

# India

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Notes and News .....	269	The Mansion House Fund .....	276
The Calamity of India .....	272	The Investor's Review Fund .....	276
The Condition of the Konkani District, by R. L. Ghahat .....	273	The Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: The Minority Report .....	276
Our London Letter .....	274	Public Meetings on Indian Questions: The Work of the British Committee .....	279
Notes from Bombay .....	275	Advertisements .....	280
The Famine in India: 5,770,000 on Relief .....	276		
Report of Dr. Klopsch .....	276		

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Mansion House Famine Relief Fund has now advanced to £270,000. The Peninsular and Oriental Company has shown an excellent example by following up its original contribution of £500 with a donation of ten times the amount—£5,000. On Sunday last the collections at all the three services in Westminster Abbey were devoted to the Famine Fund, the preachers being the Dean, Canon Wilberforce, and Bishop Johnson (late Metropolitan of India). The Rev. H. Russell Wakefield writes to the *Times* (June 4) to urge that "the first thing England should do in order to show gratitude for the great news just received from South Africa" should be "that the country should now pour out help to India with far greater generosity than has yet been shown." "The Vicar and Chairman of a rural parish" also writes (June 5) to recommend "a little systematic organisation," which, he rightly thinks, "would bring a golden harvest yet unreaped in many districts." It is evident from the lists of the Mansion House Fund that this idea has already been put into practical operation in many places with good results, and no doubt it will be taken up more widely. As the Vicar says: "The working classes of England are sympathetic, they are willing to help their fellow-subjects in India, but—especially in rural districts—they often wait to be asked." Pity the asking was not done sooner; pity still greater that the India Office interposed discouragements. Still, the Fund may look up on the conclusion of the war.

The Viceroy's telegram this week gives the total number on relief at 5,770,000. "Cholera," it says, "continues in many Bombay districts, and the condition of the people there is deplorable." In consequence of the prevalence of cholera "many large works have been deserted," and the Government of Bombay, which has authorised the opening of scattered village works, reports the situation as "very difficult to deal with." Relief measures are said to be "sufficient generally in British India and improving in Native States." The conciseness of the information detracts from its clearness, but in any case the situation is undoubtedly very bad and very trying, and the difficulties, present and future, are indefinitely increased by the dispersal of the poor people under the fright of cholera. We do not know how far it would be practicable to act on the view of Mr. A. T. Whittle, set forth in a letter to the *Times* of India, dated Wadhwan, May 10. "Our famine," he says, "is a money famine."

Why not put the five millions who are keeping body and soul together from Government resources on the land at once, when its manual preparation is comparatively easy? Why not send the rayat and the labourer to his village and pay them there as they are paid at a famine camp under the supervision of the Mukkee, the Talati, and the Havildar? Thus also would shelter be secured in the rains for the many who must die like flies without proper protection.

Besides, "his home would be given back to him, and if the few cooking pots that constitute his household gods be added, he will be started afresh in life." We are especially glad to note that the Simla correspondent of the *Times* says that the Government of India is adopting a liberal policy "with a view of meeting emergent demands for plough cattle, seed, and grain."

A strange glimpse of the difficulties of relief work may be obtained from some correspondence in the *Times* of India about the deplorable condition of the Bhils at Dohad

in Panch Mahals. "No one not having experience of the Bhils," writes the Rev. W. Mulligan, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Jhalod, "can understand how hard it is to get them to conform to any rules or plans that may be devised for their relief." After speaking of the poorhouse inmates, Mr. Mulligan proceeds:—

Others actually dying of starvation were too timid to come to the poorhouse. I have had to actually coax them after me with handfuls of parched grain out of the bazaar, where they were begging, to the poorhouse to be fed. After eating, the roving instinct drives them forth again. This is what made it necessary to send men round with stretchers to carry the emaciated people in Jhalod bazaar and the neighbourhood into the poorhouse.

"The superior district officers," he adds, "are all trying to do more than they are able; the inferior officers are not doing all they are able, and their harshness with the Bhils is largely the cause of their timidity." One would like the details of this intolerable action on the part of "the inferior officers," wherever they may be. In the circumstances it does not seem very surprising that "there is much that is very slipshod and imperfect about the local authorities." What appears to be wanted is more men and means, and a superintendent that has time to superintend.

We must again complain that the India Office does not supply the public with any information as to the progress of mortality in the famine areas. From many quarters, indeed, there come wide statements of deaths, especially from cholera, which, however, cannot be disconnected from the ravages of famine. For instance, an Ahmedabad correspondent of the *Pioneer* reports that "the cholera mortality at the various famine relief works in Gujarat is simply appalling;" and a visitor to Godhra wrote to the same journal that "deaths (from cholera) were so numerous in the relief camp (Kalled Kanchar) that the officials could not collect and burn the bodies fast enough." Elsewhere we quote Dr. Klopsch's statement that 3,000 died at Godhra and 2,500 at Dohad within a month; we learn from the *Pioneer* that 400 victims died of cholera in three days on the Areth relief works in Mandvi; and the special correspondent of the *Times* of India (and of the *Englishman*, as well as of the *Daily Chronicle*) says 300 died in Ajmere city and suburbs in ten days, and in Beawar the mortality was nearly as high. The Government must have returns made to it, showing in figures the meaning of this "simply appalling" mortality up and down the country. Lord George Hamilton, indeed, has declined to burden overworked officials with the labour of making out such returns; but it must be assumed that, in point of fact, some returns are made. That being so, all that is needed is that a copy of them should be given to the Press. It is intolerable that people should not know the facts—especially people that are looked to for contributions in relief of the distress in India.

In the course of his remarkable address at the Satara Provincial Conference Mr. V. N. Pathak dealt with the great question of the causes of famine. Deeply grateful for the efforts of the Government to relieve the famine-stricken, he yet was forced to admit that it was not creditable to any civilised Government that the loss of a single year's crop should spread misery and ruin over whole Provinces. He struck the right note when he said:—

No doubt famine, or as a high authority would prefer to call it, failure of the rains, is a calamity of nature which is beyond the power of man to avert. But this does not mean that it is not in the power of a civilised and wise Government to take such administrative and economic measures for the improvement of the condition of the people that when the calamity does occur the people will be more self-reliant and better able to help themselves.

He went on to suggest as remedies: (1) Irrigation; (2) and still more important, the promotion of manufactures in order to give variety of employment; (3) Light railways, constructed with rupee capital; (4) Agricultural Banks; and (5) last, but not least, Permanent Tenure,



with light assessments, revised only in accordance with the rise of prices.

The *Pioneer* has always clearly seen that the financial independence of India—that is the freedom of the Indian Government from outside control—would be imperilled by a famine grant from the Parliament of the United Kingdom. As it says, "Where the money goes, the right of interference follows." And like most Anglo-Indians, it strongly opposed any grant. It therefore views with great satisfaction the change it traces in the position of Her Majesty's Government. Some months ago when Sir Henry Fowler supported a money grant to India, it was said that the Ministry would probably agree to render help if the Indian Government framed a scheme for making unusually large advances to cultivators on exceptionally liberal terms. On April 26, Mr. Balfour said an appeal would only be made to Parliament "if needful," and the necessity was not anticipated. Now Lord George Hamilton speaks of the intentions of the Government of India alone, from which the *Pioneer* joyfully concludes that all fear of a grant may be abandoned. Perhaps the starving millions of India will not think that these changes are for the better.

A Cornwall correspondent sends us an interesting account of a meeting held in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Pusanooth, on May 27, with reference to the distress in India. The audience numbered 250. Mr. J. Edean, Superintendent of the Sunday School, presided. The chief speaker was Mr. F. H. Davey, who has made a careful study of Indian questions. He dwelt especially upon the inadequacy of the subscriptions to the Famine Relief Funds, the extent of the present distress, the urgent need for a Treasury grant, the evils of excessive taxation in India, and the services rendered by Indians in the South African war. The address concluded with an appeal which "resulted in one of the best collections ever taken in the chapel at gatherings of this description."

While irrigation is all the cry with many reformers, a writer in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* makes a serious attack on the Irrigation Branch of the Canal Department. He complains of (1) unreasonable increase of rates; (2) Rs. 2 being required as *salami* before application for permits are entertained; (3) permits signed by the subdivisional officer being only given to the cultivators on payment of a fee to the sectional officer; (4) a fee having also in general to be paid to the sectional officer before he will pass a new village channel as workable. It is also asserted that blackmail is levied by underlings on persons or cattle trespassing on the canal banks.

A writer in the *Pioneer*, signing himself "Vox Populi," and apparently well informed, thus enumerates the causes of dissatisfaction with plague regulations leading to turbulence and riot:—(1) Lack of proper supervision over the plague police; (2) employment of hospital assistants in out-of-the-way places without proper supervision; and (3) employment of military doctors without civil experience and without sufficient tact and knowledge of the Native customs and habits.

Experience shows that stringent sanitary measures cannot be enforced in India with success. What is wanted, therefore, is only such amount of scientific energy as is consistent with the customs and prejudices of the people; that is to say, a combination of efficiency and tact.

In an important article on "The Labour Question in India," the *Pioneer* points out that there are certain difficulties in the way of India's successfully competing with Europe as a manufacturing country, and that these difficulties must be faced. Plant, which has still to be for the most part imported from Europe, is dearer. Coal is no cheaper. The chief advantage, then, must reside in the cheapness and abundance of labour. But already some forms of skilled labour show a tendency to become scarce. Carpenters are still plentiful, but as regards blacksmiths the same cry of "men are not to be got" prevails all over Northern India.

In this case, the caste rules, which act favourably in other trades, are prejudicial. The caste of "lohar" or "worker in iron" originally contained blacksmiths only, because iron was practically only worked on hot. Within the last hundred years the trade of "fitter" has practically been created in India; being an entirely modern demand. Now as this is strictly "working in iron," and is a pleasanter trade to follow than that of blacksmith besides being more lucrative, the majority of the lohars have taken to it, to the great depletion of the

ranks of trained blacksmiths, and the consequent scarcity of these men.

So curious are the actions and reactions of the ancient rules of caste and the developments of modern industry.

The *Punjab Observer*, a Mahometan paper, is in favour of the Punjab Alienation Bill, and therefore, as the *Pioneer* says, its criticisms carry more weight than those of opponents. Two clauses seem to be universally condemned. The first is that by which money-lenders in the possession of land at the first regular settlement are included under the heading of agriculturists. The second is that by which landholders are compelled to go to a revenue officer for sanction every time they want to borrow money. It is suggested that only transfers of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists should require sanction. It will, however, be seen that even in the opinion of its supporters the Bill is far from perfect.

The tendency of Indians to stay in their native village and gain their living from their paternal acres, however few, has long been deplored by economists. But that this is not universal is proved by the history of a Mahometan family in the Punjab, told by the *Pioneer*. In the last generation there were four brothers owning 100 acres each. These 400 acres are still worked by four men, though now the family consists of eleven adult males. Of the remaining seven, one is a large contractor on the railway and a member of the municipality of a great city. Another is a B.A. and in Government employment, having been educated by his elder brother, the contractor; of the others, two are serving in the army, one is a patwari and one is a navy. But rich or poor, prosperous or unsuccessful, they all retain their connexion with their old home, while four and four only remain to fill the places of their fathers.

While the *Englishman* has been declaring that the Indians are losing their respect for the ruling race, who need protection from injury and insult, the *Civil and Military Gazette* takes a more impartial attitude. After suitably chastising Indian "demagogues," it goes on to say:—

On the other hand, Europeans are often to blame. Here again ignorance is the main cause. Through ignorance of Native customs, shooting parties often do commit outrages on the feelings of Natives, as every officer of a British regiment readily admits. It is again ignorance which leads the amazing letter-writers to hate and despise Natives, though here we must say plainly that a considerable portion of the darker quality of brutality is conjoined with the more excusable defect of ignorance. This spirit, which is not altogether uncommon, would, if acted upon by responsible men, bring our Empire to a rapid and well-deserved end.

Which is excellent, and all the more so because it appears in an Anglo-Indian newspaper.

The *Mahratta* gives an account of the Honnibal shooting case. Captain Wood, accompanied by another officer, went shooting in the Native State of Sangli, near Belgaum. They fired into a sugar-cane plantation, and hit an old man. A villager, Shivlingappa Kengeri, seized and detained the officers for some fifteen minutes, until the village authorities arrived. They enquired into the injuries the old man had received, but nothing further was done. The officers, however, made a complaint to the Collector at Belgaum against Shivlingappa for assault and wrongful confinement; the Collector forwarded the complaint to the Political Agent, who brought pressure to bear on the Sangli State so that the offending villager was tried by the Assistant Political Agent, Major Davis, and sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment.

Why has there been such a prolonged delay in dealing with the Mundahs that were arrested and imprisoned at Ranchi four or five months ago on suspicion of having taken part in the riots? It was only on May 14 that "the Sessions Judge out of a batch of 92 men committed for rioting acquitted 45 and sentenced 7 to seven years' transportation, 36 to transportation for life, and one to death." Three of this batch, we learn, "died in gaol." Apparently there are some 217 still to be brought to trial. On May 16, according to the special reporter of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Mr. Jacob, a barrister from Calcutta, appeared in the magistrate's court at Ranchi on behalf of 93 of them. He naturally complained that the men were detained simply in the hope that the police might find some evidence on which to frame a specific charge, and that, unless they got out on bail, they could not



possibly make adequate preparation for their defence. Several hours of warm argument did not advance the case, when suddenly it was intimated that within a day or two past the police had laid serious unailable charges against sixty-seven of the prisoners, "and immediately the police sub-inspector presented a petition against their release, stating, if another day was allowed, police diaries would, no doubt, disclose similar offences against others." At last Mr. Jacob prevailed on the Magistrate to admit to bail those outside the number of the sixty-seven, "but fixed bail at an amount which the counsel urged was virtual continuance in gaol, for the men were too poor to find fixture." He promised to hear Mr. Jacob again on May 22. These seem to be somewhat strange proceedings in view of the ordinary acclamations of British justice. These poor hungry hillmen might surely have been dealt with out of hand in a more reasonable and practical fashion.

The occupation of Pretoria is not, unhappily, the end of the war. Substantially, however, the fighting is done with, and attention can be more freely directed to the settlement of the subjugated Republics. In that settlement, Natal, on the promise of Mr. Chamberlain, is to be specially considered. What we are particularly concerned for is that the case of the British Indians in South Africa generally shall be treated with the liberality due to fellow-subjects, and to fellow-subjects that have performed distinctive service in the campaign. Equal rights for all whites is a principle that we do not quarrel with; but we are strongly of opinion that it is incomplete for the object in view. We should earnestly hope that a charter of freedom and justice will be laid down for British Indians. The services of the stretcher-bearers have no doubt led the Natalians to bethink themselves of the better qualities of the Indians, and to be a little ashamed of their previous oppressive policy; but one would like to see some definite guarantee against a possible change of mind under new circumstances. The eminent services of the Indians in the field have been acknowledged and lauded by all observers, and it is for the authorities to see that they obtain their just reward. True, they are entitled to just and equitable dealing apart altogether from special services; but their services may at least form a powerful ground of appeal for large consideration. We shall be interested to see what will be considered the Imperial manner of dealing with these fellow-subjects of ours in the day of settlement.

The *Power and Guardian* comments on "the prospect of a fresh privilege held out to India by Mr. Chamberlain." The privilege is the special representation of India on the brand new Imperial Court of Appeal. Our contemporary says (May 16):—

But may we enquire if an Indian or an Anglo-Indian is to be the recipient of the honour? We suppose preference will be given to a retired judge of the Calcutta or Bombay High Court. If so the honour is hardly likely to be appreciated by Indians. If a representative of India is to sit in the Council, he should be of pure Indian blood and a representative of the people in the true sense of the term. Indeed, our contemporary avows a distinct preference of "a stay-at-home Briton to an Anglo-Indian with his prejudices." We have already expressed our own decided opinion in the same sense as the *Power and Guardian*. We do not know whether, as our contemporary expects, Lord Curzon "will exercise his influence most successfully in bringing the question to a satisfactory settlement," but evidently no other settlement will be regarded in India as satisfactory. The Indian bar, we believe, would point unanimously to a particular barrister, who might, if he had chosen, have been by this time a retired Judge of the High Court—a man of acknowledged professional eminence, and at the same time a man in close and sympathetic touch with the sanest aspirations of his countrymen under British protection.

The excitement over the appointment of a successor to Mr. Justice Ghose on the bench of the Calcutta High Court is very natural, at all events in the ranks of the vakils. The Public Service Commission recommended that at least three of the Judges of the High Court should be chosen from the "advocates" of the Court, and the Secretary of State approved the recommendation. Now, it is said, the Government propose to read "three vakil judges" as "three Indian judges," and to appoint an Indian civilian judge in succession to Mr. Justice Ghose. "By this device," it is explained, "it is hoped to provide

for the Mahometan community and the Indian civilians at the cost of the vakil judges and without increasing the number of the Indians." The question should not present any real difficulty; the formal requirement of choice from among "advocates" should not be insuperably ambiguous. But it is unsafe to discuss it on mere rumours and anticipations, and it is hardly credible that the Government will strain the interpretation of the rule, especially as it cannot but be aware of the force of professional opinion.

There is also some worry over the appointment of a civilian, Mr. Copplestone, to the office of Chief Judge of the Burma Chief Court. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* denounces it as "a dangerous innovation," which "has called forth protests from all quarters." The Calcutta Bar, our contemporary hears, "is going to memorialise the Secretary of State asking him to cancel it." The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* argues from the analogy of recorder-ships that "the appointment is against the spirit and true intent of the existing law." For

as early as in 1862, the Government of India laid down that Rangoon, Moulemein, and Akyab should, if possible, have separate recorders, and that these judicial officers should be "barristers of not less than five years' standing." The post of Chief Judge is more important than that of a Recorder. How could, then, the appointment be given to a civilian when none but a barrister of at least five years' standing was thought eligible for a Recordership in Burma nearly three decades ago? This principle was also accepted when the Lower Burma Courts Bill was discussed the other day before the Viceroyal Council.

There can be no doubt that in any case, if it were not for the warring claims of classes, the best professionally qualified man ought to have the post. The importance of strict regard to this principle in the case of a chief judge could not be over-estimated.

Mr. Pickersgill's question reported in our last issue looked as if it had been delayed; but, even so, the answer was scarcely up to date. For instance, with regard to the long since projected new cantonment in the Miranzai Valley—Torawari was to be its name—the reply given was: "No estimate can at present be given of the cost of the proposed cantonment." That "no estimate could be given" there was the best of reasons—namely, that the scheme, with its water-works and all the rest, had been given up! The Bombay overland papers, to hand a fortnight previously, had intimated that this was probable, and in those dated May 5 the explicit statement was made—

that the Government of India has given up the idea of an experimental cantonment at Torawari, and it is unlikely that one will ever be established there. The troops will be withdrawn at once.

It seems rather unkind that the India Office should have left its spokesman most of a fortnight behind in this way: or, there is the other supposition, that the Indian Press, in this small incident, as sometimes in weightier matters, had been beforehand with the India Office itself. Then with regard to the retention of regular troops in Waziristan, the Indian Secretary was allowed to say that "no material reduction of troops stationed at frontier outposts [i.e., in that Pathan territory beyond the frontier] had taken place since August last." But we read, in the earlier batch of papers, news through Bombay that on April 23 Lord Curzon "held an important consultation" at Dera Ismail Khan with Mr. Merk, the Commissioner, and other frontier officers "with special reference to His Excellency the Viceroy's scheme of withdrawing the regular garrisons from all posts beyond the frontier." This, it will be seen, is substantially better than the very reserved answer given to the House on May 24.

In course of the same series of questions and answers there was one point incidentally raised which is of far more general and permanent importance. The member for Bethnal Green had used the expression, "within or without the statutory boundary line of British India," also "the true frontier of British India." On this Lord George Hamilton remarked, by way of preface to his specific answers, "I am not aware of the precise significance the honourable member attaches to the expression statutory boundary line." Well, there are in the India Office, say, three persons who are competent to inform him of "the precise significance attached to that expression"; so we need not volunteer our services. But the point and practical value of the Indian Secretary's answer is comprised in its concluding phrase—"the policy indicated in the despatch of January, 1898, is being steadily and continuously advanced."



## THE CALAMITY OF INDIA.

WHILE the numbers on famine relief are steadily approaching six millions, and severe scarcity is pressing on about one hundred millions of the Indian population, cholera has come in the train of want and is carrying off its unresisting victims in thousands. "Nearly five per cent. of the population of Rajputana," telegraphed the Special Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* from Bombay last Friday, "is recorded as having died of cholera." The district of Kaira in Gujerat, he reported, lost 7,700 from cholera in the month ending May 19—nearly one per cent. of the whole population. The number of deaths in the Central Provinces and Berar, though not definitely specified, is said to be "stupendous." Similar testimony is supplied from other sources. Thus, Dr. Klopsch, who went out to administer the *Christian Herald's* fund, raised in New York, states that he met everywhere in Gujerat and Baroda with "the most shocking and revolting scenes." Like the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent, he tells how the famine camps were swept by cholera and smallpox, how the fugitives scattered disease in their flight, and how the victims were found dying in fields, in ditches, and along the roadsides. At Godhra, says Dr. Klopsch, there were 3,000 deaths from cholera in four days; at Dohad 2,500. At these two places "the hospital death-rate was 90 per cent., and the condition of the stricken beggars description." "The stories as to vultures, dogs, and jackals devouring human bodies left unburied," says Dr. Klopsch, "I can fully verify. Dogs have been seen running about with children's limbs in their jaws." The condition of the country is frightful beyond description. "The spirit of the people is broken." And still the worst has to come. The monsoon has not yet burst.

In this terrible situation, the Government, according to Dr. Klopsch, "is doing its best throughout the Presidency." The expression is rather vague; perhaps it is also misleading. We have already remarked on the point, but there will be no harm in straightening out the tangled implications once more. No one, we suppose, entertains the least doubt that the British officials on the spot are working with might and main, with the knowledge of experience, and with humane as well as professional zeal, to save life and to mitigate suffering. The unfortunate elements in the case are to be traced rather to the high authorities—to the policy of the Government. As we have already pointed out, the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* has affirmed (May 1) that "the existing service is not strong enough to grapple with famine, let alone cholera." More than a month earlier, indeed (March 27), he had reported that "the service is short of administrators, short of engineers, short of doctors, short of material, short of tools for the workers"—"overworked and understaffed to a degree which makes anything approaching close or constant supervision impossible" (*INDIA*, April 27, vol. xiii, p. 200). The repeated assertion has not been contradicted, so far as we know; and the available collateral evidence tends to support it strongly. It seems, therefore, perfectly legitimate to complain that the Government, which has made the amplest professions of anxiety to render aid at whatever cost in money, has not provided a more adequate corps of workers—officers, doctors, and nurses—and a more adequate supply of material. Again, our Bombay correspondent, while acknowledging the valuable services of the British officials, urges the same complaint of a cheeseparing policy—"running the famine on the cheap"—from another point of view. This also takes origin in certain strictures of the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent, to which we called attention on April 27. The correspondent pointed out that the people on relief were back upon the one-pound ration, which had played such havoc in previous famines. It appears that the Bombay Government has taken to heart the correspondent's criticisms, and that Mr. Monteath, after visiting the famine districts, has drawn up what purports to be an answer, and got it embodied in a Government Resolution. Our Bombay correspondent declines to admit that the Resolution really meets the charge. The terms of the Resolution are unfortunately not yet to hand, and it is impossible for us therefore to pronounce on the question to-day. But in any case it is only too clear that the Government, if "doing its best," is yet not doing enough

—not doing so much as is to be expected of a Government that professes to save life regardless of cost.

Nor is the inadequacy of the Government measures to be palliated by triumphant comparisons with the work of the Native States, or by general assertions of the superiority of the British officers over the Native workers. Dr. Klopsch, we observe, while giving the Bombay Government credit for "doing its best," declares in the same sentence that "the Native officials are hopelessly and heartlessly inefficient." He is speaking of the whole Presidency of Bombay. "Cross the border," into Native territory, writes the special correspondent of the *Times of India* from Ajmere (May 6), "and you find confusion, callousness, and the most intense suffering." "Here," he says, for example, "is the little State of Devgar, under a Rao who refuses to do anything, saying the Maharani of Oodeypore is responsible"; and he gives a woeful account of the state of things. The same correspondent writing from Nasirabad (May 9) furnishes a similar report of Bundi, before Major Dunlop Smith took in hand the famine administration. It is just as well to face his criticism squarely. He concludes with this moral:—

There is a certain class of persons who are always sighing for the halcyon days of a few centuries ago, when the mild and benignant Native Prince took a personal interest in the happy rayat, cared lovingly for him in time of stress, and exacted but a trifling tithe of the produce of the fields in prosperous years. Let any such visit a "good old-fashioned" Native State like Bundi in famine time; and then cross the border into Ajmere-Marwara, and see how the "cold," "harsh," "oppressive" British Raj deals with its people when the hand of famine lies heavy on the land. We should hear less then, I throw, of the "advissability of extending the benefits of Native Rule."

The criticism is obviously strained, but so far as it can be supported by evidence it would be idle to quarrel with it. Let us, however, have the evidence, and let us see precisely how far the sweeping accusations brought against the Indians are justified. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent stated, about the middle of April, that the Native officials generally were "working splendidly" (*INDIA*, April 27, vol. xiii, p. 197); and since that date we have quoted his praise of the Native officials on the relief work on Talwana tank, where no Englishmen could have done their duty more thoroughly than these men," and his admiring report of particular Natives, such as Brahma Nund and Dhaupat Rai (*INDIA*, May 25, vol. xiii, p. 245). The question comes back to the Government. Why has it not marshalled such useful Natives with more diligent forthrightness? Even in the Native States, it cannot shake itself free from responsibility; it is ready enough to interfere on occasions of incomparably slighter importance. Meantime the absence of adequate information counsels the suspension of any definitive judgment. It is one thing to contend that the efforts of zealous officers, whether British or Indian, are hampered by too rigorous rules imposed for reasons of economy. It is another thing to accuse the officers themselves of "hopeless and heartless inefficiency." The first complaint is against a system, the second against the character of individuals. Such a charge, if it is made, needs to be proved to the hilt.

Again the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing from Simla (May 15), takes up the very grave charge against the Bombay Government that it is rigidly collecting its land revenue in the midst of the stress of famine. True, it prescribes that the collection is to be pressed only where the cultivator is able to pay. But how is the collector to discriminate? The practical result is that, if the rayat does not pay, the moneylender pays for him; that is to say, if a shred of credit remains. Consequently, after the famine, the surviving rayats will commence life again with a still heavier millstone of debt about their necks, or in heavier arrears of suspended rents. The correspondent writes:—

It so happens that Bombay is the only State in India, British or Native, that is suffering from an attack of revenue-hunger at the present time. The Native States are suspending and remitting over entire areas where the pinch of famine is most severe, and in the Punjab and the Central Provinces suspensions by district have already been arranged on a large scale, and the cultivators know exactly where they stand. In four districts in the Central Provinces the entire revenue has been suspended, and in the other districts it has been lightened materially. In the Punjab too the utmost consideration is being shown, and I believe the same may be said of Ajmere, Merwar and the Berars. There is no doubt, too, that the British provinces will ask the Government of India to sanction suspensions being converted into remissions when the time arrives, and that on a very large scale. As to Bombay, I have my misgivings. The Government of the Presidency may be forced on occasion into partial



and grudging suspension, but into remission never. . . . No remissions were made in the famine of 1891-92, and only trifling suspensions; and for the ten years previous to the famine, which included seasons of scarcity in the Deccan, the account stood thus: Collections, 98.40; outstanding balances, 0.94; irrecoverable balances written off, 0.43; remissions, 0.23. Is it to be wondered at that the money-lender is entering into the rayat's lands, or that famine comes more swiftly on famine's heels than ever before?

And "there is another aspect of this painful business"—the part allotted to the charitable public. "My point," says the correspondent, "is that there is a certain hardship in expecting the public to provide an indemnity, as it were, for governments whose reckless collecting has plunged the people into ruin." It is a very sharp and penetrating point, but we believe the public will relieve the pressing necessity of the people and then reckon with the Government. "As to the need for help," the correspondent repeats, "it was never so urgent as it is to-day." It will be still more urgent to-morrow, and for many morrows yet. Apart from the people, "the single item of cattle lost is stupendous"; and "add to all this that the rains will find the land furrowed with sickness and that cholera is already raging over an enormous area of the famine districts." In this "black prospect" "how overwhelming is the case for an English loan." How still more irresistibly overwhelming is the case for a British national contribution, and then for a thorough-going enquiry into the causes of famine and the means of prevention.

## THE CONDITION OF THE KONKAN DISTRICTS.

By R. L. GHARAT.

(Landholder of Avas in the Alibag Taluka of the Kolaba District.)

THANA, Kolaba, and Ratnagiri, on the West Coast of India, are generally called the Konkan districts. The northern division of Thana, which is on the border of Gujerat, is the most affected part of the Konkan districts this year, and relief works have already been opened there. Southern Thana, Kolaba, and Ratnagiri are also more or less affected, but Government have not yet found it necessary to open any relief works there, the Pokharan Tank and the Ghodbundar Road works being undertaken solely to give employment to the unusually large number of emigrants to Bombay from the famine-stricken tracts and especially from Kathiawar. In Kolaba and Ratnagiri several small private works have kept the labouring classes occupied until now, but it is feared that during the next few months the pinch of scarcity will be felt even in these districts. The mill and other industries of Bombay have in no small degree contributed to the maintenance of the poor cultivators of these districts. Here many a poor landholder has even managed to pay the Government land assessment out of the earnings of his brother, son, or other relative in Bombay. Ratnagiri being mostly a hilly tract produces only a small quantity of rice, while the majority of its crops consists of coarser corns grown on hill slopes and raised grounds. Kolaba and Thana, though growing the coarser corns to some extent, are principally rice-producing districts.

The aboriginal tribes such as Katkaris, Warlis, Thakurs, and others, who generally inhabit the hilly tracts of the Konkan, have to depend almost entirely upon the coarser corns and some jungle roots and fruits. When the rains fail, these people are rendered quite helpless, and if no immediate help is given to them they must die. In 1896-97 some provision was made for such people in the Thana district, but no help was given to those in Kolaba until the Hon. Mr. Chandavarkar, additional member of the Local Legislative Council, who had to pay a professional visit to the Pen Taluka of that district, had seen the condition of the Katkaris and reported it to the authorities. It was then that a grant of ten thousand rupees was made for the relief of sufferers in the Kolaba district. I am afraid it is not always possible to know the exact number of deaths among these people, as they always live in woods far away from human habitation. It is only when high officials will pay surprise visits to their abodes that they can know anything of their real condition.

In several talukas of the Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts there is what is called the khoti system of land tenure. The khots, or superior landholders, are responsible to Government for the revenue of whole villages, while the share to be received by them from their tenants, who

actually till the land, is determined and settled for a certain number of years by a settlement officer appointed by Government. In the Dewgad and other talukas of the Ratnagiri district the recent revenue enhancements, caused by a periodical revision settlement, have given rise to an anomaly in that the Government demand in most cases exceeds the share which the klot receives from the inferior holders. It was with a view to remove this anomaly that the Hon. Mr. D. A. Khare, late non-official member of the Bombay Legislative Council, had introduced last year a short Bill in the Council; but it was negatived by the official majority, and another Government Bill was introduced in its place. The new Bill is still under consideration. A large number of the landholders in the Konkan, however, is directly responsible to the State for the revenue of the lands owned by them, and although many lands have already passed into the hands of the sowkars, or money-lenders, there are still numerous poor landholders in these districts who have not yet parted with their ancestral properties, in retaining possession of which they feel a kind of pride. Successive bad seasons, want of sufficient manure, the last two actual droughts, and the Government's rigorous system of collecting land revenue, have all combined to drive these poor landholders to the sowkars, and fears are not unreasonably entertained that in the course of a few years more this once flourishing class of peasant proprietors will altogether disappear. There is no doubt that a few ignorant landholders sometimes foolishly incur unnecessary expenditure on marriages and such other things; but as a general rule the peasants are very thrifty, know how to live on very small incomes, and will seldom indulge in luxuries. The former Governments received the land taxes in kind, according to grain rates, and the cultivator's share of the produce of his field had not many demands on it. At present, fearing that he will have to pay notice fee or fine, and perhaps also to forfeit his land, he is obliged to sell his corn even in good years at a disadvantage in order to make cash payment to Government in time. Besides this, it is also out of the produce of his field that he has to pay the cost of salt, which has now increased from about twelve annas to two and a-half rupees per maund, or nearly four hundred per cent. He is also called upon to pay the local fund cess of one anna on every rupee that he pays to Government as land tax, and the municipal rates if he lives within municipal limits. The Stamp and Court Fee Acts, the Registration Act, the Forest Act, the Abkari Act, the Grazing Rules, the fear of periodical enhancements of the land assessment and several other things have made his living no matter of ease to him. The special resolutions and orders which Government publish from time to time seldom reach the poor rayat for whom they are intended, and he often sells or pawns anything he has, not excepting even his plough cattle or the few trees that surround his hut or field, in order to pay Government. In 1897 I furnished to the Collector of Kolaba a tabular statement showing the number of poor landholders from the village of Avas in the Alibag Taluka, who had either to sell or pawn their chattels in order to pay the land tax. A similar statement was also prepared by one of the Associations in the Taluka for several other villages, but no representation which was then made was taken into consideration by the authorities, and almost every pie of the revenue was recovered with the aid of coercive measures. The subordinate officials in order to please their superiors often transgress the limits of their proper duties and harass the poor landholders for the recovery of even the most insignificant amounts of the assessment. The result is that even those poor persons who are entitled to the relief provided by the Famine Code do not always get it. The people will continue to suffer so long as the authorities are satisfied with the information supplied by inferior officers and disregard private representations.

Nearly the whole of the area now covered by the Alibag Taluka of the Kolaba District was formerly owned by a native chief called the Angria. About sixty years ago, there being no direct male descendant of the line to succeed to the *gaadee*, the kingdom lapsed to the British Government. The following historical sketch of the old Kolaba State, given by Lieutenant Day, occurs at page 142 of the Bombay Government Records (No. XCVI—New Series):—

The history of Kolaba may be told in few words. It seems to have been a nest of pirates from the end of the Seventeenth Century, at



which period I find the earliest record of the Augria family in Grant Duff, up to 1812, when their piracies were finally suppressed by the British Government. They were, in conjunction with the Sedes, whose representative still holds sway on the line of coast below Kolaba, at *Janjira* with the Sawants and other maritime depredators, alternately the friend and foe of the Peshwa and the Portuguese, the cementing cause in the former case being ordinarily that of hostility to the interests of the British.

No. VII.—New Series, Bombay Government Records, being a Statistical Report of the Kolaba Agency published in 1851, has the following interesting paragraph:—

In speaking of the condition of the *Kumbhes* (or agricultural class), we must take a brief review of what it was before the lapse of the State. During the late Government, . . . each rayat paid in the shape of petty cesses (some quite absurd in amount, and others exceedingly income and vexatious, for instance vet, bizar, etc.) about one-sixth more than is now collected; and besides this, people proceeding on Government Service were always gratuitously entertained at the expense of the rayats, and hire for conveyance of baggage was a thing unknown. Yet, although the agricultural classes laboured under all these difficulties, and many more which have not been detailed, they appeared to be in rather a more thriving state than they are now. This is strange, and more particularly so when we come to consider that in all transactions with the rayats the British Government has acted with far more liberality towards them than the Native Government would have done. This, with the discontinuance of the *Suncheree Muktas*, which has made the tenure of land far more certain, should have operated greatly for the improvement of the people, which it apparently has not done. To trace the cause of this retrogression is difficult, and I shall only be able to say a very little regarding it. First and foremost, it would, perhaps, be as well to give the opinion of the Natives themselves on this important subject. Their continual argument is, that all the surplus revenue was formerly expended within the district, and therefore there was a constant circulation kept up; that there were a number of people entertained to perform certain duties which became obsolete since the lapse, and were consequently abolished; that all the country products were consumed in the district and were eagerly sought for—now the surplus is exported at a low rate, or sold to greedy sowkars, at a great sacrifice. Our civil courts, they say, have thrown more power into the hands of the money-lending classes than they had before the lapse; and from the city, systematic, and proper method of disposal of civil cases, the sowkars go to law for the most trivial matters, and have it in their power to ruin by bringing their actions at a moment when they know that their debtors are not ready to meet their demands; decision is given; if in favour of the creditor, he sues out immediate execution, when the rayat's house, grain, and everything else is sold, leaving him his implements of husbandry and cattle for the plough if he has any; whereas under the late Government the creditor was left in the generality of cases to compound with his debtor, and to get as much as he could out of him by constant dunning, etc.

But on the other hand, it is easy to trace that the agricultural class has for a long time back been in a state of retrogression, and without doubt they were received in this state from the late Government; and further, it is not to be supposed that this has been going on at more rapid strides since the lapse of the state. . . .

## OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

WITH the fall of Pretoria another chapter of the war begins. A few weeks ago we were all looking forward to the event as to the end of the volume, but we know better now. The renewal of Boer activity south of the Vaal, the flight of President Kruger towards Lydenburg, and the failure of the British army to capture the enemy's guns or cripple his strength in the field, portend a long and exasperating sequel. London celebrated Lord Roberts's success on Tuesday with a zeal which might well have been reserved for a less dubious climax. But it was a demonstration in which zeal was certainly more conspicuous than spontaneous enthusiasm. For some hours the people hesitated, as if in doubt whether to attempt any repetition at all of the Mafeking carnival. Then, with bands and organised processions to stir their sluggish emotions they came forth at night and filled the streets with belated revelry. To do the city justice, no such stimulus was required in that region of perverted patriotism. From the moment of the Lord Mayor's proclamation that "The British Flag is now flying over Pretoria," business and traffic alike were practically suspended in the neighbourhood of the Bank, and one more saturnalia was added to the credit of the war.

"After Pretoria, the dissolution." The prediction, made so confidently but the other day, is now discredited. It would be

too risky, say the wire-pullers, to hazard a general election in the middle of hostilities. General Rundle's experience at Senekal is an unwelcome reminder of the real condition of the "conquered" territory traversed by the British troops. Mr. Chamberlain would doubtless be glad to go to the country on the plea that with the occupation of the Boer capital the Government had brought the war to a triumphant conclusion, but something might happen in the very crisis of the contest to make the boast look foolish. Moreover, Lord Salisbury is known to be opposed to the idea of a hasty and premature dissolution, and his attitude is deriving support not only from the force of circumstances but from the declared reluctance of many influential Conservatives to further the advent of a Chamberlain administration. Much will depend on the behaviour of the Boers. If they are determined to prolong the war it may take Lord Roberts three more months to bring the country into such a state of subjection as would justify him in releasing any considerable portion of his army for home service. A report is current that he was asked by the War Office a few days ago to name a probable date for the return of half of the troops. "Twelve months hence," is said to have been Lord Roberts's laconic reply.

Lord Rosebery, not for the first time, has had reason to pray that he might be saved from his friends. About a month ago he wrote a letter of congratulation to a Plymouth newspaper which was about to celebrate its fortieth birthday, and incidentally made some observations on the utility of shibboleths and the value of an unbiased patriotism. The amiable commonplace of the letter, had they been published when written, would probably have excited little comment. But they only made their public appearance last Saturday, in the midst of a fierce warfare of speculation as to the future leadership of the Liberal party, and accordingly the letter was hailed as a political manifesto. The illusion was fostered by the omission of the date, and was only dispelled by a disclaimer obviously inspired by Lord Rosebery himself. One result of the incident has been to show, clearly enough, that if the ex-Premier hopes to resume his place in the councils of the party he will have to speak less like the Delphic oracle.

Among the resolutions to be considered at a congress of delegates representing chambers of commerce in all parts of the British Empire—which will be held in London towards the end of this month—is one from Liverpool suggesting that support should be given to the action which the Imperial Telegraphs Committee of the House of Commons is taking with the view of placing the important matter of electrical communications between the United Kingdom, India, and the British colonies and dependencies on a footing commensurate with the present conditions of inter-Imperial and Colonial relations, and urging that every reasonable liberty should be given in Parliament for a discussion of the position of the telegraph companies in relation to the Government with a view to an immediate and satisfactory solution being found for the very serious grievances under which the commercial and industrial interests of the Empire have been labouring for a long time past.

Perhaps the remarkable sermons that were preached in Westminster Abbey last Sunday may at length awaken the public conscience to the needs of India. Charity has never been more active than since the beginning of the South African war, but its beneficent stream has run too much in one channel. How many great bazaars, how many concerts, how many *cafés-chantants* have been organised to relieve the famine? It would be ungracious to suggest that philanthropy has been over zealous in the cause of the soldiers and their wives and children, but the contrast of all this enthusiasm with the indifference shown towards India is too marked to escape observation. Some of the friends of India are hoping, now that the pressure of the war is likely to be relieved, that more money may find its way to the Famine Fund. A hope is even entertained that popular gratitude for our successes in South Africa may be expressed in the same practical manner. "What is the first thing England should do," asks the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, "in order to show her gratitude for the great news just received from South Africa?" The services at Westminster Abbey offer one reply to the question, and it is that reply that commends itself to Mr. Wakefield. He suggests that at the thanksgiving services which will be held to celebrate Lord Roberts's victories every collection should go to India.

<sup>1</sup> Compulsory labour at the rate of one day per month, or twelve times in the year, commuted for Rs. 1-8-0, from which 12 annas is deducted for subsistence.

<sup>2</sup> Periodical surveys.



Not the least gratifying feature of the services in the Abbey was the magnitude of the congregations. Curiously enough, the only optimist among the three preachers proved to be the Metropolitan of India. Bishop Johnson's hopeful comments on the situation recalled the pleasant philosophy of Lord George Hamilton. Dean Bradley, on the other hand, seemed almost in despair as he reflected on the lack of imagination which prevents the English people from realising India's condition. Obviously, he would have liked to apply the Viceroy's suggested method of dealing with the sceptical and give every rich man in the congregation a return ticket to the famine area. "He might go with a hard heart, he would come back with a broken one." The same despairing cry was raised by Canon Wilberforce. "How is it possible," he asked, "to persuade a gathering of intelligent Englishmen and Englishwomen of the weight of their responsibility with regard to India?" This eloquent preacher confessed that he had no notion how to do it. Nevertheless, he was doing it effectively enough, and it is to be hoped that his example may be widely followed. Canon Wilberforce, by the way is, in a sense, an old Parliamentary hand — a fact which adds weight to his dictum that Parliament cannot be expected to vote great sums of money in relief of the famine so long as the people of England refuse to interest themselves in the people of India.

## NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

### THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND FAMINE.

#### THE SUGAR DUTIES.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, May 19.

The most important news I have to communicate this week has to do with the Resolution which the Government of Bombay has just published upon the famine relief operations in this Presidency. It is without doubt a reply to the very fair, independent and refreshing criticism on the policy of the Government written by the representative of the *Manchester Guardian*. His letters called for prompt explanation from the authorities, and it is satisfactory that they have elicited this response. No Indian, however able and however fair, could have succeeded in obtaining so prompt a reply, and that, too, in the form of a State Resolution. The document seems on the face of it to be intended for "home consumption." The *Manchester Guardian* is to be congratulated on its public spirit and enterprise as well as on its choice of representative. To us the force and value of outside criticism are clear, especially when that criticism emanates from an independent Englishman. And in the main Mr. Vaughan Nash has emphasised the broad facts to which one or two able Indians have given expression. Practically Indian and English non-official opinion is in agreement as to certain defects in the relief operations in this Presidency. Not that we undervalue the unceasing efforts of the officials, high and low, engaged in those operations. They are reported on all hands as doing their very best, consistent with the orders they have received from the Government. Nor have Indians the least desire to disparage the humane efforts of the State itself. But the State and the officials cannot lay claim to infallibility. If even in ordinary circumstances men are liable to err, it is not to be imagined that in coping with the colossal operations of famine relief errors will not be discernible. But the errors in the present case are in reality errors in the policy of the State more than in the execution of that policy. What the representative of the *Guardian* has done is to point out the cheese-paring character of the famine policy of the Government of India. "Running famine on the cheap" is not statesmanship, and the return to the exploded and condemned theory of the one pound ration is a legitimate subject for candid criticism. It is clear that the letters of the *Guardian's* representative have shaken the self-complacency of the authorities. They have put them on their defence. This is a clear gain to the Indian public, and especially to the public of the Bombay Presidency.

But it will be asked whether the Resolution really meets the charge of illiberality in the penal minimum wage. I say without hesitation, No. A sort of defence is attempted—a defence which the apologists of the Government in the press have done their best to amplify and explain. We are asked to place credence in the statement that this minimum wage, which,

converted into food, signifies 1lb. of daily ration and a little over, is not only sufficient for the workers on relief operations, but greatly conducive to health. This is indeed a sanitary miracle which is, we presume, possible of achievement under the provisions of the Famine Code only. But is that Code to be taken as gospel? Or are we to believe, with the *Guardian's* representative, that between that document and the practice under it there is a glaring difference? That critic observed that the State was short of men and materials in a variety of ways. The authorities appear to admit this. Yet they will not acknowledge that, with imperfect resources, the famine-stricken may not be fed and taken care of in the manner the public could wish. We are further asked to believe that to give more than a penal wage would be to cause demoralisation. If the worker wanted to earn something better than a living wage, it is said he would work harder. But if he is not able to work harder, how is he to get the maximum wage? He has not the opportunity to improve his physical condition. He is kept on a bare living wage, and then is accused of not making any effort to work harder to earn the better wage. It is said that the minimum wage food in gaols is less. That may be. But is the condition of the person in the gaol to be compared with that of the famine stricken living in the open, in the burning sun during the day and in the dew at night? The gaol-fed person, be he on the minimum or the maximum wage, is not to be compared at all with the famished wretch outside. Altogether it must be said that from this controversy the Bombay Government does not emerge with much credit. To "run famine on the cheap" is a deplorable policy and inconsistent with the generous declaration of the Viceroy.

Both Madras and Bombay have had their respective conferences, the former at Calicut and the latter at Satara. The presidential address at the last named was chiefly confined to a sober statement of facts in reference to famine relief in Gujarat and the hardships inflicted on the rayats by enhanced assessments. The question of remission and suspension of revenue was also fully discussed.

The Trade and Navigation returns for the year ended 1899—1900 are just published. Though the imports show a slight increase over those of last year, they are still greatly below the average of the five years which ended with 1898-99. Exports are still behind those of last year and considerably more compared with the average of the quinquennium. No doubt the cumulative effects of plague and famine have been telling on the foreign trade. The figures of private merchandise are:—

1899—1900, Imports, 70.71 Crores of Rs.  
Exports, 103.31 "

The net imports of gold and silver amount to 13 crores. Some allusion was made in the last Budget to the influence of the countervailing duties on beetroot sugar. It may be observed here that the trade return shows no material change in the imports of that commodity. It should be borne in mind that Germany had diminished its imports fully six months before the passing of the countervailing duties legislation. The only considerable imports of beetroot sugar were, therefore, from Austria-Hungary. The figures for the last three years are:—

	Cwts.
1897-98	945,745
1898-99	1,063,737
	2,009,482
Average of two years	1,004,741
1899-1900	777,821

The diminution is equal to 226,920 cwts. This is certainly not so very extraordinary. But even assuming that this is the effect of the duty, are we not entitled to put the query why Mauritius has not been able to increase its exports to India? The figures of imports from Mauritius are:—

	Cwts.
1897-98	1,406,047
1898-99	1,793,607
	3,199,654
Average of two years	1,599,827
1899-1900	1,417,115
Decrease	182,712

There has been a diminution of 182,712 cwts. over the two preceding years' average. It is clear that Mauritius has not yet been able to take the benefit of the duty, as it fondly



wished. But other countries have reaped advantage at its expense. These are China and Java. These are the figures which speak for themselves:—

	1897-98.	1898-99.	1899-1900.
China ..	Cwts. 291,175	185,682	316,975
Java ..	140,485	162,500	190,553

What have the Protectionists to say to these imports of sugar? And where will be the benefits to the indigenous sugar-cane cultivator?

## THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

5,770,000 ON RELIEF.

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

"Cholera continues in many Bombay districts, and condition of the people there is deplorable. As many large works have been deserted, Government of Bombay has authorised opening scattered village works, but reports that situation is very difficult to deal with. Elsewhere relief measures sufficient generally in British India and improving in Native States. Numbers of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 1,157,000; Punjab, 165,000; Central Provinces, 1,945,000; Berar, 452,000; Ajmere-Merwara, 140,000; Rajputana States, 497,000; Central India States, 206,000; Bombay Native States, 555,000; Baroda, 102,000; North-Western Provinces, 2,000; Punjab Native States, 33,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 71,000; Hyderabad, 423,000; Madras, 19,000; Kashmir, not reported; Bengal, 3,000. Total, 5,770,000.

## THE CONDITION OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. PAINFUL REPORT BY DR. KLOPSCH.

BOMBAY, June 1.

Dr. Klopsch, administrator of the fund raised in New York for the relief of the famine and plague stricken, reports that he has just completed his tour of the affected districts of the Bombay Presidency, including Gujerat and Baroda.

Dr. Klopsch states that he met everywhere with the most shocking and revolting scenes. The famine camps were swept by cholera and smallpox. Those who had taken refuge in the camps were flying from them through fear, and these fugitives were scattering disease in all directions. Stricken in their flight, they were found dying in the fields, in ditches, and along the roadside.

There are, says Dr. Klopsch, nearly six millions now on the relief works, and their numbers are increasing by ten thousand daily. At Godhra there have been 3,000 deaths from cholera within four days. At Dohad there were 2,500 deaths from cholera within the same period.

"I saw," says the report, "many bodies being cremated. The heavy air was laden with the odour of corpses. The water was impregnated with carcasses, and its stench almost intolerable. The hospital death-rate at Godhra and Dohad was 90 per cent., and the condition of the stricken beggars description.

"In Baroda poorhouse there were 1,200 patients, whose state was dreadfully filthy. Here and at Ahmedabad there was a total lack of system. At the latter place the death-rate was 10 per cent. daily in the poorhouse wards. I daily saw new patients placed face to face with dead men. In every fourth cot there was a dead body. The dysentery patients lay uncleansed, and millions of flies hovered around the sick. The thermometer was 115 in the shade.

"I visited the smallpox and cholera wards at Viragam. All the patients here were lying on the ground. There were no cots, otherwise their condition was fair. The stories as to vultures, dogs, and jackals devouring human bodies, left unburied, I can fully verify. Dogs have been seen running about with children's limbs in their jaws.

"The Government is doing its best throughout the Presidency, but the Native officials are hopelessly and heartlessly inefficient. Between famine, plague, and cholera, the state of the Presidency is worse than at any period of the nineteenth century. Whole families have been blotted out, the spirit

of the people is broken—and there may be worse yet to come when the monsoon breaks."

Dr. Klopsch has paid over to the Relief Committee 100,000 dollars from the New York organisation he represents, and has received a letter of thanks from Lord Northcote, Governor of the Bombay Presidency.—Central News.

The Secretary of State for India has received from the Peninsular and Oriental Company, through Sir Thomas Sutherland, the Chairman, a donation of £5,000 in aid of the Indian Famine Fund. This generous donation is in addition to the sum of £300 which the Company subscribed to the Lord Mayor's Fund some months ago.

## THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The Mansion House Fund for the relief of the Indian famine sufferers amounted on Wednesday night to £271,000. The Lord Mayor during the day remitted a further sum of £16,000 to Lord Curzon for relief purposes.

## THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (June 2) of the *Investors' Review*:—

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 ..	£575	16	0
R. K. Tarachand, Upper Norwood ..	5	0	0
J. W. B., Ceylon ..	5	0	0
Total to date ..	£581	1	0

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

## 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 267 of our last issue:—

73. This table shows that although the burden of exchange upon the railway revenue account was increased in the eleven years by no less than Rs. 3,204,779 (of which about one-fourth was due to the increased sterling expenditure), yet the general railway revenue only suffered to the extent of Rs. 368,317; while in 1898-9, as compared with 1884-5, the total net charges are actually less by Rs. 173,651, although exchange was heavier by Rs. 1,774,890. These striking results seem to point to the conclusion that, though a falling exchange may have increased the financial burdens of Government in civil administration and military organisation, it has not had a corresponding effect in connexion with the Government's railway undertakings. At any rate, this startling fact remains, namely, that nearly three and a-quarter millions Rx. (out of ten and a-half millions) of the total additional charge for exchange in 1895-6, as compared with 1884-5, was borne on the railway revenue account at a net increased cost to the Government of India of less than Rs. 600,000.

### Exchange Compensation Allowance.

74. Closely connected with the influence upon Indian finance of a falling rupee is the subject of exchange compensation allowance to the servants of Government. The great fall in the value of the rupee was felt severely by those officers of Government who had to make remittances to England; and the Government of India decided to grant "exchange compensation allowance" to its non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees. The charge for this allowance in 1893-4 was Rs. 618,468, in 1894-5 it was Rs. 1,239,275, and in 1895-6 it was Rs. 1,327,632. In 1898-9 the closed accounts show that the charge for exchange compensation allowance has fallen below Rs. 500,000. The grant of this compensation was much resented in India, (1) because it was made at a time when the Q. 18,638 finances were much embarrassed, when the Famine 18,361, 18,354, Insurance Fund was suspended, and the provincial 18,362-4 balances invaded, and because sufficient consideration was not shown for the taxpayer, who, himself a sufferer



from the fall in exchange had to compensate his richer fellow-sufferers; (2) because it depended upon race privilege, an Indian official receiving no compensation, though he may make large remittances to England for the education of his family at English schools and colleges; (3) because it was indiscriminate, not regarding the rate of exchange when the employees entered the service, nor the fact whether or no any remittance was being made to England; and (4) because the Government of India has acknowledged that it was not legally bound to grant such compensation.

75. These grounds of complaint should be removed. But the Government of India failed apparently to see the principal lesson to be learned from this remittance trouble, viz., that the difficulty arose directly from the employment of imported agency, and that the way to meet the difficulty was, as far as possible, to substitute indigenous agency, the payment of which is independent of sterling remittances to England.

#### *Larger Employment of Indians.*

76. This brings us back to the main source of financial relief to India; the free employment of Indians in the service of their own country, to which we have already referred (paras. 20 to 24). So far as the principle is concerned no obstacle stands in the way. By the terms of the Imperial Act of 1833 Indians were placed on a footing of complete equality with Englishmen and made eligible for every office in India for which they were qualified by ability and integrity. The Court of Directors in a despatch to the Government of India pointed out that there was to be no "governing caste" in India. The question of the personal composition of the services in India was to be from that time not a question of policy or of "British supremacy," but purely a question of administrative efficiency. And your Majesty's gracious proclamation of 1858 enjoined that merit and not race was to be the test for employment. To the British observer, unacquainted with Indian conditions, it may, perhaps, appear that we lay undue stress upon the question of State employment. In this country the class dependent on service under the Crown is comparatively limited. The greater national energies are drawn to the independent professions, to political ambition, and industrial enterprise. But this is not so in India, where so large a proportion of all enterprise is absorbed by the State, and where Government service is practically the only road to distinction.

77. When we come to examine the facts it does not appear that in the higher grades Indians have been as freely and impartially admitted to office as your Majesty's injunction requires. According to a Parliamentary Return issued some years ago, there were in the year 1889-90, excluding the Military Department from the calculation, 1,532 civil servants of Government in India drawing pay from the revenues of India of Rs. 1,000 a year and upwards, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 3,000,000. Of these 1,532 only 59—or less than 4 per cent.—were Natives of India, whose share of the three millions was under Rs. 100,000, or less than 3 per cent. If we descend to officers drawing between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 a year, we find that in the Civil Department there are 421 Indians against 1,207 Europeans and 96 Eurasians. In the Public Works Department the number of Indians is 85 as against 549 Europeans and 39 Eurasians. And in the incorporated Local Funds there are 4 Indians as against 22 Europeans and 3 Eurasians. The total salaries of officers of this class in the several Departments are as follows:—Civil Department: Indians, Rs. 290,500; Europeans, Rs. 883,000; Eurasians, Rs. 63,000. Public Works Department: Indians, Rs. 10,989-9; Europeans, Rs. 39,200; Eurasians, Rs. 27,800. Incorporated Local Funds: Indians, Rs. 2,500; Europeans, Rs. 14,600; Eurasians, Rs. 1,700. Altogether the charge for Europeans' salaries and pensions amounts to about Rs. 20,000,000.

78. It is evident that a large saving might be effected if for costly European agency cheaper Indian agency could be substituted. How can this be done?

79. In dealing with this problem three points must be specially kept in view; (1) The high standard of upper grade salaries in India; (2) the doctrine of an irreducible minimum of European agency; and (3) the competition for office between Europeans and Indians. With regard to the first point, the liberal rate of salaries in the higher offices originated, no doubt, from the fact that the high pay was necessary to induce Europeans of the best class to accept service in India. These salaries were, therefore, made up of two parts, (a) market value of the labour, and (b) compensation for exile in a tropical climate. It is not necessary to pay this compensation to Indians living in their own country. It appears, therefore, that, as a measure of economy, all salaries in India should be reduced to (a) the market value, and should, as far as possible, be filled by Indians who do not require (b) compensation for exile. But this measure of financial relief is limited by (2) the doctrine of the "irreducible minimum" of European agency, necessary to maintain British supremacy. As regards this European agency it will be admitted that more should

not be imported than is absolutely necessary; and that it should be of the best quality; and that it should be allocated in the way most advantageous to the public service. With regard to point (3) the competition for office between Europeans and Indians, it is very desirable that an end should be put to the unseemly struggle which takes place whenever a vacancy occurs in an appointment open equally to Europeans and Indians, as for example the Presidency magistracies, and judgeships of the Small Cause Courts. This struggle leads to much angry feeling, to charges of jobbery against the authorities, and to antagonism between the European official class and the educated Indians, detrimental to good administration.

80. As a practical proposal, in the interests of economy, it is suggested that the prize offered at the Indian competitive examination should be, not entry into a Covenanted Service with somewhat vague privileges, but a personal yearly allowance, which would be the compensation for exile in a tropical country, and this might be payable in sterling. The balance of the existing salary should be payable in the Indian currency, without exchange compensation allowance, and would represent the market value of the work, and should form the pay of the appointment held. This is analogous to what is (or was) done in the Royal Engineers, where the officer drew the pay of his rank and in addition the pay of the appointment which he held, say in the Public Works Department. The pay of the appointment was all that was drawn if the holder of the appointment was not a Royal Engineer. An arrangement of this sort would allow of the scaling down of all civil appointments in India, and would be a financial inducement to appoint an Indian wherever possible. As regards the possibilities in this direction we would specially point to the evidence of Captain Hext, R.N. But if economy is to be really enforced there must be some authoritative limitation to the employment of expensive imported agency. If on political grounds a minimum of British agency is necessary, so on financial grounds a maximum is equally essential. At present the Secretary of State possesses a veto over the creation of any new appointment above a certain salary. But this reservation does not check the natural tendency of European officials to extend the employment of their own countrymen. The proposal, therefore, is that the Secretary of State, looking to political considerations, should fix a minimum annual total to be paid for European agency in India; and similarly, looking to financial considerations, a maximum. Beside keeping within reasonable bounds the employment of expensive European agency, the effect of such an arrangement would be to get rid of the unseemly struggle between European and Indian which takes place at each vacancy open to both. For if the appointment was given to a European the Indians would view the case with equanimity, knowing that automatically a corresponding advantage must accrue to them; while the Government, when desirous of nominating a European to some other appointment, could make room for him by giving an existing European vacancy to an Indian. This points to another incidental advantage, arising from the elasticity of the proposed system. For if the Government, for any reason, desired to strengthen the European element in any particular province or department it could do so readily, without injustice to anyone, by increasing the Indian element in those provinces and departments (e.g., education, judicial, survey, opium, finance, telegraph, etc.) where this could be done with the most advantage to the public service. As British

supremacy in India is an imperial interest, it is evident that the British Treasury should contribute to the cost of the "irreducible minimum" of European agency required to maintain that supremacy.

81. With regard to the Indian Medical Service we recommend, as deserving of consideration, the following resolution of the Indian National Congress of 1895, as being in accordance with the evidence of Dr. Bahadurji and other witnesses:—

Resolved—(a) that this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical education and the advancement of medical service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the civil medical service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the military service.

(b) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in throwing open nineteen civil surgeoncies to be filled up by promotion from the ranks of civil assistant surgeons, deploring nevertheless the unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the subordinate civil medical service (civil assistant surgeons and civil hospital assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, and prays that Government will grant an open enquiry into the present constitution of the subordinate civil medical depart-



ment by a mixed commission of official and non-official members.

82. Another wide field for economy is to be found in the further extension of local self-government, and the substitution of voluntary unpaid workers for the lower class of Native subordinates. It is well-known that the impossibility of providing adequate salaries for the vast number of subordinates required for Indian administration, was one of the leading considerations which induced Lord Ripon to initiate his system of local self-government. Considerable financial relief was thus obtained. Nor was this done at the expense of efficiency. On the contrary, the ordinary Indian householder, whether landholder, trader, or peasant, is skilled in managing local affairs, from his long experience in the ancient village community, while he is more to be trusted than the underpaid stipendiary who is little subject to local public opinion. This is not the place to give a detailed scheme but it may be mentioned that the economies contemplated would be effected by administering our collectorates more on the model of a well-ordered Native State, such as Mysore or Gondal.

The European collector would be the "Raja"; he should be provided with an experienced Indian colleague, who would correspond with the "Diwan" or Prime Minister; and as long as they carried with them the assent of the local representative Councils, and conformed to the general principles of British rule, there would be little ground for interference on the part of the central Government, which would look mainly to results. This arrangement would reduce the expense for subordinates of the centralised departments, who would inspect and advise, rather than administer. Also it would reduce the work and expense of the secretariats; while favouring the economy and local well-being which arise out of decentralisation, and elasticity of methods. This would be in accordance with the views stated by Lord Salisbury (then Lord Cranborne and Secretary of State for India), in his speech in the House of Commons of May 24, 1867, when he spoke of well-governed Native States as highly favourable to the well-being of the Indian people (*vide* Appendix E). At Bhaunagar in Kattywar a joint administration was conducted on these lines by Mr. Percival of the Bombay Civil Service, and Diwan Gaurishankar, with eminent success, during the minority of the young Raja.

#### Provincial Finance.

83. The progress of expenditure cannot be satisfactorily dealt with without taking into careful account the decentralisation scheme of 1882-3, under which revenue and expenditure are divided between the central and the provincial Governments. Roughly speaking, debt, army, railways, mint, post and telegraph, foreign relations, Home Charges, and Exchange are under the special care of the Government of India, while the rest of the administration, including half the charges for irrigation and most branches of domestic progress, is under the control of the Provincial Governments. The theory is that the whole revenue of the country belongs to and is at the disposal of the Central Government, which assigns portions of it for provincial use, while reserving to itself large powers of supervision and control. In 1895-6 the result of this arrangement was that the revenue was distributed as follows:—

	Rx.
Total Net Revenue under the Principal Heads	62,149,632
Imperial Share, 69 per cent.	42,972,937
Provincial and Local, 31 per cent.	19,176,695

84. But these figures do not represent the whole matter. The cost of collecting this revenue (omitting the charge for assignments and compensations, refunds and drawbacks, and the cost of opium production, already taken into account in arriving at the net revenue) was Rx. 6,417,548, of which Rx. 4,666,253 or 72 per cent. was thrown upon provincial revenues and only Rx. 1,761,295 or 28 per cent. borne by the Imperial Exchequer. In these circumstances it is necessary to deduct the cost of collection from the net revenue in order to see the true nature of the apportionment made between the Imperial and Provincial Exchequers.

#### Imperial and Provincial Finance, 1895-6.

	Imperial. Rx.	Provincial. Rx.
Net Revenue	42,972,937	19,176,695
Deduct Cost of Collection	1,761,295	4,666,253
	41,211,642	14,510,442

Thus out of a total net revenue, after deducting the cost of collection, of Rx. 55,722,084, the Imperial share is 74 per cent. and the Provincial share only 26 per cent.

85. The contracts which fix this distribution are quinquennial, and for any increase over the standard thus fixed the Provincial Governments must provide out of their own resources, except in exceptional circumstances, e.g., famine. On the other hand, it is only in special Imperial emergencies that the Supreme Government levies from the Provincial Governments special contributions, which may or may not be refunded. But as the

terms of the contracts are fixed by the Central Government, which is also sole judge of financial emergencies, whether Imperial or local, it is evident that there is no provincial finance distinct from, and independent of, Imperial finance, as in Federal States. Unlike the Constituent States in Germany and the United States of America, the Indian Provincial Governments have no independent financial powers, nor is there any stability or continuity in the arrangements, which are revised every five years.

86. Owing to these imperfections the original object of the scheme of decentralisation has not been realised; the feeling of financial responsibility has not been properly developed in the Provincial Governments; while the old antagonism between them and the Central Government still continues: on the one hand the Imperial Government, looking to the growing uncertainties of general finance and its own expanding needs, seeks to enforce reduction and economy in respect of provincial expenditure at each renewal of the contracts; while on the other hand the Provincial Governments, naturally interested in internal improvements, struggle hard against the limitations imposed, each striving to get the best terms it can for its own Province. From this anomalous condition of things the following results arise:—

(1.) The Central Government appropriates to itself a proportion of the national resources larger by far than what is usual in Federal States, and leaves to the Provincial Administrations very meagre resources to meet the growing demands of internal improvements. Out of the total net revenues available for carrying on the purposes of Government it reserves to itself no less than 74 per cent.

(2.) As pointed out by Sir A. Colvin and others, questions of foreign policy have during the last fifteen years absorbed the attention of the Supreme Government, with a corresponding increase in military and quasi-military charges. This will be seen by a comparison of the figures before and after 1884-5.

TABLE VIII.

#### Civil and Military Expenditure, 1875-6—1895-6.

Year.	Civil Services. Rx.	Military Services. Rx.
1875-6	14,529,499	15,965,780
1884-5	17,221,066	17,057,865
Increase	2,691,567 = 17 1/2%	1,092,085 = 7 1/2%
1884-5	17,221,066	17,057,865
1895-6	23,050,070	25,677,734
Increase	5,829,004 = 34 1/2%	8,619,869 = 50 5/8%

From this it appears that expenditure on the military services has increased at a far greater rate since 1884-5 than that upon the Civil Services, in sharp contrast to the state of things prevailing before that year. These figures also show that the Central Government, by drawing to itself 74 per cent. of the national resources, has diverted expenditure from what may be called the reproductive objects of internal improvement to the unproductive objects of foreign policy and military preparedness.

(3.) The want of certainty and continuity makes it difficult for the Provincial Governments to carry out comprehensive schemes of internal improvement, such as those of irrigation and water supply. Also the grants from the Central Government are sometimes increased and sometimes diminished at the quinquennial adjustments, and these fluctuations involve expansion or restriction of establishments, which cannot be carried out without waste.

(4.) Complaints and jealousies arise regarding the distribution of grants as between Province and Province. Great inequalities exist in regard to the total burden the different Provinces have to bear and the assignments they receive for Provincial purposes.

87. As regards the remedies to be applied, Sir A. Colvin proposes that the periods of contract should be extended from five to ten years. Sir D. Barbour attaches great importance to the further development of Provincial decentralisation, and adds that if called upon to choose between seeing "the Imperial Government embarrassed and the Provincial Governments starved" he would prefer the former alternative; and he looks forward to the time (not yet, in his opinion, arrived) when it would be possible to assign permanently to each Province a certain fixed proportion of the total revenue raised in that Province, and do away with the present periodical revisions altogether. The best remedy, in our opinion, will be found in the scheme laid before the Commission by one of the Indian witnesses, which is recommended by the high authority of Sir Charles Elliott, Sir W. Hunter, Mr. Justice Cunningham, and Mr. Justice Ranade. These proposals are:—

(1.) That there should be no divided departments, but that those departments of receipts and expenditure which are now wholly, or almost wholly, Imperial, or which it may



be found convenient to make Imperial, should be set on one side for Imperial purposes, and that the receipts and expenditure of the Provincialised departments should be entirely Provincial;

(2.) That whatever the sum be by which the Imperial expenditure exceeds the income from those sources of revenue which are not Provincialised, that sum should be declared the first charge on the Provincial revenues;

(3.) That the Provincial surplus which arises from the excess of receipts over expenditure should be the fund from which, in the first place, all Imperial necessities should be met before any increase can take place in Provincial expenditure;

(4.) And that, as regards the future growth of revenue, it should, as far as possible, be divided equally between Provincial and Imperial, subject to the condition that if the Imperial exigencies ever required a larger share the Imperial share should be increased.

88. The following advantages are claimed for the foregoing scheme:—

(1.) It will place the financial system of India once for all on a sound basis, and will bring it more in a line with the federal systems of finance in other countries;

(2.) It will remove all irritation at present felt by the Provincial Governments and secure to them, under ordinary circumstances, half the normal growth of revenues in their provinces, enabling them thereby to make steady efforts towards the progressive improvement of their internal administration;

(3.) It will tend to secure greater and greater equality in the burdens which Imperial expenditure imposes upon the different provinces. The effect of contributing to the Imperial Exchequer an equal portion of all future increase in revenue (viz., 50 per cent.) will be that year by year the relation which the contribution of a province bears to its revenue will tend more and more towards equalisation. Thus the provinces which now pay, say 60 per cent. of their revenue, will, after paying only 50 per cent. of their increase for some years, be found to have dropped down to a ratio of 58 or 57 per cent. And similarly in the provinces which pay less than 50 per cent. at present, the ratio will constantly work itself up towards 50 per cent.; and

(4.) It will operate as a check upon the inclination of the Government of India towards increased unproductive expenditure.

89. To these proposals of Sir Charles Elliott, one more may be added, viz., that the Government of India should have no power of claiming for itself a higher proportion of the provincial revenues than 50 per cent., except in those extreme cases described by Lord Ripon's Government as dire necessities, and that whenever, in the opinion of the Government of India, those extreme cases arise, a formal declaration of the grounds on which such opinion is based should be drawn up and sent to the Secretary of State, to be placed by him before Parliament. Further, the increase should be allowed only with the sanction of the Secretary of State, who should give a hearing to the Provincial Governments and take their objections, if any, into account before according such sanction. These proposals, which are only a logical development of the financial decentralisation already effected, will secure to provincial finance the stability and certainty it so much needs, and while making adequate provision for the real necessities of the Central Government, will enable the Provincial Governments to make comprehensive and well-sustained efforts in administrative reform and the internal improvement of the country.

90. In reviewing the progress of expenditure, we must never lose sight of the fact that, on account of the peculiar economic position of India, and the impoverishing effect of the drain of both public and private capital to Europe, any excess in expenditure has more deplorable effects than would, in a self-governed country, be indicated by the same figures. Until this drain is checked, no permanent improvement for the Indian people can be expected.

91. For convenience of reference, and as deserving serious consideration, we add the following note of the main points urged in their evidence by the Indian witnesses, as regards the defects of the present management and administration of Indian expenditure, and as regards the direction in which improvements may be effected to the advantage of the Indian people. It is contended by them:—

1. That Indian expenditure is not always exclusively, or even mainly, governed by Indian considerations, as is illustrated by—

(a) Indian Defence; Indian frontier policy in its varying phases—adopted in furtherance of Imperial schemes of trans-frontier territorial expansion more than for India's defence—tending only to weaken her natural defences and loading her with indefinite and ever-increasing liabilities;

(b) Railway extensions forced on without due heed to the country's needs or means—apparently intended to advance her industrial development, but unaccompanied by other and larger necessary measures which alone could make them serviceable to the proposed end;

(c) Continued concessions, in respect of pay, promotion,

pension, etc., to the European services, both civil and military—concessions lending colour to the view that the country exists for the services, and not the services for the country.

The greater part of the increase of expenditure in recent years falls under these heads, and this fact bears out the contention of the Indian people that Indian interests are often subordinated to considerations of Imperial expansion, British commerce and the European services.

2. That due care is not exercised, nor is strict economy enforced, in the spending of India's money, as may be seen from the following:—

(a) Comparatively little is yet done in the way of substituting qualified indigenous agency for foreign agency in the various departments of the civil administration (e.g., judicial, police, medical, post, telegraph);

(b) Overgrowth of controlling and supervising central establishments (e.g., sanitation, police, jails, stamps, registration, etc.);

(c) Organisation and maintenance of the Indian armies permanently on a war footing, without the necessary supports of reserves and militia—a system of national defence, long since discarded as wasteful in European countries;

(d) Disproportionately large numbers of British troops as compared with Native;

(e) The officering of the Native army—over-recruitment of the Staff Corps and an increasingly restricted employment of Indian officers, the question having an important bearing on finance;

(f) Railway contracts and concessions to railway companies.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

### THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

On May 24, Miss Alison Garland addressed a meeting of the West Bristol Women's Liberal Association on the famine in India. The following resolution (reported in the *Bristol Mercury* of May 25) was adopted on the motion of Mr. Alderman Townsend, seconded by the Rev. J. S. Roe:—

That this meeting considers, in view of the terrible distress prevailing in India, Parliament should give a generous grant to the relief of the famine, and should also institute a searching enquiry into the economic causes, apart from the physical occasion of famine in that country.

More than £12 was collected at this meeting for the Relief Fund, bringing the amount collected by the West Bristol Women's Liberal Association to more than £60.

On May 25, Miss Garland addressed a town's meeting at the Town Hall, Glastonbury, the Mayor presiding. The following resolution was adopted:—

That the clergy and ministers of all denominations in Glastonbury be asked to have collections made in their places of worship next Sunday for the Lord Mayor's Indian Famine Fund, and that a committee of ladies be formed to take round boxes for the same purpose.

A collection was also taken at the meeting.

On May 25, Miss Garland addressed a largely attended meeting at Street. A collection for the Relief Funds realised over £11.

On May 27, Miss Garland addressed the members of the Rev. Moffat Logan's Sunday afternoon meetings for men. There were about 600 members present, besides a goodly attendance of visitors in the gallery. Miss Garland dealt (1) with the physical aspects of the Indian famine; (2) with the economic causes of the widespread distress. A running fire of questions followed her address on all kinds of Indian matters, and many persons took part in the debate. The speaker having replied, a hearty vote of thanks to her was passed, and she was requested to return in the early autumn to resume the subject.

On May 28, Miss Garland addressed a meeting at Cardiff. The following report is from a local journal:—

Under the auspices of the Cardiff Women's Liberal Association, Miss Alison Garland delivered a lecture on "The Indian Famine" at the Charles Street Congregational School-room, Cardiff, on Monday evening. The Rev. J. Williamson presided. Miss Garland, who has recently returned from India, gave a most vivid description of the sufferings of the people, and stated that in December last vast tracts of the country were nothing but "khaki-coloured deserts." At the close of the lecture a resolution was unanimously carried, approving of the desirability of instituting a searching enquiry into the economic as distinct from the physical causes of the famine.

On May 30, Miss Garland addressed a meeting at Caerphilly. The Rev. J. Jones presided over a good attendance. A collection for the Famine Fund was taken and arrangements were made before the meeting ended for a systematic town collection and a collection in all the churches and chapels.



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