

India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE latest telegram from the Viceroy numbers 5,607,000 persons in receipt of relief. In some provinces the numbers have decreased, and the chief reason for this apparent improvement only darkens the prospect. It is cholera. The people flee the presence of the sudden and deadly disease, preferring to risk death by sheer starvation. Cholera, the Viceroy reports, "continues very prevalent in Bombay and elsewhere;" but he does not tell us where, or whether he means everywhere else in the famine districts. Nor are we vouchsafed any definite indications of the havoc that cholera is apparently making. It does seem strange that the authorities should so determinedly leave the British public in ignorance of what is happening. It seems stranger still that the British public quietly endures such cavalier treatment. The Mansion House Fund, the barometer of the interest of such of us as can afford to be benevolent, goes up steadily, but very slowly. It now slightly exceeds a quarter of a million sterling (£252,000)—a great deal of money in the circumstances, yet how gravely inadequate. And not a symptom yet of a National contribution.

The probability is that cholera is rampant throughout the famine districts. The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing on May 1 from Jaipur (where cholera has been raging for weeks), says he has heard "that outbreaks have occurred in most of the famine camps." The consequences, though very natural, are most disastrous. The correspondent speaks of a tank work "where nearly 30,000 wanderers had been collected," and a panic set in, "and more than half the people scattered themselves over the desert, carrying the pestilence with them." The same sort of wild dispersal has taken place at other camps. The lamentable prospect is gathered into a single harrowing sentence:—

I am afraid there can no longer be any doubt that a calamity of the most appalling kind is beginning to break over India, and that hundreds of thousands of poor wretches who have been reduced by want and by the hardships and unnatural conditions of life in the famine camps will go down before the blast.

The plain fact is that the famine has got beyond control, and the cholera is following in the wake of the famine.

Let the British public ponder the restrained and lucid statement of the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent:—

The odds are too great against the handful of Englishmen who are fighting on the other side. Here in Rajputana there are twenty staff corps men, under the direction of Major Dunlop-Smith, and a few engineers and doctors, and besides them must be reckoned the residents, the story of whose efforts to save the people would make a chapter in English history worth the reading, if it could only be written. Look at the map, and consider what chance this little band of Englishmen, backed by an occasional Brahma Nund, can have against pestilence. Nor is the rest of India so vastly better off in point of establishment. A thousand or even five hundred British officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and another five hundred doctors might turn the scale. The existing service is not strong enough to grapple with famine, let alone cholera.

And why should there be any difficulty in supplying such a staff? Let the South African campaign give the answer. We sent our best medical and surgical skill to South Africa. What have we done for India?

The correspondent incidentally mentions a useful Brahma Nund. What of Brahma Nund? This:—

Brahma Nund, famine officer to the Marwar Durbar, who came No. 21. Vol. XIII.

with me in the train from Pali to Marwar junction, was visiting a camp a short time back when he saw a man fall. Then another fell, and another. Next day 190 people were down with cholera, most of the officials had fled, the camp was in panic, and the sweepers would not touch the bodies. Brahma Nund collected fresh workers around him, told the people that it was a holy service and no defilement to see to the sick and bury the dead, and in due time fairly beat the cholera out of the camp. A line from the book of Ramayana, he told me, was running in his head during the struggle; he wrote it for me in my note-book, and here it is: "Disadvantage, advantage, life, death, fame and infamy, rest in the hands of God."

How many men that honourably and justly wear the Victoria Cross have done so much to deserve it as this obscure Hindu hero, Brahma Nund?

Another example of Native grit may also be cited from the same despatch of the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent:—

The genius of the nullah (where the water is collected) is a famous organiser of transport, Dhaupat Rai, whose name will be familiar to officers who have been on service on the Frontier and in the Sudan. Dhaupat is now in charge of the Imperial Service Transport Corps of Jaipur State, which he has turned to good use for famine purposes, and he is cultivating the nullah and organising the 7,000 workers in it as a sort of amusement. The little finger of this entirely competent person is worth a whole famine code and a league of red tape to the Jaipur Durbar. His huts are dug out and solidly thatched; his gangs of workers know exactly what is the daily task, and do it; his orphans, clad in surprising jackets of yellow, are governed by five orphan corporals; his ambulance wagons are well horsed; and his depots for the collection of the sick and starving are run with military precision.

"There is a reverse side," the correspondent acknowledges, "and I have heard of infamies being perpetrated by famine officials in Native States, which have made the fingers of the British officers who discovered them itch for their sword hilts." Anyhow let us regard the bright side as well as the dark. The correspondent, by the way, does justice to the splendid work of Colonel Jacob, who has carried through more than 150 irrigation works in Jaipur during a generation of arduous labour.

The threatened water famine in Nagpur causes much anxiety. As the *Pioneer* says:—

A failure of water in a rural district is bad enough; but coming upon a crowded town of 130,000 inhabitants in the heart of an Indian hot weather, such a calamity means an amount of suffering and sickness which is distressing to contemplate, while it is almost beyond the reach of remedy or alleviation.

By great economy in the use of the water, it is now hoped that the great tank will not have become completely dry before the next rains; unfortunately, the quality of the water must deteriorate as the reservoir falls, with sickness as a result.

In another part of India, Amraoti is in equal or even greater distress. According to the special correspondent of the *Times of India*, it is suffering from three terrible evils. "The water supply has failed so completely that the poor are compelled to fight round the municipal stand-pipes for a scanty portion of the few meagre gallons doled out daily." The cotton crop has failed, with disastrous effects on the industry and prosperity of the district. And the jowari crop has failed with an immediate scarcity of food as a result. But there is another side to the picture. Hitherto Amraoti has escaped famine, and as a consequence of their prosperity the people have been able to look this dire scarcity in the face. Only 5 per cent. of the people have sought Government relief, and the mortality is now normal. So true is it that while the failure of the rains may bring scarcity, it is poverty that is the true cause of famine.

From Nagpur the special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, writing on April 20, confirms the worst accounts of the famine. "In the extent of the scarcity, the number of persons afflicted, the intensity of the distress, and the magnitude of the efforts put forward to grapple with it,

the present famine," he says, "is unparalleled in the history of the world." He marshals comparative figures in support; and, while somewhat roughly anticipating that "the net cost to the Government will be 84 millions sterling," he usefully points out that many more millions must be added, in summing up the total cost—for agricultural loss present and prospective, trade stagnation, and general exhaustion of resources. Every famine officer, he says, testifies to the incalculable blessings of British charity in 1897, "and the need is now twice as great." And what of British charity? The correspondent writes:

The excitement of the war in South Africa has, no doubt, blinded the eyes of England to the magnitude of the calamity which has befallen the "brightest jewel in the Imperial crown." How bitterly sarcastic the term sounds in comparison with the awful realities of the position. . . . The Mansion House Fund is a drop in the bucket to the real needs of the distressed.

Still, "India, in this time of greatest trial, confidently looks to England for aid." Perhaps this further testimony will help to break down British confidence in the dilatory and restrictive policy of the Secretary of State.

"The plague," telegraphed Ruter's Simla correspondent on May 9, "is generally showing a material decline throughout India." We should be glad to believe that this is so; and our belief would have been materially assisted if the correspondent had submitted a reasonable array of facts in support of his very wide and positive statement. A Bombay correspondent of the *Times* reported, under date May 5, a summary of the history of the progress of the plague in the Bombay Presidency from September, 1896, to June, 1899, just published by order of the Government of India; but he too confines himself to the largest generalities. It is admitted that "the Presidency has suffered heavily through the incidence of the disease," which everybody knew without telling; but it is claimed that "the actual plague mortality, except in small places where sanitary measures were ineffectually enforced during the rains, will not bear comparison with the terrible figures of past visitations of pestilence." Still, we have to wait for the facts establishing the proposition. It is rather disheartening to find even an official admission that "there has been little recent progress in our medical knowledge as to its treatment; for in that case the doctors must be pretty much at sea. Disinfection, we learn, has given "inconclusive results;" isolation and segregation have been "useful;" evacuation has been "generally successful;" inoculation "has proved a striking success." Well, we must await events. The report that 15,000 Mahometan weavers met at Benares to protest against the plague rules on religious grounds, transmitted from Bombay through Ruter's Agency (May 13), shows how backward the Government is to learn the simplest of practical lessons.

The *Pioneer* is inclined to complain because examinations of passengers for purposes of plague prevention are not held at more railway stations in Bengal and the North-West Provinces. Though admitting that the examination is not very effective, it claims that "it is one of the few precautions that can be taken without causing dangerous excitement among the masses." One great advantage, in the view of our contemporary, is that the Indians are deterred from travelling from a plague-area because "in their credulity they picture all sorts of terrors awaiting them." But though there may be nothing to justify "terror," the material damage seems quite real. At Kalka, we are told, every 3rd class Indian passenger has to go to the disinfecting sheds if he has come from Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, or certain districts of the Punjab.

He generally emerges after three or four hours with some of his clothing spoiled, and apparently he has no redress against the authorities. There is one case of an officer having had his saddle disinfected! The leather was of course ruined; but in this case the Government will probably have to pay compensation or stand an action for damages.

The *Pioneer*, however, approves of the regulations for the inspection of passengers at Ranibagh on the way to Naini Tal being cancelled; for our contemporary perceives the invidious character of the rule that "disinfection will apply to all Natives, whether they profess to have come from plague-infected areas or not. It will not extend to Europeans."

The *Madras Mail* puts very clearly the cause of the un-

popularity of plague regulations in the North-West Provinces in spite of their mildness and the invitations to Indians to co-operate in their administration:—

It was not the case, however, that measures so unaggressive and conciliatory failed to work smoothly on account of any inherent defect in them. The failure, there seems no doubt whatever now, was due to the fact that the working of the measures was left to the tender mercies of what a contemporary calls "uncontrolled black-malers," namely, the underpaid and ill-educated police. In a word, the principle of co-operation by the people, accepted "on paper," was vitiated *ad oves* by the failure to form co-operative preventive committees or *panchayats* amongst the people themselves, to disarm the suspicion and opposition which even "home segregation" engenders.

It appears that these *panchayats* were provided for some three years ago, but have remained in "confidential" files of papers. So much for the good intentions of Governments in British India.

At the Girdlers' Company's commemorative luncheon (May 16), and again at Mr. Baines's lecture at a meeting of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts (May 17), Lord George Hamilton expressed views on the industrial development of India. He told the worshipful Girdlers that "while we had greatly benefited the masses of India, we had, perhaps unconsciously, crushed indigenous art." How far we have benefited the masses is not yet a closed question; and if we crushed the indigenous industries unconsciously, we really must be stupider, or more torpid, than our most vicious defamers have yet discerned. It could have required but a minimum of reflection to forecast the effects of rushing railways through an undeveloped country.

The artisans have been thrown back upon the land, and Mr. Baines says the problem is "how to divert the labouring masses and lower artisans from dependence upon agriculture alone." That is to say, how to rescue them from the pit into which we unceremoniously threw them. Yet why divert the people from agriculture? Mr. Baines says the main obstacles to such diversion are "the traditional liking of the people for that pursuit, the great agricultural capabilities of the country," and certain other things. Would it not be an obvious process to take advantage of these capabilities of the country and these likings of the people? The possibilities of agricultural expansion are admittedly enormous, and yet the Government piddles away rocklessly at the fringes of the business while pursuing a revenue policy that effectively crushes it at the centre. It will not allow the agriculturist to thrive, do as he may. Mr. Baines looks to Indian capital and Indian products, and away from foreign capital and foreign products; and he thinks the impulse must arise "within the community itself" and cannot be imparted from without. There is much in that; but Indian capital has been rendered scarce by Government policy, and even yet Lord George Hamilton is keen for the larger introduction of European capital. The Indian Government has in recent years placed saddlery and other leather contracts in India, admittedly with the best results. We should like to know the extent of the experiment. But his grand specific now is—not even railways—but "the utilisation of the great rivers of India in the creation of electrical energy," and he hopes that "the introduction of that motive power"—by European capital?—"will tend in various directions to revive some of the older industries in country." Which industries, and how far? We commend the speculation to the *Pioneer*.

The Government Resolution on the Chupra case has produced considerable diversity of opinion among Anglo-Indian journals. The *Friend of India* considers the comments of the *Pioneer* "a singularly inept, but none the less characteristic, piece of criticism." The one paper complains that the Resolution is superfluous, which the other finds a great merit, the weight of the action of the Government being enhanced by its being uncalled for by administrative routine. It cannot be said that the Government of India had to deal with the case, and therefore it cannot be said that they decided as they did because the law or public opinion forced them so to decide. Though the light punishments meted out to the guilty have not been increased, the Resolution is itself, in the opinion of the *Friend of India*, an additional penalty which may have a good effect in the future.

Mr. Cotton, in a Resolution on the gaols of Assam, insists upon the necessity of improved sanitation and with only too good reason. As the *Englishman* says, it is intolerable that the mortality among prisoners in Assam should be more than twice as great as in Bengal, and more than five times as great as in England. The Inspector-General laments the lack of discipline, but the Chief Commissioner rightly considers the high death-rate a more serious matter.

Our readers may remember the case of Mr. Rughubans Chowdhry, a railway contractor who complained to Mr. Dixon, Joint Magistrate of Mozaifurpur, that he had been called "soor" and otherwise abused and threatened by a European in the presence of his subordinates. Mr. Dixon not only decided against him, but refused him summonses for his witnesses, declaring, "If cases were instituted for each case of European abuse, to say nothing of the more extensive Native abuse, there would be no time for anything else." The plaintiff appealed, and the Sessions Judge has declared that the complainant had a right to have his complaint tried judicially and all his witnesses heard. The judge thought it a very improper order to direct that the complainant should produce evidence that he was not a "soor."

The proposal to substitute mechanical agency for the punkah-coolie in barracks is approved by the whole press, Anglo-Indian as well as Indian. It seems to be generally accepted that by no less drastic means can the punkah-coolie be saved from violence. *The Times of India* says:—

There are excellent reasons for haste. The human motor-power in barracks is often quite inadequate. The contractor hires the cheapest labour he can find, and not unfrequently his men are too old or too weak for the work. As a natural consequence the punkah will stop at times of unusual heat and mental irritation, and we read shortly afterwards of murderous assaults upon punkah-wallas, followed by the customary court-martial.

Anglo-Indians on shooting expeditions are much to be commiserated on the trouble which they are caused by the people of the country getting in the way of their guns. Cases of annoyance of this kind are constantly arising. Thus at Lanowli, Mr. Saunders while out shooting accidentally shot a Native woman who was walking with a friend. Mr. Saunders fired at a dove in a bush, and hit the woman who was behind. The woman was at first unconscious, but after a time was able to go away "with a large quantity of small shot about her face and shoulders," according to the *Times of India*. She is, however, not thought to be seriously injured, and Mr. Saunders has been released on bail.

In the discussion of Imperial telegraphic communication initiated by Sir E. Sassoon in the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. Hanbury, who speaks for the Government on postal and telegraphic business, admitted that "the case of India was an absolutely exceptional case." He said:—

He thought that there the company had tried to create an artificial monopoly which was not in the public interest. There had been no reduction in the Indian rate for the last fourteen years. The rate was fixed at 4s. a word in 1886, and at 4s. it had remained ever since. Moreover, all the trans-Indian rates had been largely reduced, and the result had been that the cables this side of India had been blocked, and therefore the question arose whether, even if the rates were reduced, the carrying capacity of the existing cables was such as to be able to meet the increased traffic that would follow. . . . However, as the result of the negotiations which had taken place between the Indian Government and the Cable Company, he hoped a more favourable state of things would be established. He could not say anything definitely or officially on the matter, because the agreement was not yet signed; but, so far as he understood, there would be a reduction of the rate to 2s. 6d., and if that brought in a certain number of messages it would be further reduced to 2s.

The prospect at last seems cheerful. The reduction has long been a public necessity, and there can be little doubt that it will soon justify itself. Apart from commercial considerations, the political importance of the step could not easily be overrated.

The Indian Birthday honours, like the British, form a conspicuously meagre list. There is but one Native added to the roll of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and he is made a K.C.S.I.:—

His Highness Maharao Umed Singh Bahadur, of Kotah.

There are two additions to the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. The new G.C.I.E.'s are:—

His Highness Saramad-i-Rajaha-i-Hindustan, Raj Rajindra Sri

Maharaja-dhiraj Sewai Sir Madho Singh Bahadur, of Jaipur, G.C.S.I.; and

His Highness Saramad-i-Rajaha-i-Bundelkhand Maharaja Mahindra Sawai Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, of Orchha, K.C.I.E.

There is one solitary K.C.I.E.:—

Sahibzada Muhammad Obeidullah Khan, C.S.I., Minister of Tonk in Rajputana.

Apart from European Government officials, there are but two C.I.E.'s:—

Diwan Bahadur Pakam Rajaratna Mudaliyar, Inspector-General of Registration, Madras; and
Rai Bahadur Kailash Chandra Bose.

There is a shower of Kaisar-i-Hind medals "for public service in India," and the following Natives are among the recipients of the new decoration:—

Abdul Husain Adamji Pirbhai, Esq., Justice of the Peace, Councilor of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and late Sheriff of Bombay.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir.

The Maharaja Rameshwara Singh Bahadur, of Darbhanga, in Bengal, Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, G.C.S.I.

The Mahant of Hatwa, in the Saran District, Bengal.

Kachar Ala Chela, C.S.I., Chief of Jadsan, in the Bombay Presidency.

Vishwanath Patankar Madhava Rao, Esq., C.I.E., Member of the State Council of Mysore.

Behramji Merwanji Malabari, Esq., Justice of the Peace, Proprietor and Editor of the *Indian Spectator*, Bombay.

Muhammad Yusuf Ismail, of Rangoon.

Rai Bahadur Nanak Chand, Minister to his Highness the Maharaja of Holkar of Indore.

Sarda Sri Ram, Rai Bahadur, M.A., LL.B., Honorary Magistrate and Vice-Chairman of Lucknow Municipality, Member of Legislative Council, North-West Provinces and Oudh.

Rai Bahadur Trimbak Rao Nilkant Deshmukh, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Superintendent of the Raj Nandgaon State, Central Provinces.

Raja Venugopala Bahadur, of Venkatagiri, Madras Presidency.

Nawab Sir Vikar-ul-Umara Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Minister to his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Among the European recipients the more distinguished are Major-General Burnett, C.B., commanding the Poona District; Major-General Cooke, President of the Plague Committee at Karachi in 1897; Major-General Sir W. F. Gatacre, K.C.B., D.S.O., Chairman of the Plague Committee Bombay City in 1896-97; Sir F. W. Maclean, K.C.I.E., Q.C., Chief Justice of Bengal, and Chairman of the General Committee of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund; and Mr. D. M. Smeaton, M.A., C.S.I., Hon. Sec. of the same Fund, and recently Special Commissioner to the Famine Districts.

By the death of Mr. B. H. Chester the Eurasian community is deprived of one of its most noted leaders. The praise of his conduct as Presidency Magistrate to which the Chief Justice of Madras gave voice has found an ungrudging echo among the organs of Indian opinion. But it is impossible to avoid reflecting on the contrast between his broad sympathies and the narrow sectional aims of so many other Eurasians. Until excluded from politics by his official position, Mr. Chester was an ardent supporter of the Indian National Congress, and he made an eloquent speech at the Madras meeting in 1887. He saw that the true policy for Eurasians was to throw in their lot with the mass of their countrymen.

As the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* points out, Sir William Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India" is a book with wonderful properties. It is suitable for students at every stage of their career. In Calcutta it is used by entrants, students, in the Central Provinces by the candidates for the middle class examination, and in the Punjab for the F.A. examination. Such are the advantages of loyalty. But, as the *Tribune* says, of what use is it to write the history of India from an Anglo-Indian point of view, while an Anglo-Indian history of England remains unwritten? "As misfortune would have it, you cannot put any good English book, not excluding works of fiction, in the hands of Native youth without running the risk of filling their heads with dangerous notions of political liberty and equality." But how different were the views of Anglo-Indian statesmen in the past from what they are to-day! Did not Macaulay say that it would be a proud day for England, when Indians as a result of English education, would claim equality of privileges with Englishmen?

THE MINORITY PROOFS.

THE third volume of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the Administration of the Expenditure of India has just been issued. One third of the 500 pages it contains are occupied with Appendices, which supplement the formal evidence with very valuable information in detail upon the most important points of discussion. The Appendices to the Minority Report fill sixty pages (412-502). But in the general list there will also be found a considerable number of papers that support one or other of the contentions of the Minority. Thus, Mr. Morgan-Browne's three charts illustrating the increase of expenditure, and his note on Sir James Westland's Budget for 1895-96, throw a flood of light on the true progress and position of the financial problem. Mr. Wacha contributes three weighty papers, two of them able memorials put forward by the Bombay Presidency Association. Mr. Gokhale also is represented by three papers, one of which examines the expenditure apart from the railway accounts, and another consists of a series of tables illustrating three periods of Indian finance in a most instructive manner. Besides, Mr. Wacha, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and Mr. Subramania Iyer put in separate rejoinders to the evidence of the late Mr. Stephen Jacob. No fewer than 13 out of the 34 papers of the general appendices to this volume are expressly in favour of the Indian views.

More than that. It is to be remarked that even high officials now and again break away from the trammels of red tape, and lend clear support to the Indian argument. One might not be apt to anticipate that opinions favourable to the contentions of the Congress-wallahs would be found in the memoranda of the Military Member of the Governor-General's Council. Yet so it is. For instance, Sir Edwin Collon concludes (pp. 407-8) "that in the army of India there is an enormous reserve of military force available to be drawn upon when necessary, and that this plea should have considerable weight in assessing the charges which are to be paid against India." On the other hand, "it cannot be said that any portion of the army" in England "is really a reserve for India." On the non-effective charges, too, Sir Edwin urges points that may have carried weight with the Commission in its concessions to the Indian appeal; for example, the common interest in Aden. "It will be found in the War Office archives," writes Sir Edwin, "that Aden is looked upon as to be defended on the ground that it is an important coaling station and a harbour for her Majesty's ships as well as the mercantile trade of the East, which is not exclusively Indian." And generally on the military and naval charges:—

It is also said that India ought to pay every farthing of military cost which our possession of India entails, although it is admitted that she should not be so great a power if we did not hold India. It is also said that the up-keep of a force to defend India is an obligation, to a certain extent, upon the whole Empire, and that India is part of the Empire of England; but that India ought to pay every farthing of military and naval expense, and that the real charge to which India subjects England is the charge which would not be incurred if India did not exist. These considerations do not take into account the enormous value of India to England and to her trade.

Such indications would seem to point to not a little recognition of the justice of India's claims even in the most unlikely quarters of the official camp. The fact is that, the more closely the records of this Commission are examined, the more vivid will become the conviction of the importance of the results. The concession of items amounting to nearly a quarter of a million sterling a year does not look very grand, it is true, in the circumstances; yet neither is it to be belittled or despised. What is incalculably more important, however, is the permanent record of the contentions, and especially of the Indian contentions, in a formal State document, after a prolonged enquiry, in which all the forces and the art of officialdom were brought to bear on the arguments. The volumes cannot be too assiduously conned and thumbed by our fellow-subjects in India, for whom these striking results have been achieved primarily through the steady and sturdy insistence of their Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The Minority Appendices are crammed with matter of especial value, not merely for the purposes of the moment, but for the continuance of the struggle for further concessions—a struggle for which the present successes inspire

the most encouraging hopes. In the first paper, Mr. Dadabhai argues strongly and at considerable length on the scope of the reference, insisting on a wide interpretation, and marshalling a remarkable series of admissions by "high authorities," particularly on the comparative capacity of the two countries, in regard to the question of apportionment of charge. The second paper returns to the charge on the extreme poverty of the masses of the Indian people, for, as Mr. Dadabhai urges, "it is necessary to know—as one of the most important tests" of the first part of the Reference—"the results of the present system of the administration and management of expenditure in the moral and material condition of India." The form of presentation is a series of correspondence between Mr. Dadabhai and the India Office, starting as far back as 1880, and including several important memoranda in which the conflicting views are very fully examined. Mr. Dadabhai exposes vigorously the ruinous mischief of the "deplorable drain" upon the material resources of the country, and pleads for the restoration of India to her natural economic conditions. He also points out how "nationally disastrous" is the moral loss imposed on India by the exclusion of the Natives from their proper share in the administration, and how this wretched system "carries politically with it its own Nemesis." He says:—

By all means, let Englishmen be proud of the past. We accord them every credit for the order and law they brought about, and are deeply thankful to them; but let them now face the present, let them clearly realise, and manfully acknowledge, the many short-comings of omission and commission by which, with the best of intentions, they have reduced India to material and moral wretchedness; and let them, in a way worthy of their name and history, repair the injury they have inflicted. It is fully in their power to make their rule a blessing to India, and a benefit and a glory to England, by allowing India her own administration, under their superior controlling and guiding hand; or, in their own oft-repeated professions and words, "by governing India for India's good."

It would not be easy to over-estimate the value of Mr. Dadabhai's service in insisting upon, and supporting by indefatigable illustration, those arguments from the material and moral drain of India. Eventually they must come home to the minds and hearts of the British people.

In another appendix Mr. Dadabhai points out that various statistics of the material conditions, though required by the Act of 1858, are not supplied by the Government of India, and he properly insists on the seriousness of the omission. "Then," he says, "the Statistical Department ought to work up the average per head per annum for the whole of India of both 'production' and 'distribution.' Unless such information is supplied, it is idle and useless to endeavour to persuade the Commission that the material condition of the people of British India is improving." Incidentally, he makes a crushing retort upon the insensate and cruel argument from the fawtress of the wants of the population:—

Is the few wants a reason that the people should not prosper, should have better human wants and better human enjoyments? . . . Is it that the mass of the Indians have no right or business to have any advancement in civilisation, in life and life's enjoyments, physical, moral, mental, and social? . . . I do hope, as I do believe, that both the conscience and the aspiration of the British people, their mission and charge, which it is often said Providence has placed in their hands, are to raise the Indians to their own level of civilisation and prosperity, and not to degrade themselves to the lowness of Oriental despotism and the Indians to mere helots.

A fourth paper deals at great length with the terms of the Reference as regards apportionment of charge, contending "that what is entirely for British purposes must in justice be paid for by the British people, and the Indian people should not be asked to pay anything," but consenting for practical purposes to pay "some fair share of the cost" of European agency in India. The subject opens up into several large vistas, which we need not now explore; but Mr. Dadabhai's treatment will always be found interesting and effective. Then comes a very important memorandum regarding the successful plan carried out by Lords Salisbury and Iddesleigh in Mysore, which "clearly indicates or points to the way as to what the true natural relations should be between Britain and India, with the result of the welfare and prosperity of both, and the security and stability of British supremacy." This great example will not be forgotten, but will continue to be pressed upon the attention of the authorities and of the British public. A still more extensive paper discusses the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the various services. The question is traced historically from the first deliberate and practical action of Parliament on

the subject, in 1833; and there is appended a long and exhaustive extract (on Simultaneous Examinations in India and in England) from Mr. William Digby's Letter to Lord Cross, dated May 8, 1889. There is also an instructive correspondence between Mr. Dadabhai and the War Office (1896-1900) on the admission of Indians to commissions in the British army. The last entry is Colonel Hanna's table of the approximate cost of the Forward Policy on the North-West Frontier, with the author's explanations and comments, taken from "Backwards or Forwards?" Even such a bare summary of the contents of these Appendices may serve to emphasise our recommendation that the volume should be diligently studied by all patriotic Indians and justice-loving Englishmen.

FEET OF CLAY.

ENGLISHMEN are never tired of proclaiming that our rule has established, for the first time, a reign of justice in India. And as we fix our eyes on the High Courts where sit wise and upright men from both India and England, there seems much to justify the boast. At least, the Indian public are ever ready to show the confidence with which those courts have inspired them. But of the people of India, how few have occasion or opportunity to seek the High Court of the Province, how few in comparison with the whole population are ever brought face to face even with a magistrate, whether as plaintiff or defendant. For the vast mass of Indians the English *raj* is represented by the police—and if that body be corrupt, it must bear the danger and the disgrace. Why the police should be so corrupt is a question not easy to answer. It is not sufficient to say that it is because all Indian officials are corrupt. As was pointed out in our last issue, the Indian Post Office suffers less in proportion from the dishonesty of those employed than the English does. But whatever be the reasons, the results are sufficiently obvious. India supports the most expensive Government in the world, and the majority of the people are at the mercy of a corrupt police. She pays for the purity of European administration and in her police the worst features of Asiatic rule are revived. She has to put up with the rigidity and the costliness of our system, but vast numbers of her people never taste of its safety and its purity. Our Government stands resplendent in the capacity and purity of its rulers, but their instruments are of those who love the darkness. The head may be of burnished gold but the feet are feet of clay.

The *Pioneer*, with praiseworthy pertinacity, has never ceased to press on the authorities the grave danger that results from the corruption of the police. *INDIA*, also, and all the Indian papers have taken a serious view of the matter. Last week, we commented on the riots of Cawnpore, generally attributed to the use by the police of plague regulations as a means of levying blackmail. But the *Pioneer* and other newspapers have lately had occasion to notice another case where the police were found in league with a notorious band of dacoits operating with their centre in the great city of Agra.

Some time ago a certain Mohan Lal was induced to make a full confession, and this is what the *Pioneer* says of his story as it affects the police:—

Had subsequent investigation not proved its accuracy, the story Mohan Lal had to tell would scarcely have been believed. We are aware that the Indian Police Force is not what it ought to be: but the state of things which seems to have prevailed in the districts round Agra and Muttur for some years back argues a degree of inefficiency, ineptitude, and corruption which might well have seemed incredible in the last year of the century.

Mohan Lal, the son of an Agra market-gardener, was convicted some nine years ago of causing grievous hurt, and spent six months in prison. When he came out, he tried to get a living by selling ices. But he was a marked man. A police informer, named Lacha, saw an opportunity of obtaining free ices. After some time Mohan Lal got tired of this and refused further supplies; but the good Lacha did not quarrel with him. He only took the ice-vendor home, made him drunk, stole a bag of rice, and placed it near him. Then, on the informer's evidence, Mohan Lal was convicted and sentenced to six stripes. Even then he did not at once give up all attempts to earn an honest living, but whatever he did the police were upon him, and he soon came to join the ranks of those who live by crime. He, among other evil ways, took to

accompanying a constable on his rounds at night for the purpose of committing small thefts and burglaries. Soon, he joined in a dacoity, organised by the brother of the victim, who thought this a good way of settling an old debt. "In the next six years Mohan Lal was present at no less than twenty-eight dacoities, and the amount of loot taken in cash and jewellery came to many thousands of rupees." Mohan Lal, in the character of an Indian Rob Roy, was wont to burn all papers found, in order that the money-lenders might not be able to collect debts from the poor, and this custom, usually observed by dacoits, is thought by some to secure the friendship of the villagers; but the villagers on more than one occasion attacked the gang with brickbats, and even forced them to drop their plunder. In fact, the dacoits generally began their operations by firing guns to scare away the villagers.

But it is in their relations with the police that the most surprising part of the story lies. Once the band was challenged by two constables. One of the dacoits pointed his gun at them whereupon they dropped their lathies, and led the robbers to a house, cried out that the darogha had come and thus gained admission for the band. Four hundred rupees' worth of loot were obtained, out of which the constables got ten rupees each. In the villages, if they were challenged, the dacoits would represent themselves as a search party of police. Mohan Lal had three chaudikars to inform him if he was suspected, nor is it wonderful under these circumstances to hear that there are 214 offenders for whom warrants have been issued in Agra and who escape arrest by making periodical payments to the police.

The *Pioneer* which has gone into the case at considerable length declares that "it is incredible that such a non-descript band of scoundrels could have continued their operations so long had the Agra police authorities shown the energy or intelligence that might reasonably be expected." But it appears that out of twenty-five cases mentioned by Mohan Lal, only eleven are alluded to in the Dakaiti registry at Agra, and only six specially reported on. In one case an innocent man, as it is to be feared often happens in India, was induced to confess and then transported. In another, the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Gregson, declared the whole story fabricated, though Mohan Lal's share of the plunder amounted to jewellery worth more than five hundred rupees, not to speak of silk and lace. This same case, indeed, shows in a very striking way, one of the great difficulties of our position in India. The English officials have, whether they like it or not, to rely on Indian advice. They distrust educated and independent Indians. Therefore, they have to depend upon their subordinates, often men of inferior calibre, and very generally members of the police. In connexion with this last case Mohan Lal's brother-in-law was arrested, but Mohan paid the sub-inspector a visit and told him "if he would not let Tulla go he would make things hot for him." Next morning the prisoner was released, and it requires no very great insight to come to the conclusion that, when Mr. Gregson pronounced the case a fabrication, he was guided very largely by the interested counsels of his subordinate. It is true, indeed, that Mr. Gregson was almost always unfortunate in his conclusions. He thought there were three gangs, where one alone was working. Moreover, he believed that Mohan Lal was determined to avenge Gobarthan, a notorious robber, who was hanged a year ago, while on the contrary, there was no love lost between the two ruffians. Mohan Lal had even in days gone by tried to betray Gobarthan and had narrowly escaped being shot by him in consequence. It is satisfactory to find that the clues furnished by Mohan Lal have now been followed up with great success. The importance of his confession was forced upon the authorities by Mr. A. H. Kembell of the Thagi and Dacoity Department of the Rajputana Agency, and Mr. Kembell was ably seconded by Sardar Bhagat Singh, a Sikh landowner who has long served with distinction in that Department and has won the commendation of every British officer with whom he has worked—even on the testimony of the *Pioneer*, which is none too favourable to Indian officials.

The case of the Agra dacoits, thus brought to light, coupled with the riots at Cawnpore, opens up the whole question of the state of the police. European notions of the inflexibility and the majesty of the law, and of the necessity of keeping order and supporting the police with the whole force of Government have placed enormous power

in the hands of men very little fitted to use it. If it be added that these men are also poor and badly paid, it can hardly be wondered at that corruption is rampant. That the police are corrupt is admitted on all sides, nor will anyone be found to deny that reform is necessary. Nay, most will go a step further and say that one part of that reform must consist in raising the pay of the force, both to diminish temptation and to attract better men. But it is at the inevitable consequences of this that so many flinch. To pay the police more means that more money is required. But a larger revenue would mean heavier taxation which is agreed to be out of the question. Therefore, the additional money required can only be obtained by retrenchment in other ways. If the lower branches of the service are to absorb more of the revenue, savings must be effected elsewhere, and it is difficult to see that there is much scope for economy save in reducing the military estimates, in decreasing the expenditure on public works, or in curtailing the salaries of the higher officials, and placing more offices in the hands of Indians. The *Pioneer* has lately assured us that the military expenditure must increase, and it would be even less inclined to welcome economy in the other directions mentioned. In view, indeed, of the clamour for irrigation which has been set going by the famine, it is possible, too, that Public Works may demand an even greater share of the revenue. Certainly they seem little likely to offer a field for large economies. And thus, however reluctantly, we are driven back to the question of the number and payment of the higher officials, that is, especially of the European members of the Indian Civil Service. Two methods of dealing with the problem present themselves—to reduce salaries at the risk of obtaining inferior material, or while leaving the salaries of European officials untouched, to gradually reduce their number by admitting a far larger proportion of Indians than now obtains, who, like the Indian judges of the High Courts, would gladly serve on a smaller salary, while at the same time the drain of wealth to Europe would be reduced. The starvation of the inferior branches of the public service must cease.

THE CIVILISATION OF INDIA.¹

IT is an affection with some superior reviewers to denounce "little books on great subjects" as a proof of the sciolism of the age. The criticism has the advantage of implying that the critic is one who only reads, or perhaps writes, great books on great subjects; but it is permissible to doubt whether it possesses any sounder merits. Without endorsing the opinion of Callimachus, that "a great book is a great evil," we may at least maintain that a little book on a great subject is vastly better than a great book on a little subject, and that it may be better than some great books on its own subject. We have already given unqualified commendation to one of the volumes of Messrs. Dent's new series of "Cyclopædic Primers." It is pleasant to be able to praise Mr. Romesh Dutt's "Civilisation of India" as heartily as we praised Mr. Jenks's "History of Politics." May we express the hope that succeeding writers in a series which has possibilities of great usefulness will maintain the standard set by these two? The confession of another contributor to the same series, that he had not "found leisure to examine" the most important work in English on his subject till after his own book was in type, is delightfully candid but a little disquieting.

There has hitherto been no book presenting the English reader with the history of Indian civilisation in a concise and yet readable form. It goes without saying that Messrs. Dent could not have found anyone more thoroughly well qualified to supply the deficiency than Mr. Romesh Dutt. His verse translations of the "Mahabharata" and the "Ramayana" have for the first time given the English public a fair chance of making themselves familiar with the two great epics of ancient India. He has now left the reasonably cultured Englishman without any excuse for remaining ignorant any longer of the outlines of Indian history.

The twelve chapters of Mr. Dutt's little book give a rapid survey of the history of India from the invasion of the Aryans to the downfall of the Maharrattas in the early

part of the nineteenth century. Some account is furnished of the history of literature and of religion, and an attempt is made to estimate the condition of the people under successive dynasties. The book is pleasantly illustrated and possesses an index. We miss the bibliography found in some other volumes of this series. The omission is probably due to the author's modesty, for in any bibliography of the subject Mr. Dutt's own works must have occupied a very prominent place. Both in India and in England this little manual ought to have a career of usefulness. In English public schools it would make an excellent subject for a term's study in lieu of the accustomed lesson in Greek, Roman, or English history.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

A FRENCH writer, commenting on the street scenes in London last Friday and Saturday, draws the unflattering inference that those of us who are not fighting in South Africa are engaged in the massacre of one another with our fists. The carnival was furious enough, but it did not quite develop into a massacre. Heavy fists did less damage than light fingers. Many pockets were picked, but broken heads were happily few. Englishmen in these days have undoubtedly lost much of the proud reserve which was formerly so potent an element in the masculine character of the nation. But they retain their traditional good nature. Although the "wild mob's million feet" trod in paths of revelry for twenty-four delirious hours, nobody's corns were deliberately bruised; and as to the philosophers whose sense of proportion may have been shocked by a celebration which could scarcely have been more frenzied had England just achieved a victory over the world in arms, those gentlemen are probably "pro-Boers," and may therefore be excluded from consideration. The best feature of the orgie was its motive. It was the celebration of a deliverance—not the exultation of a victor over his vanquished enemy. Lord Roberts's successes in the field have been received on the whole in a moderate spirit. Paardeberg and Bloemfontein excited no such national uprising as the relief first of Ladysmith and finally of Mafeking.

When the news of Baden-Powell's delivery reached the House of Commons on Friday night members, with few exceptions, maintained sufficient equilibrium to go on discussing the Scotch estimates. One of the exceptions was Mr. Hedderwick, to whose interpolation on the subject the country owes a noteworthy instance of the serene and imperturbable self-sufficiency of the British Parliament. The Chairman had just returned from dinner, and the chamber was almost empty. Up jumped Mr. Hedderwick. "I believe," he said, with an anxious glance in the direction of the Treasury bench, "that news has been received of the relief of Mafeking." The remark was really an interrogation. Ministers made no movement, and the Chairman, exclaiming "Order, order," called on Mr. Weir to resume the discussion on the business of the night. Later, when the House was on the point of rising, Mr. Hedderwick persuaded Mr. Balfour to make a statement with reference to the report. Imagination, however, prefers to dwell on the earlier spectacle of the House of Commons plodding through its estimates, though all the rest of the world had long since donned the motley and thrown business to the winds.

In moving the second reading of the Australian Commonwealth Bill on Monday night Mr. Chamberlain had to describe a capitulation. The delegates, he said, had conceded all that the Government had ever desired, and in return the Government had consented to some verbal alterations in their proposed amendments. When the Colonial Secretary read the terms of those alterations members at once realised that the delegates had won the day. It may have been only a difference of tweedledum and tweedledee, but the difference had been settled in favour of Australian as distinguished from Colonial Office opinion. The Federal Parliament is to be permitted to interpret its own Constitution, and in all cases affecting Australian interests the final appeal will remain in Australia. Mr. Chamberlain's strange assertion that the settlement followed the principles on which he had consistently relied was disposed of by the telegrams which he himself read from the Governments of Western Australia and Queensland hotly protesting against the abandonment of his original position.

¹ "The Civilisation of India." By Romesh C. Dutt. (Temple Cyclopædic Primers.) London: J. M. Dent and Co.

"We cannot take sides with two colonies against four," was the Colonial Secretary's acrid comment on this inconvenient correspondence. A week earlier, it will be remembered, the opinion of the hostile minority had been quoted by the same statesman as a conclusive reply to the pretensions of the majority.

Some party capital might easily have been made out of Mr. Chamberlain's change of front, but the Opposition, in the interests of Imperial unity, preferred to take the right hon. gentleman at his own valuation—Mr. Asquith, for example, gravely complimenting him on his tact and describing the settlement as creditable alike to the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial delegates. Mr. Healy, in a whimsical speech, caused much amusement by contrasting Mr. Chamberlain's friendly attitude towards Australian Home Rule with his unrelenting hostility to the extension of the same principle to Ireland. "Australia," he pointed out, "is largely peopled by the very race to whom you refuse self-government at home. Can it be, I wonder, that you think an Irishman is not to be trusted till he has been transported?" In the end the Bill was read a second time without a division.

No allusion was made in Mr. Chamberlain's speech to that part of the Government scheme which was to provide for the creation in the House of Lords of representative life peers from Australia, South Africa, Canada, and India, with seats on the Judicial Committee and annual salaries of £5,000. Nor has any Bill yet been introduced by the Lord Chancellor for the purpose of giving effect to the Colonial Secretary's undertaking. It is not unlikely that the scheme will be abandoned. Mr. Healy made a strong if somewhat sardonical appeal to the Government not to persevere with it, and his suggestion that they had already relinquished the idea evoked no repudiation. The Prime Minister and his bosom friend the Lord Chancellor have doubtless made a stand against Mr. Chamberlain's contemplated assault on the ark of the covenant. In any case, now that the colonies have been given their way in the essential part of the bargain, they will probably not complain if the mere accessories are withdrawn. With the gingerbread in their possession they can dispense with the gilt.

A striking scene was witnessed in the House of Commons yesterday (Wednesday) evening, at the conclusion of a debate on a Bill to give women the right to sit as aldermen and councillors on the new borough councils of London. Last year when the London Local Government Bill was under consideration, a clause, approved by Mr. Balfour, was inserted to confer this qualification on women. Subsequently, the clause was deleted by the Lords, whose amendment the Commons submissively accepted. Yesterday Mr. Balfour absented himself from both the discussion and division on Mr. Lough's Bill, and in his absence Mr. T. W. Russell, who is himself a supporter of women's rights, deprecated any attempt to reopen a controversy which, according to him, had been settled by the decision of the House of Lords. Mr. Russell, at the same time, intimated that the Government were willing to leave the matter in the hands of members. Taking advantage of their freedom many Conservative and Liberal Unionist members voted with the Opposition in support of the second reading which was accordingly carried by a majority of 119 votes. The result was acclaimed with tremendous cheering, in which the voices of ladies in the gallery were mingled with those of their friends below. Mr. Chamberlain and every other Minister present voted against the Bill, while the occupants of the front Opposition bench recorded their votes in its favour. Technically, the result can scarcely be described as a Ministerial defeat, but it showed pretty conclusively how much at variance are Ministers and their supporters on one of the most vital questions of the day. When the Bill reaches the House of Lords it will doubtless share the fate of the clause of last year. Lord Salisbury, like Mr. Balfour, is in favour of its principle, but the rest of the Cabinet are opposed to it.

Visitors to the House of Commons this week have been greatly charmed by the latest addition to the statuary of the Central Hall. Mr. Pomeroy's memorial of Mr. Gladstone is worthy of its subject. "Isn't it admirable?" was Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's first exclamation as he drew the veil from the figure last Saturday, and the interrogation elicited a cordial chorus of assent. Mr. Herbert and Mr. Henry Gladstone, sons of the great statesman, were particularly emphatic in their appreciation of the sculptor's fine achieve-

ment. Mr. Gladstone is represented in his habit as he lived, but despite the frock-coat and other conventional details of dress against which artists sometimes inveigh so bitterly, the man himself stands forth in the marble, fascinating the spectator as in life by the eager animation of his countenance and the alert, athletic grace of his supple frame. Liberal statesmen have a clear majority of effigies at St. Stephen's. Of the four in the Central Hall, Lord Idlesleigh's is the only Conservative memorial. The others commemorate Earl Russell, Earl Granville, and now, Mr. Gladstone.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, May 5.

After some weeks of lucid interval the *Englishman* has again broken out into one of those paroxysms of hysteria against the educated classes of the country which every fair-minded Englishman must sincerely deplore. It was only the other day that that journal recognised the genuine feelings of loyalty evoked in the entire Indian community by the success which attended British arms in the sanguinary struggle in South Africa. Yet before that incident has passed from memory here it is hurling imprecations on the educated Indian, and denouncing him in the most abusive terms. And for what? For the unproven and unfounded allegation that the riots at Cawnpore were indirectly, if not directly, fomented by the educated in the town. Without a scrap of evidence, without any careful and faithful enquiry, straightway the writer of the article came to the conclusion that the civic commotion might have never assumed the proportions it did had the educated intervened. I will not waste time and space by making even the slightest attempt to defend my educated countrymen from the preposterous charge. They need no defence. Their loyalty and devotion to British rule are beyond cavil. They are indeed the best and strongest bulwark of British strength in the empire. The ignorant and fanatic masses alone are elements of danger, when driven to desperation. In India it has almost been invariably found that recent riots, whether in Cawnpore or Calcutta, in Bombay or elsewhere, have had their origin in official over-zeal and official indiscretion. Whether it is a plague riot or an agrarian riot, it is discovered that the ultimate source of it is official high-handedness. The mass, ignorant as it is, is docile. It has inexhaustible patience. Fatalist to a unit, it bears all the evils of life, physical or any other, with a patience and resignation which have more than once, during the last few years, evoked just praise, awe, admiration, from the highest authorities.

Thus it was with the Madanpura riot in Bombay in March, 1898. The operations for the prevention of plague were carried on by the subordinate officials in so tyrannical a manner, not unaccompanied by blackmailing, that the populace had grown impatient. The invasion of the domestic sanctity of a poor Mahometan family kindled the spark of popular wrath which eventually burst into riot. In Calcutta the same harsh operation of plague rules resulted in similar commotion. The same cause once more inflamed the fanatical population of Cawnpore. It is not inconceivable that the dark memories so mournfully associated with that city should exercise the mind of the average Englishman. But it is indeed deplorable that a public writer who at such a time is supposed to keep his head cool and do his best rather to allay than inflame passions, and even create racial hatred, should rush forward and without foundation in fact denounce those who are absolutely innocent of offence. The nemesis of facts has overtaken the *Englishman*. It is now proved that not only was the educated class at Cawnpore innocent of the affair, but that it was the high-handed conduct of corrupt police which led to the affray.

To-day's *Times of India* refers to the extended personal observations made by Mr. B. M. Malabari in many of the famine-afflicted tracts and the broad conclusions he has come to with regard to the State measures for relief. While he has nothing but high praise for the officials actively engaged in carrying out the relief operations, he is of opinion that a new departure is essential if the State is really anxious to see that the famished do not die of hunger. The present measures are likely to break down with a continued strain on the officials. At the same time it is a question whether the congregation of thousands of men, women and children in large relief camps,

at a considerable distance from the homes of the famished, and the kind of task work to which they are put, are the best modes of administering relief. He thinks the village system should not be broken down, and that the task work should neither be of an exacting character (as it has the certain effect of further physical deterioration) nor unsuitable. These are defects which have been pointed out by other equally observant and disinterested persons. The *Times* of India laments the general lack of first-hand information among Indian publicists of the character collected by that social reformer. It is to be feared the regret is well founded. At the time of famine there ought to be at least one strong organisation in each centre capable of collecting first-hand information, the general accuracy of which may be implicitly relied upon. No doubt there is in the mind of the people what is called "mental seclusion." This precludes them from freely opening their minds as to their own views on the Sirkar's measures of relief—how far they are good or bad, in what respect they might be improved, how they are well or ill-paid, what may be the *zoolum* or corruption of the underlings and so forth. Different organisations in different centres, in a position to collect all such information, would no doubt be welcomed by the public. For the information might be such as to lead the State in many directions to modify its present policy and substitute for it a better and more benevolent one.

In this connexion a "Merchant" in the columns of the *Calcutta Statesman* has drawn public attention to the advisability of meeting all famine expenditure by means of loans. Mr. Malabari suggests the same course. If you spend money like water on wars and expeditions, which is chiefly raised by means of loans, if you coerce municipalities and local boards to meet expenditure on plague measures by means of loans, why should not loans be raised for famines? The *Statesman*, in its issue of the 2nd instant, wisely discusses this all important question.

Experience has shown, that notwithstanding that the accounts show a large balance to the credit of the Famine Fund, in the shape of debt discharged and avoided, one of the results of severe famine is invariably more or less disorganisation of the current finances of the Government. We know of no sufficient reason why this should be the case.

The way in which all other public works are curtailed and departments starved is so much false economy. This is a most important question.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

5,607,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received (May 22) the following telegram from the Viceroy on the subject of the famine:—

"Cholera continues very prevalent in Bombay and elsewhere, and chiefly accounts for decrease in numbers on works in some provinces. Showers have been numerous, improving the water supply and fodder somewhat in parts. No other changes since last report. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 1,235,000; Punjab, 167,000; Central Provinces, 1,848,000; Berar, 411,000; Ajmere-Merwara, 130,000; Rajputana States, 452,000; Central India States, 166,000; Bombay Native States, 598,000; Baroda, 96,000; North-Western Provinces, 2,000; Punjab Native States, 33,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 71,000; Hyderabad, 381,000; Madras, 13,000; Kashmir, 1,000; Bengal, 3,000. Total, 5,607,000.

THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The Mansion House Fund for the relief of the Indian famine sufferers amounted on Wednesday night to £252,000. The Lord Mayor during the day remitted a further sum of £12,000 to Lord Curzon for relief purposes.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (May 19) of the *Investors' Review*:—

Cholera has now come to aid the Simla Government in disposing of its hungry millions, and the number on the relief works has sunk a little below 5,750,000. Unhappy people!

—who only require more railways, more British capital poured into India, to be happy ever more. Death will now sweep them away in millions, and soon great wastes will be ready for "colonisation." We have no heart to dwell upon the horror, but it touches investors more closely than they appear to realise. India is sinking beneath the burdens we have imposed upon its people, and so poor are they that, as the *Daily Chronicle* famine commissioner points out, a penny a day is a good sustenance wage. We doubt that, but what can men and women whose standard of living is thus measured spare for us? Is it well to wrangle, then, over the terms of purchase settled for the G.I.P. Railway when the question may soon come to be whether India can pay anything at all? Surely our Government is blind. Private aid is exasperatingly helpless before a calamity so great, and yet we must cry 'give, give, for pity sake.' And when is the British Government going to bestow £5,000,000 out of its seeming abundance, and avert the worst danger of all?

Subjoined is the list and amount of subscriptions received for our little fund up to date. May we again repeat that it is a fund, every farthing of which will be put to good uses, especially in helping the starved cultivators to replace their lost cattle, and that the more help we can give in this direction the sooner will the distressed provinces and Native States—for they cannot be forgotten in the present misery—recover some of their ancient prosperity? Cheques and postal orders should be drawn to A. J. Wilson, crossed Union Bank of London, Famine Fund Account.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Amount acknowledged last week ..	£551 18 6
D. Warlick, Esq., London, E.C.	1 1 0
"In Memoriam Charles Bradlaugh" (third donation)	2 2 6
"Argentina"	0 10 0
Mrs. Geddes and Daughters, Haywards Heath	6 6 0
Miss B. J. Reeve, per INDIA	10 0 0
Bolton Labour Church (collected) per INDIA ..	1 6 0
W. Carter, Esq., Tounbridge Wells	0 10 0

Total to date £573 14 0

Remittances should be made to Mr. A. J. Wilson, *Investors' Review* office, Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

MR. H. M. HYNDMAN ON THE CAUSES OF FAMINE.

The following letter from Mr. H. M. Hyndman appeared in the *Morning Post* of May 17:—

Sir,—If my contentions as to the terrible effect of the huge economic tribute from India to England in manufacturing and intensifying famine are correct—and no one has yet summoned up courage to controvert them—then clearly our present system of government in British India proper cannot be permanently maintained. It must inevitably collapse in consequence of the hopeless indigence of the agricultural population. When 85,000,000 of people are afflicted by famine out of a total population of less than 250,000,000 under our direct rule, I venture to think that the end cannot be very far off. That is to say, it must shortly become quite impossible to obtain the means of carrying on our monstrously expensive foreign government out of the mass of starvelings from whom this year we actually propose to take £16,000,000 on official account. But if, apart altogether from any question of a rising within our own shores, without direct British rule in India in its present shape is tottering to its fall, we ought, or so it seems to me, to consider carefully whether we cannot prepare to substitute something in its place. Even assuming that the rule of a succession of young foreigners is, taken as a whole, better than that of natives, still we have to face the fact that, good as it may be, it is too dear for the country, and is open to crushing objections from the economic point of view. Now the difficulty here is to get Englishmen to believe that their government is not the best possible for all races and nations on the earth. No matter what mischief we may have done, or how strongly subjugated peoples may have put forward the opposite view, we are still of opinion as a nation that we are always in the right, and that the objectors are always in the wrong. In these circumstances the judgment of one who certainly understood India and its people as few Englishmen have understood it, who was not a "Little Englander" in any sense of the term, who was obliged owing to the state of his health to remain continuously in the country of his adoption, and whose position brought him into close relations alike with the natives and his own countrymen, seem to me to be of exceptional value. Such a man was my old and intimate friend the late Chester Macnaghten, principal of the Rajkuman College, at Rajkot, Kathiawar. Coming of an old Anglo-Indian family, brought up in England, and having young Indians of the highest rank constantly under his control, there was certainly no prejudice on his part against English administration or English culture, and I believe he was the first person to introduce the famous cricketer Ranjitsinhji to our great national game.

Writing to me some years ago as to the relative merits of direct English domination in our own territory and of Native administration under English suzerainty in the great Native States, Mr. Macnaghten gave his judgment unhesitatingly in favour of the latter. The system adopted in British India itself is, according to Mr. Macnaghten, less and less suited to the character of the population; and the Englishmen who administer it, though their numbers have increased, are by no means in such close touch with the Natives as their predecessors, nor do they command the same respect as the Anglo-Indians of the old school. It is not possible, then, that not a few of the difficulties which have arisen in carrying out the sanitary

arrangements in connexion with the plague have been due to want of knowledge and consideration for the most cherished family habits of the people? Men whose heads are always turned towards Europe can scarcely regard India as their permanent home or live in their duties to the same extent as formerly. But the economic mischief is the worst. Sir James Caird, on his return from his visit to British India as Special Famine Commissioner, stated in his separate report that the soil is deteriorating all over the country owing to over-cropping and lack of manure, and that irrigation by itself can be no remedy for this. The official reports on the condition of the Indian agricultural population, published in 1888, which are very hard to obtain, show clearly the necessitous condition of the ryots and prove to demonstration that the pressure of our rule is driving them into the hands of the money-lenders and gradually expropriating them from their holdings. Sir James Caird attributed this steady drifting towards a catastrophe in part to the increase of the population owing to the peace which we maintain. But, leaving aside the fact that no abnormal increase of population in British territory has ever been proved, how does it come about that the great Native States, which equally enjoy the blessings of peace and the freedom from the old "checks to population," do not suffer in the same way? Mr. Macnaghten answered that question by a series of comparisons and statements which unfortunately are as correct now as when he first framed them.

1. The tax on fallow and cultivated land in British territory is the same. In Native States fallow is taxed only one-eighth of cultivated land. The result in our territory is that the land is getting rapidly exhausted from want of rest [cf. Sir James Caird report *passim*]; that the tax raises the price of fodder to such an extent as to render it profitless to the farmer to breed cattle—so much so that the bullocks are deteriorating.

2. In Native States most grazing land is allowed free of charge; we sell it.

3. Native Government waste land is used as common for depasturing cattle; nothing, or a nominal sum, is charged. We let it by auction.

4. Wells sunk by British rayats on their own lands and at their own expense are charged 12 rupees a year. This is not only manifestly unjust but acts as a check on improvement.

5. Considerable remissions are made in Native States for total or partial failure of crops. We rarely allow the revenue to stand over for more than one year after a famine, and sometimes not even that.

There are other points of contrast almost equally important and equally telling against our system. If now to these are added the great economic and fiscal drawbacks to which I called attention in my last letter, surely it must be clear to the most prejudiced that we are ourselves responsible for the frightful famine which is now devastating British territory. It is true there were bad famines under our rule, in the last half of the Nineteenth Century, and of very much smaller extent. Such a famine, afflicting so large an area with so vast a population, as that under which India is suffering to-day is quite unknown in all the long annals of rural Hindustan. All the correspondents on the spot are telling us that we do not yet understand at home what a fearful crisis this is. I begin to fear that it is hopeless to expect that Englishmen in general will ever give serious attention to the problems ahead of us in our great dependency. But if, as I firmly believe, this tremendous famine is but the commencement of the greatest economic disaster the world has ever seen, then, indeed, we shall all live to regret the short-sighted policy which drained away, even in famine years, the life-blood of British India.—Yours, etc.,

II. M. HYNDMAN.

9, Queen Anne's Gate, May 16,

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, May 17.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BOOTS FROM INDIA.

MR. CHANNING asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether reports had been received from Commanding or other Officers, or officials charged with this duty, with respect to the boots supplied to the troops in South Africa:

To what troops, and in what quantities, the 60,000 boots supplied from India last autumn had been served out:

And, what reports had been received as to the usefulness and durability or failure of these boots under the conditions of active service.

MR. POWELL WILLIAMS: Reports have been received from Lord Roberts and Sir Redvers Buller, but they do not indicate the distribution of the Indian boots among the troops, and at the date of the last Report the Indian boots had not been sufficiently tried to admit of a definite opinion upon their merits.

MR. CHANNING: May I ask whether the War Office is not in a position to trace the various articles supplied under contract, and to obtain information as to their usefulness or otherwise?

MR. POWELL WILLIAMS: The War Office, at proper time, is able to trace anything, I think—(laughter and Ministerial cheers)—but it is impossible at the moment to state to what particular regiments the boots from India were served out in South Africa.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA. THE PROPOSED TREASURY GRANT.

MR. MACLEAN asked the Secretary of State for India what answer had been returned by the Viceroy to the intimation that a grant from the Imperial Treasury in aid of Famine Relief was at his service, if he required it.

LORD G. HAMILTON: No communication of the character suggested

has been made to the Viceroy. He has been informed, as I have before stated, that if an emergency should arise which the funds and resources of the Indian Government are insufficient to meet, he could rely upon receiving aid from the Imperial Exchequer. Since then no communication on the subject has been received from him; and the intimation was not of such a nature as to require a reply. But the possibility of such aid will not be lost sight of in considering the anticipated expenditure and the ways and means necessary to defray it.

Friday, May 18.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

PROPOSED DAY FOR DISCUSSION.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would state whether, having regard to the fact that a committee of the citizens of New York had issued an appeal for funds in aid of the sufferers from the famine in India, it was proposed to communicate with all the cities of the United States with a view to obtaining contributions towards the Famine Fund;

And whether, in view of the sympathy manifested in the distress now prevailing in India and of the seriousness of the situation there, the Government would give the House an earlier opportunity than that provided by the Indian Budget of recognising the indications of sympathy alluded to, and of considering the gravity of the present condition of India as it was affected by a famine of such magnitude.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The hon. member is aware that the charitable funds in aid of the sufferers by the Indian famine are not managed by Government, and I am therefore unable to state what the procedure may be which those who have so generously initiated a charitable Famine Fund in the United States will think it necessary to take. The discussion on the Indian Budget is mainly financial, and I do not think it would be advisable to fix the debate at a period when neither the past financial effort or probable duration of the famine could be adequately estimated.

MR. W. REEDON asked if it were not the fact that the Viceroy had cabled to the United States saying that every dollar was necessary to save life; and whether, in the circumstances, the Government would undertake to provide the funds for the famine.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The hon. member has confused two things. The work done by the charitable fund has nothing whatever to do with the work done by the Government fund. The charitable fund is supplementary, but in a different sphere altogether.

Monday, May 21.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

GOLD CURRENCY IN INDIA.

MR. MACLEAN asked the Secretary of State for India whether any progress had been made with the introduction of a gold currency into India beyond the limits of the Presidency towns.

And, whether frequent demands were made by the people of India for the coinage of large amounts of silver money in addition to the rupees already in circulation.

LORD G. HAMILTON: According to the latest report, the amount of gold coin issued from the treasuries up to May 15 was 2872,003; but I have no information as to the extent to which those sovereigns have been sent into the interior of the country. A large amount of gold has been imported into India, and of this gold a considerable number of sovereigns had been presented at the Treasury to be exchanged for rupees. This has necessitated fresh coinage.

Tuesday, May 22.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHOLERA IN THE FAMINE DISTRICTS.

THE SUPPLY OF TRAINED NURSES AND DOCTORS.

MR. SCOTT asked the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the spread of cholera in the famine districts of India, he could state what was the present supply of trained nurses and doctors;

And whether he would take steps, in view of the conditions which had arisen, to assist the Government of India to obtain an increased supply.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I cannot state the precise number of doctors and nurses in the famine districts. During the past three years many doctors and nurses have been sent out for temporary work in India in addition to the large permanent medical and hospital establishments of the Indian Government. The Government of India are aware that any demand for additional help of this kind is promptly complied with.

IMPERIAL TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION.

SIR EDWARD SASSON rose to call attention to the system of cable telegraphs of the Empire, and to move that it is desirable that an enquiry should be held into the commercial and strategic defects of our Imperial telegraphic communication. In the course of his speech he said: The companies had by degrees impregnably entrenched themselves behind mountains of convention and kopies of joint-purchase arrangements. As a Briton and as a business man he admired their astuteness, but as one of the telegraphic public he reserved his opinion. (Laughter and cheers.) How were these barbed wire entanglements to be severed? Where were the Parliamentary nippers to effect this purpose? That was what an enquiry would give the clue to.

The situation of defencelessness to which the great business communities were reduced was fast assuming the dimensions of an egregious scandal. The extraordinary part of the whole thing was that one of the greatest delinquents appeared to be the Indian Government, because, while their delegate at the International Telegraph Conference of 1896 made strenuous efforts to obtain a reduction

on what was universally considered a prohibitive tariff, and while those attempts were signally defeated by the opposition of the Eastern Company (on the admission of the Indian Government themselves), their own cable which runs from Karachi to Bushire and Fao and the land line from Bushire to Teheran had remained a stumbling block to that cheaper traffic which their own delegate advocated at the conference. So that in this year of grace the House witnessed the odd spectacle of that Government charging fourteen times as much from Fao to Karachi as was charged for a word passing over identically the same length of submarine cable from England to Gibraltar. (Cheers.) How did the House think these important issues were decided at the conference? According to the cable mileage of each nation? Not a bit of it! What supply by each State there represented having equal voting powers. (Laughter.) So that we, who owned and controlled nearly seven-eighths of the total cable mileage of the globe—to be more correct, 102,000 as against 137,000—and no less than 308,000 miles of land lines—we had exactly the same voting power as States of the calibre of Rumania, Venezuela, and Luxemburg, possessing no cables at all and no insignificant proportion of land lines. (Cheers.) Not a very brilliant sort of arrangement, by which the predominant partner was ludicrously outvoted and its influence was no greater than that of the pettiest of States. He asked why it was that they had agreed to tie their hands to the enormous prejudice of that community whose interests were committed to their care. Their joint-purse arrangement seemed to his mind one of the most unneatly combinations that had ever germinated in the mind of man. The effect of it was that, while it poured money into the coffers of the Indian Government through the Indo-European line (which was officially pledged to Russia), while it helped Australian rates, and while it brought grist to the mill of the associated companies, the people on whose behalf the arrangement was ostensibly entered into—Indians and Anglo-Indians—appeared to be left out in the cold. Would the noble lord or his representative say when that arrangement was determinable? He found that the Indian cable earned 85 per cent. of the whole amount earned by the Indian Telegraph Department, and that department had been earning close upon 7 per cent., after paying over about £13,000 a year to the cable companies. The gross earnings of the Indian cable were £104,000 yearly. Assuming the gross value of such cables at £200 a mile—a very liberal estimate—a new line would cost about £240,000, so that the House would see that the cable earned no less than 50 per cent. annually. Despite this evidence of prosperity, despite the fact that a modification of rate formed one of the most conspicuous planks in the platform adopted by the Viceroy of India now some two years ago, despite an offer of reduction made by the Eastern Company a year ago, there had appeared no balm in Gilead. The charge to India remained as per word, and to Australia—about double the distance—it was equally 4s. a word. This anomaly had wider-reaching consequences, inasmuch as the rates further East, to China and Japan, were maintained proportionately higher to the Indian rate. They knew that the Eastern Telegraph Company were content to receive only 1s. 2½d. for their share of messages passing through Bombay and 1s. 4½d. for their share of messages passing through Bombay destined for Australia, so that they had what, in the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, “constitutes a very considerable grievance.” Proposals for the reduction of the Indian rate had been made. What their nature was they did not know, nor the reason of their hanging fire. What they did urge was that no reduction could at all be regarded as satisfactory which did not reduce the charge to 1s. a word. (Cheers.) He believed such an expansion to be quite within the range of probability and that any reduction occurring during the first few years would be more than counterbalanced by the increase. In order, however, to show the courage of their opinion and to obviate any great or abnormal disturbance in the earning powers of the cable companies, they advocated joint guarantee by the Indian and the home Governments of one-third of any loss resulting from the lowering of the rate by 1s. a word. That was a matter which principally, though not exclusively, concerned the Indian Government. Their Telegraph Department showed an exuberant condition of revenue, and they might certainly well undertake this promotional risk. If they assumed that the worst came to the worst and that no augmentation of traffic took place—a very large assumption—the utmost that our Treasury would be called upon to disburse would be represented by something like £30,000 on its half-share. Curiously enough, a windfall of £28,000 a year, represented by the Red Sea annuities, was accrued to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1905, so that the House would see that the contingent demand on the Imperial Exchequer at all events did not go beyond a fair limit of reasonable expectation.

Mr. HANBURY, in the course of his speech, admitted that the case of India was an absolutely exceptional case. (Hear, hear.) He thought that there the company had tried to create an artificial monopoly which was not in the public interest. (Hear, hear.) There the rate was reduced in the Indian rate for the last fourteen years. The rate was fixed at 4s. a word in 1885, and at 4s. it had remained ever since. Moreover, all the trans-Indian rates had been largely reduced and the result had been that the cables this side of India had been blocked, and therefore the question arose whether, even if the rates were reduced, the carrying capacity of the existing cables was such as to be able to meet the increased traffic that would follow. He believed the position was this—the Indo-European line could carry less traffic than the trans-Indian line, and the same calculation applied to India. A great deal more, but it was doubtful that, even if it had to carry less African and less Australian traffic, the same calculation applied to India. However, as the result of the negotiations which had taken place between the Indian Government and the cable company, he hoped a

more favourable state of things would be established. He could not say anything definitely or officially on the matter, because the agreement was not yet signed; but, so far as he understood, there would be a reduction of the rate to 2s. 6d., and if that brought in a certain number of messages it would be further reduced to 2s. . . . He would ask his hon. friend not to ask for a public enquiry for two reasons. In the first place, of course, these cables were largely strategic, and was it wise that a committee should go publicly into all these questions of strategic cables? (Hear, hear.) And there was another consideration. He had stated the enormous advantages which this country possessed in the extent of our cables and shown the great degree to which foreign nations depended upon British communication. Was it wise to parade this position before foreign countries? Was it not much better, if we could, to continue to enjoy the opportunities which we still had? (Hear, hear.) He could assure his hon. friend that if he left this matter in the hands of the Government they would try to meet not only his views with regard to cheap telegrams, but also the views of the right hon. baronet opposite with regard to strategic cables. These thin lines of communication were of the greatest possible importance to them. They were as essential for our trade as they were necessary for our arms. They were, indeed, the very nerves of the Empire, bringing the motherland into almost simultaneous communion with her daughters in their common joys and their common sorrows. (Cheers.)

Sir E. SASSON asked his hon. friend if he understood him to offer a Select Committee.

Mr. HANBURY said there would be a Departmental Committee.

Sir E. SASSON said that an enquiry under these conditions would be highly unsatisfactory.

Mr. BALFOUR said that his hon. friend appeared to be dissatisfied with the suggestion that the enquiry should be by means of a Departmental Committee or by some other machinery other than the ordinary Parliamentary enquiry. The hon. member must recollect that they had not merely to consider commercial interests in this matter, but strategic interests as well, and he could not imagine anything less expedient from a public point of view than an enquiry by a Committee of the House into strategic considerations. All the evidence would be taken and witnesses called with that publicity which was inevitable in Parliamentary inquiries. In these circumstances he hoped that the hon. gentleman would not feel that the Government were running counter to his mature wishes if they adhered to their view that the enquiry must be of a kind which should not give publicity to matters on which publicity was most inexpedient.

The motion was withdrawn.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN EXPENDITURE.

THE MINORITY REPORT.

The following is the text of the Minority Report (which is signed by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. W. S. Caine) continued from page 243 of our last issue:—

64. A programme of Frontier Defence Works costing to the end of 1895-6 Rs. 4,610,063 was next taken in hand, and has now been completed at a final cost of nearly Rs. 5,000,000. The construction of military railways upon the North-West Frontier (the annual working of which does not cover expenses) apart from any question of interest on the capital expended, has been pushed on since 1884-5. Up to the end of 1888-4 about Rs. 4,000,000 had been spent upon these unproductive undertakings chiefly in connexion with the Afghan war in the two years 1879-80 and 1880-1. See Table at page iv of Report of Select Committee on Indian Railway Communication. Up to the end of 1895-6 the total expenditure on Military Railways was Rs. 15,305,000. See Administration Report of Railways in India for 1896-7. This gives an expenditure upon this item of military preparedness of over Rs. 11,000,000 during the eleven years 1885-6—1895-6. Frontier expeditions which had been rare before 1885 became frequent, entailing (with camps of exercise, mobilisations, etc.) a total expenditure of Rs. 7,900,000 during the eleven years 1885-6 to 1895-6. The following figures show the expenditure on “Smaller expeditions and field operations” (excluding the Afghan war, the Egyptian expedition, and Upper Burma) for the twenty-one years 1875-6 to 1895-6.

TABLE V.
Military Expenditure—Smaller Expeditions and Field Operations.
(*) 1875-6 to 1884-5.

	Rx.
1875-6	2,643
1876-7—1883-4	Nil.
1884-5	161,537
Total (10 years)	164,180

(ii) 1885-6 to 1895-6.

	Rx.
1885-6	2,300,303
1886-7	Nil.
1887-8	18,319
1888-9	380,116
1889-90	636,732
1890-1	407,416

1891-2	959,055
1892-3	257,300
1893-4 :—	
Kachin, etc.	273,650
1894-5 :—	
Waziristan, etc.	242,500
Chitral	67,200
1895-6 :—	
Waziristan, etc.	168,900
Chitral	1,047,500
Total (11 years) ..	7,359,031

Again the contrast is striking. Rx. 164,180 in the ten years 1875-6 to 1884-5 against Rx. 7,359,031 in the eleven years 1885-6 to 1895-6. Closely connected with this direct increase of expenditure involved in a policy of "greater military preparedness" is the expenditure incurred for the Beluchistan Agency, the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency, and similar missions—together with a rapid increase in civil charges under the head "political."

65. Summing up these various items of increased expenditure following the new departure in the Government's policy since 1884-5, the additional burden upon the Indian Exchequer imposed thereby may be stated thus for the period 1885-6 to 1895-6.

TABLE VI.

Special Military Expenditure of the Government of India, 1885-6 to 1895-6.

Addition to the Army, 10 years, 1886-7 to 1895-6 ..	Rx. 16,000,000
Military Charges in Upper Burma	8,655,650
Special Defence Works	4,610,063
Military Railways, 1885-6—1895-6	11,000,000
Frontier Expeditions and Field Operations	7,360,000

Rx. 47,625,713

If to this sum be added only a small portion of the charges for increased subsidies to frontier tribes, the cost of the half-military and half-political missions and other incidental expenses, Rx. 50,000,000 will represent a very moderate estimate of the charge thrown upon the Indian Exchequer in the period 1885-6 to 1895-6 on special military account. See the table put in by Mr. Gokhale when giving evidence before the Commission. It should further be noted that this fifty millions does not represent an increase under certain specific heads of expenditure existing before 1884-5, but a new additional burden thrown upon India by a new policy of military preparedness, which is in addition to and not in substitution for the ordinary military expenditure of Government.

66. To sum up, these facts prove that the great progress of military expenditure since 1885 was the direct consequence of the policy of "greater military preparedness," which led to expeditions and annexations beyond the frontier of India. As regards the wisdom or unwisdom of that policy this Commission is not called upon to express an opinion, being concerned only with the financial facts of the situation. But it may be pointed out that a return to the policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon would remove the cause for the increased military expenditure, and justify a return to the scale of expenditure considered safe and sufficient by the Simla Army Commission.

Exchange.

67. During the period under review Indian finance was seriously disturbed by the decline in the exchange value of the rupee. The extent of the disturbance may be gauged by the following table:—

TABLE VII.
Net Cost of Exchange.

	1875-6.	1884-5.	1895-6.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
On Sterling Expenditure ..	1,377,400	3,364,000	11,685,200
On Remittance Transactions ..	57,100	—12,400	—178,300
Sterling Pay of Troops	—	184,300	1,156,400
Exchange Compensation	—	—	1,327,600
Total net charge ..	1,434,500	3,535,900	13,990,900

Increase.

	Rx.
1875-6 to 1884-5	2,101,400
1884-5 „ 1895-6	10,455,000
1875-6 „ 1895-6	12,556,400

68. The enormous increase in this charge constitutes a very heavy burden upon the finances of India during the eleven years 1885-6 to 1895-6. But the incidence of that burden being distributed over nearly the whole field of expenditure is far more complex than that under any one of the principal heads of account. The first point to note is that during recent years the burden has been very sensibly relieved, so far as the financial department of the Government of India is concerned.

Compared with 1895-6 the figures for the Revised Estimates of 1898-9, which do not differ appreciably from the closed accounts, show a reduction in the net charge of no less than Rx. 4,737,300, as under:—

Net Cost of Exchange.

	1895-6.	1898-9.	Decrease.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
On Sterling Expenditure ..	11,685,200	8,045,600	3,639,600
On Remittance Transactions ..	—178,300	—54,000	+124,300
Sterling Pay of Troops	1,156,400	778,400	378,000
Exchange Compensation	1,327,600	483,600	844,000
Total net charge ..	13,990,900	9,253,600	4,737,300

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

On Monday, May 14, a large and representative meeting was held at the Town Hall, Leek, with reference to "The Famine in India." The Chairman of the Urban Council presided, and there were about seventy of the leading Councillors, citizens, and clergymen of the town on the platform. Miss Garland gave an eloquent address on the state of affairs in the famine districts, and appealed for subscriptions to the relief funds, from those present, for a Parliamentary grant, and for a searching enquiry into the causes of the frequent famines in India. Promises and cheques sent into the Chairman amounted to nearly two hundred pounds. Moreover, it was resolved that workshop, factory, and street collections should be organised. Mr. A. Nicholson, Sir Thomas Wardle, the Vicar of Leek, the Rev. T. M. Thorpe, and others were amongst the speakers.

On Tuesday afternoon, May 15, Miss Garland addressed a public meeting at the house of Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., at Sheffield. We take the following report from the *Sheffield Independent* of May 17:—

A well-attended meeting was held at Osgathorpe Hills on Tuesday, 15th inst., under the auspices of the Brightside Women's Liberal Association. The object of the meeting was to hear an address by Miss Alison Garland on her recent visit to the famine stricken districts in India. Miss Garland's address was listened to with earnest attention, and the following resolution, moved by Mrs. Dodd, and seconded by Mrs. Chappell, was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting of members of the Brightside Women's Liberal Association and others, considers that in view of the terrible distress prevailing in India an Imperial grant should be given to help the classes who cannot come upon relief works, and that copies of the resolution be sent to Mr. Maddison, M.P., and Lord George Hamilton, her Majesty's Secretary of State for India." Contributions were received at the meeting amounting to £7 17s. 9d.

On the evening of May 15 Miss Garland addressed a public meeting, called under the auspices of the Hallam Women's Liberal Association, at the Unitarian Schoolroom, Sheffield, on the Famine in India. Mrs. Renwood presided. A resolution was passed urging a Parliamentary grant and a searching enquiry into the causes of famine in India.

On May 17, at a densely crowded meeting held at Moss Side, Manchester, Miss Alison Garland gave an address on Indian politics in their relation to the present Parliamentary contest in South Manchester.

On May 18 Miss Garland opened the debate at the County Forum, Manchester, on "The Indian Famine and the Lesson it Teaches us." Mr. Fearnley presided over a full house. The debate proved of great interest. Messrs. J. Hemsall, Whitehead, Heap, Pete Curran, Bulkeley (of Allahabad), and Grey took part. The subject of irrigation, railways, reduction of assessments, the loans of money-lenders, etc., were dealt with. Miss Garland answered the various questions and criticisms of the speakers, and warmly defended the Congress party which had been attacked by Mr. Bulkeley. The Chairman concluded with an interesting speech, in which he warmly complimented the lecturer on her brilliant reply, and said that, though he was a Conservative and not in favour of all her views on Indian questions, he acknowledged that no one in that House could hold his own in argument against her. "She simply took her opponents up one after the other, and, as they said in the North, 'wiped the floor with them!'" (Loud laughter.)

On May 20 Miss Garland addressed the Rochdale Labour Church on the Indian Famine. There was a great attendance. A collection was taken at the close for the local Famine Fund.

During the week Miss Garland has addressed meetings at Wigan (May 21), Willaston (May 22), South Bristol (May 23), and West Bristol (May 24).

Further meetings will be held at Street (May 25) and Cardiff (May 28).

The inflated rupee, is subjected to a new and heavy burden. The relief to the Government has been obtained by covert taxation of the people. This should be borne in mind when credit is claimed for the recuperation of Indian finance.

¹ It is only the financial department of the Government of India that is relieved, not the Indian taxpayer. On the contrary, by recent currency legislation the taxpayer, having to pay taxes and debts in

NOW READY.

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.—No. III.

The Proposed Separation OF Judicial and Executive Duties in India.

MEMORIAL

FROM

- RT. HON. LORD HOBHOUSE, K.C.S.I.
(Late Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council).
- RT. HON. SIR RICHARD GARTHI, Q.C.
(Late Chief Justice of Bengal).
- RT. HON. SIR RICHARD COUCH
(Late Chief Justice of Bengal, Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council).
- SIR CHARLES SARGENT
(Late Chief Justice of Bombay.)
- SIR WILLIAM MARKBY, K.C.I.E.
(Late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta).
- SIR JOHN BUDD PHEAR
(Late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, and Chief Justice of Ceylon).
- SIR JOHN SCOTT, K.C.M.G.
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