raid. "Enquiry!" exclaimed Mr. Chamberlain, with a gesture of disdain. "It is not an enquiry that you want; it is an execution." The Ministerialists sent forth a roar of exultation. A single epigram was worth a bushel of Hawksley letters. Besides, had the letters not been stolen? And, moreover, had they not been sold to Dr. Leyds by "a well-known friend of the Boers?" Possibly; but still they were admitted to be authentic. Mr. Chamberlain tore the sophism to threads. "This precious collection of rubbish," he asserted triumphantly, "contains not a single fact that was not known before." Authentic and true they might be, but they were not new. Such reasoning was not to be resisted, least of all by the admiring Unionists who now applauded its cogency with might and main.

Even more edifying and equally characteristic were the passages in which the rhetorician deplored the uncharitableness of his adversaries. Those persons professed, forsooth, to be actuated by a zeal for the public service. Mr. Chamberlain knew better. He himself had served his country in Parliament for twenty-four years and he had thought—there was a pathetic break in the swelling voice which spoke more eloquently than words of the bitterness of disillusion. But while the Colonial Secretary almost wept over the contemplation of his wrongs his grief did not blind him to the shortcomings of his assailants. Mr. Philip Stanhope had already been expressly excluded from the Highbury index of honour. Mr. Evans was now snavely informed that the speech which he had just delivered was unworthy of a member of the House of Commons. The demand for an investigation into the charges levelled against the Colonial Office was dismissed as a piece of dirty



work, a conspiracy against a single Minister, a sinister device to defeat the beneficial purpose of the war. Strange to say, this bombastic stuff appeared to give perfect satisfaction not only to the rank and file of the Tory party but to the trained intellect of Mr. Balfour. The First Lord of the Treasury, indeed, was so impressed by his colleague's success that in closing the debate he, too, attempted a Translunar flight. Even his followers gasped to hear their chief stigmatising the long and loudly advertised assault on the Colonial Secretary's administration as "a stab in the back."

Although the motion to reopen the enquiry was defeated, as it was bound to be, by a great majority, the impression produced on the minds of members by the replies of Ministers was one of acute dissatisfaction. It was felt that the speeches of Mr. Blake, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and above all Sir William Harcourt—whose chivalrous vindication of the loftiest traditions of public life is at length beginning to be recognised—has completely disposed of the flimsy pretext that the movement was inspired by political and personal spite. To-day even those whose party loyalty impelled them to vote with the Government admit that their leaders would have shown greater wisdom and obtained more credit had they frankly accepted the motion and consented to an investigation as rigorous as that of the Parnell Commission. The matter of course will not be allowed to rest where the decision of the House of Commons left it. A wide vista of possibilities is already opened to the public view by the action of a London newspaper in branding a well-known member of Parliament as the agent through whom the stolen letters of the Hawksley dossier were given to the world. The accusation is denied and the sequel has yet to come.

#### NOTES FROM BOMBAY. THE PROGRESS OF THE FAMINE. THE PRESS MESSAGES BILL.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, February 3.

The famine is deepening in intensity in every part, and the number of the starved who are flocking to the relief camp is swelling from week to week. It remains to be seen how they will fare, and whether the unstatesmanlike and illiberal policy announced in the December Circular is to be carried out, or whether the declaration of the Viceroy—that under no circumstances would he see a single British subject die for want of the necessary State relief—is to be respected. Lord Curzon's apology has met with only qualified approval from the Press generally; and his lordship must be now convinced that the Circular letter of the Finance Department was a little premature.

Meanwhile it may be instructive to give a few statistical facts culled from the latest issue of the *Bombay Government Gazette* (of the 1st inst.) in connexion with the relief measures during the week ending January 20 last in the Presidency of Bombay. There were in all 8,16,952 persons in receipt of relief, classified as under:—

	No.
Men .. .. .	2,43,322
Women .. .. .	2,93,291
Children .. .. .	2,89,339

It will be noticed that the number of women and children greatly exceeds that of men. The number of children is almost equal to that of women. How many of these infants will survive the calamity is a question. It may be useful to remember here that the State relief to men, women, and children is of four kinds:—

(1) Persons actually employed on relief and test works. These are all able-bodied.

(2) Persons, more or less non-working, mostly children.

(3) Persons in poor-houses. These are mostly the decrepit, infirm, and sick women and sucking babes.

(4) Persons gratuitously relieved in villages. These are a class utterly unable for one reason or another to leave their village.

No. 1 cost during the week Rs. 368,008; No. 2, Rs. 53,112; No. 3, Rs. 3,872, and No. 4, Rs. 22,189. Analysing, we come to the following average per week.

No.	Weekly cost per head	As. Ps.
1.	.. .. .	9 8
2.	.. .. .	5 2
3.	.. .. .	7 0
4.	.. .. .	9 5

If we take the entire number relieved during the week, the cost averages just one anna and five and a-half pies per day, men, women, and children included. This equals about three halfpence. In this the starving have to find a living wage. And when we take into consideration the fact that food-grains are much dearer than during normal seasons, and that a great deal of corruption prevails among the underlings who have directly to deal with the famished, we may imagine what may be the quantity and quality of food grains these wretched units of humanity obtain during twenty-four hours to keep them alive. Yet this is the amount of relief they talk of cutting down under the plea of increasing numbers. It may not be "inhuman," but at any rate it is most parsimonious. As I said last week, where war or military expenditure is concerned the revenues of the State are wasted like water. But suddenly the State conscience becomes sensitive when it has to provide the necessary funds for starving humanity to live on a penny or three-halfpence per day.

Meanwhile, everywhere the cry is for remission of revenue. But when the representatives of the people interpellate Government, the latter avoid giving a straightforward and candid answer. The new volume of financial statistics makes it clear that the Government of India did next to nothing by way of remission of the land revenue during the famine of 1896-97. Whatever miserable doles it remitted were nothing in comparison with the suspended revenue which was collected, most rigidly, during the two succeeding years. It remains to be seen how the State will deal with its revenue this time. It becomes a Government calling itself "benevolent" to proclaim its benevolence on the housetops as to remission of land revenue if, when the statement comes to be verified, the declaration shrinks to miserable proportions. It is to be hoped some member of the House of Commons will ask for a Return somewhat in the following form:—

(1) Remission of land revenue in each province of India in 1876-77 and in 1896-97.

(2) Total amount of land revenue due from each province in 1876-77 and 1896-97, the amount originally suspended, and the amount subsequently recovered in each of those official years.

But while this is the dismal condition of affairs, the Madras Government is raising the wind by an ingenious process. It has just decided in the Legislative Council to tax the rayats' subsoil water. Years ago the grasping Revenue Survey Department in Bombay forcibly passed somewhat similar legislation against which the people protested in vain. Land was assessed at a higher rate wherever the Revenue Survey authorities fancied that there were water-bearing strata. They may be visible or invisible. They may or may not be utilised. All the same, because the Survey Department decreed it, land having water-bearing strata was to be taxed at an enhanced rate. Many a rayat was thus doubly ground down. And here we see the Madras Government imitating the rapacious policy of the Bombay Government. What has the Viceroy to say to this policy? Does he personally approve it? Does he think that it is demanded by equity or by statesmanship? And when some further tinkering of land legislation is to the fore in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, shall we be told in strident tones that the State is most lenient to the peasant and takes a considerably less share of his produce than those harpies of old who ruled the Empire before the advent of the British?

To turn aside from the dismal topic, I have to say one word with regard to the Press Messages Bill. The Select Committee has made its report. As was to be expected from the presence in that body of the Hon. Mr. Mehta and the Mahārājā of Darbhanga, a compromise has been arrived at. The odious subsection of Clause 2 of the Bill, which prohibited all comment, has been considerably modified. Again the duration of the copyright of the telegram has been reduced to eighteen hours. The official press, to whom we owe this precious legislation, demanded, it may be recollected, sixty hours. At the same time one cannot understand why the defaulting journal should be proceeded against penally in a matter of this kind. It is alleged by the officials that it is more efficacious. The Hon. Mr. Mehta emphatically dissents from that view and, from his experience of thirty years as a lawyer, observes that there is not the slightest difficulty in making the offence a civil one. Thus the Bill has not emerged from the Select Committee in the form that was to be wished, though the two popular representatives did all they could. Again, they both pointed



out that the measure, as now amended, will be a failure as it will not serve the object in view. The fact is that telegraphic press messages are charged for at excessively high rates by the cable monopolists. Until the monopoly is broken down we shall not see the desired object achieved. Has the Indian Government the courage to coerce the monopolists in the interests of the Press? No. Instead it tries to oppress the weak. Because it will not force the monopolists to reduce rates, it must forgo fetters for the Press.

## THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

### FOUR MILLIONS ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received (February 20) the following telegram from the Viceroy on the subject of the Famine:—

"Though harvest very poor it is giving temporary employment in Central Provinces, hence the decrease in numbers on works. In Berar, decrease in numbers on works due to similar cause also to stricter regulations. Distress is increasing in Hyderabad, which reports numbers for first time. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 1,034,000; Punjab, 188,000; Central Provinces, 1,408,000; Berar, 160,000; Ajmere-Merwara, 116,000; Rajputana States, 351,000; Central India States, 109,000; Bombay States, 373,000; Baroda, 60,000; North-Western Provinces, 3,000; Punjab Native States, 3,000; Central Provinces Native States, 12,000; Hyderabad, 96,000. Total, 3,913,000."

### THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND. CO-OPERATION WITH THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The following article appears in the current issue of the *Investors' Review* (dated February 17):—

Slowly, yet with daily accretions, the Indian Famine Fund started by the Lord Mayor grows, but its total, in spite of the earnest help of the Stock Exchange and of some provincial municipalities, as well as of some few charitably minded private citizens, is still lamentably small. We are glad, however, to see that thus far none of the money seems to have been spent upon advertisements setting forth the names of the donors. The advertising bill of the "war fund" must by now be a sensible percentage of its total, and it would be lamentable were any of the money devoted to the relief of the starving in India and the rescue of orphans there to go in this direction. But what has the Mansion House Committee—if there is one—done in the way of securing proper control of the distribution of this money? This is the all important question, and it ought to be satisfactorily answered before we go further. In the 1st number of that excellent Calcutta newspaper, *Capital*, which reached us the other day, we find at the end of an article by its shrewd and clever contributor "X" the following words:—"I have certainly seen some people get fat on famine relief in India, but such people were not the coolies on the relief works." This is a startling assertion, but we believe it moderately states the facts. We shall presently explain; but the all-important question to be first put is whether money collected in India and handed to these same people for distribution will be more wisely spent, or more honestly, than the money of the Government. This is a matter that imperatively requires to be cleared up, and as long as doubt upon it remains it is incumbent upon charitable people in this country to endeavour to find other channels through which every farthing of the money they subscribe will find its way effectually to those in need of help.

On another page it will be seen that one Presbyterian body, at least, in Scotland is doing something, and, through its missionaries, British and Native, is endeavouring to save life and rescue destitute orphans, but there is room for much more of this kind of help. We, therefore, are glad to be able to announce that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress will take charge as trustees of any moneys collected through the agency of this REVIEW, and see that every penny of it is put in trustworthy hands in India to be faithfully utilised in judicious and intelligent relief. Sir William Wedderburn's name alone is a guarantee that this will be done, for no man living knows, loves, and trusts the people of India more than he does, or has served them more unselfishly. We therefore beg earnestly for subscriptions to this fund. All moneys will be acknowledged in the REVIEW. Nothing will be deducted for expenses either by us or by the Committee. The money received will be sent to India intact, and Native gentlemen as well as Englishmen there in friendly touch and

intercourse with the destitute will see to the wise utilisation of every shilling.

It is all the more necessary that an unofficial effort of this kind should be made because overworked Government servants are too often compelled to leave the management of charity, as well as State funds, placed in their hands to low class Native underlings who all too generally misuse their power: if they do not misappropriate the money, or else the help of European loafers or "out-of-works" from every part of India is called for, with the consequence that these amateurs, who generally know nothing of the conditions under which relief ought to be given, and sometimes care nothing, draw their salaries and look on. Do readers now comprehend "X's" bitter sarcasm?

Not only for this reason do we desire to see money collected here pass through private channels to India's famine-stricken people, but also because India, more even than Europe, wants a consciousness of British sympathy in her present appalling distress. A shilling given with a kindly touch of confidence and neighbourly feeling may be worth more than pounds distributed perfunctorily. Therefore we trust other newspapers will initiate us and initiate local collections which we shall be most happy to receive, record, and hand on to the Committee. It will render in due time a full account of the way the money has been spent. All helpers may be sure that in following us they are taking the best available course to insure that good will be done with the money they gather, and they will also earn the grateful thanks of the Indian people. Subjoined is Sir William Wedderburn's letter. Our first list of subscriptions will appear next week. Kindly make cheques and postal orders payable to A. J. Wilson, and send them to the office of the *Investors' Review*.

Office of the British Committee of the Indian  
National Congress, 84, Palace Chambers,  
Westminster, S.W., February 14.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 6th inst., I write to say that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress will, with pleasure, act as trustees for any funds you may submit to them for the relief of sufferers from the famine in India. We believe that we shall be able to distribute such funds satisfactorily by means of local friends and organisations in complete touch and sympathy with the suffering people in different parts of India. I note that you do not wish to limit the use of the money, but desire special attention to the need for replacing the cattle lost through the drought.

WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Chairman.

### OPENING OF THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The following letter from the Lord Mayor of London, addressed to the editors of various newspapers, appeared on Saturday last, February 17:—

Sir,—I solicit your permission to announce that, with the approval of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, I have opened a fund at the Mansion House for the relief of the great and widespread distress attendant upon the famine in India.

The details of the visitation, which is likely to be the worst of its kind, will be better gathered from the statements of the Viceroy at the great meeting at Calcutta than from any narrative of mine, but the information supplied to me indicates that the area affected by the famine is nearly 450,000 square miles with a population of sixty millions; that the distress is largely prevalent in the Native States, that nearly four millions of people are at present being kept alive by Government relief, that some of the richest and most fertile tracts of India never before affected are in sore straits, and that owing to the loss of cattle the village people will have much difficulty in regaining their prosperity.

In circumstances so serious it is surely the duty of the community in all parts of the Empire to come forward to succour and preserve their afflicted fellow-subjects in the East and to show by the exercise of bountiful and wisely administered charity that the sympathy which binds India with the mother country and the colonies is no mere sentimental attachment, but is stronger and closer now than at any period of our history. The assumption that because vast sums are pouring in from all parts of the world for the sufferers by the war the compassion of the public is either exhausted or even strained needs only to be stated to be brushed aside. The burden of Empire entails responsibilities as well as privileges, but both are combined when, with that large-heartedness characteristic of the British race, mercy and pity are ungrudgingly displayed as well for the widows and orphans of our gallant men in South Africa as for the famine-stricken populations of India.

In the charities incident to the war none in spite of their own distress have shown more genuine concern than the people of India, as is testified by the collections spontaneously raised among the Native troops for the families of their British comrades with whom in past campaigns they have fought shoulder to shoulder for the Empress-Queen. Those enlightened rulers the Native Princes have exhibited their traditional and most munificent liberality.

For all these considerations I feel more than justified in making an urgent appeal on behalf of the Indian Famine Fund. A sum of £50,000 has been raised at the Mansion House within the last few days and placed by cable at the immediate disposal of the Viceroy of India for the arduous work of relief in which, I am convinced, Lord Curzon, the Government officials, and the committees will be sustained by a knowledge of the sympathy of the community.

Donations may be sent to me at the Mansion House or to any of the banks. As a matter of convenience, I would suggest that, in order to avoid confusion with the war funds, contributions for India



should be distinctly marked and that when amounts are intended for more than one of the Mansion House funds separate cheques should be remitted.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

ALFRED J. NEWTON, Lord Mayor.  
The Mansion House, London, E.C., Feb. 16.

Since writing I have received from the Secretary of State for India a statement of the views of the Government of India as to the organisation for distributing the sums subscribed and the objects to which the money will be applied. The Government of India propose, as in 1897, to rely upon general and local relief committees for dealing with the Famine Fund, as the experience gained in that year shows that this organisation is the most suitable for making collections throughout India and for distributing relief in the distressed districts. In this manner the active aid and co-operation of the non-official public will be in close touch with the State system of relief, but will not interfere with or overlap it. The four objects to which any sums which may be collected will be devoted in accordance with the recommendations of the Famine Commission are as follows:—(1) The provision of extra comforts in the shape of food and clothing over and above what is provided by the State; (2) the maintenance of orphans; (3) the relief of person who, though in want, are unwilling to declare themselves publicly as applicants for charitable assistance; and (4) the provision of help mainly in the form of agricultural implements and cattle to those who may have lost their property in the famine and who without such help would be unable to make a fresh start in life. The relief of distress in the Native States will be a special feature in the administration of the Famine Fund, and it is hoped that this fact will appeal strongly to the generosity of the people of this country.

A. J. N.

## "OUR DUTY TO INDIA."

MR. S. H. SWINNY AT NORTHAMPTON.

On Tuesday last, February 20, Mr. S. H. Swinny (on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress) addressed a meeting at the Liberal Club, St. Giles' Street, convened by the Liberal and Radical Union of Northampton. Councillor Tonsley, formerly Mayor of the town, took the Chair.

Mr. SWINNY commenced by paying a warm tribute to the services which Charles Bradlaugh rendered to India. By a curious destiny the electors of this distant island had become the final arbiters of the fate of the Indian people. Northampton had given those silent millions a potent voice. The lecturer wished that other constituencies would do likewise. He was far from minimising the good work done by the English in India; not the least part of which, in his opinion, consisted in giving the Indians a common language in which to make known their common hopes and sufferings and so become in very truth a nation. But the English Government of India suffered from one very grave disadvantage—it was too expensive. India was the poorest of civilised nations, and we had given it the most expensive form of government. The country was now face to face with a terrible famine, far worse than that which occurred only three years ago, and which itself was known as "the great famine." Was it not time to enquire not merely into the remedies but into the causes of these terrible visitations?

### THE CAUSES OF FAMINE.

According to the Government, the cause of famine was the failure of the rains. This was certainly the cause of scarcity, but for this scarcity to develop into famine, it was necessary that no provision should have been made against the day of drought. In other words famine resulted from there being no store of food and no money to purchase it—that is, it was produced by the poverty of the people. Not so many years ago, as Sir William Wedderburn had told us, the peasants kept a store of grain beneath their houses; but this was so no longer, partly owing to the support given by our Courts to the utmost claims of creditors, but still more owing to the heavy land-tax, always rising at each periodical assessment, and rigidly enforced. It was a notable fact that in Bengal where there was a permanent settlement, there had been no famine for a long period, while in the Central Provinces, reassessed every fifteen years, there had been terrible distress both in 1897 and in 1900. This heavy land-tax was not imposed from any desire to harry the peasantry, but because of the necessity of raising a vast revenue to support so expensive a government. Moreover the Government was an alien government and so great sums had to be transmitted to Europe every year. The lecturer quoted John Stuart Mill to show that this had all the economic effects of a tribute, that it obliged India to force a market for her goods, and thus sell them cheaper than she otherwise need have done. In particular Mr. Swinny protested against the impoverished people of India having to pay the expenses of the India Office in London, while the much wealthier inhabitants of Australia and Canada were allowed to leave the British tax-payer to provide for the Colonial Office and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Applause.)

### THE INDIAN CHARACTER.

It had long been a custom with those who opposed the extension of liberty in India to blacken the character of the Indians. Like every nation they had their vices; but also their virtues. They were courageous, and he said this not only of the fighting races, the Sikhs and the Gurkhas who had won the admiration of their English commanders and fellow-soldiers, but even of the Bengalee, who had been so often accused of cowardice, because he was a fighter. Sir George Robertson in his account of the siege of Chitral, had borne witness to the courage of the Bengalee steward who, though he did not conceal his dislike of the whole business, never allowed any danger to interfere with the performance of his duty. Nor could it be said that the Indians were dishonest. The losses in the Indian Post Office through the dishonesty of officials were less in proportion than those in the English Post Office. That they had strong family affections and were extremely frugal was admitted. Young magis-

trates, ignorant of the world, were inclined from their experience in the Courts to think all Indians liars, but those few Englishmen who had pierced the veil that separates the two races, and had known the Indian peasant as he was in his own village, and not only in the terrifying presence of the magistrate, formed a very different opinion.

### EDUCATED INDIANS.

But it was the educated Indians, the men who had accepted the education pressed upon them by the Government, and had thereby pledged themselves by every motive of ambition and self-interest (to speak of no others) to be loyal to British rule, that were the especial mark of Anglo-Indian attack. Many of them, under all the difficulties of having to commute thousands of miles from home and in a foreign language, had succeeded in winning places in the Indian Civil Service, but the highest posts in the executive Government were rigidly closed against them. Yet they were accused of being wanting in gratitude, because they claimed to share in the government of their own country on terms of equality with the English. (Laughter.) The official spirit of the educated Indians was continually insisted on, but this could be brought to a very plain test. There were in India, if Burma were excluded, seven Provinces. How did educated Indians as represented in their newspapers, treat the heads of these Provinces? Of three, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and of Assam, nothing but praise was ever heard. The same almost might be said concerning the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in spite of the unpopularity attaching to the attack on the Calcutta Corporation, for the Indians had the generosity not to impute to him the evil legacy left by his predecessor. Of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Governor of Madras, if the praise had been more stinted there had been little in the way of blame. One alone out of the seven—Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay, had met with that adverse criticism to which every public man in England was exposed. Did this show a very critical spirit? (Applause.)

### SIGNS OF REACTION.

Mr. Swinny then proceeded to consider the signs of reaction which had appeared in India during the last few years. He instanced the attacks on the liberty of the Press and contrasted, amid laughter, the hard measure meted out to those who praised Siraji with the glorification of Cromwell in England. He dealt with the attacks on the Calcutta municipality, showing how the reasons assigned by the Government for their not being contradicted by the report of the official chairman of the Corporation. He also referred to the case of the Natus so long imprisoned under circumstances which in the old French monarchy or modern Russia moved the indignation of the English people.

### THE DUTY OF ENGLAND.

Finally, Mr. Swinny exhorted his hearers to do their utmost to make the Indian Government, by the pressure of English public opinion, not only succour the famine-stricken, but do their utmost to prevent famine in the future; stay the drain of wealth from India and put an end to the heavy assessments; and gradually introduce more and more Indians into the higher branches of the public service. To train up the Indians to be worthy of the liberties we ourselves enjoyed had been the aim of the greatest English statesmen in India. It was the duty of the English people to see that that aim was carried to fruition. (Loud applause.)

### QUESTIONS.

At the close of the lecture, the Chairman invited questions and some forty minutes were occupied by enquiries, to which Mr. Swinny replied. They ranged over almost all the subjects mentioned in the lecture, but were especially directed to the employment of Indians in the Government service and the means of preventing famine.

Councillor MANFIELD, the son of a former representative of Northampton in Parliament, in moving the vote of thanks, complimented the lecturer on the impartiality with which he had treated the subject and declared that his interest had been strongly aroused. The vote was seconded by Councillor PURSER, and carried unanimously.

Mr. SWINNY, in returning thanks, expressed his pleasure at the interest in India shown by the numerous questions which had been addressed to him.

## Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, February 15.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

#### THE MILITARY PREPARATIONS. RUSSIA, INDIA, AND PERSIA.

In the course of the debate upon the Government's Army Proposals, The Earl of ROSBERRY said: "In Russia there is no Parliament, and I suppose that is a constitution which the noble marquis would envy. But, at any rate, we see circumstances in Russia which make us pause. The ancient empire of Persia has been the witness, in these last days, to events to which England once would have had something to say, but which appear to pass without any protest from the noble marquis, and perhaps without any possibility of protest from England."

The Earl of KIMBERLEY, in the course of his speech, said: "I see all around us a temper displayed by our neighbours which must make every thoughtful man pause and reflect on the conditions of the situation in which we find ourselves. It is useless to conceal from ourselves that fact. There is one particular point which was not referred to by my noble friend; but which is always very present to my mind, and which, I am sure, is fully appreciated by the noble marquis—I mean the ever present menace of the defence of our Indian frontier. I am not now ascribing to Russia direct designs to attack us in India, but the noble marquis knows as well as I do how unstable is the position of that frontier. He knows as well as I do



that one event—I hope it is by no means near—namely the death of the Amir of Afghanistan and the consequences that may follow—must always be present to the mind of everyone who has had any connexion on the one hand with India and on the other hand with foreign affairs. Although I do not ascribe any direct hostile intentions to Russia at the present moment, I cannot overlook the fact that there is going on a movement of troops in that direction which, if not menacing, shows at least possibilities for the future never absent from the mind of the Russian Government. While I honour the peaceful intentions of the present ruler of Russia, I must point out to your lordships that even such a ruler as that has not entire power over questions of this kind. There are in Russia three powerful motives which always actuate the Russian Government in their conduct of affairs. One of these is the power of the Orthodox Church of Russia; the other is the strong national Slav feelings which exist; and the third is the army. No ruler, however powerful, can disregard the views and the opinions which permeate the army; and there might easily arise a state of things when, peaceful as might be the intentions of the ruler of the empire, he might find it extremely difficult to resist the pressure put upon him. I ask you to suppose, and we must take into our consideration conjectures not only as to what our force may be, but also as to what may be required of it—that this great question of the Indian frontier were to be raised. You have in India a garrison never too large; and at this moment diminished by 10,000 men. Where are you to find the troops—seasoned troops they must be—in case of emergency to reinforce your Army in India? There will always be a feeling of insecurity, and in the present condition of things a feeling amounting almost to alarm.

The Marquis of SALISBURY, in the course of his speech, said: I am sorry that I cannot speak as freely as I should like to, but very frankly and freely enough. I cannot enter upon the character of the Russian Government, or of the strings which guide it, or the course which it is likely to take. I cannot discuss the health of the Amir of Afghanistan. I have not lately had any account of it; but I have every reason to believe that it is as satisfactory as we could wish; and we agree with the noble earl in hoping that his years may be prolonged.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

### THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

#### NO GRANT FROM THE BRITISH TREASURY.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN asked the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the unhappy condition of India and the unprecedented demands on the Indian revenues for famine relief, the Government would consider the propriety of making a substantial grant to India from the British Treasury.

MR. WILLIAM REMOND asked the Secretary of State for India whether it was intended to make any grant from Imperial Funds towards the relief of those suffering from the famine in India.

LORD G. HAMILTON: We do not propose to make a grant to India from the British treasury for famine purposes; as we have no reason to believe that the financial means and credit of the Government of India are insufficient to meet all demands that are likely to arise in connexion with the relief of distress caused by the present famine in India.

### COLOURED PERSONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. DRAGG asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he could state whether, under the existing laws of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, any impediments were placed in the way of coloured persons desirous of acquiring and holding land.

Whether, so far as the Transvaal was concerned, any such impediment constituted an infringement of Article XIX of the Convention of 1854.

And, whether coloured persons were under any disabilities as to the acquisition and ownership of land in Cape Colony and Natal.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In the South African Republic Natives and other coloured persons are not allowed to acquire land in their own name. Application has to be made to the superintendent of Natives who took the place of the British Secretary for Native Affairs and the Native Location Commission provided for by Articles 13 and 31 of the Pretoria Convention. I do not therefore think that the existing arrangements is a breach of Article XIX of the London Convention. In the Orange Free State I believe that coloured persons of partly European origin are allowed to acquire and hold land, but not other coloured persons. Indians are practically excluded from settling in the State at all. In the Cape and Natal coloured persons other than Natives residing in locations (who own land in common) are not under any restriction as to acquiring and owning land.

### INDIAN TROOPS AND THE WAR.

MR. YEREBURN asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the fact that the Boers had invaded Zululand and attacked the natives, and also that natives had been employed by the Boers as armed combatants in recent operations, he still adhered to his statement made in October last that native troops would not be employed by the Government in the present war.

And, whether the same pledge applied to the natives of India and to the troops of the Native Princes who had offered their services.

MR. BALFOUR: My hon. friend has wisely placed the two branches of his question in different paragraphs, for, I need hardly say, there is no resemblance or analogy whatever between the native tribes of South Africa and the Native Princes of India and their troops. The aid of the latter we should be proud to have in a war carried on under ordinary conditions. The statement of policy, however, to which my hon. friend refers was based on the idea that the war in South Africa was not to be carried on under ordinary conditions, and that by common consent it was decided it should be confined to the two European races chiefly concerned. (Hear, hear.) If the Boers adopt a course inconsistent with this idea we should, of course, hold ourselves free to reconsider our decision. (Cheers.)

MR. COURTNEY: In view of the extreme gravity, which every one will allow, of the answer made by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury to the question put by the hon. member for Chester, and the answer by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, may I be permitted to ask these two supplementary questions of the First Lord—First, whether he will take care that the utmost care shall be secured as to the reality of the authority for the Boer attacks on the Natives; and, secondly, whether he is aware that in this, as in so many other instances of alleged violation of the practices of war, there are charges and counter-charges on both sides?

MR. BALFOUR: As regards the second question I am not aware there has been any allegation in this case of any violation of the practices of war. As regards the first, asking that the most careful investigation shall be made, I can give him every assurance he thinks desirable on that subject.

Friday, February 16.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

### THE BURMO-CHINESE BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he had any information as to the murder at the village of Monghem of Major Kiddle, Mr. Sutherland, and Mr. Litton, attached to the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission.

And, whether he would state what military steps were being taken, in view of this serious incident, with regard to the future labours of the Commission.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I have received the following information of the events referred to. It appears that the officers in question were assaulted whilst visiting a bazaar on February 9 last at the village of Monghem. Two were murdered, and one wounded. Monghem is just outside British territory as at present delimited. The Government of India are considering whether the Commission should not withdraw to British territory for the present, and will take in concert with the Chinese Commissioner such measures as may seem to them to be necessary.

Monday, February 19.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

### A RUSSIAN CONSULATE AT BOMBAY.

MR. MACLEAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether an application had been made, and accepted to by her Majesty's Government, for the establishment of a Russian Consulate General at Bombay.

And whether it was proposed to appoint British Consuls at the principal places in the Caucasus and the Trans-Caspian dominions of Russia.

MR. BRODRICK: In view of an assurance given by her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1876 her Majesty's Government in August last expressed their readiness to accede to an application from the Russian Government for the establishment of a Russian Consulate at Bombay. Her Majesty's Government stated at the same time that they understood that the Russian Government would be ready to agree to the appointment of a British Consul at Tiflis should it at any time be found desirable to make such an appointment. No appointment of a Consul at Bombay has yet been notified by the Russian Government, but if such a Consulate is established it will be open to her Majesty's Government to claim the right of appointing a Consul at Tiflis.

### RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Government had received any notification as to recent movements of Russian troops towards the frontier of Afghanistan; and, whether he was in a position to make any statement as to the relations at present existing between the Amir and this country.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I have received several reports indicating an increase in the number of Russian troops stationed in Central Asia. The relations of the Government of India with His Highness the Amir conform to the terms of our engagements with Afghanistan, and have undergone no change.

### THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

SIR MANOHERLAL BROWNGEREE asked the First Lord of the Treasury if he would state what arrangements had been finally concluded between her Majesty's Government, the Government of India, and the University of London for taking over the Imperial Institute Buildings, specifying the apportionment of accommodation in each case and the responsibility undertaken by them for maintaining the structure.

And whether he would place upon the Table of the House Copies of Correspondence regarding the final arrangements made for the future working of the Imperial Institute.

MR. BALFOUR: The Government has taken over the entire building and with responsibility for external repairs, lighting and rates. The Indian Government will occupy without rent (1) part of the basement at the east end of the main block; (2) the Anabel Rhownagree corridor and certain other rooms and passages in the eastern annex; (3) it will have the use, conjointly with the University of London and the institute, of the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, at dates to be arranged between the parties; (4) as regards the exhibition galleries it will make its own arrangements with the institute as before. The institute will occupy, rent free, the western part of the main block with many of the galleries. It will have the use, conjointly with the University, of the Great Hall; and, conjointly with the University and the Government of India, of the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, at dates to be arranged between the parties. With the above exceptions the building will be occupied, rent free, by the University of London under an arrangement which will permit of examinations of candidates for the Civil Service being occasionally held there. I am not



aware of any correspondence on the subject of the future conduct of the Imperial Institute.

Tuesday, February 20.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

### INDIAN AMBULANCE BEARERS.

Mr. DILLON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a large number of Indians in Natal had offered their services free of cost;

And whether and to what extent that offer had been accepted. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: A number of Natal Indians volunteered for service in any capacity without remuneration, and though their services as soldiers were not accepted, they were engaged to act as loaders for the Indian ambulance bearers. I do not know the exact number so employed. The facts are stated at page 249 of Col. 43.

Mr. DILLON asked whether the right hon. gentleman would take into consideration the desirability of offering some remuneration to these Indians.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I think that would not be a courteous way of treating their offer to serve without remuneration. (Hear, hear.)

### INDIAN REFUGEES FROM THE TRANSVAAL.

Sir MANCHESTER PHOENAGREER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he had any information with regard to a report widely circulated in India that among her Majesty's subjects who received notice last October from the Boer Government to quit the Transvaal on the outbreak of hostilities were eighty-two British Indian settlers of Natal: that, although they wished to return to Natal, they were forcibly deported to India; that prior to their embarkation, they were placed in charge of the Portuguese Military Authorities at Delagoa Bay; and that, while thus detained, Portuguese soldiers subjected them to brutal treatment, robbed them of all their money, and outraged the modesty of their women; and if so, would he state how it was that the British representatives at the place of detention did not remonstrate with the Portuguese authorities, or take other necessary measures for the protection of the refugees.

Mr. BRODRICK: The Foreign Office has no information in regard to the incident referred to. Many British Indian subjects who fled from the Transvaal to Lorenzo Marquez were sent to India, their passage being paid out of the Lord Mayor's Fund. Her Majesty's consul at Lorenzo Marquez will be instructed by telegraph to report the facts.

### THE CABLE COMPANIES.

Sir EDWARD SASSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether her Majesty's Government would consider the desirability of withholding their sanction from future agreements between the Eastern Telegraph Company and the subsidiary companies and the Cape, Indian, and Australian Governments until Parliament had had an opportunity of taking cognisance of them;

And whether if the Government had no control over these conventions so far as regards the Colonies, her Majesty's Government would point out to the Colonial Governments concerned the expediency of abstaining from any final decision until an Imperial policy of a comprehensive nature, embracing Colonial interests, had been formulated by Parliament in the course of this Session.

Mr. BALFOUR: I think my hon. friend will see that the matter to which he calls attention in this question is one which cannot really be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament alone. It is a matter for negotiation between the self-governing Colonies and the home Government.

Sir E. SASSON asked whether the right hon. gentleman would give time for the discussion of the subject.

Mr. BALFOUR: There are opportunities which my hon. friend shares with other members for bringing the matter before the House, but I cannot give him any of the Government time at our disposal.

### NOTICES OF MOTION.

The following Notices of Motion appear on the Order Paper of the House of Commons:

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN:—*Distress in India*.—To call attention to the condition of the people of India; and to move, That in view of the grievous sufferings which are again afflicting the people of India, a detailed and searching village enquiry should be instituted in order to ascertain the causes which impair the cultivators' powers to resist the attacks of famine and plague. (Tuesday, March 20.)

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH:—*Excise Administration (India)*.—To call attention to the administration of Excise in India, by which many liquor shops are being opened in various parts of India, in direct violation of the expressed protests of the neighbourhood, and in contradiction of the declared policy of the Government of India, as formulated in their Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 29, February 4, 1896; and to move a resolution. [An early day.]

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS:—*On Army Estimates*, to call attention to the organisation of her Majesty's Military Forces in the East; and to move a resolution. [On going into Committee of Supply.]

### NOTICES OF QUESTIONS.

Notice has been given of the following questions:—

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN:—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government, in view of the present severe strain upon the financial means and credit of the Government of India, will consider the propriety of guaranteeing the Indian Loan which will have to be raised for famine purposes in connection with the coming Indian Budget. [Thursday, February 22.]

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN:—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state the total number of deaths from famine in India reported up to the present date;

And whether he will obtain and make public weekly reports showing the number of such deaths. [Thursday, February 22.]

### MR. REDMOND'S MANIFESTO.

The following manifesto which Mr. Redmond issued a few days ago will doubtless be read with interest in India by persons interested in the work of political organisation:—

#### "TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND."

"Fellow Countrymen,—After nine years of weakness and disunion in the ranks of the Nationalist representatives of Ireland in Parliament, the United Irish National Parliamentary Party has once more been formed on the principles and under the constitution of the Irish Party from 1885 to 1890. This event, an every indication of public feeling and opinion shows, has been heartily welcomed by every section of the Nationalist Party in Ireland. It is an event which will, if the Irish people so choose, mark a turning point in the history of the National movement. For the last nine years the progress of that movement in Parliament and Ireland has been arrested, the efficiency of the Irish Nationalist representatives in the House of Commons seriously impaired, and the organisation of the people in Ireland, without which a Parliamentary Party is of comparatively little value, fell to pieces.

"It is not necessary to revert now to the causes of the disunion which brought about these lamentable results. The chapter has been closed by the wise and patriotic action of the Irish representatives, and the thoughts of men on all sides of the contest that has been waged are now turned to the future and its possibilities. As disunion has certainly been fraught with evil consequences, so it is equally certain that union may, under certain conditions, be made the means of once more regaining the weapon which the Constitution has placed in the hands of Ireland potent for the redress of national grievances and the winning back of our right to national self-government. The opportunities which the Party system in Great Britain in its very nature opens up to an Irish Party, numerous, united, constant in attendance, and independent of all British Parties, are known to us by experience. Ministries have been made and unmade by such a Party; benefits have been wrested from reluctant and even hostile majorities, policies have been altered to the advantage of Ireland by the steady and sustained compulsion of an Irish Parliamentary force, known to speak for the nation, acting as a single man, and taking advantage of every occasion of attack and defence.

"The opportunities for achievements of such a character are likely in the future to be not less, but more numerous, than at any period in the past. The present time is absolutely rife with possibilities. The greatest crisis in the memory of living man has arisen in the affairs of the Empire, and no one can tell the moment when eighty Irish members, thinking only of the interests of their own country, may be able to extract from the situation its legitimate fruit. The question is: Will the people of Ireland enable their representatives to take advantage of these possibilities? and the answer to it admits of no delay. The supreme question of national self-government must be restored to its rightful position as the greatest of all political issues; but, apart from the question of Home Rule, Ireland stands in immediate need of several reforms of the first importance.

"The Land Question is still unsolved. It can never be solved till the industry of agriculture, the main industry of our country—is freed by the universal establishment of compulsory purchase of an occupying proprietary from the burden which still weighs it down, and by some great scheme for replacing the land in the poverty-stricken districts of the West in the possession of the people. The industry of agriculture and all the other industries of Ireland are the victims of a system of over taxation, the most iniquitous in its conception and in its results of any in the civilised world. If the plunder of Ireland which is effected by that system is not stopped, the Irish nation will bleed to death. The old policy by which the majority of the nation was in the past condemned by law to ignorance unless it forfeited its religious faith is still persisted in as regards that portion of our Catholic people who are anxious to avail themselves of the benefits of University education. Those of our Catholic youths who might naturally be expected to become the leaders of public opinion are still condemned by the spirit of an old-world bigotry to deprive themselves of the advantages of the higher training of the intellect, unless they resort to institutions founded and carried on on principles at variance with their religious convictions.

"These and many other questions press with daily increasing urgency for settlement. Much may be done to further their solution even during the present Session of Parliament, if the action of the Parliamentary Representatives in closing up their ranks and absolutely burying past feuds be backed up by corresponding action on the part of those whom they represent; and if these Representatives are now enabled by their constituents to give to the discharge of their duties in the House of Commons the continuous attendance and undivided vigilance without which a fighting Parliamentary Party is impossible. Holding these views, and believing that no time should be lost in putting them before you, I now appeal to you to supply, with as little delay as possible, the pecuniary support necessary for the prosecution of a campaign of combat in the House of Commons. The Irish members have done their part by re-uniting without any reserve in face of a critical situation; it remains for the people of Ireland to enable them to renew, in face of both the Parties of Great Britain, this determined struggle for Irish rights which has been so long and so unhappily interrupted.

"It is impossible, and it would be unjust, to expect that Irish members should not only give their time and sacrifice their own private interests to the advancement of the public cause, but should also bear the whole pecuniary burden sustained by prolonged attendance at Westminster. I therefore ask you, fellow-countrymen, to subscribe with as much promptness and liberality as you can to the Sessional Fund of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

"I remain, fellow-countrymen,

"Your faithful servant,

"February 10, 1900."  
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