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NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is expected at the time of writing (Thursday) that the annual discussion upon the "Indian Budget" will be taken on Tuesday next. We print elsewhere the various motions of which members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee and others have given notice.

The full text of Lord Curzon's letter to the Bengal Government in regard to the Calcutta Municipal Bill is published in the Indian papers received by the last mail. Lord Curzon's proposals are condemned in India as worse than Sir A. Mackenzie's Bill, and have created profound disappointment and consternation. Sir A. Mackenzie proposed to leave the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation as it is at present—fifty members being elected by the ratepayers and twenty-five being nominated by the Government and the European merchants. Lord Curzon proposes to reduce the elected members to twenty-five, and so make them equal in number to the nominated members. In other words the ratepayers of Calcutta, including European residents, will be represented by only one-half of the members of the Corporation, and the great Hindu and Mahometan population of Calcutta, numbering seven hundred thousand and paying two-thirds of the municipal taxation of the city, will thus be represented by less than one-half of the members of the new Corporation. It is an efficacious way of depriving the people of Calcutta of rights they have enjoyed during twenty-three years. And if the Hindu and Mahometan population of Calcutta are about to be placed in a minority in the Corporation itself they are to be in a still more hopeless minority in the Executive Committee of the Corporation. That Committee will, according to Lord Curzon's proposals, consist of twelve members, of whom eight are to be elected by the Corporation and four nominated by the Government. From what has been said above it will be clear that of the elected eight only one-half or less than one-half will represent the Hindu and Mahometan population of Calcutta, while the other half, as well as the nominated four, will represent the European and the Government interest. The vast body of the people of Calcutta are thus to be reduced to a minority of four, or less than four, out of twelve in the Executive Committee of their own Municipal Council. This mockery of a representative system conciliates nobody and deceives nobody. It would have been more honest to hand over Calcutta openly to the administration of a few officials appointed by the Government.

When an act of injustice has been determined upon reasons for its justification are superfluous. Lord Curzon's reasons will not bear examination. He desires (according to his letter) to restore "an equality of balance between the two main interests and classes in the population of the city, viz., the European interest largely preponderating in wealth and influence and the Indian interests largely predominating in numbers." This is a misstatement of facts. The European interest does not preponderate in influence and wealth, because the Europeans and Eurasians pay only 6½ lakhs of rupees as tax, and the Hindus and Mahometans pay 22 lakhs annually. Nor can Lord Curzon's scheme restore an "equality of balance," because as has been shown above, and as Mr. Dutt showed in his article in our columns a fortnight ago, the European population (as ratepayers, as mercantile bodies, and as the Government) will be represented by more than half the members of the

Corporation, and will be able to outvote the representatives of the Hindus and the Mahometans whenever they like. This is the obvious purpose of this retrograde legislation. Another specious reason which Lord Curzon advances for preferring his scheme to Sir A. Mackenzie's Bill is that the latter "might not in practice ensure that amicable and patriotic co-operation of all parties in the municipal government of the city which is essential to its efficient administration." Does Lord Curzon think that after he has reduced the great Hindu and Mahometan population of Calcutta to a minority in the Corporation he will receive that "amicable and patriotic co-operation"? Does he suppose that real sanitary improvements in a vast Asiatic city like Calcutta can be introduced in the future without such co-operation, or that the Government will feel stronger in times of famine or plague, panic or disturbance, after it has alienated the leaders of the people? A grave blunder is about to be committed. A wise policy of trust in the people is to be reversed, and a right enjoyed by the citizens of the metropolis of India for twenty-three years is to be withdrawn.

We have heard a good deal lately of the "independence" of the Legislative Councils in India. It would be interesting to know whether the "independent" Bengal Legislative Council is free to modify the Viceroy's proposals. If the Bengal Council thinks that the elected members of the Corporation should be 50 and not 25, as proposed by Lord Curzon, or if the Council thinks that the nominated members should be 15 and not 25, or if it thinks that in the Executive Committee of the Corporation two-thirds of the members should be elected (as now) by the ratepayers' representatives—is the Council free to modify Lord Curzon's proposals accordingly? It is humiliating for the Lieutenant-Governor of a great Province and his Legislative Council to be told what Bill they must throw out and what Bill they must pass.

Lord Stanley of Alderley received very little satisfaction from Lord Onslow when he put his question concerning outrages by soldiers on Indians. The Under Secretary refused to discuss measures of prevention, nor did he say whether on the occasion of Lord Stanley's former enquiry the India Office was acquainted with the nine cases which Lord Stanley now enumerated. He contented himself with showing that serious crime, judging by the number of courts-martial held, had diminished. But though crime generally may have diminished, this is no proof that any one particular crime has grown less frequent. Lord Onslow also took the point that Lord Stanley did not distinguish between cases of conviction and of acquittal, but acquittals often occur through the difficulty of identifying the particular soldiers concerned, and not from any doubt of an outrage having taken place. As to shooting parties, he said that orders were only issued to men of extremely good character, and every precaution was taken to prevent any collision with the Natives. Yet collisions occur in spite of all precautions, and this is only the more serious if the men concerned are not the worst but the best in the army.

Lord Kimberley, who continued the discussion, took a very rosate view of the state of the army in India; but he added that "it would be most unfortunate that such an erroneous impression should get abroad" as that our soldiers were deteriorating. Erroneous or not, and whether due to the setting up of a higher standard or to whatever other reason, such an impression has already got abroad in India. But perhaps the most interesting contribution to the debate was made by Lord Lansdowne, who said:—

We must all regard with the utmost reprobation acts of ill-usage perpetrated by Europeans, whether soldiers or civilians, upon the natives of India. It is for civilians a disgrace to the nation to which

they belong, but when these acts are perpetrated by soldiers, they not only bring disgrace upon their country and countrymen, but upon the honourable profession of which they are members.

These are brave words; but for any suggestions for the prevention of such outrages we look into the speech of the Secretary for War in vain.

A Manipur correspondent of the *Bengalee* gives some extraordinary details of a case of whipping inflicted, it is alleged, by the order of Mr. Hodson, Assistant Political Agent of Manipur. Four rubber merchants accused of an illegal sale of rubber were, on their petition, authorised to appear by proxy. They thereupon appointed a resident at Manipur as their agent, who appeared before Mr. Hodson to ask for a copy of the complaint. He was immediately ordered to leave the Court, and being found later on waiting about its precincts, expecting a decision on his petition, he was put in the hands of a policeman and sent off to gaol. But this was very far from being the worst. The policeman took with him a written order to the gaoler that the prisoner was to have ten stripes, and a verbal order that this was not to be actually carried out. The gaoler gave effect to the written order, and the unfortunate man was flogged, though innocent of all offence. The man afterwards went to Silchar and swore an affidavit setting forth the facts. It is said that the gaoler has been himself given ten stripes for obeying the written instead of the verbal order, and that Mr. Hodson has been degraded.

The trial of Mr. Ross has ended in an acquittal. It will be remembered that the accused with four of his coolies seized two men who were cutting bamboos on some land which he and the villagers were rival claimants, and that in the end one man was killed and another injured by Mr. Ross's revolver. It was not disputed that the accused fired, but it was urged by his counsel that he fired in self-defence when threatened by the villagers and this view was accepted by the jury. The Chief Justice, in the course of his summing-up, declared that he agreed with what had been said by the learned counsel on both sides "that under such circumstances as these the occurrence was most unfortunate." Though one accepts the theory of the defence, it still remains true that the whole tragic episode arose from the high-handed action of Mr. Ross in treating as robbers men who claimed to have a right to the ground on which they were cutting bamboos.

We take from the *Tribune* the following details of the Pollabund case. Mr. O. Falklyter was displeased with the work of a coolie named Chooni employed at the Pollabund Tea Garden in Silchar. It is alleged that he kicked Chooni in the left side, and that the man expired a few minutes after he had been carried to the garden hospital. Seven coolies who were eye-witnesses deposed to the assault, one of them declaring that he had been beaten by the prisoner for reporting the matter to the police. The Civil Surgeon of Silchar attributed the death to a ruptured spleen, which must have been the result of great violence—a fall or a kick—a very short time before death. The prisoner asked one of Chooni's wives to bury the corpse, but the doctor intervened. The Court admitted the prisoner to bail, but ordered the manager to see that none of the coolies were ill-treated for giving evidence.

Sir Roland K. Wilson writes to us as follows (Aug. 2):—"The reply of Lord G. Hamilton to Sir W. Wedderburn, reported under the heading 'Indians as Chief Justices' in your last issue, will surely not be the last word on the subject. In order to find an English parallel to the state of things disclosed we must imagine it to have been enacted by the Judicature Act of 1873 that one-third of the judges of the Supreme Court, including the Lord Chief Justice, must be members of the New York or of the Massachusetts Bar. For all ordinary judicial purposes the law of England or Scotland is 'foreign law' in India in the same sense and to the same extent as the law of New York or Massachusetts is 'foreign law' in London or Edinburgh. To cite an English decision before an Indian High Court is (except in certain very rare contingencies) an operation of the same kind as citing an American decision in the course of a legal argument at Temple Bar, and neither more nor less legitimate. That is to say, it may be, and often is, instructive for illustration, but it has no binding authority. In 1861, when the

Act referred to by Lord G. Hamilton was passed, the earliest Indian codes were only just coming into force; the cases were numerous for which English law (even if not strictly the *Lex Loci*) supplied the best available guidance; and there was good reason for the requirement that a third of each High Court, including the Chief Justice, should be English barristers or Scotch advocates. Now, looking through the four volumes of Madras reports which cover the period of Mr. Justice Subramania Aiyar's service as High Court judge, I have with difficulty discovered one decision purporting to be based on a rule of English equity, and that case would have been governed by purely Indian law had not the transaction out of which it arose been anterior to 1882. There are a few other cases in which English law, though not directly applicable, was found to throw a useful side-light on the subject of dispute, and in those cases Mr. Justice S. Aiyar showed himself fully equal to his European and barrister colleagues in readiness and aptness of quotation. For the immense majority of the cases, direct study of the Indian law sources, practice in Indian courts, and familiarity with Indian life would obviously be a better preparation than the course of study supposed to be guaranteed by the title of barrister. There is therefore no reason for supposing that this learned judge would have been any better, or even so well, fitted for the duties of Chief Justice if three precious years of his early manhood had been spent in England hanging about the Inns of Court. The law which imposes such a requirement is a mischievous anachronism, and the sooner it is repealed the better."

As nothing has reflected greater credit on English rule in India than its consideration for the claims of all Indian religions, so is it of the first importance that this spirit should be carefully maintained. Some time ago, according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, during a trial at Dacca, a Moslem juror applied for leave to say his mid-day prayers. The judge, Mr. S. J. Douglas, not only refused to rise for the usual interval, but ridiculed the Mahometan and made some curious remarks on the obligations of his religion regarding prayers. As a result, the Mahometan residents of Dacca petitioned the High Court, which has now issued the following order to all sessions judges in Bengal:—

The attention of the judges has been drawn to the inconvenience which is caused to jurors and others when a trial is continued throughout the day without any interval. It is directed, therefore, to intimate to you that it is, in the opinion of the Court, advisable that there should, in the case of trials by jury or with the aid of assessors, be a short adjournment daily, not to exceed half-an-hour, at about two o'clock in the afternoon.

In the current number of the *Contemporary Review* Dr. Fairbairn discusses "Race and Religion in India"—at least that is the title of his paper, which is really occupied with a comparison of Western and Eastern philosophy. He shows an admirable temper throughout and much subtlety and skill in the elucidation of particular points, but for any general explanation of the differences in question we look in vain. Once, indeed, he gets near the truth when he contrasts the free and secular thought of Greece with the religious thought of India, but how the West began its stormy career of revolution no attempt is made to explain. To complain that the Indians have not submitted their ancient books to historic and scientific criticism is to complain that the Indians have not gone through the great transition of the Western world, which beginning in the early days of Greece still remains unfinished. That India has not taken part in this movement, except to the very slight extent of her subjection to foreign influences, is far from being all loss. The worst that could happen to her would be for her to become the mere imitator of an alien civilisation.

One interesting passage is that in which Dr. Fairbairn contrasts the effects of classical education on Englishmen and English education on Indians. The cultured Englishman's mind is formed on Greek and Latin—*i.e.*, "on a finished, foreign, and secular literature," but he goes on to say:—

The one foreign language the Hindu has to master is exactly the one which has for him the least educative worth, for it comes to him as the tongue of rulers who are aliens, quick with the antipathies which spring from the daily clash of racial, political, social, and religious antagonisms. The literature it brings may be rich and extensive, but it is not as literature that he knows it, but as a language he must acquire in order that he may live.

But Dr. Fairbairn is of course far from claiming that this alone will account for the differences of Eastern and Western thought.

It has become so common with all admirers of the present system in India to proclaim *ad nauseam* the distinctions between Indians of different creeds and races that the testimony of Dr. Fairbairn to the "singular unity of thought" is worthy of note. The differences are patent on the surface, and amid this variety it would seem impossible to discover a common mind, but the remarkable thing is the identity of intellectual attitude to the problems of existence which distinguishes man in India, the species of spiritual kinship which holds all classes together even where the ethnical stock is most distinct.

In fact, India in this respect is one.

The *Tribune* vehemently denies that educated Indians are disloyal, and ridicules the idea of a Brahman conspiracy, now a favourite bugbear of the Anglo-Indian press. It is true that men of education see more clearly than others the defects in the present system of government, but they would be the chief losers by any violent subversion of the existing order. It goes on:—

We would put it to the *Pioneer*, whether the true "Imperial spirit," of which it talks so often, is displayed by the Indians who strive for the removal of the "unnatural" disqualifications under which their countrymen labour, or by the Anglo-Indians who would by fair means or foul perpetuate the distinctions which aim at keeping hundreds of millions of a people fully as brave, intelligent, loyal and industrious as themselves in the position of conquered subjects existing only for the advantage of the conquerors.

But this is what high-flown panegyrics on the Empire generally come to in the end.

Following upon the wretched famine administration in the Central Provinces comes an aftermath of horrors in the Report on the gaols of that region during the year 1898. There it is stated that there was "terrible mortality" in the gaols during 1896 and 1897, and this "terrible mortality" was proved to be due to the condition of the prisoners on admission. A prison dietary is scarcely likely to fatten a famine-stricken man or to give some little renewed hope of life to a moribund person. The prison superintendents do not seem to have been empowered to do anything to meet the new conditions of their prisoners. This is a very strange thing, surely. Since then there has been introduced a revised scale of diet, which is said to be so much more generous as to be denounced by some of the superintendents as actually lavish. As our Mr. Justice Day is said to have taken a turn on the treadmill to experience the sensation, so these superintendents ought to put themselves on their dietary to bring them into some reasonable understanding of the experiences of their charges. Nobody wants a prisoner to be coddled into preference for his gaol, but there is a wide gulf between that position and the further starvation of starving men. There is also something radically wrong with the discipline of these gaols, for the punishments in them range from 5 per cent. in one to 99 per cent. in another. The difference must lie with the punishers much more than with the punished, and the Government cannot be too prompt in looking into the matter.

Last week, at Dorking, passed away the patriarch of Indian engineers, in his ninety-sixth year. Though humble in spirit as always a God-fearing man, and diffident in manner, General Arthur Cotton was really a giant in his profession, great in conception as also in capacity—had better tools been provided for him. What he did may be computed—in the millions on millions of tons of fertilising floods that he dammed back with his immense anicuts from the barren ocean; in the countless crops produced thereby, harvested by ever-increasing communities of thriving contented rayats; and in the many crores of rupees thereby contributed to the land revenue of India. It would be a grand task for some of our Indian engineering graduates to cast up the immense totals thus indicated. The factors of this great sum are all extant in numberless statistical reports; so who speaks first with the promise to make the pile complete?

It may not be easy to follow Sir Arthur Cotton's large conceptions of what he would have done if means and time were granted. But it is not so difficult to grasp these

designs if they are regarded as the proper sequence to the great works he had planned, carried through, or finished on the deltas of the three or four river systems of the Madras Presidency. The most extensive of these great designs which he worked at after his retirement, the Tumbudra scheme, was simple in its principle, namely, that of going nearer to the sources (in this instance the monsoon floods on the Western Ghats), and thereby securing at once greater supply and a larger area for utilisation. In a note in the *Society of Arts Journal* (May 29, 1891) he says "the work would cost perhaps £10,000 for a reservoir containing some 10,000 millions cubic yards of water and provide for the distribution of four times as much, as it would be continually supplied for seven months in the year and command the whole [central and eastern portion of the] Presidency." It must be remembered, too, that in all Arthur Cotton's projects he included plans for inland navigation—the second great want of India south of the Vindhya. He was one of the first to realise the large facilities and economic value of small powerful steamers of short draught for transport of heavy commodities. And, as the greater includes the less, let our rising engineers take note that he was skilled in mechanics, as shown in working out this latter problem. In his scientific comparisons between the capabilities of water transport and the limitations of railway traffic in India he exhibited masterly skill. But here we can only again urge on Indian engineers the duty of studying and applying the lessons left by Arthur Cotton.

The Rájá Partab Bahadur Singh, Talukar of Partabgarh Fort, has executed a deed of endowment whereby he devotes movable and immovable property of the value of Rs. 1,86,645 to the establishment of "a permanent system of religious and benevolent institutions." The details are minutely set forth in the deed. There is to be (1) the temple of Sri Bhagwanji Swami, (2) the Ajit Anglo-Oriental Sombansi School, with boarding-house, and (3) the temple of Rainukaji at Benares, with a house to contain a small temple to receive a statue of the Rájá's guru, Sri Swami Bhaskaranandji. The school is to be opened at the middle standard, with a view of raising it as soon as may be to the entrance standard; and the languages to be taught in it are English, Persian, Urdu, and Sanskrit. The scholarships (Rs. 360 a year) "are intended for those Sombansi poor and orphan students whose guardians profess Hinduism and can eat and drink with me and my heirs and representatives, and who themselves profess Hinduism." The Rájá has been moved by a time-honoured motive—"to afford an eternal bliss for the benefit of my soul and the spirit of my ancestors." In presence of such sentiments criticism remains dumb; and a Western mind can only hope that the school will flourish and be amply supported, and that the Rájá will see his benevolent projects prospering under his own care for many long years to come.

The *Times of India* mildly joins in the general censure of Lord George Hamilton's rhetorical references in the Tariff Act debate to the obstacles in the way of the popularity of the British Government in India. He spoke, it says, "in terms perhaps which were in danger of being misunderstood." Such obstacles, continues our contemporary, "exist, and always will exist, but it rests very much with the English themselves whether the unpopularity shall be a passive expression of inherent racial incompatibilities or whether it should take a more positive form." We have been preaching this doctrine for a very long time, and we shall hope that the *Times of India*, having got a grip of it, will henceforth make some little effort to practice it, by way of good example to the errant Secretary of State and others. But the first attempt, we are bound to say, is far from promising. Says the *Times of India*:—

We have only to base our fiscal policy on a disregard for the constituted organs of Indian opinion, which Sir Henry Fowler contends, in order to make sure of a worse reward than tacit unpopularity. How could we look for or deserve anything better if, having protected Lancashire cotton goods against Indian goods by a countervailing excise, the English Parliament had refused, when the Indian sugar industry was threatened by the competition of subsidised rivals, to allow the Indian legislature to extend the appropriate measure of protection to that industry?

The comparison of the two cases of countervailing duties is not quite so simple as this condensed form of statement would indicate. And does not the argument lead to universal Protection, as it may be demanded in detail?

CONTROL OF INDIAN FINANCE.

NOW that August has arrived, one may begin to anticipate the advent of the day when that grim farce entitled the Debate on the Indian Budget will be enacted on the Westminster boards. In describing this amazing performance critics have exhausted the vocabulary of contempt, disgust, oburgation, and remonstrance. It is really too inane to draw any audience worth counting, or to yield any pleasure or instruction to anybody inside or outside the House. The actors go through their parts according to their individual conscience; the Secretary of State says "Plaudite"; a few supporters in the Press accord a perfunctory stereotyped applause; and, unless there is some very exceptional outcrop of Indian agitation, physical calamity, or national menace, the good legislators at Westminster put Indian affairs out of their heads till next farce day a year or so later. Noble trustees indeed of a dependency of three hundred million people, whose chief uses are to furnish berths for our rising young men and to garnish a Front Bench peroration! In recent years the main trouble in Indian administration has been the finances, except indeed where social and political trouble has been gratuitously stirred up by officials who fail to provide themselves with an elementary knowledge of the people they are sent to rule and lose their nerve with every rustling of the wind. Some men who really do know what is being thought and felt among the Indian peoples have anxiously endeavoured to get Parliament to take up seriously and in business-like fashion the financial administration of the country, within the duty and the powers constitutionally reposed in Parliament. The fate of Sir William Wedderburn's Motion on August 13, 1896, remains on record as a speaking example of legislative apathy and perversity. And both Front Benches are never seen so heartily in accord as when the interests of India are to be trampled on in despite of a private member.

Undeterred by such experiences the Indian Parliamentary Committee has kept alive Sir William Wedderburn's motion of 1896, and brought it forward again in a still stronger form. The luck of the ballot has selected Mr. William Jones to lead the attack. On the motion to go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts therefore Mr. Jones will move:—

That under the existing procedure the superintending authority of Parliament over Indian affairs is not effectively exercised; that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the Estimates; that the debate on the Indian Budget should be appointed for an earlier date in the Session; and that, with a view to the more effectual discharge by this House of its existing duty to the unrepresented Indian taxpayer, the East India Accounts should each year be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report upon any special features deserving the attention of the House.

Sir William Wedderburn will second the motion, and other members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee will support it. It would be unduly sanguine to anticipate a full or adequate discussion at the fag-end of a weary sitting in an empty House in a sweltering August; but it is something to have the questions proposed to the House and submitted to the public, whose interest in Indian administration is steadily if silently growing, and will soon make itself felt even on the solid union of the Front Benches. Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler will at least be compelled either to stand forth in their old attitude of contempt and argumentative evasion or to take up a position more consonant with their responsibilities. The flowing tide is with the supporters of the motion, and it remains for the official personages to go with the tide or to be grounded in the shallows. It will no longer do for Lord George Hamilton to misrepresent the effect of the motion and then pool-pool it as "a mischievous proposal" or "a mad suggestion." Nor will it any longer do for Sir Henry Fowler to explain that "the House had by legislation delegated to two other bodies the administration of the finances of India, only reserving to itself supreme and final authority," and then coolly pour contempt upon a proposal for enabling the House to exert effectively, as it has for half a century failed to exert, that supreme and final authority.

In point of fact the motion does not in any way seek to impose any new duty upon Parliament or to interfere with the statutory duties of the Government of India, or even to cast the slightest reflection upon the financial administration of India. It is clearly directed to the object of placing Parliament in a position to discharge its own statutory

duty in a decently efficient manner, and it is directed to no other object whatsoever. As "trustee" for India the Parliament of Great Britain is morally bound to see that the trust is properly administered. It is morally bound to scrutinise the Indian accounts not with less, but even with more, keenness than it scrutinises the accounts of the Home administration. Lord George Hamilton, indeed, is content to shut his eyes and accept the Indian accounts as they are placed before him. In 1896, he said:

It is often said in certain quarters that an improved system of control by Parliament over Indian finance could be introduced. I hold the contrary view, believing that the financial control exercised over expenditure in India is more efficacious than any control that could be exercised in this country would be.

That is to say, he abandons what Sir Henry Fowler, who nevertheless supported his opposition to Sir William Wedderburn's motion, calls "the supreme and final authority" of Parliament. He would certainly never think of acting on the same principle as a director of a business company. But, even if Lord George were inclined to execute his trust for India with no less care than he would exercise as director of a business company, he sees an enormous lion in his path. In 1896, he said:

It was no use whatever to appoint a Select Committee to enquire generally into Indian finance. The finances of India constituted a very large question, and he was convinced it would be almost impossible to bring the members of a Committee of this kind together in sufficient numbers and sufficiently often to enable them to report with effect on a question of such importance.

The admitted largeness and importance of the question might at least dispose him to try. Such language is a mere mockery of statesmanship, dishonouring to the capacity and devotedness of the House. But, notwithstanding the attitude of Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler, the necessity for some such check as the motion calls for has been already recognised. The Exchequer Audit Act of 1866 established a control over Imperial expenditure, with remarkably salutary results. In the first nine years of its operation, it unearthed an average of twenty-five irregularities annually; in the next nine years, only two annually; and since then, we believe, the irregularities have ceased. Are we to suppose, then, that there are no irregularities in the Indian accounts, or none worth unearthing? By no means. More than that, the Report of the Public Accounts Committee pointed out that there had also been gained "a remarkable diminution of controversy on first principles and the disappearance to a great degree of impatience of scrutiny, a sure and honourable testimony to the value of the work." Just so. Then the principle was applied to India, but on wrong analogies; with the result that the Indian Appropriation Report is illusory, and, worse than illusory, mischievous, for it creates a sense of security without accomplishing the work that is supposed to ground that security. But the attempt to supply a check was nevertheless made. And now the duty that lies upon Parliament is not to fold its hands (with Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler) over the failure, but to find a substitute that shall prove really effective. If any course in the circumstances could be called by the strong terms "a mischievous proposal" and "a mad suggestion," it is the course of accepting without close examination the official accounts sent home from India.

Both Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour, who were the Indian Finance Ministers of the ten years preceding Sir James Westland, agree in demanding further securities for economical administration. Parliament is bound to exercise the "supreme and final authority"; but Sir Auckland admits that the Budget Debate is of no use for this purpose in the matter of finance, and Sir David holds that it is most dangerous for Parliament to interfere without first taking the report of a Select Committee or of some other special body. Clearly, some step or other must be taken, despite the apathy and unconcealed annoyance of the Front Benches. The country, we trust, will insist on the establishment of some arrangement that will effect two ends: (1) to strengthen and organise the influences throughout the Indian administration making for sound finance, and (2) to enable Parliament to exercise effective control in its capacity of "supreme and final authority." Not only is it necessary that the Secretary of State should be placed on the Estimates, that the Indian Budget should be taken earlier in the Session and discussed more fully and more definitely, and that the House should be more clearly instructed in

the facts by the report of a Select Committee on the accounts. More than that, it is necessary that the functions of the Indian representatives on the Viceroy's Council should be extended so as to give them equal rights of action with the official members, and that a sufficient number of representative Indians should find places in the Council of the Secretary of State in London. The financial question goes to the very roots of Indian administration, and it can no longer be safely trifled with.

NO REMISSION OF TAXATION.

NEXT week the familiar lassitude of an Indian Budget night will furnish its annual touch of irony to the loud hoast of Sir Henry Fowler that "we are all members for India." That rhetorical remark commanded on a former occasion the approving cheers of the whole House—what there was of it—but the saying that "fine words butter no parsnips" was never more strikingly illustrated than in the British Parliament's treatment of Indian questions. Year after year the hollow farce of disposing of the affairs of three hundred millions of human beings in one dull evening arouses no effective protest. Yet unreal as the whole discussion is, with its wearisome contest of compliments between the Secretary of State for India for the time being and his immediate predecessor, it behoves all those who take a real interest in India—and fortunately they are a growing company—to seize the opportunity and make the best use of it. On the present occasion there is the more need for vigilance because a great wrong is being done by the Government of India, not to one class or section of the Indian people alone, but to the whole body of Indian taxpayers. We propose in this article to make clear the present financial situation in India and to show that the Indian Government is in default in refusing any remission of taxation in the present prosperous condition of the Indian Exchequer.

Briefly, the facts are these. Owing to a steady rise in the rate of Exchange during the last few years, and in spite of war, pestilence, and famine, the Government of India finds itself with a surplus of some four millions for the year 1898-9 and a prospective surplus of similar amount for the current year, 1899-1900. But the Government refuses to remit taxation, wishing still further to strengthen its financial position and to have money in hand for currency experiments. These objects may be laudable in the extreme. But the circumstances of the case form a very strong indictment of this policy of surplus-hoarding. In order fully to appreciate the present situation it is necessary to take a brief survey of Indian finance from 1875-6 to the present time. The excursions of Sir James Westland into the regions of financial history with periodic reviews of "twenty years" form a respectable precedent for such a review. The period of twenty-four years (1875-6 to 1898-9) naturally divides itself into two portions, distinguishable in a marked degree by the financial policy of the Government of India. The first period is from 1875-6 to 1884-5, the second from 1885-6 to 1898-9. The first was marked by war and famine, the second likewise. But whereas in the first the economic needs and financial ability of India were the determining factors in financial policy, in the second and later period preponderance was given to military considerations, while the notion of a "greater military preparedness" completely dominated Indian finance. (See the evidence of Sir Auckland Colvin before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure.) This fundamental difference left its mark upon the two periods. In the first we have large remissions of taxation, extension of the benevolent duties of Government in the provision of an annual insurance fund against famine, and a position of financial equilibrium. In the second we have a steady increase of the burden of taxation, aggregating in ten years (1885-6—1895-6) Rx. 6,500,000, appropriation of a portion of the Famine Fund towards the cost of military expeditions, and an epoch of large deficits. So serious was the situation induced by this change of policy that in the year 1894-5 the Government of India found itself practically at the end of its resources. Further additions to taxation it deemed impossible; the Budget of the year was framed on the basis of a large deficit. The Government of the country was to be carried on by loan. To this untoward result a falling Exchange concurring with the new policy of military extravagance

contributed largely—the Government of India said "solely"—but the fact remained demonstrably true that but for the increase in military expenditure and its attendant extravagances, which persist to the present time, the great increase in the cost of Exchange which was largely temporary, and is nearly six millions less than it had become in 1894-5, might have been met without reducing the Government to the terrible financial straits of 1893-4-5.

The cost of this new policy adopted since 1884-5 rests on incontestable figures. It will be convenient to tabulate them. The figures given below show the additional expenditure incurred during the eleven years 1885-6 to 1895-6 for special military expenditure, quite apart from the ordinary provision for defence which, as is customary with armies, grows more costly year by year:—

THE COST OF "GREATER MILITARY PREPAREDNESS."

1885-6 to 1895-6.	Rx.
Addition of 30,000 troops to the army	16,000,000
Military charges in Upper Burma ..	8,656,000
Special defence works	4,610,000
Military railways	11,000,000
Military roads	2,000,000
Frontier expeditions and field operations	7,360,000
	Rx. 49,626,000

Or, say, Rx. 50,000,000. All this expenditure was directly due to the new and fatal policy adopted since 1884-5, and is in addition to the enormous increase in the annual expenditure on the military services. During the ten years preceding 1884-5 there was practically no counterpart to this expenditure—the Afghan war alone excepted; on the other hand the Rx. 50,000,000 includes no charge for any "war" to compare in magnitude or cost with that of 1879-80 in Afghanistan. The money has been spent not to meet any sudden emergency, but at the dictates of a spirited foreign policy leading to a wholly mischievous activity on the North-West frontier of India, and a general policy of aggressiveness and expansion which have tried the finances of India to breaking point.

These facts sufficiently account for the different financial complexion of the two periods. But the matter was further aggravated for a time by the heavy fall in the Exchange value of the rupee. In a sense, the fall in exchange was not inconvenient for the Government of India, because it diverted attention from the real cause of the financial distress of 1894-5 and formed a sufficient pretext—the "sole cause," the "only justification" as the Government of India repeated time after time—for the large additions to taxation which were made during the ten years 1885-6 to 1894-5. This brings us to the second main point in the present financial situation. The first is military extravagance; the second is the plea of "Exchange." If 1884-5 marks the division between a period of sound finance with economic progress and one of military extravagance with financial chaos, so 1894-5 marks the turning point in the history of Exchange, the most effective cloak of a policy of reckless expenditure ever placed at the disposal of a Government. In 1894-5 Exchange touched its lowest point while taxation was at its highest. Since that year Exchange has steadily risen, but taxation has remained at its former high level. This was not surprising during the years 1896-7 and 1897-8, afflicted by famine and made doubly expensive by frontier wars, but with 1898-9 prosperous and with 1899-1900 of equally good omen—always from the point of view of the Indian treasury, which is not at all the same thing as that of the Indian people—this maintenance of taxation at the limit has become not only surprising but unjustifiable in the highest degree. Let us glance at the figures:—

NET CHARGE FOR EXCHANGE.

1894-5 and 1898-9.

	Rx.
Total Cost of Exchange, 1894-5 ..	15,045,000
" " " 1898-9 ..	9,253,600
Saving effected since 1894-5 ..	5,791,400
Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure, 1898-9	4,059,400
Saving on Exchange exceeds surplus of 1898-9 by	1,732,000

Total Cost of Exchange, 1894-5 ..	15,045,000
" (Budget) 1899-1900 ..	9,686,500
Saving effected since 1894-5 ..	5,358,500
Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure, 1899-1900 (Budget) ..	3,932,600
Saving in Exchange exceeds surplus of 1899-1900 by ..	1,425,900

Here then the second important fact in the financial situation stands revealed in all its significance. The surpluses of 1898-9 and 1899-1900, to which the Government of India clings with such tenacity, are more than accounted for by the great rise in Exchange since 1894-5. But the great fall in Exchange which reached its lowest point in 1894-5 was the sole cause of the additional taxes which, now that they are no longer needed, produce these gigantic surpluses. Hence the pretext for this additional taxation has ceased to exist. Can there be clearer demonstration of the insufficiency—to-day at any rate—of the plea that Exchange is the reason for the high level of Indian taxation? Can there be a more instructive commentary on the financial methods of the Government of India or the sincerity of its concern for the taxpayers of India? It is of course not the first time in recent Indian history that taxes imposed for one purpose have been appropriated to another—witness the discreditable history of the Famine Insurance Fund. But surely it is carrying this kind of cynical finance a little too far when taxes imposed to meet a fall in Exchange should, when that fall has become a rise, be calmly diverted to meet the expenses of—currency experiments!

THE ANGLO-INDIAN CREED.

IN the *Contemporary Review* for August there appears a lively paper on the curious pretensions of Anglo-Indians to impose on all those with whom they come in contact, certain articles of faith. Their essential absurdity is well brought out, and some slight exaggerations do not detract from the general truth of the picture. The first article of the creed is that "long residence in India as an Anglo-Indian official alone enables a man to express correct opinions on any Indian question." This is, indeed, a belief which has its roots far down in human nature. The dull man who is master of his own trade, but feels his incapacity to understand any other, naturally resents men of other trades criticising his work. He forgets that his work does not exist for his own use, and that the narrow outlook of one occupation is very far from being enough to enable him to judge his work as it affects the world outside him. Among Anglo-Indian officials this spirit is fostered by many circumstances. Accustomed to be surrounded by obsequious subordinates, the official attains an exaggerated opinion of his own capacities. Having had to serve his apprenticeship under tedious and as he thinks painful conditions in a trying climate far from the land of his birth, he naturally resents the intrusion into his domain of those who have served no apprenticeship at all. It is true that a fresh mind will often perceive what has escaped the notice of those dulled by long custom. It is true that, when one class alone may speak, the public well will often be sacrificed to its prejudices or its interests. The Anglo-Indian, who to do him justice is seldom dull at the beginning of his career, must see all this as well as anyone. Yet belief in his own virtues and services, irrational scorn of the Indians, and that *esprit de corps* which flourishes all the more strongly when the body in which it exists is at once supreme and alone, the most powerful and best organised body in the Indian Empire, all this makes him still hold strongly to the first article of his creed. The Anglo-Indian official is, indeed, in a position where such beliefs can gain an unusual strength. He is a member of an exclusive body which dominates another body, sharply cut off from the mass of the people. Within the temple of Anglo-Indian worship stands the Holy of Holies of Officialdom. Who can wonder if the entrance thereto is difficult, and the conditions of approach are exacting? Who can wonder if it is proclaimed that in the inner sanctuary alone can true wisdom be found?

It is a necessary corollary of this first article of faith that "all interference from London, whether from the

Indian Secretary or from debates in Parliament, is to be condemned as alike useless and harmful"; for if even a short or an unofficial residence in India does not qualify a man to give an opinion on the affairs of that country, how futile must it be for members of Parliament or even Cabinet Ministers to pretend to that office if they have never been in India at all. This has, indeed, the disadvantage that it calls on "the English nation to send 80,000 of her sons" to keep up the government of this bureaucracy, who claim to be free from any criticism or control emanating from the home authorities. The name of Empire is alone to be left to England; and all real power is to remain in the hands of a body of officials, some dulled by the routine of trivial labours, some thirsting for the hour of their release, and almost all putting the interests and traditions of the service above the welfare of the people of India.

And it also follows that "no external criticism is to be tolerated in the Native or European Press; and still less on a public platform." If the critic is an official, he has been guilty of a breach of etiquette for which he must shortly apologise. If he is an outsider, then his remarks may be treated as ignorant and impertinent. "With the two-edged sword of a charge of disloyalty against the official and of ignorance against the non-official, the Anglo-Indian jealously guards his paradise of irresponsibility to public opinion whether at home or in India." Only those who have retired from the service and who therefore unite freedom with official knowledge can escape the horns of this dilemma; and it will readily be understood that such men are pursued with a peculiar rancour, only surpassed by the mingled scorn and indignation with which the critics of the Indian Press are treated. Some indeed would go further than others in taking a short way with Indian editors; but this is an allowable variation in the creed:—

It may here be noticed that the only difference of opinion on articles of the creed which is permitted is when the caviller out-Herods Herod by being even more reactionary than the Indian Government. This mild form of criticism is only reprovved very gently; or else it is allowed that the view is quite sound and orthodox, but that, alas, owing to the degeneracy of the times, it can only safely be held as a "pious opinion."

The fourth and most sacred article of the creed is that "Lord Ripon and all his works are anathema maranatha;" the fifth that "a forward policy is the best;" while the sixth declares that "though missionaries and missions may to a certain extent be recognised, yet one must believe that of all Natives, native Christians are the worst," and for complete orthodoxy a seventh should be added that "Mahometans are in all ways superior to Hindus." It is not our intention to discuss the two last articles; nor is it to be supposed that the Moslems of India would feel otherwise than insulted at a preference among the despised. They are too proud, it is to be hoped, to care what rung is assigned to them in the ladder of servitude. Nor are we inclined to enter into comparisons between the virtues of those who profess the different creeds when we would rather that they should exert themselves in a generous rivalry for the greater glory of India. As regards Lord Ripon, the hatred with which he has been pursued is remarkable, even though he acted "upon the hateful principle that the interests of the three hundred million Natives were of paramount importance," which in a Viceroy was as if "a Pope of Rome should astonish his Cardinals by announcing that he had become a bigoted Protestant."

It has already been said that there are some slight exaggerations in the Creed, and these are especially found in the fifth article. It is true that Mr. Thorburn had to recant in the end, and that Sir James Westland, when he heard the famous speech at Simla, declared that "he felt as though he were present at a meeting of the National Congress." But it is also true that the majority of those present applauded, and that the speech gave voice to the opinions of a very large section of Anglo-Indian civilians. Here in fact Anglo-Indian society, generally so imposing in its unity, found itself rent by the opposing interests of the civil and military officials. If the paradox may be allowed, there are some truths in Indian affairs which are so patent that even officials who have been twenty years in the country cannot fail to see them. One of these is the poverty of India; so that if millions be spent on aggressions beyond the frontier, the services within the frontier must be starved. And so it has come about that

there is a rift in the Anglo-Indian lute. But though this appeared in the single case of Mr. Thorburn among the official classes, it is constantly evident in the Anglo-Indian Press. With the exception of the *Times of India* all the leading Anglo-Indian papers opposed the war beyond the frontier. Lately, several of them have adopted a policy very favourable to the people of the country. Abuse of the Indian character is rarely seen in their editorial columns: it is to be regretted that it is sometimes still allowed to appear among the correspondence. In fact the *Pioneer*, which the writer in the *Contemporary Review* condemns as the especial organ of the high Anglo-Indians, and the chief exponent in the Press of their creed, has of late shown quite another spirit. It has devoted itself to exposing the weak places of Anglo-Indian administration, and it would be difficult to find a better cure for the foolish optimism which exists in England on the subject of our rule in India than a regular perusal of its columns.

But when these allowances have been made it is to be feared that the creed which we have been examining only too well represents the beliefs of the mass of Anglo-Indians. This enforced unanimity of opinion, this veto on the free discussion of serious and vital questions has necessarily the effect of putting an end to all intellectual intercourse.

In fact the discussion of such topics is in itself bad form, and at all social gatherings the fresh arrival will do well to confine himself in conversational limits which may extend from the polo ground to the bungalow and from the golf links to the tennis court. Station gossip, sport, promotions and transfers should form the staple of his conversational repertoire. If when in England he dreamt of intellectual conversations between some of the cleverest men of their year, let him at once dismiss such an idea as one that is preposterous and chimerical. In truth the severity of the Anglo-Indian creed, which has ruled so many matters to be beyond discussion, has produced a condition of things which goes far to explain the monotony and dullness of Anglo-Indian conversation.

Thus uniformity of belief produces dullness and dullness strengthens uniformity of belief, and a foolish creed becomes the expression of the opinion of the powerful bureaucracy of India, of the exclusiveness which is the deadly canker of Indian administration, and of the pride which goes before a fall.

THE PROGRESS OF GONDAL.

IT is always a pleasure to read the Dewan Bezanji Merwanji's Annual Report of the Administration of the State of Gondal. The "Summary of Events" during last year, 1898-99, shows natural "ups and downs," but the net result is a confirmation of the steady and well calculated development of the country which has for many years done so much credit to the Thakore Sahab and his advisers and officers. The most astonishing thing in the whole record is the conspicuous absence of a huge and growing debt, which is the distinctive mark of young States that propose to themselves to cut a figure in the world. Gondal is keen enough to take a leaf out of any useful book it may come across; but it has deliberately refrained from taking example in this respect from the Government of India. His Highness and his lieutenants look with vigilant care to the facts of the condition of the people, and cut their coats in accordance with the cloth. Hence there is to be recorded a persistent and healthy growth which has already drawn attention to little Gondal as a model of wise and efficient administration. It constitutes a notable object-lesson not only for the other Native States "in subordinate union," but also for the Government of India itself.

Gondal is, of course, pre-eminently agricultural. If one deducts the alienated and Mulgrasia villages, just three-fourths of the land area is under cultivation, but of the remaining fourth only a very small fraction (7,741 acres out of 1,31,676) is untouched by the plough. Last year the rainfall proved unkind, almost as scanty as in 1895 and little more than half as liberal as in 1897. The outturn of crops consequently fell off to an extent varying from one-eighth to one quarter of the average, and the low price of cotton aggravated the plight of the cultivators. But in such a case the Government is careful not to increase the calamity by ignoring the circumstance; and pressing the cultivators as if nothing had happened. "When the outturn of the crops is below the average," says the Dewan, "special circumstances of the cultivators are care-

fully considered in recovering the land revenue, and as far as possible rigid measures, such as sale of their occupancy rights or of movable property, are not resorted to." This is a second year under average, and "the collection of the revenue had partly to be suspended, and hence the large outstandings"—large relatively, though not absolutely. Yet the outstandings are less than at the end of last year. The State has not suffered substantially; its revenue is only partly postponed; and the cultivators have not been thrown into the clutches of the *soukars* nor had the heart taken out of them. There is an example here for many parts of British India, and especially for English administrators in Madras. It is no doubt this wise consideration that has smoothed the way to the successful establishment and working of the *Vighoti* or cash assessment system, the introduction of which we looked upon not without apprehensions. The liberal assistance of the State in the sinking of wells—for "the Darbar is willing to give encouragement and help to the owners of fields by advancing them, under certain conditions, money without interest for the purpose of digging new wells"—has been much appreciated, and 94 new wells were excavated last year. A like practical spirit is seen in the efforts of the Agricultural Association, whose object is "to give a general stimulus to agriculture, to improve the breed of cattle, and to develop the art of cultivation, which is the backbone of this country's prosperity."

The industrial operations of Gondal have their amusing side, but none the less are they instructive and significant of the spirit of enterprise that has been awakened among the people by his Highness the Thakore Sahab. An iron foundry was recently started by two partners, but now they have quarrelled and both are setting up separate foundries, so that the Gondal foundries will presently be doubled in number. The Gondal tramway "is languishing for want of encouragement from the people," but then it is very short; yet "an enterprising citizen of Dhoraji has offered to construct a tram line from the local railway station to the town"—about two miles—and has received authorisation to proceed. Again, a Memon of Upleta has set up a tanning factory, undeterred by the failure of the leather-dyeing industry, which suffered from the want of skill and the general ignorance of the artisans, who are held in great disesteem—"like the Shanars of Tinnevely. His Highness is bent on lighting Gondal with gas, and has begun operations at the Grasia College. These particulars may easily be sniffed at as a chronicle of small beer, but it is the diligent and judicious fostering of small beginnings that leads to strong organisations. If the real strength of India is ever to be developed, it is by patient attention to such matters as these that the great work will be solidly founded. The hand-loom manufacture of cheap coarse cloth for the poorer classes is well maintained, and ginning factories have survived the slackness in the cotton trade. The pressure of bad times is indicated in a slight increase of exports coupled with a considerable decrease in imports.

The police have had a very unexciting year; "fortunately there was not a single outlaw against the State committing depredation and disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the country." Various neighbouring States, however, innocently contributed to furnish a gang of seven dacoits, who invaded Padawala and looted the mansion of the Grasia Meruji Haribhai, who, "fearing harm and belying the tradition of his clan, fled for life," leaving Rs. 5,762 value to the marauders. But Mr. Pherozshah Maneckji, the vigorous and astute police superintendent, was promptly on their track, and not only recovered almost the whole of the spoils, but captured a substantial portion of the dacoits' implements—three muskets and three swords. The police of the neighbouring States readily rendered assistance. Clearly there has come over Kathiawar a vast change to the benefit of law and order; and if large rewards contribute to the result they are well spent in paving the way for the reign of the sense of justice. Mr. Pherozshah has well earned his "substantial increase of salary." If there has been more stealing in the year under review—perhaps the harder times are not unconnected with this result—still "the amount recovered is by far greater than the last." Mr. Pherozshah is making theft peculiarly unprofitable, and runs some risk of finding his occupation gone before pension time.

There is little that calls for remark under any of the other heads of the Report, except one—Education. Educa-

tion has made "a steady head-way." The authorities are imbued with a deep sense of its transcendent value for the progress of the State. "The subject," writes the Dewan, "is of paramount importance, being vital to the well-being of the people. For there is no grander and nobler work than that which aims at the development of the sense of duty and the formation of character of both boys and girls." The previous improvement is fully maintained. The following points are worth quoting:—

The most satisfactory circumstance in this connexion is that in several schools the number of scholars has almost doubled, and a scheme for the general extension of all the school buildings in the State is therefore at present engaging the attention of His Highness the Thakore Sahab.

There has been an increase in the total number of girls under instruction. This is highly satisfactory as it points to the gradual removal of the disparity which at present exists between the education of boys and that of girls in all parts of India. . . . The course of studies in the girls' schools is framed too exclusively on the plan followed in the boys' course of education, and this defect can be removed by the larger employment of trained and respectable female teachers. . . .

It is gratifying to remark that the Mahometans and the Rajputs, who are supposed to be generally backward, are year by year being more strongly represented in institutions both of higher and lower grades. Even among some of the lower castes and creeds, whose social and economic condition is not such as to render education popular, the progress made during the year is more pronounced than during the preceding year.

These notes speak for themselves. They disclose a high and just ideal, a wonderful breadth of outlook for a small Native State, and a marvellous progress in laying the only solid foundation for future prosperity and even greatness. The crown of the educational edifice in Gondal, the Grasias College, has now been erected. The College was opened by Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay—an honour worthily earned by his Highness. In his speech the Thakore Sahab expressed a very noble sentiment—remarkably well worth the attention and the imitation of the Indian Government in all its departments—with simple and impressive dignity. He said:—

There are others—happily not many—who express a fear that, as the Grasias are generally at variance with the Darbar, and as there is a real or supposed gulf of ill-feeling between them, it is not prudent policy on our part to open their eyes by tearing the bandage which darkens their intellectual vision. It is further apprehended that, as knowledge is power, the class which is backward and in ignorance will, when armed with a new weapon, be irresistible and prove troublesome to the Darbar. I consider these fears to be utterly groundless. For I have implicit faith in the exalting influences of education, which seldom fail to ennoble and humanise the instincts. The goodness of a good cause must assert itself soon or late, and my own belief is that a cultured and well-informed mind will surely overcome wrong prejudices and see things in their proper light. It makes its possessor a loyal and useful citizen, and shows him where his real interest lies.

To this elevated declaration Lord Sandhurst listened "with very genuine pleasure," and we hope it will fructify in his mind, and show its results in his practice. "Your Highness has done much by your example," he justly remarked, and "where one leads we may be sure that many will follow." And at the inevitable banquet his Excellency expressed frankly what must be the judgment of all men: "It is not too much to say that his Highness's State is admirably administered."

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

TOWARDS the end of a Session there are always questions put as to the order of business, and it generally happens that someone asks the leader of the House when the Indian Budget will be taken. That question was asked the other day, and Mr. Balfour gave the usual answer with even exceptional indifference, saying airily: "Oh, on one of the days when the Appropriation Bill is taken, I suppose." There was a laugh, and so the matter ended for the time. Year after year this important matter is put off until the very far end of the Session, and is then discussed in the presence of perhaps a couple of dozen members. The House can easily be filled if there is some paltry personal issue to be raised, but when it comes to a matter affecting the interests of the hundreds of millions of unrepresented fellow-subjects in India it is a case of "Oh, one of the days on which the Appropriation Bill is taken, I suppose." Members are on occasion fond of repeating the eloquent dictum, "each one of us is member for India." They also have a weakness for

referring to India in perorations as the brightest jewel in the British Crown. But with the exception of a small band of persistent and faithful friends India is utterly ignored in the House of Commons.

The members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee have resolved to submit a motion this year when the Indian Budget is reached, and the members of that Committee have balloted in the usual way for places. The choice has fallen upon Mr. William Jones. Mr. Jones is a thorough Celt, full of Welsh fire and enthusiasm, and with the gift of ready and eloquent speech which characterises most of the sons of the Principality. Moreover his thorough earnestness and transparent honesty are recognised by friend and foe alike. I well remember Mr. Jones's maiden speech, in which he pleaded the cause of the Penryn quartermen in a manner which completely captured the House. His style represents the perfection of simplicity and though he is a man of rare scholarship there is not a touch of pedantry about him. Such is the man, and this is the motion he will submit:—

That under the existing procedure the superintending authority of Parliament over financial affairs is not effectively exercised, that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the estimates, that the debate on the Indian Budget should be appointed for an earlier day in the Session; that with a view to the more effectual discharge by this House of its existing duty to the unrepresented Indian taxpayer, the East Indian Accounts should each year be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report on any special features deserving the attention of the House.

Now the questions here raised are, I contend, of more importance than nine-tenths of the questions raised in the House. I think a fair-minded man, even though he disagreed with the suggestions submitted and was prepared to vote against the motion, would recognise its importance. Yet these are the matters which are rushed through on the last day in an almost empty House! Mr. Pickersgill has another motion of enormous importance:—

That the separation of judicial from executive duties in India is imperatively and urgently necessary in the interests of the administration of justice.

Those who have lived in India know better than I do the desirability of the reform here advocated, but even those who have never seen our great dependency can recognise that in this, as in the previous case, the question raised is not a trivial one. Yet this, again, is one of the matters to be huddled away with practically no discussion at all. When one compares these matters with the wearisome and nonsensical issues upon which the House is prepared to spend days and weeks it really makes one sick of the eulogies so complacently uttered about the House of Commons. I have little doubt that the Session will end without Lord George Hamilton being brought to book on account of his unfounded and really slanderous utterances about the Natu brothers. The injustice of their treatment is a crying scandal, but it does not suit the purpose of the *Times* to rave about them as the fellow-countrymen of the young cricketer, the young mathematician and the young savant, and so they are left to endure what the Government says is not imprisonment but is "a certain restraint on their liberty of movement"—a euphemistic form of words which could have been applied to the stocks in the old days.

Since I last wrote both Houses have discussed, not thoroughly but to some extent, the Transvaal situation. The chief speakers for the Government were Lord Salisbury in one House and Mr. Chamberlain in the other,* and both speeches were marked by a curious tone of political immorality. Lord Salisbury, for instance, said lightly and almost jocularly with regard to the Convention between this country and the Transvaal Republic that conventions are not everlasting. Or in other words, solemn undertakings entered into between governments are binding only so long as they are convenient. Yet all this time we are upbraiding President Kruger for alleged breaches of the Convention of 1884. What better justification could he require of the conduct with which his enemies charge him than Lord Salisbury's dictum upon the limited duration of conventions?

Mr. Chamberlain's speech was marked by a tone of bitterness amounting to positive malignity. He sneered at the Dutch in South Africa, which would have been unwise on the part of a private member and is almost criminal on the part of a Colonial Secretary. He charged President Kruger with being false to certain promises, and in order to establish his charge he had to make up the promise

which he said had been broken. In 1881 it seems at a conference President Kruger said with regard to the political rights of the burghers and the Outlanders "We make no difference." That was, as I have said, in 1881, before the discovery of gold, before this vast alien and, in many ways, undesirable population, had descended upon the Transvaal. There was then no reason why there should be any difference of treatment. But to-day things are very different as everyone knows. Mr. Chamberlain takes that statement of fact with regard to the Transvaal policy in 1881 and transforms it into a promise for the future, by a crafty interpolation of words. He said that Mr. Kruger's remark in 1881 was "We make, and we will make, no difference." Those words "and we will" were deliberately put in, and the man who is not ashamed to play such a trick in debate rises to great heights of moral indignation about Mr. Kruger's conduct in not keeping a promise which was never made.

Mr. Chamberlain's cant was equally offensive in connexion with what he called the brutal and insulting treatment extended to respectable Indian traders in the Transvaal Republic. The treatment of these gentlemen is, I believe, entirely unjustifiable and I should like to see it improved. But it is not so bad as the treatment Indian traders have to put up with in our own Cape Colony, where they are not allowed to walk on the side paths in a town, but are forced to take their chance among the horses and bullocks in the roadway. And I expect many an Indian in his own country wishes that some of the generous indignation which Mr. Chamberlain can spare for the Indian traders in the Transvaal could be extended to the Indian at home. But that is not part of the game.

There is a type of member who would like to treat Ireland as India is treated, and there is no doubt that the sister island would have to put up with much more contumely than falls to her share were it not for the fact that she is ably and directly represented in the House of Commons. I have in my mind certain recent parliamentary action in connexion with a Dublin Corporation Bill, and the contrast between it and our attitude to the Calcutta Municipal Bill. This Dublin Corporation Bill was passed by the House of Commons by the large majority of 162. The Corporation had spent £25,000 over it, and it then went to the Lords. A Committee of four noble lords—some say by the casting-vote of the Chairman (the Duke of Northumberland)—threw it out, or so "amended" it as to make it worse than useless. It came down again to the Commons last Tuesday, when Mr. Tim Healy, as capable a parliamentarian as there is in the House, took up the matter. He succeeded in persuading even this Tory House of Commons to disagree with the Lords by 160 to 52, or by more than three to one. That is one of the benefits of representation. If India had a body of members no larger even than that which comes from Ireland Lord Curzon would not in regard to the Calcutta Bill, or anything else, find it possible to have a free course and to be glorified, as is the case at present.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, July 27.—In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a Bill to authorise public loans to certain colonies. He said that the Government realised that there was no hope of passing this Session the Colonial Loans Fund Bill, although it had reached the Committee stage, but they hoped the House would consent to the legislation which he now proposed.

In the House of Lords the Tithe Rent-charge (Rates) Bill passed through Committee without amendment.

Mr. Balfour, speaking in London, described the Transvaal crisis as one of the most difficult problems with which our Colonial Empire had ever been troubled. The present position, he said, could not be indefinitely prolonged. Englishmen must not be treated as an inferior race; and if diplomacy failed other means must be found. He earnestly hoped and believed, however, that diplomacy would not fail. The Transvaal had conceded so much in principle that the details ought not to be impossible to arrange. The matter was certainly not yet settled; and if the Boers insisted on taking away with one hand what they gave with the other there could be no peace. But he trusted he was not too sanguine in expecting the Transvaal to take a statesmanlike view of the case and in looking forward to a final settlement that should end the crisis in a satisfactory manner.

The Peace Conference discussed its "Final Act," but did not succeed in disposing of it. A proposal was made that States

not represented at the Conference should be allowed to adhere to its decisions so long as no signatory Power objected. This would have allowed both the Vatican and the Transvaal to adhere, and the British delegate opposed it. The question remained undecided.

The referendum in Victoria on the Commonwealth Bill resulted in an enormous majority in favour of federation. In Tasmania the result was the same.

FRIDAY, July 28.—In both Houses of Parliament there were important debates upon the relations of Great Britain and the Transvaal.

A Parliamentary paper was issued containing a despatch in which the Secretary of State for India informed the Viceroy that the Government had decided to act upon the report of the Indian Currency Committee. The British sovereign was, therefore, to be made legal tender and current coin in India, and the mints were to be opened to the unrestricted coining of gold. The permanent exchange rate of the rupee was to be 1s. 4d.

A Treasury Minute was issued stating the arrangements that had been made for installing the University of London in part of the Imperial Institute buildings at South Kensington. The mortgage on the Institute and its floating debt were to be paid off by the Government.

In the Queen's Bench Division a rule was made absolute for the issue of a *mandamus* to the Leicester Board of Guardians commanding them to appoint a vaccination officer. For the guardians it was contended that the Local Government Board ought to appoint an officer when a local authority declined to do so, but this was overruled. The issue of the writ was delayed in order to give the guardians time to appeal.

The Peace Conference evaded the difficulty concerning the adherence to the arbitration scheme of States not represented by leaving this matter to be settled by the signatory Powers later on.

SAURDAY, July 29.—Lord Rosebery took part in the distribution of prizes at Epsom College, and urged that the first and primary duty of every school was to turn out men, for it was on our men that we had to depend for the future of the country. The English schools might not have been so successful as those of some other countries in giving an exact education, but they had been the best schools of manhood the world had ever seen. In England we had always paid special worship to the virtue of manhood, and we honoured anybody who displayed it without caring what country he belonged to. Lord Rosebery referred to Major Marchand, Kossuth, and Garibaldi as individuals who had in a special degree exhibited the qualities of manhood, and had on that account been especially honoured in this country.

The Peace Conference was brought to a formal close at the Hague this afternoon. The signature of the various documents took place in the forenoon. The convention on arbitration was signed by sixteen Powers, that on the laws of war and that for adapting the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime warfare by fifteen, and the *Acte Final* of the Conference by all the twenty-six States represented. At the afternoon sitting the letters exchanged between the Queen of Holland and the Pope on the subject of the Conference were read, and closing speeches were delivered.

M. de Beaurepaire published in the *Echo de Paris* the results of his enquiry into the Dreyfus case, of which the president of the Rennes court-martial refused to take cognisance. A Paris correspondent said it would be hard to find in all literature anything more incoherent, more outrageously improbable, or more strangely confused.

MONDAY, July 31.—Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador to the United States, was raised to the peerage.

The Canadian House of Commons adopted a resolution, moved by the Premier and seconded by the acting leader of the Opposition, expressing its sympathy with the efforts of the Imperial Government to obtain for her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal such a measure of justice and political recognition as might secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties.—The Transvaal Government was reported from Pretoria to be awaiting a despatch relative to the proposed joint commission of enquiry, and was hoping that all outstanding questions might be settled by the commission.

The plague was reported to be raging with great severity at Poona, 360 fresh cases and 317 deaths having been reported in 48 hours. The fresh cases included four Europeans.

TUESDAY, August 1.—The Paris *Figaro* published a number of letters addressed by Dreyfus during his imprisonment to various State officials asserting his innocence and demanding an enquiry. Some of these letters were never finished or sent; others were withheld by the Government from the persons to whom they were addressed.

WEDNESDAY, August 2.—A Johannesburg correspondent says that the community is awaiting with interest developments regarding the proposed enquiry. A statement had been received that the Imperial Government would in any case order an investigation, and the Press ordered that a unilateral enquiry would be more dangerous to the independence of the

Republic than a joint one. It was stated that the Volksraad, in secret session, had rejected the President's proposal for the removal of religious disabilities.

A Paris correspondent, commenting on M. Hanotaux's article on the Peace Conference, disputed the notion that the Conference would be without permanent results, and observed that one outcome of it had been that it had clearly marked out M. Bourgeois as the future French Foreign Minister.

It was announced that the British North Borneo Company had, in response to the request of the Tambunans themselves, decided to take over and occupy the Tambunan country, in the interior of their territory.

M. Delcassé left Paris for St. Petersburg this afternoon.

THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE AND INDIAN OPINION.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, July 15.

The topic of the week has been the recommendations of the Currency Committee as telegraphed by Reuter and confirmed from Simla. The matter has created no great stir, nor has it contributed to any violent fluctuations in the monetary market of India. For months past the par of Exchange has fluctuated between 153d. and 16d. The banking and commercial community have noticed its steadiness, and it was therefore taken as a matter of course that that par of Exchange or ratio would in all probability be recommended by the Currency Committee. Had there been even the difference of a halfpenny some serious fluctuations might have occurred. Exchange with China might have undergone a further variation and the trade with silver-using countries would probably have received a check. Fortunately the elements which wrought such evils on the heels of the Amended Coinage Act of 1893 were absent, and the monetary markets have been quiet in all parts of the country.

The general opinion, however, is not yet pronounced, though ardent gold advocates have of course expressed their satisfaction at the measures recommended. Some important points remain to be elucidated. These can only be known on receipt of the full length of the Report. In Bombay at least the measures have been received with no elation. There is an undercurrent of feeling that the Report cannot be considered as final. The mints are empowered to coin gold sovereigns and the Government is at liberty to coin silver as it may deem best, investing the profits of coinage in the purchase of gold. The gold sovereign can be exchanged at the treasuries for purposes of foreign remittances, but not otherwise. But there is no hint whatever at the absolute convertibility of gold. Nor is anything said of the destiny of the 120 crores of rupees which are now a high token currency. It is imagined that the currency will serve the purpose which the five franc pieces serve in France—a theory which overlooks the real situation so lucidly explained by Lord Aldenham in his evidence. Lastly, there is nothing said as to the limit of the gold reserve.

It remains to be seen how the New Currency quackery will act. There is general diffidence on the matter. The most important question is how far the inflow of gold will be stimulated. If even so wealthy a country as the United States has not been able under certain economic conditions to keep its gold, how are the authorities going to retain that metal in this country? The Americans, again, are not used to hoarding gold as the Indians hoard silver. But the Currency Committee seems to fancy that, despite the immemorial habit of hoarding, the experiment must be tried.

Even when everything that can be said has been said in favour of the new quackery, there remains the ulterior question as to its economic effects on the country and the people. A stable exchange may put an end to the chronic deficits and embarrassments of the State treasury; but how will deficits be checked if the State continues to burn the candle at both ends as it has been doing for years past in spite of protests and appeals? Where is the guarantee that sterling remittances will not mount higher still? They have risen four-and-a-half millions during the last twelve years. Has there been any control over the growth? Is there anyone in the Government held responsible for increasing these remittance from time to time? If not where is the security that there will be no further increments? And if there be no security, how will deficits arising from this cause alone be avoided in the future, even with the 16d. rupee? If eighteen millions sterling demand at this rate twenty-eight crores of rupees, how many additional crores will have to be paid out of revenue to meet a charge by-and-by of say twenty crores? Will the 16d. rupee help the Government? It is an idle boast which says that the financial difficulties will cease with a gold currency. Be it gold or silver, cotton or wheat, leather or prunella, nothing can save Government from the embarrassments of its own creation.

The Committee recommend retrenchment and economy. The Herschell Committee did the same. Yet who is unaware of the fact of the growth of expenditure, specially military,

since 1892? And has the Indian Government made any sincere effort to reduce expenditure, civil and military, since 1886, when Lord Dufferin pretended to effect economies? It is idle to hope that any effort of a serious nature will be made to husband resources. If then, on the one hand it comes to pass that sterling remittances are allowed to grow, and on the other expenditure is allowed to run at the present pace, what is to become of the financial equilibrium?

And what of the effects on the condition of the people? We are told that capital will be stimulated. That may be. But who will be benefited by that capital? Certainly not the Indian. The poor man, already mulcted by many per cent. in the silver he possesses, will still remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water. For him gold will not usher in any millennium. He certainly will not prosper. No man knows what new factors may arise to injure his present condition and further impoverish him. It will be the foreign capitalist class alone who will profit, and that at his expense. To talk of foreign capital enriching a debtor country is nonsense. The gold currency will in no way staunch the bleeding which has continued for over a hundred years. Will the drain of the national wealth cease? Certainly not. That will entirely depend on the policy which our rulers may pursue. If the present policy, so suffocating to national prosperity, is continued, there can be no hope for India. It will remain a vast happy hunting-ground for the gold bugs to exploit the more till the day of reckoning comes, and the British rub their eyes at the folly of their mistaken policy. There is nothing to be done with currency. Policy! policy! policy! Change of policy from the present mischievous one to a wise and better one—unselfish, calculated for the benefit of India and Indians alone—must be the salvation of the country.

It is sad to record the death early this morning of Sir Romesh Chundra Mitra, who in 1883 acted as Chief Justice of Bengal for three months during the absence of Sir Richard Garth. The Ilbert Bill agitation was then brewing, and the records of those excited times tell how the most sober Englishmen went mad and resented the acting appointment. While proclamations and statutes declare that Indians of "proved merit and ability" will be free to rise to the highest posts, Anglo-Indians do their very best to write those proclamations and statutes in water. The other day there was a splendid opportunity to promote Mr. Budrind Tsyabji, an accomplished and impartial judge, of sound judgment and great legal lore, conversant with Hindu and Mahometan law, to the vacant Chief Justiceship of Bombay. But the authorities had not the courage nor the liberality. Another opportunity has now offered itself. The vacant Chief Justiceship of Madras is temporarily filled by Mr. Justice Subramania Aiyar. What is there to prevent that able judge from being confirmed in the appointment? Meanwhile India mourns the loss of Sir Romesh Chundra Mitra, one of her most brilliant and patriotic sons.

THE REPORT OF THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

On Friday last a Parliamentary paper was issued containing the following despatch of the Secretary of State for India in Council to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 25, 1899. No. 140. (Financial).—

My Lord,—In my despatch dated April 7, 1898, No. 67, I informed your predecessor that it had been decided to refer to a committee the proposals made by his Government with a view to the completion of the policy initiated in 1893, when as a first step towards the establishment of a gold standard in India, the Indian mints were closed. The terms of reference were as follows:—"It will be the duty of the committee to deliberate and report to me upon these proposals and upon any other matter which they may regard as relevant thereto, including the monetary system now in force in India, and the probable effect of any proposed changes upon the internal trade and taxation of that country; and to submit any modifications of the proposals of the Indian Government, or any suggestions of their own, which they may think advisable for the establishment of a satisfactory system of currency in India, and for securing, as far as is practicable, a stable exchange between that country and the United Kingdom."

2. The report of that committee was presented to me on July 7, and on that day I communicated its main provisions to your Excellency by telegraph. The report was at the same time presented to Parliament, and copies have been forwarded to your Government in ordinary course.

3. In their letter of March 24, 1898, No. 92, forwarding letters from important bodies in Bombay on the currency situation, the Government of your predecessor stated that they had finally decided not to revert to the silver standard. In this decision the committee express their concurrence; and they go on to indicate their conclusion that steps should be taken to avoid all possibility of doubt as to this determination, and to proceed with measures for the effective establishment of a gold standard. With this view they recommend that the British sovereign be made a legal tender and a current coin in India, and that the Indian mints be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold. But, while making this recommendation, the committee think it undesirable that any limit should be imposed on the amount for which rupees should be a legal tender; nor do they consider that you should undertake any obligation to pay gold in exchange for rupees.

4. Your Excellency will therefore observe that the committee are in agreement with the Government of your predecessor as regards the main lines of policy to be adopted, while differing from them as to the means by which the objects in view should be obtained. While concurring in the opinion of that Government that the mints should remain closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver, and that a gold standard should be adopted without delay, the committee do not recommend the practical steps proposed for the attainment of this object by the Government of your predecessor, whose recommendations, in the opinion of the committee, might probably have been modified if they could have foreseen the course of events during the past year, and would seem to have been based to an undue extent on a belief in the immediate effect of a contraction of the currency in raising exchange.

5. With regard to the rate at which, if the above-mentioned recommendations are accepted, the rupee should be valued in sterling, the committee are not unanimous, inasmuch as two members are in favour of a rate of 15d.; eight including the chairman, advise the definite adoption of the rate of 16d., which, with unimportant variations, may be said to have been the rate in force during the last eighteen months; and one, while agreeing with the principles of the report, would prefer to take no immediate action for fixing a ratio.

6. Her Majesty's Government have given to this report the careful consideration which its great importance deserves; they are impressed by the array of arguments and facts embodied in it, and they have come to the conclusion that it is advisable to accept generally and to act upon the principles which it recommends.

7. I have therefore decided in Council that the policy of keeping the Indian mints closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver shall be maintained; and I request that you will, as soon as you may deem it expedient, take the necessary steps for making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin, and that you will make preparations for the coinage of gold under the conditions suggested by the committee. As regards the permanent ratio which the rupee should bear to the sovereign, after carefully weighing the arguments of those who are in favour of a lower rate than that which now obtains, I have no hesitation in accepting the view of the majority, who recommend an exchange rate of 16d. per rupee, or 15 rupees to the sovereign; and in this opinion I am confident that your Excellency's Government, especially after the experience of the last eighteen months, will be disposed to concur.

8. I am also in accord with the committee as to the general principles by which your Government should be guided in the management of your gold reserve in the absence of a legal obligation to give gold in exchange for rupees—namely, that you should make it freely available for foreign remittances whenever exchange falls below specie point, under such conditions as the circumstances of the time may render desirable.

9. I desire particularly to commend to your attention the important recommendation with regard to the improvement and concentration of banking facilities, contained in the separate report of Mr. Hambro.

10. The strong opinion against sterling borrowing for currency purposes which is expressed in the separate report of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Holland, and Sir John Muir, and which is, to some extent, supported by the unanimous recommendation of the committee in favour of a restriction of the growth of your Government's gold obligations, will no doubt have your careful consideration.

11. I shall be glad to receive any observations or suggestions which your Excellency's Government may desire to make for the furtherance of the policy which has been adopted.—I have, etc.,

GEORGE HAMILTON.

THE INDIAN SENIOR WRANGLER.

CONGRATULATORY MEETING IN CALCUTTA.

A crowded meeting of the graduates and under-graduates of the University of Calcutta was held on July 1, 1899, at the Calcutta University Institute Hall, for the purpose of congratulating Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, a graduate of the sister University of Bombay, on his brilliant success in obtaining the first place among the Cambridge Wranglers this year. The hall was intensely crowded, and many of the gentlemen present had to remain outside for want of space. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, the assembled gentlemen all watching the proceedings with keen interest. The Honourable Mr. Justice Gooroo Das Banerjee, M.A., D.L., presided. The following gentlemen amongst others were present:—

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, M.D., D.L., C.I.E., A. M. Bose, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law, K. G. Gupta, Esq., I.C.S., Maulvi Shamsul Huda, M.A., B.L., the Honourable Babu Jatra Mohan Sen, B.L., Mahamahopadhyaya Nilmani Nyayalankara, M.A., B.L., Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., Babu Umes Chandra Dutt, B.A., Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, M.A., B.L., Babu Chandra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., Dr. M. M. Bose, M.D., J. C. Bose, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., Dr. Debendra Nath Ray, L.M.S., Maulvi Abdul Karim, B.A., Pandit Kali Krishna Bhattacharya, Babu Mahendra Nath Ray, M.A., B.L., Babu Priya Nath Mukherji, M.A., Babu Isan Chandra Ghose, M.A., Dr. Chunilal Bose, Rai Bahadur, M.B., F.C.S., Babu Jyotis Chandra Mitter, M.A., Babu Gobinda Chandra Das, M.A., B.L., Babu Sivaprassanna Bhattacharya, B.L., Pandit Rajendra Chandra Sastri, M.A., Babu Pramatha Nath Sen, M.A., B.L., Babu Shyama Charan De, M.A., Babu Haran Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., Babu Upendra Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., Babu Satis Chandra Mukherji, M.A., B.L., Babu Narendra Nath Bose, M.A., Babu Brajendra Lal Mitter, M.A., B.L., Babu Dwarka Nath Mitter, M.A., B.L., Babu Jnan Chandra Ray,

B.A., Babu Jyotis Chandra Banerji, M.A., Babu Bipinivihari Gupta, M.A., Babu Munindra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., and Babu Pramatha Nath Dutt, B.L.

Letters expressing regret on account of their inability to attend the meeting were received from Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji, C.S.I., M.A., B.L., The Honourable Babu Kali Charan Banerji, M.A., B.L., B. C. Seal, Esq., B.L., C.S., B. C. Mitter, Esq., M.A., C.S., S. K. Agasti, Esq., M.A., C.S., and Khan Bahadur Delawar Hossein Ahmed, B.A.,

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the meeting:—

I.—That this meeting of the graduates and under-graduates of the Calcutta University records its great satisfaction at the brilliant success attained by Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, a graduate of the sister University of Bombay, in securing the high position of Senior Wrangler of the Cambridge University this year, and further desires to offer to Mr. R. P. Paranjpye its hearty congratulations on his unique success. Moved by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., Bar-at-Law, seconded by Maulvi Shamsul Huda, M.A., B.L., supported by the Honourable Babu Jatra Mohan Sen, B.L.

II.—That this meeting records its sense of deep gratitude to his Excellency the Viceroy for the very kind congratulatory telegram he has been pleased to send to the Principal of the Fergusson College. Moved by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, M.D., D.L., C.I.E., seconded by Maulvi Abdul Karim, B.A., supported by Babu Debendra Nath Ray, L.M.S.

III.—That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number, be formed to adopt means to offer a present, on behalf of this meeting, to Mr. R. P. Paranjpye as a token of the high regard entertained for him:—The Honourable Mr. Justice Gooroo Das Banerjee, M.A., D.L. (President), Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, M.D., D.L., C.I.E., Rajah Peary Mohan Mukherji, C.S.I., M.A., B.L., Khan Bahadur Delawar Hossein Ahmed, B.A., the Honourable Babu Kali Charan Banerji, M.A., B.L., Mahamahopadhyaya Nilmani Nyayalankara, M.A., B.L., A. M. Bose, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law, Babu Chandra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., Babu Umes Chandra Dutt, B.A., Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, M.A., B.L., Babu Debendra Nath Ray, L.M.S., Babu Chunilal Bose Rai Bahadur, M.B., F.C.S., Babu Mahendra Nath Ray, M.A., B.L., Babu Asutosh Mukherji, M.A., D.L., Maulvi Shamsul Huda, M.A., B.L., Maulvi Abdul Karim, B.A., Dr. Niranjan Sarkar, M.A., M.D., Dr. Sures Prasad Sarbadhikari, B.A., M.D., Babu Bipinivihari Gupta, M.A. (Professor, Presidency College; Honorary Secretary), Babu Munindra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., Babu Pramatha Nath Dutt, B.L. (Honorary Assistant Secretaries). Moved by Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, M.A., B.L., seconded by Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur, M.B., F.C.S., supported by Mahamahopadhyaya Nilmani Nyayalankara, M.A., B.L.

IV.—That copies of the resolutions passed at this meeting be sent to his Excellency the Viceroy, Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, and the Principal of the Fergusson College. Moved by Babu Chandra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., seconded by Babu Munindra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., supported by Babu Lalit Mohan Ghosal.

At the conclusion of the meeting three cheers were given for Mr. Paranjpye and his Excellency the Viceroy.

MEETING IN BOMBAY.

The Bombay correspondent of the *Morning Leader* telegraphed on Monday last:—

An enthusiastic meeting has been held here to congratulate Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, the young Indian undergraduate who has been bracketed Senior Wrangler this year.

The Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, who presided, spoke in terms of praise of the intellect of Indians.

The speakers eulogised the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, for the sympathetic attitude exhibited in his telegrams of congratulation to Mr. Paranjpye and to Fergusson College, Poona, where Mr. Paranjpye was educated.

Commenting on this telegram the *Morning Leader* said (August 1):—

Our correspondent at Bombay telegraphs this morning an account of a public meeting held in that city to offer congratulations to Mr. Paranjpye, the brilliant young Indian who together with a Lancashire boy has been bracketed Senior Wrangler at Cambridge this year. It is pleasant to learn that the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University presided on the occasion, and that he had much to say of the heights to which the Indian intellect is capable of rising. It is a fertile theme. Even writers in the *Times* condescend to refer to it when it serves their turn; and a distinguished soldier like Sir Donald Stewart reminded his youthful audience at Cooper's Hill the other day that there are just as clever men to be found in India as in England. A meeting similar to that which has just been held in Bombay was held a few days ago in Calcutta. It is plain that educated Indians throughout the country rejoice in Mr. Paranjpye's success, in which they are justified in seeing a political as well as an educational value. This aspect of the matter has not escaped Lord Curzon, who, to the astonishment of some amiable Anglo-Indians, has had the tact and the wisdom to send his congratulations to the distinguished young mathematician himself and to Fergusson College, Poona, which laid the foundations of his success, and to which he will shortly return as a teacher. We hope that Mr. Paranjpye's success will strengthen

the hands of another Indian wrangler—Mr. A. M. Bose—in his spirited onslaught upon the reactionary policy which has lately excluded Indians in India, admittedly on racial grounds, from educational advantages hitherto open to them. In the debate on Transvaal affairs last Friday, various members of the House of Commons expressed sympathy with the British Indian traders who are subjected to certain disabilities by the Boers. These worthy members overlooked the worse disabilities which our own Colonists in South Africa and elsewhere impose upon their Indian fellow-subjects. They will have an opportunity of showing that their sympathy is genuine by taking an intelligent part in the approaching debate on what is called the Indian Budget.

BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

LETTER FROM MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

With reference to the letter which Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., as Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, addressed on July 11 last (INDIA, July 14, p. 13) to Mr. Chamberlain, the following reply has been received:—

Downing Street, July 26, 1899.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, and to say that the position with regard to the British Indians in the South African Republic still remains as described in his reply to your question in the House of Commons on the 22nd of June.

2. From a despatch received from Sir Alfred Milner on the 24th instant it appears that the State Attorney of the South African Republic informed the British Agent at Pretoria at the beginning of the month that a Government Order had been issued to the local authorities allowing Asiatics who had leases before 1889 to remain where they are till the leases expire and to receive trading licences. Those who had obtained fixed property previously to the passing of the law may remain therein and trade while they remain owners of the property. Hawkers' licences for locations and towns can be obtained for another three months. Asiatics who have applied for an extension of licences will also be granted another three months.

3. With regard to your reference to the position of British Indians in Natal, I am to observe that the legislation to which you apparently allude, viz., the Immigration Restriction Act and the Dealers' Licences Act, is general in its terms, and does not affect Her Majesty's Indian subjects *ex nomine*, but only on the ground of sanitary or other objections.

4. This was the principle on which Mr. Chamberlain desired that any legislation restricting immigration if necessary should be based, as he indicated in his statement to the Colonial Premiers at the Conference in 1897 (p. 13 and C-8,596).

The representation which has been made to the Government of the South African Republic has proceeded on the same line by calling attention to the fact that the sanitary considerations on which the law of 1885 is based cannot be applicable to all Indians without distinction.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) FRED. GRAHAM.

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, July 27.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

OUTRAGES UPON INDIANS BY EUROPEAN SOLDIERS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, I rise to ask Her Majesty's Government what measures they intend to take to prevent outrages by soldiers in India and the Colonies, such as that which caused the death of Mr. Talwatie; and to ask the Under Secretary for India whether, on the 14th February last, the India Office was entirely ignorant of the following cases:—

1898.

January 16.—Poona, Arjuna shot by Gunner W. E. Piper.—*Times of India*.

February 27.—Poona, Private McQuillan, Royal Irish Rifles, cut the throat of a dooly bearer.—*Champion*.

March 23.—Satara, Mr. Rowcroft, a military officer, slapped on the face for insufficient salutation Mr. Sohoni, first assistant master Satara High School.—*Maharatta*.

April 10.—Poona, two soldiers, Durham Light Infantry, drove through the cantonment firing an air gun, hit a tailor, and a woman and a man.—*Times of India*.

April 24.—Allahabad, H. L. C. Killick, East Surrey Regiment, out shooting peafowl with another, with Lee-Metford rifles and bullets. Killick cut Janak Singh's arm with a hunting knife, he bled to death.—*Pioneer*.

May 7.—Karachi, five soldiers committed to sessions for wounding a policeman on duty.—*Jagat Samachar*.

June 6.—Kussowlee, two European soldiers demanded liquor of a cartier, on refusal threw cart, bullocks, and whiskey down the cliff.—*Champion*.

October 2.—Nasirabad, a punkah coolie attached to sergeants'

mess of Royal Fusiliers, thrown into a well by two soldiers, September 25.—*Champion*.

1899.

January 28.—Panjab, Asghar Ali, magistrate and civil servant, assaulted on Panjab Railway, December 31, 1898, by four commissioned officers.—*Moolten Chronicle*.

and to ask if the Indian Government will amend or remodel the Indian Government Resolution No. 4,625, of August 31, 1897, and the Bombay Government Resolution No. 1,507, Judicial Department, of March 2, 1899.

I had hoped, my lords, and I still hope, to be able to speak to this notice without uttering anything which could give any offence, and I had every reason to believe that I should receive a very satisfactory reply, for I was indebted to the noble earl for an introduction to one of the military authorities at the India Office, and everything promised well for a reply which would have effaced the ill-effects of the reply given in this House in February last; and one which would encourage the efforts now made in India to diminish the evils complained of. But since Friday last a disturbing element has intervened, the Parliamentary and Permanent Under Secretaries have become for me Puredh-Nisheon, and have retired into their zenanas; and I am obliged to infer that the Secretary of State is the disturbing cause, and that he has taken offence at the list of outrages on the notice paper, coming as it does shortly after he had made a statement similar to that made in this House in February last. Should the reply to what I am going to say be less satisfactory than I expected, or than the members of India have a right to expect, I must point out how the saddle should be put upon the right horse, and that is Secretary of State for India. After this caveat I can proceed as I originally intended. In again bringing this subject before the House, my first duty is to explain, not for your lordships, but for those outside the House, and especially for the Press in India, that the noble earl, the Under-Secretary for India, is not to be blamed or made responsible for the brevity or curtness of the replies with which he is furnished by the India Office. I next desire to correct a statement which I made when I spoke in February last. I have received a letter saying that I have been misinformed, and that O'Hara, the Dum-Dum murderer, was not the same O'Hara as the one who was hung for shooting a sergeant and a soldier. This point has not much importance except for the sake of accuracy, if the cases were two O'Haras it destroys the point of what I said as to the escape from the punishment of the Dum-Dum O'Hara, but it tells in favour of the military administration that the Dum-Dum O'Hara did not succeed in re-entering the Army after he had been dismissed from it. On the other hand, if there were two O'Haras, the military authorities have had two murderers to answer for instead of one. With regard to the list of outrages by soldiers in the course of last year I have been careful to word the notice so as not in any way to let it appear that the noble earl was aware of any of these cases. I have put them down because they must show that I am not complaining of an imaginary evil, and because even quite recently the Secretary of State for India seemed to believe that these cases were very rare. I am not disposed either to blame the India Office on account of its ignorance of these cases. I did not know of them all myself until a list was sent to me with newspaper extracts. The cases are spread over several newspapers, some of which are not received at the India Office; and I can exonerate the India Office at the cost of another department. In well-conducted public offices, like the Foreign Office and Local Government, the clerks examine carefully the minutes of both Houses, and also the newspapers, and inform the heads of departments and the under secretaries of anything that concerns their office. But I find on June 12 that a letter published in the *Morning Post* on the 7th had not yet attracted the attention of the Colonial Office, although it was headed "Northern Railway, Ceylon." With regard to this list of cases, the Baracpore case in May, and that of the boy shot by Private Knight in August, have been omitted, as they have already been discussed in this House. These cases speak for themselves. I shall not take up the time by mentioning how many were acquitted or how few convicted. With reference to the third case, I will, with the leave of the House, read an extract from INDIA, of April 21 this year: Professor Augustus de Morgan had superintended the reprinting of a famous "Treatise on Problems of Maxima and Minima solved by Algebra," by Ramchandra, late teacher of sciences at Delhi College, a volume expressly stated to be reprinted by order of the honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, for circulation in Europe and India, in acknowledgment of the merit of the author, and in testimony of the sense entertained of the importance of independent speculation as an instrument of national progress in India. De Morgan wrote to the Dean of Ely about forty years ago, a letter (reprinted in INDIA of December 23 last): "Had I been publishing independently of Government, I should perhaps have added what Ramchandra meant me to add—as I judge by his mode of telling it—that he had been beaten in the public road by a man in a British uniform, for not making a salaam as he passed. We talk a great deal about the ways and means of preserving India: but few know that this treatment of educated and civilised Natives is always going on. We are constantly sending out to India a parcel of boobies who have no idea of the people they have to govern, and who will each of them make a few hundred malcontents among educated men who are revered by the mass of the people." I have not yet read of any redress having been offered to Mr. Asghar Ali. I have been assaulted, and his eyes blackened, because he was going to a station-master to complain of the treatment he had met with from four commissioned officers, whose rank makes this a worse case than the others. I hope that the Under Secretary for India will have some satisfactory information to give on this point. In this year six outrages, three of them by soldiers, have taken place between March 23 and April 9, reported by the following papers:—*Aurita Bazar Patrika*, March 23.—Toll manager of Jhelum, telegraphed: "Abused, assaulted, and ears pulled out by police inspector on demanding toll." India, March 24.—Private Joyce, armed with a razor, cut at every Native, four wounded.

India, March 24.—Mr. J. N. Ross, in a dispute as to land, killed a Native, one of the two whom he had arrested.

Town of India, April 4.—Rangoon outrage on Church Parade by West Kent soldiers.

Times of India, April 5.—Gunner Love, separated from his two soldier friends, attempted rape of a village girl (by another report actually committed it); a scuffle ensued, the soldier's gun went off, and a man was killed.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 9.—Mr. Cunning, manager of a tea estate, gave a coolie boy of twelve or thirteen a severe beating from which he died.

Some newspaper, I cannot now remember or ascertain which, asked why I have not referred to outrages by civilians. The reason is that they are fewer, and that they do not cause the same ill-will against the Government as those committed by soldiers. An Indian paper, however, reminds civilians that there is a Bengal Regulation X. of 1864, and of XX. of 1825, under which civilians might be tried by court-martial. Those who ask for measures of prevention may fairly be expected to have some suggestions to make. In February last I suggested trying soldiers by court-martial instead of by juries, and this has been partly carried out by a military Order, dated Naini Tal, April 12, 1899, No. 224, for cases of soldiers infringing rules relating to shooting passes. With regard to court martials, everything depends upon the colonels and other regimental officers being convinced that the measure is in the earnest. If the telegram from Amshabad, published last Friday, July 21, be correct, the conviction had been borne into the minds of the officers, as a severe sentence was passed. On the other hand, at Rangoon, as has been stated in some newspapers, a soldier was about to make a statement, but was stopped by a captain. I hope the Under-Secretary will be able to give the House some information as to this point, and as to the progress of this enquiry by General Protheroe. The Government can show that it is in earnest by letting it be known that wherever a court-martial trifles with justice, or acquits against the evidence, on the first occasion the colonel of that regiment will be put on half-pay; and on the next occasion, if the soldiers are again dismissed the Service. In cases such as the Rangoon outrage, the Kandy murder, confinement of the regiment to barracks and the barrack yard, and putting the officers under arrest until evidence was forthcoming, might secure the desired result. The next suggestion I would make is founded upon what took place when Mr. Talwatee was murdered, namely, that in future soldiers off duty, going or coming back from any games, and passing through a native quarter, should always be accompanied by a subaltern commissioned officer, and not, as in Mr. Talwatee's case, by a corporal only, who would be no restraint upon them. A third suggestion was impressed upon me by a friend, an ex-Bengal civilian, that the soldiers are greatly over-fed during the hot season, and that if supplied with a less inflammatory diet outrages would be fewer. I have been reminded of what I had forgotten, that one of Mr. Kipling's stories in "Soldiers Three" says exactly the same thing; in it he says that a regiment sometimes gets hysterical like a girls' school. This is a reform which can be easily carried out by the regimental officers, and I have reason to believe that it has been considered by the military authorities. The fourth suggestion is contained in the notice. I will read to the House the Bombay Government Resolution mentioned in it, and your Lordships will be able to judge whether the warnings to villagers not to molest soldiers are not rather of wolf and lamb de orption. No doubt the soldiers have some warning in the rules issued to them, which I have already referred to, breaches of which are to be tried by court-martial, but at present the Government Resolution seems one-sided. It is as follows:—

"Bombay Government Resolution, No. 1,507.

"Judicial Department, March, 2, 1899.

"District magistrates should cause it to be made known generally to villages that British soldiers are permitted to go out shooting game in the district, but Government have issued instructions so that any injury to the person or property of the inhabitants may be prevented. Should any person be aggrieved by the conduct of soldiers who may be out shooting, their proper course is to make a complaint to the magistrate empowered to receive it. They are not permitted to take the law into their own hands, or to molest or threaten soldiers who are not committing any offence, but are out shooting in accordance with the permission given to them. The village officers in each village should further be warned that they will be held responsible that these instructions are known and observed in the village.

"(Signed) G. H. FAWCETT.

"Under Secretary to Government."

I would now point out that there is great risk of accidents, if soldiers are allowed to shoot with Lee-Metford rifles; many parts of India are level plains, and more populous than this country. Shot guns ought to be kept for the good conduct soldiers allowed to shoot, to prevent accidents. A short time ago I met a Christian Bengalee in the house of a dignitary of the Church; he was not a convert but the son of a convert, and of a well-known Bengali family. I asked him what party he was, suggested to these military officers. He said: "Raise the moral tone of the soldiers." I replied that you must first raise the moral tone of the officers; and my Bengali civilian friend says, "You must raise the moral tone of the race." It is, perhaps, more the conceit that wants lowering, than the moral tone-raising; a great country or a great people does not require a Tyrteus. Oliver Goldsmith began it, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling has excelled in that line. I admire Mr. Kipling's writings very much, and though not acquainted with him, in order not to offend him, I shall use no words of my own, but quote a paragraph from the Bombay Indian Spectator criticising his last utterance: "Egotism sometimes takes the form of excessive laudation of one's own race, of one's nationality, called by whatever name, the underlying feeling is the same—namely, one of supreme self-complacency. Mr. Rudyard Kipling's latest poem, 'The White Man's Burden,' is one of the most glaring instances of such egotism. It would seem, from this poem, that the white man has been carrying the burden of the whole universe on his

shoulders at considerable self-sacrifice and discomfort to himself, and all for the benefit of the 'half-devil, half-child,' whom he has kindly brought under subjection. In the large sense, the greatest burden-bearers in the world to-day are not the white men. It is the 'half devil, half children,' whose skins are browned or blackened by the sun that carry the twin artillery of the white man—his gin and his gun—wherever he 'civilises' or shoots them down, according as they fall in with his ways or rebel against them." It is no use preaching to alter the present feeling of the troops, and the best thing the Indian Government could do would be to offer Mr. Rudyard Kipling publication at their own expense and a large reward for a novel which should tone down the song of the white man's burden. If Mr. Kipling should decline the task the Indian Government has another and a better string to its bow, and might ask Mr. Thorburn to enter the lists, and show how Mr. Kipling's song lured on the Americans into a bog, and how almost every step taken by the United States since the beginning of their war with Spain has been dogged by retribution. Mr. Thorburn's recent novel, "Transgression," is as good as any other of the many good Indian novels. He is the Bengali civilian who got into a scrape at Simla last winter for taking at their word those who invited discussion on the Afriidi campaign. As for the part of the question that concerns the colonies, Ceylon appears to be the only one requiring attention in this respect, for I have not heard of any military outrages in the Straits Settlements, in Hong Kong, probably, because the Malays and the Chinese are better able to defend themselves. I hope that the Colonial Office will be ready to adopt in Ceylon whatsoever measures may be adopted by the Indian Government. I also hope that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies will now be able to explain how it is that a clerk of the magistrates' court could be murdered in the town of Kandy by daylight, in the presence of his wife and sister-in-law and of witnesses, European and Singalese; and why a soldier named Conolly, who has been accused, was allowed to leave Ceylon without being confronted with persons who might be recognised as his accomplices in the murder. I think I may find the Under-Secretary for India will recognise and admit that I have used very dispassionate, indeed colourless language, and have simply placed facts before the House. This I have been able to do because I know that the Viceroy is bent upon preventing these outrages, and that some of the best officials in the India Office are now thoroughly awake to the necessity of action, and that apathy has been dispelled by the Sunday mid-day performances at Rangoon.

The Earl of ONSLOW said the noble lord had placed on the notice paper a very long list of outrages alleged to have been committed by soldiers in India, and he, as a member of the House, and as a nobleman, had himself admitted he had not made careful enquiry as to the acquittals and convictions in these cases. It would be an easy matter to compile a long list of cases drawn from newspaper reports of crimes committed by any class of her Majesty's subjects, and he did not think the noble lord had convinced their lordships that soldiers in India were guilty of more crimes than the same class elsewhere or any section drawn from the same class of the population. On the contrary, if the noble lord would examine the returns which were laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament he would find that since 1878 the proportion of military crimes in soldiers' offences had been steadily decreasing. In 1878 there were 114 at home and 56 abroad, while in 1897 the figures were 54 at home and 34 abroad. He thought their lordships would agree that the conduct of her Majesty's troops had been steadily improving and not deteriorating. With regard to the cases quoted by the noble lord, two of them had been brought officially to the notice of the Secretary of State. As to shooting parties they were most carefully guarded. Orders were only issued to men of extremely good character, and every precaution was taken to prevent any collision with the Natives, and he could only say that all that was possible was done to prevent any outrages of the kind referred to by the noble lord. There was evidence to the contrary, and he was sure that the noble lord had made as to remedying what he complained of; he left that to the Secretary of War.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: I fully agree with the Under-Secretary that not only is there no reason to apprehend that there is a serious increase of crimes committed by soldiers in India, but that in point of fact those crimes are tending to decrease; and, although there may possibly have been some instances, some particular cases, which every one will greatly deplore, still there is no reason to believe or suggest that there is a general deterioration among our soldiers in India. It would be most unfortunate that such an erroneous impression should get abroad. (Hear, hear.) No doubt circumstances may have occurred lately which required the attention of the Government. That attention I am sure—indeed, we have heard that it is so from the Under-Secretary—will be given to the subject, and if it is found that there is any necessity for the interference of the Government, I am confident the Government will take any steps that may be necessary for the protection of the Natives. (Hear, hear.) I cannot, however, believe that the conduct of the soldiers in India is such as to give rise to any general apprehension of deterioration. On the contrary, I believe that their conduct deserves approbation. (Hear, hear.)

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE: I rise merely to express my concurrence in what has been said by the noble earl. We must all regard with the utmost reprobation acts of ill-usage perpetrated by Europeans, whether soldiers or civilians, upon the Natives of India. It is for civilians a disgrace to the nation in which they are brought out of their homes to be perpetrated by soldiers, they not only bring disgrace upon their country and countrymen, but upon the honourable profession of which they are members. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to concur with what has been said of the Under-Secretary as to the improvement which has taken place in the conduct of many soldiers in this respect. I believe that at this moment acts which not

many years ago—I do not speak of crimes or outrages, but acts of perhaps rough usage—would have been regarded as comparatively venial are now regarded as well by the military as by the community as deserving the utmost abhorrence and reprobation. As I believe that no pains are spared by the military authorities and the commanding officers to prevent these occurrences, I wish to join in the protest of the noble earl against such reports as those which the noble lord has placed upon the paper being regarded as authentic proof of the conduct of the troops in India. (Hear, hear.) He has not told us as to these cases whether there were any legal proceedings, or whether, if there were, any convictions followed. I, for one, should certainly want to know a great deal more about these cases before I should be inclined to accept them as being authentic. (Hear, hear.) My impression is that the amount of crime committed by British soldiers in India is steadily diminishing; Courts-martial are diminishing; offences are diminishing; and in particular the offence of drunkenness, so closely connected, I am afraid, with military crime, is showing a marked tendency to become less. As representing the War Office I have only to add that no pains will be spared to prevent any act of ill-treatment being perpetrated by soldiers upon the Native population of India. (Hear, hear.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAPERS PRESENTED.

East India Currency—Copy presented—of Despatch of the Secretary of State for India in Council to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 25, 1899, respecting the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Indian Currency [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

On the motion of Sir M. M. BROWNAGGEE, a Return was granted for "Portions of the Annual Report of the Indian Section of the Imperial Institute for the year ending March 31, 1899, and of the preceding two years, embodying the more important details of the working of the Section, and the results obtained in the scientific investigations of selected natural products from India carried on at the Imperial Institute."

BRITISH INDIANS AND THE JAPAN TREATY.

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether British Indians were wholly excluded from the benefits of the treaty of commerce and navigation which was entered into between Great Britain and Japan, on July 16, 1894, and had recently come into operation; if so, what were the reasons for this exclusion:

What was now the position, since the treaty came into operation, of British Indians travelling and trading in Japan:

And whether it was proposed to take any steps to extend the benefits of the treaty to British India.

Mr. BRODRICK: Negotiations are in progress with the Japanese Government for the accession of India to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation entered into on July 16, 1894, between Great Britain and Japan.

* LIGHTS IN THE RED SEA.

Sir JAMES FERGUSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether the Foreign Office had information that the Powers would at any early period prepare the establishment of the four lights so long desired at the southern end of the Red Sea:

And, if any steps were yet being taken to establish one or more lights in the Gulf of Aden.

Mr. BRODRICK: An arrangement has been come to between the Turkish Government and the Turkish Lighthouse Administration for the construction and maintenance of the proposed lights, and, in pursuance of this arrangement, a scheme of dues on shipping has now been brought forward by the Powers for the concurrence of her Majesty's Government and the other Powers interested. This scheme is inconsistent with the information furnished in reply to my right friend's question of May 11 last, and her Majesty's Government are considering what answer should be returned to the Turkish proposals. The Government of India have been requested to prepare for the consideration of her Majesty's Government a scheme for the erection of a lighthouse on the island of Socotra.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

Mr. McKENNA asked the First Lord of the Treasury when the Indian Budget would be taken.

Mr. BALFOUR: I suppose the Indian Budget will, as usual, be taken on the day the Committee stage of the Appropriation Bill is put down.

Friday, July 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DRAFTS FOR INDIA.

Captain JESSIEL asked the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Cavalry Depot was to furnish drafts only for regiments serving the Colonies and Egypt; and, if so, whether he would explain how drafts would be supplied during the ensuing trooping season for regiments in India.

Mr. GEORGE WYNDHAM: As I have already stated to the House the system which we have established is that drafts for cavalry regiments in India shall be supplied by regiments on the lower establishment at home, while drafts to regiments in the colonies are supplied from depôts. But we have also pledged ourselves that the system when fully established shall be so worked as not to reduce the

draft-giving regiments at home below a nucleus of 350 rank and file. I may remind the House that that pledge, which was given in February, 1895, does not fall due till the spring of 1901. But we are desirous to help the regiments at home as far as we can over the difficult period of transition; and we have therefore arranged that drafts for the two lancer regiments in India shall for the present be taken from depôts.

ENGLAND AND THE TRANSVAAL. THE OFFER OF TROOPS FROM INDIA.

Mr. MACLEAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Imperial and Indian Governments had, as stated in a Reuter telegram from Simla, made preliminary arrangements for the despatch of a force of 10,000 men from India for service in South Africa in the event of hostilities breaking out there; whether her Majesty's Government had also received offers of military aid against the South African Republic from the Federated Malay States in Indo-China and from Hansa Volunteers in West Africa; and whether the Government intended, in any case, to employ either Indian or black troops in a war against white men in South Africa.

Mr. BALFOUR: I have to say that if the unhappy event to which the hon. member refers should occur there is no intention of using any but white troops. (Hear, hear.)

Monday, July 31.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN MADRAS.

On the motion of Sir W. WEDDERBURN a Return was granted for "recent correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Madras Government concerning sales of Land for arrears of Revenue and alleged shortcomings in the Madras Land Revenue arrangements."

Tuesday, August 1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for India, if he was yet able to give a reply to the complaint submitted on behalf of the Church of Scotland as to difficulties experienced in several instances by Presbyterian chaplains of the forces in India in obtaining the use of Government churches for public worship.

Lord G. HAMILTON: As my hon. friend is aware, both the Viceroy and myself are desirous that Presbyterians should, wherever it is practicable, have every facility afforded them to worship in the churches which have been set apart for or are ordinarily used by the Church of England. In this view the Metropolitan of India heartily concurs. As my hon. friend is aware, I am now obtaining legal opinion as to what is the effect of consecration according to the rites of the Church of England on churches in India. On this point largely depends the procedure to be adopted to give effect to our wishes, but I shall not obtain that opinion for some little time.

THE CASE OF MAJOR PARSONS.

Mr. JEFFREYS asked the Secretary of State for India, would he explain why Major Parsons had been promoted by the authorities in Burma to be a deputy commissioner of the first grade over the heads of all other officers in other grades who were senior to Major Parsons: And, whether he had sanctioned this action of the Burma authorities.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The circumstances of Major Parsons's case, which was brought before me by the Government of India in October, 1898, were very complicated, and the question as to the position which he ought to hold in the Service was a difficult one. After careful consideration I decided that he should be treated as a supernumerary in every grade above the lowest to which he might be appointed. The effect of this decision, which appears to have been duly carried out, is that his own reasonable expectations will be fulfilled, but that his successive promotions have not interfered and will not interfere with those of the other officers in the Burma Commission.

TYPHOID FEVER IN INDIA.

General RUSSELL asked the Secretary of State for India, whether his attention had been called to the yearly increasing virulence of typhoid fever in India, although a few years since this disease was almost unknown in that country:

And, whether any report had been received by the Government of India as a result of the investigations, which more than two years since he stated were then being conducted into the causes of this disease; and, if so, whether this report would be laid upon the Table of the House.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have observed with regret the increasing prevalence of enteric fever in India, a subject which is continually engaging the attention of the Government of India. I would point out, however, that the virulence of the disease, as tested by the ratio between the number of deaths and the number of admissions to hospital per thousand of the British troops in India, has decreased. From 1878 to 1883 it was nearly one to two, from 1884 to 1888 about one to three, since then not much more than one to four.

No general report has been issued as a result of the investigations which are being pursued into the origin of enteric fever in cantonments in India, but I have received special reports from the Government of India on the sanitary conditions of certain cantonments which have been made the subject of individual investigation. Steps have been taken to remedy the defects reported.

With reference to the reply which I gave to my honourable and

gallant friend's question of February 23 last, I may state that voluntary inculcation against enteric fever at the public expense among the British troops in India has now been sanctioned.

AGGRESSION IN WAZIRISTAN.

Mr. PROKESGILL asked the Secretary of State for India, what was the distance between Wano, in the Waziri country (the place to which the baggage train of Mr. Watson, the Indian Government's Political Officer, was proceeding when attacked by Waziris on the 21st instant), and the western frontier line of British India;

What was the distance between Wano and Dera Ismail Khan;

What was the number and status of Indian Government troops now stationed at or near Wano, and at other points in the Waziri country;

What political and civil officers were being maintained by us in that foreign territory;

And was there any near prospect of these forces and officers being withdrawn from Waziristan, in accordance with the recently indicated policy of the Government to reduce our occupation of Afghan tribal territory.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The distance between Wano and the station of Tank on the borders of the British District of Dera Ismail Khan is 65 miles.

The distance to Dera Ismail Khan headquarters of the district is 115. There are 1,050 men in the nominal strength of the Wano garrison of Indian Government troops, and at Jandola and Sarvakel there are about 410 more. These numbers exclude the tribal levies and border militia. In the Tochi valley there are 2,300 Native troops.

One European Political Officer, an Assistant, and 5 Naib Tahsildars, besides their office establishments, are stationed in Southern Waziristan at or near Wano.

The question of substituting militia for troops at Wano and in the neighbourhood, is under the consideration of the Viceroy.

The region in question is not Afghan territory, being within the boundaries of the area settled by the Durand Agreement to be under the influence of the Indian Government.

PROPOSED CHIEF COURT IN BURMA.

Mr. PROKESGILL asked the Secretary of State for India, whether it was in contemplation to establish a Chief Court in Burma; and whether, before that step was taken, an opportunity would be afforded to this House to pronounce upon the desirability of establishing a High Court instead of a Chief Court in that country.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I am in correspondence with the Government of India in regard to the proposal to establish a Chief Court in Burma. I am not prepared to postpone a decision on the subject until this House has discussed the question whether a High Court or a Chief Court is more desirable for the Province. But I may observe that legislation in Parliament would be necessary to enable another High Court to be established in India.

EUROPEAN PRISONERS IN INDIA.

Mr. HERBERT LEWIS (on behalf of Mr. SAMUEL SMITH) asked the Secretary of State for India, whether the Government would take into practical consideration the special hardships which long term European prisoners now suffered in India owing to their inability to bear the climatic effects under cool conditions, as compared with the Native prisoners around them;

And, whether the Government would locate this particular class in some prison in the hill districts.

Lord G. HAMILTON: This question has been carefully considered, but in view of the small numbers of the class of prisoners to whom it refers, and of the great expense and other disadvantages of providing separate goals for them, it has been decided to leave matters as they are, more especially as the accommodation provided for European prisoners has been very favourably reported upon by expert authorities. It should also be remembered that the Courts, in sentencing Europeans, take into consideration the effects of climate, and that such prisoners, if their health requires it, can be transferred to the United Kingdom under an Act of 1884.

Thursday, August 3.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAPERS PRESENTED.

East India Contonment Regulations—Copy presented—of Rules and applied Enactments issued by the Government of India June 16, 1899 [by command]; to lie upon the Table.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN MANUFACTURERS.

Mr. HARWOOD asked the Secretary of State for India if it was the practice of the Indian Government to treat Indian manufacturers of iron, and of other products purchased by the Government, on equal terms with British or Continental manufacturers, as ordered by paragraph 23 of Resolution 185, January, 1893.

Lord G. HAMILTON: In November, 1895, I instructed the Government of India to be careful to avoid giving any preference to either English or Indian goods as such, and so far as I am aware they have acted and are acting accordingly.

THE CASE OF MAJOR PARSONS.

Mr. MACNELL asked the Secretary of State for India, whether his attention had been drawn to the case of Major (then Lieutenant) J. H. Parsons, 7th Bengal Cavalry, who was appointed in July, 1884, to the Burma Commission as Supernumerary Assistant Commissioner, but was obliged to go home to England on sick leave in 1886;

Whether he was aware that in 1890 Major Parsons was offered an

opportunity of returning to his post in Burma, which he declined to accept, whereupon his name disappeared from the list of Commissioners, but that in April, 1897, Major Parsons was replaced in the Burma Commission after an absence of 11½ years, and in July, 1898, was appointed to the post of Deputy Commissioner, 3rd grade, superseding all the officers in the 4th grade, who had given a continuous service to the Commission;

Whether, seeing that the Secretary of State for India cancelled the orders of the Local Government of Burma, and reduced Major Parsons to the post of a Deputy Commissioner of the 4th grade, would he explain on what grounds the Burma Government had appointed that officer to officiate as Deputy Commissioner, 1st grade;

And, what steps would be taken to enforce the orders of the Secretary of State for India, granting redress to the officers who had been injured by being superseded in their promotion in favour of Major Parsons.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have to refer the hon. member to the answer which I gave on the 1st inst. to the hon. member for the Basingstoke Division, and which I think covers all the points in this question. As I then stated, the orders given by me appear to have been duly carried out, and the recent promotions of Major Parsons have not interfered and will not interfere with those of other members of the Burma Commission.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Mr. SOUTTAR asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he could state the dates at which, within the next two years, notice should be given to the several guaranteed or subsidised Indian railways for the termination or revision of their existing contracts or agreements with the Government of India or Secretary of State;

And, whether due care would be taken in any revision or renewal of these agreements so as to limit the new terms as to safeguard the interests of the Government and taxpayers of India.

Lord G. HAMILTON: Within the next two years notice of termination of contract may be given to one guaranteed Indian railway company, viz., the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company (on any day within six months after August 17, 1899).

The contract with the Rohilkund and Kumaon Railway Company for the completion and working of the Lucknow Bareilly State Railway may be terminated on December 31, 1900, or on December 31 in any subsequent year by giving not less than twelve months' previous notice.

In any revision of contracts with Indian railway companies the interests of the Government and taxpayers of India will be duly safeguarded.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

On going into Committee on East India Revenue Accounts:—

Mr. WILLIAM JONES: To move, That under the existing procedure the superintending authority of Parliament over Indian affairs is not effectively exercised; that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the Estimates; that the debate on the Indian Budget should be appointed for an earlier day in the Session; and that, with a view to the more effectual discharge by this House of its existing duty to the unrepresented Indian taxpayer the East India Accounts should each year be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report on any special features deserving the attention of the House.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS and Mr. CALDWELL have also given notice of the above motion.

Mr. WYLLIE: As an amendment to Mr. William Jones' Motion, line 1, leave out from "That," to the end of the Question, and insert "this House approves of the administration of Indian affairs and of the present system of administration."

Mr. PICKERSGILL: To move, That the separation of judicial from executive duties in India is imperatively and urgently necessary in the interests of the administration of justice.

Sir MANCHESTER BROWNAGORE: To move, That this House highly approves of the policy advocated by his Excellency Lord Curzon of Kedleston to further the development of industrial and technical education in the Indian Empire, and trusts that immediate practical effect will be given to that policy by the establishment of scientific and technical departments in the existing schools, and of polytechnic institutions, in the larger towns of India, as well as by holding out special facilities to industrial projects.

Mr. KIMBER: To move, That, having regard to certain petitions from the late Chief of Arnowli and from several thousands of the inhabitants of the Cis Sutlej territory in the Punjab presented to Parliament and praying enquiry, and having regard to the printed Return, dated February 11, 1895, to an Address and to the facts recorded therein, this House is of opinion that the Government of India should be advised by the Secretary of State for India to restore the Chieftainship of Kythail in the person of the present head of the Bhaikhan family (the eldest son of the late Chief of Arnowli), with territory sufficient to maintain that Chieftain in its former rank as one of the four principal Cis Sutlej States.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: To move, That this House views with grave concern the proposals of the Viceroy of India with reference to the future Financial Administration of Calcutta, which, if carried into Law, will in effect destroy the representative character of the Calcutta Municipality.

Sir EDWARD SASSOON.—Telegraph Companies (Tariff for Foreign Messages).—To call the attention of the House to the very high tariff for foreign messages maintained by telegraph companies here, with special reference to the extravagant charges on Indian messages; and to move, That a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into the whole circumstances of the virtual monopoly enjoyed by telegraph companies. [No day fixed].

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