

India

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IMPORTANT NOTICE.

In future "INDIA" will be forwarded only to persons in respect of whom subscriptions have been actually received at the London Office. To this rule there will be no exception.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE number of persons in receipt of famine relief, according to the Viceroy's telegram, is 555,000—a further reduction of nearly a quarter of a million. The Governor of Bombay has no change to report in respect of the agricultural prospects, which, it will be remembered, were by no means satisfactory the week previous. Still, the "rainfall is light, or absent, in the affected area." Out of 97 cases of cholera in the famine-stricken districts, 64 proved fatal; and the deaths on relief works or gratuitous relief were 762, or 2.6 per thousand. The needs of the people are still pressing, and the Lord Mayor's Fund is still open.

The *Tribune* draws attention to an order, promulgated in a Bombay Resolution nineteen years ago, by which "those who have been once defaulters are not allowed to take up lands without the special order of the collector." This is defended on the ground that it is beneficial to have such a penalty attaching to default. Both the *Hindus* and the *Tribune* cry out against such cast-iron rules and insist that such a penalty is out of place in the case of default owing to famine.

One interesting point is the change of tone in regard to relief administration in the Native States. At the beginning they were all, or almost all, held by Anglo-Indian opinion to be either callous or incompetent. Then came the letters of the special correspondents—not least those written for the *Times of India*—which put a very different face on the matter. Now our contemporary admits that in some of these territories, as our own reports have shown, the arrangements were admirable, and the mortality was kept down to the attainable minimum.

The failure, it is now recognised, has been only in those Native States where there is a large and intractable aboriginal population.

It is not surprising that the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh, who, as the *Indian Spectator* says, "is displaying in his campaign against the oppressors of the famine-stricken poor the qualities of doggedness, tenacity, and determination which are not generally associated with Indian politicians," should be dissatisfied with the appointment of Mr. Maconochie as Assistant-Collector of Broach and Surat. Mr. Gokuldas wrote to Government:—

I wish respectfully to draw the attention of Government to the fact that the appointment of the enquiring officer as an Assistant to the Collectors under whose orders the proceedings—the subject of the enquiry—may be *primâ facie* presumed to have been taken, is regarded with some apprehension. Among other things it is feared that the rules of official etiquette would prevent Mr. Maconochie from expressing his views (if necessary), with reference to the officers under whom Government has been pleased to place him, with the same want of reserve and freedom as he would have been able to do if he had not been put in a position of subordination to them.

The explanation of the Government is very remarkable. The provisions of the Land Revenue Code, they say,

necessitate the appointment of a Revenue Officer to conduct the enquiry; and it is not competent to appoint more than one Collector to each district: so Mr. Maconochie goes as Assistant Collector! But, as the *Indian Spectator* naturally enquires, "why should not Government have appointed a Commission?"—a vastly more satisfactory course. Moreover, the Government appears to miss the point of Mr. Gokuldas' contention—"that the acts of the subordinate officers, which form the bulk of the subject matter of the enquiry, must be presumed *primâ facie* to be taken under the orders of their superiors." The attitude of Government is perverse and disappointing.

The *Indian Spectator* also does well to protest pointedly "against the rude and discourteous manner in which Indian gentlemen who express views unfavourable to the Administration are sometimes treated by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press." Our Bombay contemporary says (October 28):—

We recently cited the attack on Mr. R. C. Dutt by a prominent journal. Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji made a speech the other day at the British Indian Association of Calcutta on the subject of Indian famines. His views may or may not be right. But they are the views of a man who knows what he is speaking about, a man of influence with his fellows, a man of education and high social position. It is also becoming increasingly clear every day that these views are very largely held by intelligent Natives of India. It is impossible to understand or to excuse the animus underlying some of these tirades against Indian leaders.

Did not Lord Curzon say something the other day to the effect that officials had no monopoly of knowledge and wisdom, and that it was a good thing to hear what educated Indians had to say on current questions of importance? Moreover, does not the Sedition Law apply to Anglo-Indian as well as to Indian journals? This is a subject that Lord Curzon's law officers might well direct their early attention to, so as to see that "the scales be held even."

There has been a disposition in some quarters to welcome the Government of India's recent letter to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in regard to the incidence of the Land Revenue demand under the revised settlement of the Nagpur district as a complete answer to the criticisms of Mr. Romesh Dutt. The Government letter, however, is carefully worded, so as to mark clearly that it vindicates Nagpur alone; whereas Mr. Dutt's criticisms were expressly directed to the Central Provinces as a whole. Mr. Dutt has just (November 20) addressed a long letter in reply to the Government of India, in which he lays special stress on this obvious point of difference. The *Englishman*, however, has taken up his challenge and claims that it has "proved conclusively that the Province as a whole is not over-assessed, and that its revenue rates compare very favourably with those of other provinces" (October 30; weekly, November 1). Mr. Dutt has defended his position valorously in our contemporary's own columns (weekly, November 1). It is a pity that there should be any deflection of public attention from the main point of all the controversy by avoidable wrangles over misquoted figures. "You will agree with me," Mr. Dutt writes, "that what we want is a protection which will extend to all individual cases—a maximum proportion of the average produce which should not be exceeded in any single village or in any single holding." That is the point to aim at. Given such protection, provincial averages might well be left for secondary consideration.

An interesting supplement to the direct aid from America to the famine-stricken Indians is a proposal of the Rev. R. A. Hume, of Ahmednagar, for the industrial training of famine children. In a report submitted to the American Indian Famine Relief Committee, Mr. Hume states that the

American Mission has about 1,000 children of the famine in Ahmednagar city, while there are 500 more in the Ahmednagar district. "We have," he says, "in all five American gentlemen and eight ladies, all of whom have had long experience, who are prepared to do their very best for these children, and who confidently ask benevolent people in America to supply them with the small funds needed to carry out" the plan of campaign he sketches. This plan includes elementary education, industrial training for boys and girls, and agricultural training for a certain number of boys "under practical farmers." The Committee "heartily approves" of the report, and "earnestly recommends" it to the favourable consideration of the Committee of One Hundred in New York. They even look forward to "other undertakings of a similar character, which will soon be presented for the industrial training of other famine children by other organisations in other places." Such a practical spirit of charity deserves warm recognition, and every one must hope that the schemes will be carried into successful operation.

As will be seen from the list of meetings which appears on another page, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will to-morrow (Saturday) deliver an address, on "Famine in India, its Causes and Remedies," before the St. John's Literary and Debating Society. The meeting will begin at 7.45 p.m. in the St. John's Parochial Hall, Frederick Crescent, Vassal Road, Brixton, S.W. We shall publish in our next issue a report of Mr. Naoroji's address.

Sir Edward Sassoon is pegging away at the India Office in the interest of a substantial and prompt reduction of the telegraphic rate between India and Europe. He has obtained a memorandum on the subject from Lord George Hamilton, "giving a succinct and intelligible account of the obstacles to be overcome before the rates can be cheapened," and published it in the *Times* (November 14). He says:—

It seems passing strange that, while substantial reductions have been successfully effected upon trans-Indian messages to Australia, and the Far East, the high rate to India must remain unchanged owing to the apparently insuperable barrier presented by the necessity of gaining the assent of Russia and Germany. In the case of the reduction of the rate to Australia this obstacle seems to have vanished into thin air. The rate to Australia is at present four shillings per word, with the prospect of reduction to 2s. 6d. per word; while the Indian rate has for the last fourteen years been steadily maintained at 4s, although the distance to be traversed is only one-half of that to Australia.

It will certainly, as Sir Edward anticipates, "be an unpleasant surprise to many to discover to what an extent the business community of the Empire has been rendered subservient to the goodwill and pleasure of foreign governments and private companies, and how the Indian Telegraph Department officials have allowed themselves to fall blindly into such a position that they have to surrender any right to advance the interests of the public, whose servants they are."

It was in contemplation that a reduction from 4s. to 2s. per word would be effected, and it is nearly five months since Mr. Hanbury announced that a reduction of 1s. 6d. was on the point of coming into force. Sir Edward urged that the 1s. 6d. reduction should not wait for the other 6d., but the memorandum would seem to involve the 1s. 6d. in doubt. Sir Edward, accordingly, takes the bull by the horns, thus:—

The only means of emancipating ourselves from this medieval thralldom would seem to be by starting an independent land and cable route, apart from the territories and lines of the governments and companies at present interested. Some such scheme, feasible in character, and which may be expeditiously carried out at a comparatively modest cost, I hope to have the honour of laying before the Departmental Committee and the Indian Government. The consent and close co-operation of the latter would, of course, be indispensable to the launching of such an enterprise.

Lord George Hamilton, in his reply to Sir Edward's letter, said the memorandum, besides indicating the difficulties to be faced, "might also stimulate experts and authorities upon telegraphic facilities to try and devise for the future arrangements which, while based upon the Telegraphic Convention, might be freed from some of the trammels of the existing system." What this means precisely remains to be seen. But we wish Sir Edward Sassoon all success in his endeavour to free British commerce and British intercourse generally with India from the arbitrary restric-

tions of "foreign governments and private companies." The existing conditions scarcely consort with "Imperial" ideas.

The trial before the Sessions Judge of the men accused of murder in the Cawnpore riots resulted in twenty being condemned to death. They appealed to the High Court, and Mr. Justice Knox and Mr. Justice Aikman have now given their decision. Of the twenty prisoners, eight have had their sentences confirmed, and unless pardoned by the Lieutenant-Governor's clemency they will suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Eight have had their sentences commuted to penal servitude for life. Four have been acquitted altogether. Thus it will be seen that the extreme sentences of the Sessions Judge have been very much modified. As the *Tribune* says:—

Such sweeping sentences have the effect of lowering rather than enhancing the prestige of British Law in the eyes of the people.

It also remarks:—

In the instance under notice twenty men were sentenced to be hanged for having caused the death of six persons under circumstances in which the identification of the real culprits to satisfy the requirements of the law must have been difficult, if not impossible.

The *Tribune* pleads for mercy, while repudiating any sympathy with the riots.

The British Residency in a Native State is under British Law—a little oasis of justice, as some would say, or at the least, a shining example to those around. These, however, are scarcely the reflections likely to be produced by certain proceedings in the British Residency at Indore. According to the account given in the *Times of India*, a certain grain-dealer, whose family had carried on business in the Residency Bazaar for a century, was convicted of using abusive language and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. This seems a sufficiently heavy penalty for the offence, but apparently the authorities thought differently, for on his coming out of prison he was expelled from the Bazaar, in which his family had lived and carried on their business for so long a time. As a justification for this, a rule was quoted requiring the expulsion of all persons who had been sentenced to any term of three months' imprisonment or upwards. The grain-dealer had no difficulty in showing that this rule was not enforced. He quoted 55 cases in ten years of convicted persons, even dacoits and forgers, who had been allowed to remain. For them, one punishment was considered enough. In this case, and in this case alone, expulsion has been insisted on. The *Times of India* pertinently remarks:—

Our moral right of remonstrance with an arbitrary ruler would disappear if within the little *enclaves* in the midst of Native territory wherein British justice is supposed to be administered, we were to maintain a system of extra-legal punishments like that to which we have referred.

In the Indian newspapers, which have arrived by the last mail, the case of the *Kalidas* still occupies a considerable space. The *Bengalee* asks why *Mahratta* papers are specially singled out for prosecution. In their fear of *Mahratta* Brahmins and their plots, long the bugbear of Anglo-Indians, the authorities are making the *Mahrattas* the standard-bearers in the contest for a free press. The more they are prosecuted, the more will the other races of India rally round them. Is this what the Government wants? The *Champion* appeals to Sir Antony MacDonnell to release the prisoners, binding them over in some reasonable sum to be of good behaviour. This, it believes, is the best way to end the fierce controversy that has arisen.

The shooting pass committee of three military and three civilian members, presided over by the Legal Member of Council (Mr. Raleigh), have at last finished their labours, and revised orders have been issued. In future, in order to obtain a pass, a man must have at least one good conduct badge, and a certificate from his commanding officer that he is expert in the use of fire-arms. No shooting party may enter native places of worship or enclosures, or shoot within 500 yards of the same. On the back of the pass will be inscribed a list of birds and animals which the men may not shoot. The *Times* says:—

It is hoped that by these means there will be an end to the many regrettable affrays, which have constantly ended in bloodshed between soldier shooting parties and villagers. As a rule these affrays have arisen out of the soldiers' ignorance of the religious prejudices and language of the Native cultivators.

We have heard this before. It is well indeed to have the frequency and the seriousness of such affrays openly admitted; but we are not so sure that the origin of these affrays is stated with accuracy and precision. One can only wait for results: so many remedial rules have been tried without satisfactory results. A more thorough diagnosis of the disease would be likely to be more helpful; and a more effective treatment of cases might assist materially as a preventive. We shall see.

While there is much that is excellent in the revised shooting-pass regulations, there is yet one clause at least which can hardly work without injustice. It runs thus:—

The Rules for soldiers provide for the punishment of a corps, or detachment, or district, in the event of the offenders not being discovered. A similar responsibility may be enforced upon villages where affrays with British soldiers have occurred if the villagers generally, or a considerable number of them, have made an unwarranted attack upon a shooting party, but the actual offenders have not been brought to justice.

We say nothing on the abstract question whether it is fair to make the innocent suffer because the guilty cannot be discovered. What is of more concern here is the different punishment meted out to soldiers and villagers under this clause. The highest penalty the soldiers can suffer, through the guilty not being brought to justice, is the suspension of shooting-passes for two years. On the other hand, in similar circumstances, the villagers are liable to have extra police quartered on them at their own expense—a much heavier punishment.

Nevertheless, the new regulations are a proof of how serious the authorities consider these affrays between soldiers and peasants. There are some excellent clauses prohibiting the slaughter of certain animals and warning the soldiers not to enter villages or temples. Less easy of application is the following:—

Landlords, headmen, and village police, will be warned that they are expected to give their assistance in avoiding disputes between villagers and soldiers out shooting.

It is doubtful whether soldiers will always be quite ready to receive these worthies as arbitrators and peacemakers. Possibly their efforts would sometimes have no other result than to transfer the anger of the shooting party to themselves.

The *Englishman* has taken to playing the part of candid friend to Anglo-Indians. In a "Special for the *Englishman*" (Weekly Summary, November 1), we read this:—

The larger towns present conditions that are unique. One finds in them many of the distractions of society, and one can command comforts that can only be attained with affluence at home. But there is no higher life. Art has fled from such surroundings; politics are non-existent; music, in the broader sense, shivers with neglect; and the drama thrives only in its baser and more inartistic forms. The ordinary man lives here to earn his living, and, in the gratification of his mere animal comforts, loses all right of cultivating his nobler self. He goes to his work, comes back from his work, eats and drinks as well as he dare, sleeps as much as he can, and otherwise remains a machine.

A trip to Europe but chills him "with the reflection that he is behindhand." "The position of superiority, too, which he has been obliged to maintain in his relation with the people indigenous to India, creates within him a tone of command and an air of exclusiveness which he finds it difficult to shake off in the communistic atmosphere of Europe." And so forth. The picture is not particularly flattering, especially from the easel of a friend. Perhaps, after all, the writer was suffering from liverishness. But, then, why "Special"?

When the *Pioneer* states that "there is no more unpopular tax in India than the income tax," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* very justly asks:—

An unpopular tax is that which causes hardship and oppression, is it not? From this point of view, is the income tax more unpopular than the land tax, which is paid by all agriculturists, who form 90 per cent. of the Indian population? or the salt tax, which is levied on one of the necessities of life, consumed more by the poor than the rich? or the chowkidari tax, which is levied upon the poorest of the poor—indeed, upon every villager who has a hovel to live in?

The *Amrita* calculates that only one man out of 1,500 in Bengal pays income tax. But, it thinks, "on political grounds the income tax is badly wanted in this country." Why? Because "it is the only tax which the Europeans pay, and which thus keeps them interested in the finance

of the country." Yes, but what has hitherto been the practical value of this European interest?

Since the researches of Professor Heumann of Zürich enabled the Bädische Anilin und Soda Fabric of Ludwigshafen to threaten a serious competition of artificial indigo with vegetable indigo, the planters of Behar have been in hot water. The *Times* (November 9) has just reported the substance of a lecture by Dr. Brunck, the principal managing director of the Bädische, before the German Chemical Society in Berlin, in which the Company's achievements and capabilities lose nothing in the recital. The same day it published a cognate communication from "A Correspondent" on the attitude of the indigo planters of Behar. In March last, we are reminded, Sir William Hudson, K.C.I.E., late President of the Behar Indigo Planters' Association, applied to the Bengal Government "for pecuniary aid for the community of Bengal indigo planters, to help the resuscitation of the cultivation of sugar as an auxiliary enterprise to the production of the dye." A telegram, moreover, from the *Times* correspondent at Simla (*Times*, October 14) indicated that the Government of Bengal was inclined to grant the desired encouragement. "A Member of the London Indigo Association," writing to the *Times* (November 13), shows fight against Dr. Brunck and the Bädische, but gives no hint that the Bengal Government is behind him. If the prospects of sugar cultivation are as good as they are represented, and if indigo itself is looking up, it does not appear why the Bengal Government should go out of its way to establish protection in the sphere of indigo planting. The insertion of the thin end of the obnoxious wedge should be kept under watchful observation.

We have been treated lately to a comparison between the methods of government employed in the Roman Empire and in British India. The *Times of India* touches a still more delicate subject when it discusses the treatment of Asiatics by Russia. Our contemporary has little difficulty in disposing of the panegyrics of the Russian press, by quoting two instances of massacre, one at Goeek Tepe twenty years ago, the other, in which Chinese were the victims, quite recently at Blagovestshensk. But this does not quite dispose of the matter. Occasional and local massacres may be quite consistent with prosperity and good order in other districts. The Russian has this advantage to start with that, inasmuch as he has emerged from barbarism at a much later period than the other European nations, he is better able to understand barbarians, and to be understood by them in return.

A comparison between Russian and British ways of treating Asiatics is, perhaps, of little use, in view of the great differences between the Asiatic subjects of England and of Russia, considered in the mass. As it would be absurd to compare the settled population of India, heirs to a high and ancient civilisation, with the people of Tartary, in great part nomad, or semi-nomad, so it is difficult to compare the Governments set up over each. But it would be idle to deny that, in one point at least, the Tartars have the advantage. The Russian army is open to them on equal terms with their conquerors, and at least one Russian General has sprung from the subject race. It is also probable that the Russian Government, being swayed less by philanthropic motives, is less inclined to risk public order by attempts to benefit its subjects against their will. And all history shows that a philanthropist, and still more an alien philanthropist, possessed of the power of compulsion, is one of the most dangerous foes of real liberty.

Remittances on India for 30 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications for Rs. 4,82,600 in bills were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3½d. to 1s. 4d. The following amounts were allotted, viz.:—Rs. 23,09,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 2,36,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 4,55,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3-9/10d. Tenders at Rs. 3½d. will receive about 6 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 10,000 on Bombay at 1s. 4d. Last week remittances for 35 lakhs were sold for £232,946 making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 8,39,27,908, producing £5,580,926. Next week 30 lakhs will again be offered.

THE COMING FAMINE COMMISSION.

THE great famines of 1877 and 1897 were each followed by a Famine Commission, and it is therefore to be supposed that another Commission will sit after the still greater famine of the present year. Indeed, that has been already promised by Lord George Hamilton, who in the Debate on the Indian Budget which took place on July 26 said:—

Whenever operations are over it has been the practice to appoint a Commission of enquiry to investigate the various methods adopted. We shall have recourse to this procedure when the famine is over, and I hope that the collection of facts and the expression of opinions may be of use to the officials of the locality in dealing with subsequent outbreaks.

Later on in the same speech Lord George Hamilton alluded more particularly to the Famine Commission in which Sir James Caird played so prominent a part:—

In 1878 the celebrated Famine Commission was appointed of which Sir Richard Stacray was chairman. . . . What that Commission had to do was to improve a system of poor relief so thorough and elastic that it could be applied to all these various phases of famine relief. They laid down elaborate regulations, the principal of which was that the Government of India took upon itself the obligation of finding food for all and work for those who were unable to obtain it.

This is so far satisfactory that we have the Secretary of State for India not only promising a Commission—that could scarcely have been withheld—but referring to the Commission of 1878 as the “celebrated Famine Commission;” but it is to be feared that his attention was fixed only on a portion of that Commission’s labours. It is to be feared that he was prepared to ignore the most important part of its work—that dealing with “measures of protection and prevention.”

It is sufficient to mention the items dealt with under this head to see that the Report, if it did not cover the whole field of prevention, nevertheless went fairly deeply into certain sides of the subject. Thus we have among the matters dealt with Uncultivated Lands, Food and Population, Irrigation and Railways, the Incidence of Taxation, Administrative Charges, the Collection of Land Revenue, the Encouragement of Diversity of Occupations, Forest Conservancy and Emigration. This is not exhaustive, but it compares most favourably with the Report of the last Famine Commission, and it is much to be feared that it is the latter Lord George Hamilton had in his mind, even when he had the former in his mouth. There are many reasons to be found even in the two short passages we have quoted from his speech on the Budget which lead us to this conclusion. He hopes that the facts collected and the opinions expressed will lead—not to the abolition of famines in the future or the diminution of their area and intensity or of the miseries caused—but to the officials being better able to manage the dispensation of relief. Nay, from his use of the word “locality” it would seem that he did not even expect to obtain any information that could be applied to a large area. And again he claims that the work of Sir Robert Stacray’s Commission was “to improve a system of poor relief.” That no doubt the Commissioners themselves considered an important part of their work, but not the sole end and object of their being; as is evidenced clearly by the 112 pages devoted to prevention, the earlier part on “Famine Relief” only occupying 69 pages; though the third part on “Famine Histories” took up a larger part of the whole Report than the other two put together.

For those, indeed, who consider famine as Providential, or at all events as due solely to a failure of the rains—a phenomenon inaccessible to human intervention—it no doubt seems impious or futile to enquire into the prevention of famine. India and her rulers can only, according to this view, accept the visitation and hope for better seasons. The scope, therefore, of enquiry should only include the best way of keeping the people alive and of a ding them to pass through the evil days with as little physical and moral loss as possible. Let evidence be adduced as to the best methods of organising relief works and feeding the starving. Let the extension and utilisation of railways be discussed. And if it be desired to go deeper still, let the possibilities of irrigation be considered so as to see if a real mitigation of famine be not possible, and the deficiency of the rainfall be compensated by an artificial supply of water. But let no one trouble to consider the social and economic conditions of the country. Those might be a result, but never a cause of famine,

which is always due to the parsimony of Nature in withholding the usual rainfall.

But if the Famine Commissioners, instead of accepting these views as their starting point, and submitting to the limitations thus laid down, were to adopt for a moment the comparative method, now recognised as necessary in all organic and social investigations, and were to enquire into the history of famines in other countries, they would soon find reason to agree with the Commission of 1878 that the study of the social environment and economic position of the people was a vital part of their subject. Europe was once devastated by famines. It is devastated no longer. And yet the seasons run their course and to fat years lean succeed. In the present century only two countries in Europe have suffered from serious famines such as may be compared with those of India. The two countries are Ireland and Russia. It would be difficult to find three countries physically more unlike, or more diverse from the point of view of agriculture, than India, Russia and Ireland. If we had to look to the physical aspects of the question only, it would be difficult to account for their common misfortunes. Even on the theory that famine was a visitation of Providence the difficulty would be as great, for the three afflicted peoples are renowned for piety and for the zeal with which they carry out the duties of their respective religions. But when we turn to the economic position of the three countries we find a striking similarity. All three are poor countries—countries in which the mass of the population fares hardly in the best of seasons. Those who seek the causes of Indian famine in the economic facts of Indian life are wont to put forward three causes, more or less active and more or less direct, to account for the calamity—turning scarcity to starvation. These are (1) the want of diversity of employment; (2) the weight of taxation relative to the resources of the country; and (3) the drain on India necessitated by the large payments which have to be made in Europe—the economic tribute which obliges her not merely to export large quantities of goods without economic return, but to sell cheaper and buy dearer throughout her foreign trade in order to force the market. Now it is a remarkable fact that in each of the countries of Europe that have suffered from famine during the present century, two of these conditions at least are found: the first and second in Russia, the first and third in Ireland. In both countries, for the vast mass of the population, agriculture is the only avocation: for though there are considerable manufactures in Russia they employ but a trifling percentage of the whole population, while the great manufactures of Ireland are found only in the extreme north. Again Russia, and especially the Russian peasant, is heavily taxed in proportion to wealth. Whether Ireland is overtaxed compared with Russian and Indian standards is a moot point. Perhaps it is not. But a great part of the taxation and a vast sum in the shape of rent are transmitted yearly to England. This is the tribute that Ireland pays to England—a tribute with just the same effects as the tribute paid by India. In view of these striking economic similarities, who can maintain that famine is independent of the economic situation?

But if this be once granted, if it be allowed that in some degree, great or small, the appearance and intensity of famine depend not solely on the failure of the rains, but on the economic position of those who are exposed to that failure, then it must surely follow that the economic position is a proper and indeed a necessary part of the enquiry which the Famine Commission is to undertake. And if this be once admitted, then it will also follow that that enquiry should embrace not only some matters on the fringe of the subject, such as the Management of Forests, Emigration, and the like, but should boldly tackle the root question of the poverty of India. The Caird Commission dealt with the Incidence of Taxation and the Collection of Land Revenue. The Commission that is to follow the present famine must go even further if it is to be worthy of the occasion, and to satisfy the demands of suffering India. It must consider not only the incidence of taxation, but the amount in the light of the resources of the country; it must consider the cost of government, and whether that is a burden too great to be borne; it must consider, above all, the effects of the continuous drain of wealth from the country. And if it is able to devise means whereby the burden of taxation may be relieved, and the drain of wealth may be lessened, then it will, perhaps, have done

more to aid the people at the next failure of the rains than could be accomplished by any measures of famine relief, though contrived with all the skill that comes of long experience, and applied with all the ardour that springs from the most earnest devotion to duty. By all means let the Commission discuss methods of relief provided that it is never forgotten that the most urgent and the most important field of enquiry is the economic situation of the Indian peasant.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES.¹

EVERYONE must agree with Mr. Egerton that "no series of Builders of Greater Britain could be complete with the omission of the name of Raffles." But he himself seems to start a new series, for he writes as sub-title not "Greater Britain," but "England" in the Far East. "England is great enough to rest content with her own reputation without appropriating the share of her less predominant partners; and a historical biographer might be reasonably expected to do historical justice in this matter, which, small as it may seem to an Englishman, has provoked tolerably heated protests from other parts of the Empire. We are afraid that Raffles is not a name that starts to mind at the mention of Empire-Builders, in spite of all that he wrote and all that has been written about him. It would be interesting to census "Imperialists" on this point of Imperial history. How many of them are aware that "to him the country is chiefly indebted for the advantages which the settlement of Singapore has secured to it"?—that to him "more than to politicians or treaties Great Britain owes her position in the Far East"? How many of them—or of our scientific men, or of the public generally—are aware that Raffles was the founder of the "Zoo"?

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles came of a good old Yorkshire stock, his father being a ship captain in the West India trade out of London. He was born on board ship off Jamaica on July 6, 1781, at a period of national gloom and humiliation induced by incapable statesmanship and generalship. With an education "sadly neglected," he was admitted an extra clerk in the India House before completion of his fourteenth year (1795). In spite of a natural delicacy of constitution, he added to his official duties a laborious effort at self-education, and even extra work to enable him to assist his parents. "I shall never forget the mortification I felt," he subsequently wrote, "when the penury of my family once induced my mother to complain of my extravagance in burning a candle in my room." It was in 1805, when he was under twenty-four, that he obtained the appointment that determined his future career: he was made Assistant Secretary to the Council at Penang, which was then constituted a regular Presidency—a post that he in fact owed to the impression made on the Secretary of the East India Company by his capacity and zeal. He had just married the widow of an assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment, a lady ten years his senior. The marriage, he wrote, "gave me no new connexions, no wealth, but, on the contrary, a load of debt which I had to clear off. It increased my difficulties, and thus increased my energies. It gave me domestic enjoyment, and thus contributed to my happiness." On the voyage out Raffles mastered the Malay language. "It was to be the means whereby a better understanding of, and thus a closer sympathy with, the Native mind should be gained, and a new spirit be breathed into the relations between English and Natives."

The willing horse, as usual, had the burden piled on his back, and Raffles's secretarial work broke down his health. He went to Malacca to recuperate. But the spirit of work would not be controlled, and he wrote a Report on Malacca, which was influentially placed before Lord Minto by Dr. John Leyden, who had visited Bencang in 1805 and stood high in the graces of the new Governor-General from Teviotdale. The result was to prevent the execution of the intention "gradually to transfer to Prince of Wales's Island the trade and capital of Malacca, together with the most valuable part of the population." In 1807 Raffles was promoted Secretary and also appointed Agent for the Navy; and it is in connexion with the Secretaryship that the first of his pecuniary squabbles with the

Company arose—a worry that pursued him stupidly till 1817, when the Directors finally waived their claim. In view of the Java expedition, Raffles was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States (Oct. 19, 1810), and took up his quarters at Malacca. From the description of him by his Malay secretary, Abdulla, we take this significant extract:—

I also perceived that he hated the habit of the Dutch . . . of running down the Malays, and they detested him in return; so much so that they would not sit down beside him. But Mr. Raffles lived always to be on good terms with the Malays—the poorest could speak to him.

Raffles made exhaustive reports to Lord Minto, sketching the main features of a policy to be applied to the islands—reports that "alone would have secured him a place among the most foreseeing of British public servants." Lord Minto accompanied the expedition, "his main motive" being "that he might personally confer with Raffles"; and, on the defeat of the Dutch, he made Raffles Lieutenant-Governor of Java (Sept. 11, 1811) "as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office." "Thus, at the early age of thirty, Raffles found himself the ruler of the 'other India.'" His policy, which is fully outlined by Mr. Egerton, he was left to develop at his peril. "I have invariably invited and courted the command of the superior authorities on questions which I considered of moment," he says, "and necessity alone, and the conviction that the favourable moment for action might otherwise be lost, have induced me to act expressly from my own judgment." His policy, indeed, was never judged by the authorities on its merits; and Raffles's dismissal in 1815 was based on a merely incidental indiscretion magnified and perverted into a far from pretty quarrel with General Gillespie. But his justification is seen in the candid acknowledgment of the Dutch official, Muntinghe, that "the first, the most difficult, and certainly the most hazardous step towards the introduction of political government and regulated taxation had been taken when the Commissioner-General took over the Government of Java in 1816."

After a trip to England, when he was knighted and married again (his first wife having died in 1814), Raffles returned to the East as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen (1818). His first impressions of the place—there had just been a devastating earthquake—were far from favourable. "This is, without exception," he wrote, "the most wretched place I ever beheld." Morally, too, the outlook was grim. "You must be prepared," he wrote, "for the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the country people from the forced cultivation of pepper, the discontinuance of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, and a thousand other practices equally distasteful and repugnant to the British character and Government." Raffles laboured with his usual zeal for the internal reformation of Bencoolen, material and moral. But he looked beyond. He saw that "the British had not one inch of ground to stand upon between the Cape of Good Hope and China, nor a single friendly port at which they can water, refresh, or obtain information." Mr. Egerton sketches lucidly his rather masterful action, and his deliberate intention to force the hands of the Home authorities and "oblige our Ministers to come to some immediate understanding with the Dutch authorities in Holland." He did gain over Lord Hasting, who (October 25, 1818), minuted his opinion that the object of the Dutch was to extinguish British political influence, and to exclude British commerce, in the Eastern Islands. It was resolved to keep command of the Straits of Malacca by forming establishments at Acheen and Rhio; but Raffles had his eye on Singapore. Lady Raffles, indeed, states that "even before he left England, Sir Stamford contemplated this, to him, classical spot as a place favourably situated to have a British station." He got there before the Dutch, and set to business at once:—

The Sultan of Johor arrived on February 1, and paid Raffles a visit next day. . . . On February 6 a treaty was executed "in triplicate by their Highnesses, and by me in the capacity of Agent to the Governor-General." Under the provisions of this treaty the Sultan agreed to allow the British to erect factories in any part of his dominions. In return, the East India Company undertook to pay the Sultan and Tamung'gung (Resident Governor) the yearly sums of 3,000 and 3,000 Spanish dollars respectively. Personal protection was promised to the Sultan so long as he continued to reside in the immediate neighbourhood of any place belonging to the East India Company. The Native authorities further agreed neither to alienate any territory to, nor to enter into any treaty with, any foreign power. . . . With regard to duties, it was agreed that the Tamung'gung

¹ "Sir Stamford Raffles: England in the Far East." By Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A. "Builders of Greater Britain" Series. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

should receive the full moiety of all the amounts collected from foreign vessels.

How far, and how justly, Raffles had annoyed his superiors is pointed out briefly, but carefully, by Mr. Egerton. The Supreme Government finally delivered judgment thus:—

The selection of Singapore for a port is considered, as to locality, to have been highly judicious, and your proceedings in establishing a factory in that place do honour to your approved skill and ability, though the measure itself, as wittingly incurring a collision with the Dutch authorities, which might have been avoided, is much regretted. The Home authorities eventually acquiesced with a grumble, and Singapore became "a free port, the trade thereof open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, equally and alike to all."

"Either I must go to England," wrote Raffles (December 20, 1823), "or, by remaining in India, die." On February 2, 1824, he embarked with what remained of his family (for in 1821-22 death had laid a heavy hand on his household) and with the writings and collections of some thirty years; and next day the ship was burnt some fifty miles off Bencoolen, the crew and passengers taking to "two small open boats, without a drop of water, or a grain of food, or a rag of covering except what we happened at the moment to have on our backs." Raffles wrote:—

The loss I have to regret, beyond all, is my papers and drawings—all my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo and almost every other island of note in these seas, my intended account of the establishment of Singapore, the history of my own administration, Eastern grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies, and last, not least, a grand map of Sumatra on which I had been employed since my arrival here, and on which for the last six months I had employed almost my whole undivided attention. This, however, was not all. All my collections in natural history, all my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of 3,000 in number, with all the valuable papers and notes of my friends, Arnold and Jock; and, to conclude, I will merely notice that there was scarce an unknown animal, bird, beast or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board. . . . we were, in short, in this respect, a perfect Noah's Ark. All has perished.

Abdulla gives interesting details—the contents of "three presses filled with Malay books," "300 bound books, not counting the unbound ones, and scrolls and pamphlets," "two trunks filled with letters, Javanese, Bali and Bujis books," etc., "many thousands of specimens of animals" (stuffed), "two or three trunks full of birds in thousands and of various species" (stuffed), "several hundred bottles of different sizes," and so on. Raffles estimated the loss at over £30,000.

Sir Stamford settled down at Highwood, near Hendon, and varied the monotony of pecuniary squabbles with the Company by active efforts to establish the Zoological Society, of which he was first President. He died suddenly on July 5, 1826, on the eve of his 46th birthday.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

A FURTHER period of political sterility is foreshadowed by the endless squabbles of the Liberal party. Eminent Radicals and distinguished Whigs are again at loggerheads over the question of their leader. The controversy is carried on by a mere handful of partisans, but unfortunately the combatants have almost enough influence to infect the House of Commons with their animosities. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has unconsciously reopened the strife. In his speech at Dundee, to which reference was made here last week, he invited Lord Rosebery to resume his place in the councils of the Liberal party. Excited politicians promptly construed the passage as an invitation to the ex-Premier to resume the Liberal leadership, and while one section denounced the suggestion as a surrender of principle, the other wing accused Sir Henry of a malicious design to impale Lord Rosebery on the horns of a dilemma. Lord Rosebery himself might have thrown a light on the situation by saying plainly what he proposes to do. For the present, however, he prefers to retain his character as a man of mystery.

While Lord Rosebery's friends declare that he is the one statesman under whose leadership Liberalism may hope to regain its former status as a political force, his antagonists assert that he is impossible. Curiously enough, the extremists of the two wings agree on one point. Both are resolved to prevent the ex-Premier from returning to his old position—the

Liberal Imperialists because they fear that such a step might involve a recantation of Imperialism, and the anti-Imperialists because they are afraid lest Lord Rosebery should impose his heresies on the party at large. To complete the comedy the *Times* steps in to the assistance of those ill-assorted allies and makes a strong appeal to Lord Rosebery to form a third party in which all should be for the State. For a man who has been out of public life for the last four years, Lord Rosebery, it will be admitted, is obtaining an uncommonly good share of public attention.

Nineteen Ministers were present at the first Cabinet meeting of the reconstructed Government. But for the fact that Mr. Chamberlain happened to be exploring the shores of the Mediterranean the number would have been twenty. It is the largest Cabinet of modern times—the largest, indeed, in history. Lord Salisbury had probably intended to keep it down to its former level, but having given Lord Londonderry Cabinet rank he could not very well exclude Mr. Hanbury. Nevertheless, the latter was not apprised of his elevation till within two hours of the Council meeting. The delay was doubtless deliberately designed as a rebuke to Mr. Hanbury for his insufficient appreciation of the administrative post to which he has now been promoted. It is generally understood that the new President of the Board of Agriculture ran a narrow risk of losing even that inappropriate office by the contemptuous manner in which he accepted the boon. Lord Londonderry breeds pigs, and is sent to the Post Office, while Mr. Hanbury, being essentially a man of commerce, is delegated to supervise the regulations relating to swine fever.

A stormy session is predicted by those who have power to give effect to the prophecy. Possibly, however, the gale will not spring up at once. The absence of the Nationalist members should conduce to peace; and as it is now announced that those gentlemen have decided to remain in Ireland for their convention, it may be assumed that they do not intend to put in an appearance at Westminster till February. For the present they are more interested in the extirpation of Healyism than in the affairs of the British Empire. While it must weaken the numerical strength of the Opposition, the absence of the Irishmen will probably be no less a relief to the Liberals than to the Government. What is wanted at present is a fair and unimpassioned consideration of the vital issues raised by the war, and that is possibly an end which we are more likely to attain if the Liberal Opposition is left to state its views in its own way.

To the war itself there would seem to be no end. From one extreme to the other of the so-called conquered territories the Boers remain as active as ever. Their hearts have been hardened and their resistance stimulated by the policy of devastation in which the British army is now engaged. Against that policy cries of expostulation are beginning to be raised even by the Ministerialist Press. "It is bad policy to ruin your debtor," remarks one Conservative journal. Perhaps the searching of hearts, of which symptoms are thus manifested, may prove the prelude to a fresh development of policy. Reports are current to the effect that Sir Alfred Milner's health is giving cause for anxiety, and coupled with those rumours are others, not less significant, indicating that a final effort is about to be made to bring General Botha into negotiation with Lord Roberts. Meanwhile, the bill of costs is mounting at the rate of a million and a half a week. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is said, intends to limit his financial demand on Parliament next month to £10,000,000. If so, he must be contemplating a further and heavier call in February.

Among the reports issued by the Colonial Office this week is one from Mauritius, in which Sir Graham Bower again sheds tears over the growing predominance of the Indian population in that island. Sir Graham used to sympathise with enterprising Uitlanders, but his experience of the Jameson Raid appears to have cured him of the weakness. On his own showing the Indians in Mauritius are an industrious and thrifty people. During the last four years they have purchased land to the value of 7,104,077 rupees, "which means," says the Acting-Governor, regretfully, "that the land is passing from the hands of Creoles of either European or mixed blood into the hands of Indians." Taken in conjunction with an undoubted tendency towards the centralisation of the sugar mills, the movement, it is suggested, must inevitably lead to the elimination of the middle-class proprietor of moderate

means. He is being gradually squeezed out by the limited liability company on the one side and the Indian peasant proprietor on the other.

Sir Graham Bower's objection to this process appears to be purely sentimental. He admits that from the point of view of the economic production of sugar the changes that are in progress may be and possibly are inevitable and even desirable. "But from the social and moral point of view," he adds, "it means the extinction or expatriation of an intelligent, cultivated and graceful people, and the substitution of Asiatic for European thought and culture. In a word, if the present movement continues, Mauritius must in a few generations become a purely Indian island, governed and administered by a few English officials, some factory managers and a military garrison." Mr. Chamberlain ought to console Sir Graham Bower with a presentation set of the Creole novels of Mr. G. W. Cable.

Although "the season" is not likely to be expedited for the sake of Parliament, our legislators will find that London can be gay enough even in the unfashionable month of December. It is astonishing, indeed, to observe to what an extent the limitations of the season are everywhere disregarded. Picture galleries open their doors on new exhibitions in the middle of November; the shop windows are aglow with Christmas cheer for weeks in advance; restaurants and hotels exhibit as much life as if it were always May; while theatre managers go on producing new pieces in callous disregard of the absence of everybody from town, well enough pleased, perhaps, to find that the remnant is still large enough to crowd the playhouses from floor to ceiling. One might be lured into thinking that it was always "the season" in London. But when members come to town and find during their short session that there are no Speaker's levees and that the salons of the political *grandes dames* remain obstinately closed, they at least will realise the difference.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE VICEROY'S TOUR.

LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

BRITISH SOLDIERS AND INDIANS.

MR. NAOROJI AND YOUNG INDIA.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, November 2.

The Viceroy is now on tour. He has visited Karachi and Kutch. Receiving and replying to addresses is the order of the day. This will be the unavoidable feature which will be present wherever he goes. Hitherto the replies contain nothing new or striking—I mean nothing of public importance, nothing by way of declaration of a great policy or an important new departure in public affairs. Perhaps it is yet premature. The Bombay Corporation's address may possibly prompt his lordship to give utterance to something striking. If not, the address to be presented by the Deccan Sabha at Poona, and the Mahajana Sabha at Madras, are sure to evoke some response on high affairs of State. The replies to the Karachi Municipality and the Chamber of Commerce are very business-like and frank. There is no attempt at equivocation or the sweet diplomatic insanities in which Lord Dufferin used to wrap his elegant and well prepared answers to public bodies. Lord Curzon tells straight to his audience what comes uppermost to his mind, freely and unreservedly, with regard to the principal topics dealt with in the addresses. There is a freshness about them which is indeed exhilarating. He avoids the stilted phrases of the Distinguished Service while giving utterance to matters which have a genuine ring about them. This is as it should be.

The next important event of the week is a long letter which appears in the columns of the *Times of India* from the pen of the Hon. Mr. B. K. Bose, of Nagpur, on the subject of the recent Resolution of the Government of India on the revenue settlements of the Central Provinces. That State document has been taken by the apologists of the land revenue policy of that Government as a complete rejoinder to Mr. Dutt's open letter on the subject. Those who have carefully perused it say there is nothing in it to justify it as a rejoinder. On the contrary, close students of the Central Provinces settlements

have seen through that Resolution and are convinced that the Government of India has simply attempted to throw dust in the eyes of the ignorant public here and at home. For, in reality, its criticism is confined to the Nagpur district only—a district in which the capital of the province is situated; a district where are to be seen at their best trade, arts, and industrial developments. Such a district always stands in a different category from the rest, where agricultural industry is as a rule seen. Thus the Government of India has played the game of the *Madari*, or juggler, with consummate ability. The Resolution may be a clever piece of revenue juggling; but it is in reality no answer to the charge of Mr. Dutt as to the heaviness of the assessments generally in the various districts of the provinces.

Mr. Bose has taken up the parable in a long letter in which he attempts to point out exhaustively how fallacious the Resolution is. Mr. Bose, too, is a high official of State, and understands what he writes about. He indulges in no haphazard statements nor in the superficial criticism which has characterised most of the official journals that have written on the subject. He takes his stand on official declarations and official despatches. He quotes chapter and verse in support of each statement he puts forth. In this respect he is as excellent and accurate a critic as "J," who has been enlightening us for months in the columns of the *Times of India* on the specious arguments of the Bombay Revenue Department. It is indeed a pleasure to read letters emanating from two such Indian experts. Mr. Bose concluded his long letter by proving that the Nagpur settlement, on which alone the Government of India has based its Resolution, is in no way representative of that of the other districts in the Central Provinces. He points to the case of the settlement in the adjoining district of Hinganghat. "To show how misleading would it be to judge," says Mr. Bose, "other districts by the Nagpur standard, I may mention that in the Hinganghat *taluk* the assessment of a considerable number of villages was so heavy as to be crushing." An enquiry was instituted by Sir Charles Lyall and Mr. Fraser, with the result that the settlements were revised and abatements granted, though not till great hardships had been suffered by the assesses. I write at length on this because I see there is a growing tendency on the part of ministerial papers in London to take up the parrot-cry of official journalists here—journalists whose knowledge, I must say, is very meagre, and whose criticism is, therefore, mostly of a superficial character. I dare say when Lord Curzon carefully peruses Mr. Bose's letter (for his lordship, I am glad to say, is a close and attentive reader of Anglo-Indian and Anglo-vernaacular papers, as he himself publicly stated some time ago) he will be able to find out for himself how his "responsible advisers" have stated only one side of the case of the revenue settlements, and that on which the least emphasis should be placed. It is to be hoped that in future his Excellency will call for complete papers on the revenue of each province when he proposes to devote time and attention to the solution of the great agrarian question, with which, of course, the revenue settlements policy of the Imperial Government is intimately bound up.

The *Gazette of India* contains revised rules for shooting passes to soldiers. They are of a most elaborate character and have been framed with the deliberate purpose of safeguarding the Native population, armless and helpless, from the vagaries of British soldiers who wear her Majesty's uniform. If the several conditions are faithfully and rigidly adhered to, there is not the least doubt that a wholesome change will soon be discerned in the conduct of the soldiers, and a grave and growing scandal, soiling the fair name of the British, will be wholly allayed. The Indian Press hails the resolution and gratefully acknowledges this fresh instance of the righteous spirit in which his lordship is determined to administer this great country.

It is a pleasure to notice that the young Indians in London, with the energetic Dr. Sarat Mullick at their head, are beginning to recognise the value of activity on Indian affairs in England, and that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been able to infuse into them something of his own spirit of independence and vigour of thought. That the young men are grateful to their Grand Old Man, so full yet of ardour and unselfish patriotism at the age of seventy-six, and honoured him by a hearty demonstration, is, in itself, evidence of their earnestness and enthusiasm. Nowhere, save in the free atmosphere of

free England, can they be trained to constitutional political activity, which is the only political activity that can achieve success, no matter what time it takes to achieve it. Even half a century or a century is nothing in the life of a nascent nation like that of India of our gracious Queen Empress. It is like a year in national history. But when history tells us how centuries have been occupied in gaining the battle of freedom and citizenship such as the British enjoy to-day, we, Indians, have no reason to despair. I have always believed, after our Grand Old Man, in the law of progress, though sometimes owing to circumstances it may not be impeded but retarded. Progress is the law of life. Its wheel revolves unchangingly, sometimes slower, sometimes at full speed. Let, therefore, my young friends in India go forward, and, fired by the noble example of their veteran chief, who has spent a lifetime in the cause of his country with a devotion and single-mindedness of purpose which are the theme of admiration by millions of his countrymen, endeavour, each in his own way, to render good to the country. Unity, energy, enthusiasm and disinterestedness are all that are wanted. And never let them be cowed by defeat. On the contrary, every defeat should be the stepping-stone to final victory. It was said of the Grand Old Man, by his professor, that he was destined to be "one in a million," and that his countrymen should be proud of him. Let the young India of to-day so act as to make Mr. Naoroji feel proud of them. The country need never despair so long as we have chiefs of his pure patriotism, ripe experience, and great political sagacity.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

555,000 ON RELIEF.

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

"Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 287,000; Central Provinces, 146,000; Berar, 53,000; Rajputana Native States, 5,000; Central India Native States, 6,000; Bombay Native States, 25,000; Baroda, 19,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 5,000; Hyderabad, 9,000.—Total, 555,000."

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Governor of Bombay:—

"Following are figures for week ending November 10:—Famine-stricken districts—97 cases of cholera, of which 64 were fatal. Total number of deaths among number on relief works and gratuitous relief 762, or 2 3-5 per mille. Rainfall light or absent in affected area. Agricultural prospects practically unchanged since last Report."

THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The Mansion House Fund for the relief of the sufferers from the Indian Famine amounted on Wednesday night to £387,200.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (November 17) of the *Investors' Review*—

There is still great need in India. The latest news from the famine districts is that the numbers in receipt of relief have fallen to 777,000. Of these, 337,000 fall to Bombay and 269,000 to the Central Provinces. Rain is still much wanted in places. Behind these declining numbers the multitude of the distressed and helpless, or almost helpless, must still run into many millions, and the masses of Imperial England do nothing—care not a straw. But the few help, and may save the old land yet, bringing it to its better mind. Deep is our gratitude to those who remember and give. This week we have among other gifts to count £3 received through the Women's Employment Office, Aberdeen.

Subscriptions to our *£1* fund, from which not a penny is deducted for advertising notices in newspapers or any other kind of charges, may be sent to A. J. Wilson, at this office; cheques to be crossed "Union Bank of London, Indian Famine Fund."

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Amount acknowledged last week	£880	9	1
Collected after lecture on India at Udny, Aberdeenshire, per Miss L. M. Ker .. .	3	0	0
His Excellency W. Grey Wilson, C.M.G., Government House, Falkland Islands .. .	10	0	0
P. Green, Esq., Hastings	0	10	0
Total to date	£893	19	1

THE NAGPUR SETTLEMENT.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM MR. B. K. BOSE.

The following letter (to which reference is made in our "Notes from Bombay") appears in the *Times of India* of November 3:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

Sir,—The importance of the Government Resolution on the re-settlement of the Nagpur district cannot be over-rated. As embodying the principles which are to regulate the fixation of the share of the assets to be taken by the State as land revenue, it demands most careful consideration at the hands of all who have the good of the Province at heart. If I may venture to say so, the appreciation of the great worth and ability of the report of the Settlement Officer is in every way well deserved. The report is replete with most valuable matter relating to the economic condition of the people and the methods adopted in the re-settlement of the Province.

With your kind permission I shall deal first with the question of what is known as the "half-assets rule" in its historical aspect. Erroneous ideas are said to prevail with respect to its application to the Central Provinces, and reference is made to Sir Antony Macdonnell's replies to certain questions in the Imperial Legislative Council as accurately stating the actual facts. The following propositions were laid down in the reply:—

(a) That the half-assets rule was extended only to eight districts of the Central Provinces formerly known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and that to the remaining ten districts the rule of approximate half-assets was never even nominally applied; (b) that the phrase "net assets" meant "prospective assets," and "not the actual assets at the time of the settlement."

As far as I have been able to ascertain from official papers available to the public, the facts regarding the first point appear to be as follows: The territories of the Bhonsla rulers, comprising the nine districts referred to in the reply, came under British rule on the death of the late Raja in December, 1853. They were then placed under the administration of an officer called the Commissioner of the Province of Nagpur. The assessment in force under the Raja was maintained, and after its period expired, two summary settlements of three years each were made. During this interval the question of the future system of settlement was considered, and the orders of the Governor-General in Council were communicated in Foreign Secretary's letter No. 2,279, dated June 28, 1856, to the Commissioner of Nagpur. These orders may be thus summarised:—

(a) The Government of India concurred with the Commissioner in being in favour of "long leases and light assessment." "In all cases in which the proportion of cultivable waste to cultivated land was not excessive, the engagements might be taken for thirty years."

(b) Every landholder was to be made a proprietor and was to be given "as nearly as possible a fee simple in his estate, subject only to the payment of revenue."

(c) The Malguzars were to be allowed "in all cases at least 40 per cent. of the true gross rental" for expenses of management and proprietary profits, and this limit might in special cases be extended "even to 50 per cent." This was unquestionably a great gift dictated by highest motives of benevolence.

A SETTLEMENT CODE ISSUED.

When the above orders were passed the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories were administered as an adjunct of the North-West Provinces. In their case it had already been decided that proprietary right in land should be recognised, and that to avoid future litigation it should be formally conferred at the settlement. By an order dated February 16, 1856, it had further been decided to modify the rule laid down in paragraph 52 of the Directions to the Settlement Officers in the North-West Provinces so as "to limit the demand of the State to 50 per cent., or one-half of the average net assets."

By Resolution dated November 2, 1861, the Nagpur Province and the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories were consolidated, and constituted a separate Chief Commissionership. In March, 1862, Sir Richard Temple became the Chief Commissioner of the newly-created Province. By that time the settlement operations proper had not begun in the Nagpur Province, only preliminary surveys being in progress. It would appear that there was some correspondence between the new administration and the Supreme Government regarding the settlement. The outcome was the issue of a Settlement Code under the authority of the Chief Commissioner with the sanction of the Governor-General (*vide* paragraph 135 of Sir Richard Temple's Administration Report for 1862-63). The Central Provinces Secretariat letter No. 5,026, dated November 16, 1868, to the Settlement Commissioner, which forms the preface to the Code, clearly shows this. The half-assets rule finds a place among the "selections," and is given at page 24 of the Code, which, as the above letter shows, was to apply to the whole Province.

HALF-ASSETS RULE BINDING.

The officers engaged in the work of settling the districts composing the old Nagpur Province evidently considered the Code as binding on

them. In paragraph 193 of the Bhandara Report it is said: "The Settlement Code lays down 50 per cent. as the Government share, and your (Settlement Commissioner's) instructions were to follow that standard closely." The Nagpur Settlement Report, after describing the method adopted to estimate the value of a village, thus proceeds: "I then referred to the *juna* paid by the village and its recorded rental in former years, and compared the rate at which the demand, according to the assumed value, would fall per acre, with the rates of the demand on adjoining villages or on villages of the same class at a distance, and the final value determined the value, of which 50 per cent. was generally taken as the *juna* to be paid by the village." (Paragraph 48.) The Chanda Settlement Report has the following:—"I think, therefore, that no resident Malguzar who uses due exertion will fall in a few years to realise 50 per cent. profit under the revised assessment, even supposing rents to remain stationary; while Malguzars who absent themselves and neglect the estates they have now obtained through no merit or expenditure on their part, will necessarily receive less." (Paragraph 51.) Again, "after the cultivated areas had been dealt with, the assets from the uncultivated portion were estimated, and 50 per cent. taken as the Government share." (Paragraph 303.) There is no reference to the subject in the Wardha Report. Colonel Lucie Smith, Settlement Officer, Chanda, had advocated a rayastwari settlement for his district. Mr. Pedder, who was at the time Commissioner of the Nagpur Division, made an exhaustive report on the subject, and in the following extracts from it there is an incidental reference to the half-assets rule:—"Paragraph 21. . . . But it would be an essential change in the principle of the present Settlement, and would be looked upon as a breach of faith by the Malguzars. Their position would be changed from that of landowners paying half the profits of their villages as assessment to Government to that of hereditary servants receiving remuneration from Government. . . .

"31. Again the system on which the Settlement is presently based is that of half-assets." (Letter No. 1293, dated April 6, 1872, to the Central Provinces Secretariat.)

These extracts from official documents seem to show that the half-assets rule, though when first introduced had application only to the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, became, by reason of its unqualified inclusion in the Settlement Code of the Province, applicable to all the districts of the Province. In any case subsequent to the formation of the Central Provinces Administration, the binding character of the rule on the circumstance of its forming part of the Settlement Code, and thus whatever authority it had, it had in an equal degree in all the districts of the Province. Unless, in some other order existing when this report was published, it is possible to see how the case of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories can be differentiated from that of the Nagpur Province.

THE MEANING OF "AVERAGE NET ASSETS."

Next came the question, what was meant by the phrase "average net assets" in the rule? The rule was a modification of direction No. 52 of Mr. Thomason's "Directions for Revenue Officers" in the North-West Provinces issued in 1849. This direction was to the effect that the Government should not demand more than two-thirds of what might be expected to be the net produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement. The revised rule or direction began by stating that the assets of an estate could seldom be minutely ascertained, but more certain information as to the average net assets could be obtained now (in 1856) than was formerly the case. It was next pointed out that this might lead to over-assessment, for there was little doubt that two-thirds or 66 per cent. was a larger proportion of the *real* (the word was in italics in the rule) average assets than could ordinarily be paid by proprietors on a long course of years. For this reason the rule proceeded to say the Government had determined so far to modify the rule laid down in paragraph 52 of the "Directions" as to limit the demand of the State to "one-half of the average net assets." Now, the expression "average net assets" could not mean mere conjectural future assets, which might or might not be realised, but must mean assets which the proprietor would be able actually to get out of his *sir*, and would be entitled to recover from his tenants, if need be, by legal proceedings. The word average may be said to be ambiguous. If it might mean past *real* would indicate an average based on something actual and tangible, rather than a fictitious or imaginary future average; the more so as we find the words "during the period of the settlement," after the words "net produce" in the old rule, omitted in the new rule. But whatever be the right reading of the phrase in the "Directions" there is little room for doubt as to what it was intended to mean, when the rule, as revised, was made part of the Central Provinces Settlement Code. At page 21 of the Code, following the instructions embodied in the sections is to be found the following letter originally issued for the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories: "The true object to be aimed at, whenever practical, is undoubtedly, in the view of the Lieutenant-Governor, that the assessment should be fixed with reference to a well ascertained rental, and not that the rents of fields should be left to be subsequently calculated, so as to furnish the means of meeting an assessment which had been conjecturally fixed by the Settlement Officer." (Paragraph 2.) It must, his Honour remarks, be the business of the Settlement Officer to approach as nearly as he can for the ground work of his proceeding to the real rental value of every *Mahal*. "When a Settlement Officer puts a higher rental value on a holding, the enhanced rent is no doubt a prospective asset in a sense, but it cannot be a real asset unless it is actually recoverable in law by the proprietor."

BASIS OF THE NAGPUR SETTLEMENT.

Whether the half-assets rule or the sixty per cent. rule applied to the Nagpur District, it must be admitted that its actual settlement was based neither on the one nor on the other. Further, the assets taken as the basis of the assessment were not the actual assets as then realised, but the estimated assets, calculated on a set of "pergunnah rates round which as a common centre the assessments of the villages

were made to revolve" (Paragraphs 39 and 40 of the Settlement Report). The existing assets were enhanced so as to conform to what the Settlement Officer thought the village was "capable of yielding shortly," when the Malguzar, secure in the enjoyment of his own rights, "would realise from his tenants his fair share of the enhanced profits resulting from the prosperity of the country." This departure from the instructions of the Code, so far as it was a departure, is easily explained. The *juna* of the last settlement of the Maharashtra Government was Rs. 11,32,000. It was reduced to Rs. 9,76,000 during the temporary settlements which followed the "lapse," and a further reduction, which the application of the half-assets rule or even the sixty per cent. rule would have involved, was evidently considered a needless sacrifice of the rights of Government. Accordingly the existing *juna* was practically maintained, the new *juna* being Rs. 9,77,000. (These figures are taken from the General Assessment Statement attached to the Settlement Report.) There can be no question that the people were satisfied with this Settlement. The insecurity of their position under the old system was put an end to and they were left to enjoy undisturbed the full benefits of their property, not only during the entire period of the Settlement, but beyond that so long as they or their descendants might maintain their connexion with it. They also fully realised the great potentialities of improvement in the near future under the quickening influence of a beneficent, vigorous, and progressive rule.

THE PRACTICE IN OTHER DISTRICTS.

A similar non-adherence to the instructions of the Settlement Code—presumably on similar grounds—is to be observed in two other districts of the old Nagpur Province, Wardha and Chanda. In the former the fiscal result of the revision was a very trifling increase. The proposed assessment gave a reduction of from nine to twenty per cent. on the old Maharashtra assessments, and there was thus no room for a rigid application of the half-assets or even the sixty per cent. rule without a large sacrifice of Government revenue. (See para. 21 of Settlement Commissioner's letter forwarding the Settlement Officer's Report.) In Chanda the revised revenue (excluding *Maufee*) was actually less than the former revenue by Rs. 16,800, or six per cent. (Para. 23 of Commissioner's covering letter.) But in districts where the revenue was enhanced, the half-asset rule was substantially followed. Thus in Bilaspur we find the Settlement Officer writing as follows:—"The annual rental of the three Tahsils amounts to Rs. 4,43,361, or if proprietors' lands be calculated as a rental 50 per cent. in excess of the ordinary run of *lana*, or the rental of the whole of the district may be stated as amounting to Rs. 5,26,391. The Government *juna* in Khalsa being Rs. 2,51,934, the existing rental value is 110 per cent. above the amount of revised assessments, and the difference is one which every year will augment in favour of the proprietors" (para. 302 of the Report). Taking the latter figure of assets, the percentage of revenue to assets was about 48. In Raipur the enhancement was 67 per cent. on the former demand, and the percentage which the revised revenue bore to the assets, as fixed or recorded in the Settlement Book, was 55. It was below 50 with a full valuation of *sir*. The matter is thus referred to in the Report: "The profits on the rental would, when added to those given by the large areas cultivated by the Malguzars, give them at least 50 per cent. profit even after allowing a large deduction for cesses" (para. 263). In Bhandara the enhancement was 22 per cent. The rayati rents (real and not prospective) were Rs. 5,45,000, the total "equitable rent of *sir*" [assessed with "half as heavy a liability" as lands of proprietors of and profits from grass lands, etc., were put down at Rs. 1,65,000. The total assets were Rs. 9,88,000, and the proportion the revenue bore to it was 54 per cent. (para. 193). Valuing *sir* as other village lands, the proportion was about 48 per cent.; it would thus appear that where the revenue was enhanced the rule of half-assets was substantially followed, assets being taken as real assets. But in those districts where the revision of settlement meant a reduction or maintenance of the existing demand or its redistribution among the villages settled, the fiction of an approximate half-assets assessment was kept up by making prospective profits the basis of calculation. Thus in Nagpur "the ascertained or supposed assets" were taken at Rs. 17,70,000, and "gross rental as per assumed average rates on soil" at Rs. 18,00,000. The proportions of the revenue to these figures were 55 and 64 per cent. respectively.

CHARACTER OF THE "HALF-ASSETS" RULE.

It is, no doubt, the case that the "half-assets rule" was an "instruction" issued by Government for the guidance of its own officers. It did not, and could not, set any artificial limitation on the share of assets which the State might desire to take as revenue. Nevertheless, when the time approached for the present Settlement, it was considered expedient by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, to apply to the Supreme Government to abrogate it. His predecessor, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, was apparently of a different opinion. (Vide reference to his letter in para. 2 of Sir Edward Buck's letter No. 461, dated August 24, 1887, to the Chief Commissioner.) For he (Sir Charles) appears to have urged the Supreme Government that "the assessment on new cultivation without material enhancement of rates" would "on the half-assets principle give the increase of land revenue which the progress of the Province might justify the Government in expecting." (Para. of the above Government letter.) Sir Alexander Mackenzie, however, considered, "even in the interests of the people, that it would be safer to abrogate the half-assets rule altogether than to attempt to evade it by the calculation of hypothetical assets," as he characterised the method now proposed in Raipur. According to the former asked "that the half-assets rule might be authoritatively declared inapplicable to the Central Provinces at the present Settlement, and the Local Government might be left to make a reasonable and moderate settlement all round," "25 to 30 per cent. of the assets" being considered "or a fair allowance for Malguzar profits, risks, and costs of collection," "in

other words, he asked for sanction for a settlement on 70 to 75 per cent. rule. (C. P. Secretariat letter No. 501 S., dated May 18, 1887.) The Supreme Government asked for further information regarding the principles on which the revised Settlements were to be effected. The final orders of Government were to the following effect:—"The Government of India has some hesitation in allowing in any case so high a percentage as sixty-five to be taken, and would at least prefer that this maximum be restricted to those cases in which the former percentage was not, at any rate, below that fraction, and that in other estates 60 per cent. be taken as the highest admissible percentage." (Letter No. 397, dated May 31, 1888, to the Chief Commissioner.) Half the district of Nagpur was re-settled on this principle. In 1894, however, the Government of India ruled that the share of the assets to be taken as revenue should not exceed 60 per cent., except where the existing revenue exceeded 65 per cent. of the assets, as revised and fixed by the Settlement Officer, in which case the revised demand might be fixed at a fraction up to, but not exceeding, 65 per cent. (*Vide* para. 230 of the new Settlement Code, 1895.) Assessments previously made were reduced, where necessary, to make them conform to this new rule. For this concession, the people are indebted to Sir Antony MacDonnell, then Home member, and to Sir John Woodburn, then Chief Commissioner. Statement XIII attached to Mr. Craddock's report shows that in all the 38 assessment groups into which the district was divided, the percentage of former revenue on assets was above 65, so that practically this percentage would, had Sir Alexander Mackenzie's rule not been modified, have regulated the assessment of the district. For this reason, therefore be no question that substantial relief to the people has resulted from the change in the rule. Nor can it be said that this concession has led to any unreasonable sacrifice of Government revenue. For the percentage, including assessment on Malik makbuzas is 67 in one, 64 in another, 63 in seven, 62 in four, 61 in eight, 60 in another eight, 59 in five, 56 in two, 55 in one, and 50 in another group out of the 38 groups. The averages for the four Tahsils are 62, 60, 60, and 63 respectively, and that for the whole district is 61.

ASPECTS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Taking everything into consideration, the proprietors seem to have fared better under the old settlement than they are likely to do under the new settlement, and this seems to be the opinion of the proprietors themselves. It is no doubt the case that the revenue under the former absorbed a larger share of the then actual assets than is the case now. But the following circumstances have to be given due weight to in comparing the economic effect of the two settlements: (1) The *sir* has now been valued at Rs 1-4-9 per acre, whereas it was Rs 0-12-6 at the last settlement, thus giving an increase of 60 per cent. The corresponding increase in the three classes of tenants has been 23, 26, and 29, respectively. Thus either the *sir* was undervalued in the old or has been over-valued in the new settlement by 34 per cent. on an average. We know, however, from old settlement records that it was undervalued before. The burden thus indirectly imposed is not inconsiderable, seeing that the proprietors have in their occupation a little less than a fifth of the total cultivated area. (2) As pointed out in paragraph 51 of the Revenue Report for 1891-2, "practically no scope for future development during the currency of settlement now exists, the country (Nagpur district) being fully cultivated and the bulk of the tenants protected by law against enhancement." Since this was written, protection has been extended, and most rightly extended, to ordinary tenants. Thus while the assets increased from Rs. 11,50,000 to Rs. 15,36,000 during the currency of the old settlement, reducing the percentage taken as revenue from 75 to 58, or, excluding *malik makbuzas*, from 75 to 56, there is hardly any chance of the assets going up above Rs. 17,30,000 as determined at the present settlement. On the contrary, I find from the revenue reports that the incidence of rents has slightly gone down since they were enhanced by the Settlement Officer to form the basis of his assessment. In the year following the settlement (1894-95) they went down from Rs 1-0-3 and Rs 0-13-8 (settlement figures) to Rs 0-15-6 and Rs 0-13-2 for occupancy and ordinary tenants, respectively. The occupancy tenants' rent has since attained the settlement figure; but the ordinary tenants' rent is still slightly below it. (3) According to the figures furnished in response to my question in Council the difference between the old revenue and cesses, and the present revenue and cesses combined is Rs. 2,57,000, whereas the increase of assets owing to enhancement of rents by the Settlement Officer is Rs. 1,86,000. (*Vide* paragraph 6 of Government Resolution.) Thus, instead of the enhancements cancelling the increase, they leave an excess of Rs. 71,000. Taking into account cesses, the balance left immediately before the revision was Rs. 6,80,000, and that after revision was Rs. 5,49,000. It would thus appear that a rigid settlement has taken the place of an elastic settlement, during the course of which the public demands came to be less and less onerous every year.

NAGPUR SETTLEMENT NOT REPRESENTATIVE.

From the point of view of the whole Province it can hardly be regarded as satisfactory that the first settlement to come under review by the Hon. Mr. Fraser and his Excellency the Viceroy should have been the Nagpur Settlement. For here the revenue enhancement has been the lowest in the Province; here though the old demand was not enhanced at the former settlement, yet the percentage which the revenue bore to the assets was very high. The percentage could thus be largely reduced, and yet a reasonable increase of revenue secured at the new settlement. Here, further, owing to the proprietors not having largely exercised their power to enhance rents, the rents of even ordinary tenants had to be raised by the Settlement Officer to make it conform to his "deduced rent," and thus the assessable assets increased. And lastly, the Nagpur operations were conducted by a Settlement Officer of exceptional ability and judgment. Under the circumstances, it would hardly be right to form any opinion regarding settlement in other districts from what has taken place in Nagpur. The heavy enhancements in some of these districts may be

justified; but, if so, they must be justified on grounds other than those applying to Nagpur. To show how misleading it would be to judge other districts by the Nagpur standard, I may mention that in the Hinganghat Tahsil, in the adjoining district of Wardha, the assessment in a considerable number of villages was so heavy as to be crushing. The matter was brought to the notice of Sir Charles Lyall, then Chief Commissioner, and the Hon. Mr. Fraser, then Commissioner, and an enquiry was ordered. The result was that on the report of the Settlement Commissioner, Mr. Carey, the Settlement was revised and abatements granted, but not until much hardship had been endured. It would thus appear that every settlement has to be judged on its own merits, and that no general conclusion regarding the Province as a whole can be come to on a consideration of the settlement of one district.

Nagpur, October 29.

B. K. Boss.

THE CONGRESS AT LAHORE.

THE DELEGATE OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress held on October 18 last, Mr. Gordon Hewart, Editor of *INDIA*, was unanimously invited to attend the approaching meetings of the Indian National Congress at Lahore, as the delegate of the British Committee.

Mr. Hewart has accepted the invitation and will leave Marseilles by the P. and O. ss. "Caledonia" on November 30. He expects to reach Bombay on December 15.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

In accordance with our usual practice we give below a tabular statement of the public meetings in this country addressed during the past season by members of, or by lecturers on behalf of, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

In spite of many adverse circumstances—among which may be mentioned the absence of Miss Alison Garland in India during a great part of the lecturing season, the distractions of the South African war, and chronic lack of funds—it is gratifying to find that the list includes no fewer than 130 meetings. Nor is it exhaustive. Mention should also be made of the good work done by certain members of the Committee, especially Mr. N. B. Wagle, in addressing meetings during the campaign of the General Election.

During the year the Committee has procured for its lantern-lectures a new set of slides to illustrate some of the ravages of the Indian famine.

When meetings are held the opportunity is taken to distribute to the audience some of the many publications relating to India which the Committee has at its disposal.

As a direct result of the meetings a sum considerably exceeding £1,000 sterling has during the year been collected for the famine relief funds.

1899.	1900.
Sept. 26, Melksham.	May 4, Muswell Hill.
Oct. 3, Weston-S.-Mare.	6, Bolton.
" 6, Hayward's Heath.	" 7, Bolton.
" 9, Stokenchurch.	" 7, Blackburn.
" 13, Nottingham.	" 8, Darwen.
" 16, Bentham.	" 9, Bacup.
" 18, Prestwich.	" 10, Manchester.
" 21, Failssworth.	" 11, Oakworth.
" 27, Otley.	" 13, Leeds.
Nov. 1, Guisborough.	" 14, Leek.
" 6, Aspatria.	" 15, Sheffield.
" 7, Cockermonth.	" 15, Hallam.
" 8, Maryport.	" 17, Moss Side.
" 13, Attercliffe.	" 18, Manchester.
" 14, Sheffield.	" 20, Rochdale.
" 16, Exeter.	" 21, Wigan.
" 17, Plymouth.	" 22, Willaston.
" 20, Leamington.	" 23, Bristol (South).
" 21, Sheffield.	" 24, Clifton.
	" 25, Street.
1900.	" 25, Glastonbury.
Jan. 21, Tunbridge Wells.	" 27, Bristol.
Feb. 20, Northampton.	" 28, Cardiff.
Mar. 23, London.	" 30, Caerphilly.
April 26, Exmouth.	June 12, London.

June 28, Plymouth.	Oct. 15, East Toxteth.
July 5, Chudleigh.	" 16, Nottingham.
" 9, Yelverton.	" 18, Ashton-under-Lyna.
" 16, Paddington.	" 23, Nelson.
" 19, Bradford.	" 25, Cranlington.
" 20, Farsley.	" 26, Camborne.
" 21, Pudsey.	" 29, Woodburn.
" 22, Armley.	" 30, Cambo.
" 23, Leeds.	" 31, Elswick.
" 24, Keighley.	Nov. 2, Hayward's Heath.
" 25, Hawkshead.	" 6, London.
" 28, Cockermouth.	" 7, London.
" 29, Peadshaw Crag.	" 7, St. Albans.
" 29, Workington.	" 9, Petersfield.
" 30, Whitehaven.	" 13, Burnley.
Aug. 3, Manchester.	" 15, Stalybridge.
Sept. 21, Edingale.	

In addition to the meetings included in the foregoing list, members of the British Committee have addressed meetings as follows:—

1899.	1900.
Oct. 9, Halifax.	June 20, Canning Town.
" 10, Milrow.	July 1, Walthamstow.
" 11, Whitworth.	" 17, Westminster.
" 12, Middleton.	" 18, "
" 13, Colne.	" 21, Plumstead.
	Aug. 26, Brixton.
	Sept. 17, Clerkenwell.
1900.	Oct. 21, Croydon.
Mar. 14, Salisbury.	Nov. 3, Tunbridge Wells.
April 4, London.	" 7, Shepton Mallet.
" 30, Ilford.	

Indian questions have also been introduced into addresses on current politics at the following places:—

1899.	1899.
Oct. 2, Exmouth.	Oct. 24, Burton-on-Trent.
" 5, Brighton.	" 25, Ripponden.
" 7, Plymouth.	" 26, Sowerby Bridge.
" 10, Watlington.	" 31, Beverley.
" 11, Benson.	Nov. 9, Accrington.
" 15, Keighley.	
" 19, Wigan.	1900.
" 23, Horwich.	Nov. 8, Burnham-on-Crouch.

Meetings were addressed during the General Election by Miss Alison Garland as follows:—

1900.	1900.
Sept. 25, Burnley.	Oct. 4, High Peak.
" 25, Glossop.	" 4, "
" 26, Burnley.	" 5, Buxton.
" 27, Marple Bridge.	" 6, "
" 27, Mellor.	" 8, Littleborough.
" 28, Cockermouth.	" 9, Ramsbottom.
Oct. 1, Broughton.	" 9, "
" 1, Wyndham Row.	" 10, Hooley Hill.
" 3, Hasfield.	

Among future meetings already arranged may be mentioned the following:—

On Saturday next, November 24, at 7.45 p. m., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will deliver an address upon "Famine in India, its Causes and Remedies," before the St. John's Literary and Debating Society, St. John's Parochial Hall, Frederick Crescent, Vassal Road, Brixton, S.W.

On December 5, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will deliver an address on "India," at the Midmay Radical Club and Institute, 34, Newington Green, N., at 8.30 p.m.

On January 14, Mr. Naoroji will deliver an address at the Penge and Beckenham Liberal and Radical Club.

On February 10, Mr. Naoroji will deliver an address at the Hatcham Liberal Club, New Cross Road.

On November 10 last, Mr. Naoroji presided at a temperance meeting at Vernon Lodge Temperance Hall, King's Cross. In the course of his speech he referred to India, with special reference to the question of temperance.

THE INDIAN CHIEFS AND THE CHINA EXPEDITION.

The Indian mail brings the text of a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated August 2, as follows:— "Your Lordship is already aware that many of the rulers of States in India have come forward with offers of troops for employment in China. We have now the honour to enclose a statement of those offers. Almost all the States which have thus volunteered the

loan of their forces maintain Imperial Service troops, that is, troops maintained, disciplined, and equipped with a special view to taking part in the defence of India, and these troops we might at any time call upon to take their place alongside of the Indian Army to repel an invasion of Indian soil. The present movement is of an entirely different character. The Chiefs of Indian States are under no obligation to take upon their shoulders any part of the Imperial burden abroad; nevertheless their own free will they have expressed their desire to range themselves among the forces of the Empire. It appears to us, therefore, that whether it is found possible to accept their offers or not, it is desirable to make known that the States of India are one with the British Empire, not only in maintaining contingents for the defence of India itself, but in placing themselves so far as lies in their power in a line with the other dependencies of Great Britain by offering their resources in the support of the Empire in distant parts of the world. The princely beneficence of the Maharaja of Gwalior in undertaking to provide and maintain a hospital ship for the service of British and Native soldiers now in China has been made public, and will be universally applauded. The eager loyalty of the many others who are as ready as the Maharaja Scindia himself is to serve in person and to devote the military strength of their States to the support of Great Britain wherever she may be engaged should, we think, be equally made known. We have ourselves taken into serious consideration the question whether it may not be possible and desirable to go further, and not merely to acknowledge publicly and with gratitude the devoted loyalty which has been displayed by the rulers of these States, but also to accept and to select a force from the many troops thus placed at our disposal, and to send a small brigade to China as representative of the support, both moral and material, which has been so abundantly proffered.

"We think that there would be no small political advantage in thus showing to the world that India is united and loyal; we also think that an absolute refusal might have a disheartening effect upon the Chiefs, who have spent much in making their troops efficient, and might check the general enthusiasm which has been evoked in connexion with the war in the Transvaal and the disturbance in China. The services of these troops, if they are accepted, should, in our opinion, be regarded as a purely spontaneous gift, and the ordinary cost of their maintenance on a peace footing should, as is desired by those who have volunteered, be borne by the States to which they belong, while the extra expenses consequent on their transport abroad and employment in the field should fall upon Her Majesty's Government. We are confident of being able to put in the field at short notice two battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a company of sappers, all of good physique, of excellent discipline, and of an efficiency approaching even to that of the troops of our Native Army. Some of these troops would be offered by nobles of high standing in the States to which they belong, if not by the ruler himself, and they would be ready to undertake any duties that might be assigned to them, whether they were called upon to fight in the front line, to guard communications, or to garrison towns and settlements.

"We have had experience in the frontier disturbances three years ago of the employment of some of the Imperial Service troops of the Punjab States. They rendered good service on that occasion, and we have been able to profit by that experience and to improve upon the system under which a few British officers were attached to them in order to keep touch between these troops, led by their own countrymen, and the rest of the forces commanded by British officers. Should occasion arise for the despatch of an additional force from the Indian Army to China, we hope Her Majesty's Government may have acquiesced, in addition to such force, of a compact body such as we have described above being selected from the Imperial Service contingents of the Indian States."

The Secretary of State, in his reply to the despatch says:— "I fully share your appreciation of the loyal spirit which has prompted these offers, and the employment of a force, consisting of Imperial Service troops under the conditions proposed in your despatch has already been sanctioned by my telegram of August 3."

THE "KALIDAS" CASE.

The Reformer writes:—The editor of the *Kalidas*, a paper in the Marathi language published in Benares, with a circulation of 350 copies, has been sent to prison for one year. Why? Because he wrote articles to show that in India Europeans are treated better than Indians, and that Christians forget their Christianity. If this is the crime of the editor of the *Kalidas*, then he has been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for speaking the truth (regardless of the English standard). Everyone knows that Europeans are treated better than Indians in India; and the following from the *Indian Churchman* gives us a sample of the Christianity:—

Regarding the relationship between soldiers and native employees about barracks, we think the policy of recent years of severely punishing the men for the slightest cuff or blow given to a servant has proved a great mistake. There is such a thing as drawing the reins too tight in such matters. . . . The private soldier is a man of like passions with his civilian brother, and to visit every little slap or cuff administered to a punkah-coolie or impudent barack-servant with imprisonment and hard labour is to engender the bitterest animosity betwixt the men and the native servants.

Open Letters to Lord Curzon ON FAMINES IN INDIA.

By **ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.**

London: **KEGAN PAUL & Co.**, price 7/6. Obtainable in India through any bookseller.

"Mr. R. C. Dutt's volume is extremely opportune at the present time, and his position, that an excessive land tax renders the agricultural population unable to face two or three successive years of drought, calls at least for careful examination." — *The Daily News*

"Mr. Dutt succeeds in showing that, on the whole, areas of recurrent famine have been coincident with those of excess of assessment." — *The Daily News*

"Nothing could be better than the book on Indian Famines which Mr. Dutt has just published in the form of some Open Letters to Lord Curzon. It is thoroughly informed, well-reasoned, and temperate; it tells the enquiring man exactly what he ought to know." — *The Daily Chronicle*

"We would draw special attention to Mr. Dutt's own convincing and eloquent plea, hidden away in the final pages of the appendix, for the creation of village cooperative institutions, which should enable the Government of India to utilise native services and keep abreast of native opinion." — *The Economist*

"His recommendations are that the land tax should be moderated, that irrigation works should be constructed, and that the public debt and the public expenditure of India should be reduced. These proposals are supported with a wealth of detail of all kinds, which proves his mastery of the subject and makes good his claim to the attention of the governing authorities." — *The Herald*

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