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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE telegram from our Calcutta correspondent which will be found on another page indicates that our forecast of Calcutta administration is but too likely to prove correct. The election held to fill the vacancies on the Corporation created by the resignation of twenty-eight out of the fifty elective commissioners turned out, according to the *Englishman*, an "altogether tame affair." Precisely. The Indian community, who have so much the largest interest in the business, marked their sense of the indignity put upon them by the action of the Government: they "practically stood aloof." And what happened? Of the twenty-eight seats only twelve were filled. More than half the elections proved abortive. More than that, seven of the twelve elected commissioners are Eurasians. Of course, the Government will fill up the sixteen seats for which the elections failed, and thus there will be forty-one nominated commissioners out of a total of seventy-five. The Government is securing control with a vengeance. We have still to see what will come of it. Evidently the Natives of ability and influence are standing aloof. The last rags of local self-government are being torn away, and the Corporation has become a Government annexe. The question still remains to be answered: How is Calcutta, with its 860,000 souls, to be governed?

In the debate on the Calcutta Municipal Bill, an interesting discussion took place over Section 93, which provides that "every member of the General Committee shall be entitled to receive a fee of 32 rupees, and every member of a sub-committee a fee of 16 rupees" per attendance. The Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjee and other Native members moved amendments and fought hard against payment for municipal work in any shape or form. The Hon. Mr. Baker admitted that his personal opinion was against the payment of fees, but he held it to be "a necessary corollary of the municipal system which they were introducing, which was to place it on a business footing!" He was able to reinforce the Government argument by the example of the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation and of the Calcutta Port Trust; and the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie said the payment of fees was "a well-known and recognised practice" also in England, though we confess we don't know in what particular municipalities. It is worth noting that the Native members went solid against this payment of fees, and that they were overpowered by the European vote. Just fancy the London County Council swamped by Government nominees, and the members paid for an attendance that they would not otherwise give. Then calculate how much this "reform" is going to do for the promotion of civic virtue in the way of "self-government" in Calcutta!

Parliament meets on Tuesday next for a brief autumn Session necessitated, or at all events caused, by the success of the Jingo conspiracy against the Transvaal. India is interested in the matter to this extent, that the debate on

the Address which under ordinary circumstances would have taken place next February is, by all accounts, to be disposed of next week. It follows that if there is to be an Indian amendment to the Address it will have to be submitted next week or not at all. This is unfortunate because it is tolerably certain that our fire-eaters will be in no humour at such a time to listen to reason on any Indian topic. At the time of writing we do not know what the decision of the Indian Parliamentary Committee may be upon the point whether an Indian debate next week would be better than no debate at all. But there is undoubtedly ample material for discussion in the threatened famine, the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and the treatment of Indians by our colonies.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Times* reports that the *Pester Lloyd* anticipates that war in South Africa will "lead to unexpected complications in Asia." Further:—

It points out that Russian journals have latterly reported various disturbances on the Indian frontier, while some of them suggest that the South African campaign would offer Russia a favourable opportunity for establishing her hold upon Persia.

We anticipated some such "intelligence" as this. The Russian Government knows a great deal better than its Jingo would-be-instructors and advisers; but undoubtedly the moment is not unfavourable for one of those demonstrations which, though they are intrinsically futile, have nevertheless the effect of giving the military clique at Simla a fit of nerves.

In this connexion we may refer to a rather alarmist message printed by the *Daily Telegraph* on Tuesday from its correspondent at St. Petersburg. The message stated that

According to reports from Russian authorities in Central Asia the Amir of Afghanistan is growing insane, and serious troubles are impending in that country. Not only is Abdur Ráhmán unaccountably suspicious towards all Europeans there, but he openly regards the contribution paid to him by the Anglo-Indian Government as a subsidy for defending English territories from Russian attacks, and considers himself entitled at any moment to join hands with Russia—on condition, however, that the Tsar's representatives will pay him well enough. Recent occurrences in Kabul give rise to the fear that the Amir may sooner or later provoke a conflict between Russia and Great Britain. Dissimulation is a marked trait in Abdur Ráhmán's nature. He had formed the intention of leaving Kabul for Masarichérif, where he would be in a better position for communicating with the Russian Government. His little plan, however, was discovered in time. The discovery drove Abdur Ráhmán into a state of fury, and, when the journey had been abandoned, to commit all sorts of excesses.

All this is in the familiar style, and the account that followed of the excesses by which Abdur Ráhmán is said to gratify his "bloodthirsty instincts" may be taken as read. But the conclusion is the thing:—

In addition to these atrocities, reports are received of executions taking place every day. In consequence, an enormous number of Afghans are leaving Kabul. They are seeking safety in the mountainous regions around or upon the Russian frontier. Largely on account of the disturbed condition of things in Kabul, and in order to stop incursions of Afghans into Russian territory, the Russian forces on the frontier are being strengthened considerably. All the actions and plans of Abdur Ráhmán are inexplicable, save on the theory that he is growing hopelessly insane. Russia is watching affairs in Afghanistan very closely, because grave events are taking place there, and because the health of the Amir is growing worse and worse, and his position more and more insecure.

Now of course those of us who hold reasonable views of Indian trans-frontier policy are not likely to fall into the error of treating stuff like this seriously. But the fact remains that our views are not the Indian Government's views, and the question must be asked how, in spite of the emphatic warnings of journals like the *Englishman* the military authorities in India brought themselves to permit the removal of so large a section of British troops from India to South Africa. Of two alternative admissions, it seems to us, the Government of India is bound to make

one. It must confess either (1) that the Russian bogey is all nonsense, and that the normal strength of the British army in India is excessive, or (2) that the interests of India have been lightly sacrificed in order to help on an infamous war with which India has no concern. Which horse will the "Simla clique" choose to ride?

The taxpayers of India will observe with some interest the announcement of our Government's handsome intentions in respect of the troops that our colonies are graciously lending to take part in the war against the Dutch race in South Africa. The Government is determined that this exhibition of loyalty shall cost the colonies nothing but shall be a charge upon the pockets of the British taxpayers. What a contrast between this attitude and that "masterpiece of melancholy meanness" by which on so many occasions troops whose expenses are paid by the poverty-stricken taxpayers of India have been borrowed for Imperial purposes. It looks as if we were prepared to pay through the nose for the privilege of making after-dinner speeches about "our colonial empire" though we cannot afford to do bare justice to India.

The paper in the September number of the *Contemporary Review* on "the Anglo-Indian's Creed," signed "A Heretic," is the subject of an article in the *Pioneer* which boldly accepts the author's statement of the Anglo-Indian's belief and glories in its own shame. Especially does it cling to the substance of the first article of the creed "that long residence in India alone enables a man to express correct opinions on any Indian question," though in its great liberality it is ready to admit that non-official Anglo-Indians may sometimes arrive at right conclusions. But if no one, however able he may be, and however long he may have watched and studied Indian affairs, is capable of judging correctly unless he has lived long in India—if personal contact is the great requirement—does it not necessarily follow that the Indian, who was born in the country, who has lived all his life there and who is acquainted with the thoughts and feelings of the people to an extent that the Anglo-Indian can never hope to equal, however long he may remain, is still more capable of forming a right judgment on Indian affairs? If ability, absence of prejudice, and careful study are as nothing compared with personal contact and domicile in India, then why should the opinions of those who have this qualification in the largest measure be so constantly despised or ignored? This is a view of the question of which the *Pioneer* takes no notice.

As to the article "that no external criticism is to be tolerated either in the Native or European press and still less on a public platform," our contemporary seems to regret that it is not acted up to more fully than it is; but if it were, it is to be feared that the *Pioneer*, which has of late shown itself so firm and just a critic of some official abuses, would itself have to stand in the same pillory with wicked English Radicals and foolish Bengali babus—that is unless the flat blasphemy of the Indian Press becomes only the choleric word in the *Pioneer*. It is true that we are assured, if things only go on as they do now, that India will reach the same high state of civilisation that England now enjoys, in less than twenty centuries. Surely, for the sake of all this, all critics should be silent for the next nineteen centuries at least. Meantime, the happy Indians may amuse themselves by calculating the amount of the tribute their country will pay in that time, calculated on the basis of the payments during the past fifty years, while they respect the comforting words of the *Pioneer*—

It has been throughout the glory of British rule in India—utterly misunderstood by critics of the heretic type—that the country has never been managed—as other European states have endeavoured to manage their dependencies—on the milch-cow principle.

It would be interesting to know how many of the French colonies are even self-supporting, and how many keep up an army ready for use in other quarters of the globe.

Upon all this fine talk of the disinterested character of English rule in India, devotedly striving out of pure benevolence to raise India to a high state of civilisation in less than twenty centuries, another Anglo-Indian paper

furnishes an appropriate commentary. The *Friend of India*, leaving for a moment the pleasant task of sneering at "Little Englanders," attacks with great candour, in an article entitled "Capital and Empire," the part played by capitalists in the Imperialist movement. Alike in the Cuban war and in the present situation in the Transvaal it sees their work:—

We know that the agitation on the Rand is very largely the work of big capitalists who have motives of their own for destroying President Kruger's Government. We also know that the same group of capitalists controls an important portion of the newspaper press in South Africa, and influences not a few London journals. Therefore, whether it be right or whether it be wrong for the British Government to interfere in the Transvaal, we may be sure that the interference has been inspired by other forces as well as by the desire to see constitutional rights extended to the Uitlanders.

It appears, then, according to the *Friend of India*, that our Imperial expansion is not due to pure benevolence but rather to the desire to find fresh outlets for capital; and it is much exercised on the evil effects to English public life of the nation's thus living more and more on a tribute from abroad. But if the world becomes more and more England's "milch-cow" can India hope to escape, even if she has escaped hitherto? Can she hope to escape, if not for nineteen, say for nine centuries, or less than half the time which may possibly be required, according to the *Pioneer*, for England to complete her work of civilisation? Already the *Friend of India* calculates that England draws from 80 to 100 millions sterling in excess of imports over exports. But if the political and moral effects of this on the mother-country excite the apprehension of our Calcutta contemporary, should it not also have some anxiety for India, which loses a part of what England gains, a part which has amounted to Rs. 35,000,000 in one year? If this is not being a milch-cow, it is uncommonly like it.

The *Pioneer* remarks:—

The persistent distrust by the governed of all efforts for their benefit made by the ruling race is one of the most discouraging features of Indian life.

The particular instance in view here is the decrease in the numbers vaccinated in Bengal owing to a slight change in the method of vaccination. But this distrust is sufficiently patent in every direction, and is likely to become all the greater if the present policy of repression and suppression is continued. Distrust begets distrust. The Indians will be more likely to trust the Government when the Government ceases to distrust them, and the efforts of the ruling race will be more successful when they remove one of the chief causes of distrust by associating Indians in their work to a greater extent than they now do.

We have often noticed how much of the ability and integrity of her high officials India loses through the corruption of ill-paid underlings. So much is paid to those with whom the mass of the people seldom come in contact that the lower branches of the service are starved. Thus India suffers alike from the expensiveness of European and the corruption of Asiatic government. This is especially seen in the police. Cases of police torture have before now appeared in our columns, but it has seldom been our duty to record such a strong condemnation as that passed by the Sessions Judge in a recent case at Satara. Four men were lately acquitted on a charge of murder. Mr. R. Knight, the judge in question, did not hesitate to accuse the chief constable, who had got up the case, of torture, perjury and fabrication of evidence. As reported in the *Mahratta*, he said:—

It is hardly gratifying to an officer in my position to find that the police should conceive so lowly of the intelligence of the Court as to dare to bring before it so preposterous a story.

Concerning one of the accused, Bala, who had complained of being ill-treated by the police when in gaol, and whose complaints were corroborated by the Civil Surgeon, Mr. Knight remarked:—

It is clear that Bala would not confess and that the police exhausted every resource in trying to make him do so, not stopping short of torturing him. Having failed in this, they finally manufactured evidence to implicate him.

Is not the Indian police more in need of reform than the Calcutta municipality?

We agree with the *Hindu* that the Governor of Madras

has been "very badly advised" in sanctioning the suspension of trial by jury in Tinnevely and Madura in the cases arising out of the recent riots. The *Hindu* says:—

The notification of the Government is a reflection on the Natives of this country, for it implies that they are unfit to properly exercise the privilege of trial by jury even in the matter of so petty a cause of dispute as has arisen between the Shanars and Maravars. . . . If this is the case in Tinnevely and Madura now, it will be the case in similar circumstances in every other district, in every area occupied by Native population. We have never heard that in European countries, when disturbances of this kind arise, the trial by jury is withdrawn or suspended.

There are plenty of men in those parts who are utterly unconcerned in the matter of dispute. "Are there not Brahmins, Vellalas, and other castes, who are perfectly independent men?" It does seem hard that such a stigma should be impressed upon the whole population without distinction. The intention of the Government is certainly "very apt to be misunderstood."

It is announced that Mr. S. S. Thorburn, the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, retires from the service on November 6, his successor being Mr. C. L. Tupper, like himself a useful and industrious author as well as an experienced officer. Mr. Thorburn has given India some thirty-five years of his active life, and he has given England a more luminous view of existing frontier politics than any other Government official, while his latest novel is delighting Simla even beyond the measure of his latest Simla speech. Has that startling speech, one wonders, any connexion with Mr. Thorburn's retirement? To our mind it showed him a man with the courage of his opinions; opinions, too, founded upon a solid basis of facts. A Government with any spirit would have recognised the value of such a servant, and utilised his services in a higher post worthy of his ability, honesty and courage. He will not surely be allowed to retire without some signal mark of distinction. In any case he may be certain that his outspoken criticism at Simla has given him a place of honour in the minds of thousands who know little of his prolonged and most able and arduous service. He will long be remembered with heartfelt respect and gratitude in India. Our best wishes go with him in his retirement, where, it may be hoped, he will continue to speak a political word in season for India, as well as to charm his readers with his brilliant pen.

The *Tribune* mentions a curious complaint brought against Lieutenant W. D. Villiers Stuart, of a regiment of Gurkhas, by Bhai Kaur Singh—a *Granthi* or Sikh expounder of the scriptures. According to his own account the Granthi was walking along at Abbottabad, absorbed in thought, so that he failed to salute the Lieutenant when he passed in his carriage. As a result a Gurkha sentry was ordered to take Bhai Kaur into custody. When they reached the Lieutenant's office—he is acting as Station Staff Officer—he got down from his carriage and beat Bhai Kaur severely with a cane. He then told the complainant to salute him properly, and when that was done allowed him to go. It is to be hoped that the story of this lesson in the duty of saluting is exaggerated. It is certainly a shameful incident if it be true.

Like other Anglo-Indian papers, the *Times of India* regrets that no one has been punished for the Rangoon outrage, but it complains that the whole army has been blamed for the evil deed of a few men in one regiment. This would indeed be the height of injustice. Unfortunately it is not by men of one regiment alone, nor is it in one Province alone, that outrages of one kind or another have been inflicted on Indians. They have taken place in Bengal, in Madras, in Bombay. Some of the latest cases come from the Punjab. Nor is a comparison with some crimes committed by Indians on Indians very helpful; for our contemporary itself answers its own plea when it says:—

British soldiers are rightly expected to maintain a far higher standard of conduct than the disorderly *budhades* of a lawless district.

Nevertheless it recalls the outrages on women which have unfortunately made the Mynensingh district

notorious; and on these it founds an attack on Indian newspapers:—

The perpetrators of these wholesale outrages have been in every instance natives of India, yet we have searched the Native journals in vain for any comment upon this extraordinary state of things.

We should advise the *Times of India* to search more carefully in future before it brings such a wholesale charge. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had a long and outspoken article on the subject. Our readers will remember that India also referred to the matter.

It appears from the *Indian Mirror* that a question has arisen whether Mr. Apar, whose good work in opposition to the Calcutta Municipal Bill is known to our readers, can properly remain a non-official member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Apar, who was elected as the representative of the Calcutta Corporation, happens to be a clerk of the Crown in the High Court, and as such receives a salary of 700 rupees *per mensem*. The point is, Does the holding of this office constitute him a Government official? It seems that the authorities maintain that it does not—on the ground that under the Indian Councils Act an official is a civil or military officer of the Government. The distinction is a fine one, and it is pointed out *per contra* that when two Government pleaders, natives of India, were elected members of Council the Government refused to confirm the nominations until they had resigned their appointments. Now a Government pleader (it is argued) is hardly a Government servant, as he merely holds a sort of retainer, while a clerk of the Crown holds a regular appointment from the Government. The whole question is evidently arousing some interest in Calcutta, and we need hardly say that the discussion is quite independent of the personal merits and qualifications of Mr. Apar.

In good time our Indian contemporaries are exhibiting a natural anxiety in speculating upon Lord Sandhurst's successor in the Governorship of Bombay. Regarding with a serious eye the "unhappy knack of blundering without occasion," which has been overmuch illustrated by his lordship, they look for a new Governor of Indian knowledge and experience, and generally place Sir Antony MacDonnell first in the running. Everybody will agree that Sir Antony will fill the post with eminent ability and with judicious sympathy. But will the same view of the situation present itself to the Government at home? There are ever so many aspiring slips of nobility in the vicinity of Whitehall, whose "claims" will be by no means readily overlooked. Why on earth an inexperienced lordling should be set to govern a great Presidency, in his administrative leading-strings, is one of those inscrutable mysteries of statecraft that no ordinary eye can penetrate. Frankly, the chances are all against Sir Antony or any other man suspected of the least competence for the post.

The new Cantonment Code for all India which consists of "some 300 sections—to say nothing of numerous schedules and appendices—and deals with every possible subject, from the method of collecting taxes . . . down to the observation of the 'rule of the road' and the punishment of mendicant loiterers," is to come into operation on October 1. The Madras Government urged that, so far as that Province is concerned, the Act should only refer to *bona fide* cantonments, and not to places where a single Native regiment is stationed. In places which have an existence and an organisation quite independent of the presence of troops, the application of the Code would be "a very serious obstruction to good administration." The Government added that

any arrangement which would amount to the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, and which would lead to the employment of one body of persons to conduct the civic administration within the cantonment limits, and of another body to conduct it within the more considerable and more important surrounding municipal limits, will be of no real advantage.

The *Madras Mail* finds all this "eminently reasonable," but sees a tendency on the part of the military authorities to yield as little as possible. It admits that the new rules are a splendid piece of codification and arrangement, but it concludes that, "as in the case of most big and intricate machinery, the cost of running it will be high," while its working will be "unintelligible to the rate-payers of petty military stations."

CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE.

MUCH has been said of late years concerning our glorious Empire and the justice and freedom which everywhere accompany it. Day by day, if not in our churches at least in our newspapers, we give thanks that we are not as other men who oppress the weak and refuse to share their power with the stranger within their gates. And as we talk of the Empire on which the sun never sets we image to ourselves a girdle of free nations round the globe, all sharers in the great heritage, all fellow-citizens of a world-wide dominion. It is a fine picture, but one sadly distant from the truth; for at this very moment the people of one part of this glorious whole find themselves banned and insulted by their fellow-citizens in another part, subjected to invidious laws and popular violence, and made to feel how useless is their imperial citizenship for securing fair and equal treatment. Tried by this test the Empire is a gigantic fraud.

The attention of the public is now centred on the outcome of the long negotiations having for their ostensible object the admission of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal to the franchise. The world has looked with wonder on a dispute beginning with a question of the proper qualification for the suffrage and ending in the movement of great armies and the arbitrament of war. The nations have seen England in her might threatening and arming in order that a polyglot mass of Poles and Hungarians, Americans and Germans, Jews, Turks, and Infidels, may obtain certain civic rights, till lately denied to many of her own people at home. But it has very generally escaped notice that in this same State there were numbers of citizens of the British Empire who had to endure oppressions compared with which those of the Uitlanders were light as air; for what is the loss of a vote compared to the loss of a home, and the compulsory change both of residence and place of business to a distant and unhealthy location far from the centre of trade and the comforts of life? Yet this is the fate decreed by law against the British Indians of Johannesburg, though from time to time held in abeyance. Some have been inclined to blame Mr. Chamberlain for not having done more to remedy this grievance, especially as he was ready to risk so much to remedy other grievances that were far less serious. It is true that he instructed Sir A. Milner "to ask in a friendly way" for favourable treatment at least for the better class of Indians; but amid the demands and threats to which the Boers are now inured, friendly appeals must have some difficulty in obtaining a hearing. But there was another reason which might well have reduced Mr. Chamberlain and Sir A. Milner to silence, or at least have made all speech ineffective. The laws against British Indians in the Transvaal were equalled if not exceeded by those from which they suffered in many parts of the British Empire, and Rhodesia, and Zululand, Natal, and some parts of Australia, have done their best to show how valueless is the citizenship of the British Empire, and how little Imperial union is regarded by some of our Colonies. Whether it be in Rhodesia, under the Chartered Company, or in Natal which is self-governing, or in Zululand which is under the direct control of the Crown, we find invidious discrimination against Indians under the most flimsy disguises, worse no doubt in some places than in others, but showing everywhere how little hold "the Imperial idea" has on the populations of South Africa and Australia.

In Rhodesia, it is true, licences to trade have been granted to some Indians, but only to expose those to whom they have been granted to the violence of the mob. They have been refused to many, so that full freedom to trade could only be obtained by leaving the glorious Empire of which these Indian traders were citizens and taking refuge in the territory of the Portuguese. In Natal, in addition to several grievances which are found in many other parts of South Africa, such as a prohibition against travelling except in third class carriages, four Acts were passed in 1897 of an especially obnoxious kind. The first was a quarantine law of great rigour, in the words of Sir Lepel Griffin, "obviously directed not against contagious disease but against immigration." The second compelled all immigrants to make a written application for admission in a European language. By the third Act, the granting of licences to trade was placed in the hands of an officer

appointed by the town council of each town, a body specially representing the classes most opposed to Indian competition, and furthermore, these licences are only to be granted to those who keep their accounts in the English language. The fourth subjects any Indian found without a "pass" to arrest and imprisonment. Such is the legislation of a single year in Natal as stated by Sir Lepel Griffin.

It is somewhat difficult, pending the issue of the return which was promised to Sir William Wedderburn last Session, to say what is exactly the present state of the law as regards Indians in other self-governing colonies. It seems that both New South Wales and Western Australia have closely imitated the restrictions on Indian immigration imposed by Natal, and that Victoria is moving in the same direction. In the last named colony, in an enquiry held previous to the passing of the proposed Bill making it necessary for immigrants to write their application for admission in a European language, it was admitted by two of the witnesses that the measure, though professedly directed against all Asiatics, was really aimed at Indians only. What makes the matter worse is that the Solicitor-General in moving the second reading of the Bill in the Victorian Legislative Assembly declared that it "represented an agreement arrived at by the Premiers of all the Australian colonies." So that it seems probable that the whole of the Southern continent may soon be shut against Indians. Yet Australia is accounted one of the great centres of Imperial feeling.

When in all these cases the Colonial Secretary is blamed for not advising the Crown to withhold its assent from such legislation, the natural answer is that these are self-governing colonies, which must even be allowed to go their own wicked way. It is true that colonial legislation has been often vetoed, notably in the case of making lawful marriage with a deceased wife's sister; but it is perhaps feared that the weak and delicate bonds of Empire would not stand the strain of interference in defence of the people of India. Nevertheless, accepting this plea for what it is worth, we find that its force is still further reduced by the disabilities of Indians not being confined to self-governing dependencies. Zululand is a Crown colony, and as such is under the direct control of the Colonial Secretary. Yet these Indians are included among those who cannot possess land; and if land is sold to an Indian, not only is the sale void, but the property reverts to the Government. Here, then, we see the great high priest of Imperialism allowing this discrimination against Indians. President Kruger imposes disabilities on Uitlanders. Mr. Chamberlain allows them to be imposed by his subordinates on his fellow-citizens in the same Empire, his fellow-subjects of the same Queen.

But it is perhaps unfair to blame Mr. Chamberlain alone for having little care for the sufferings of Indians in English Colonies. The blame must certainly be shared by Lord George Hamilton. The world is ignorant of what remonstrances the Secretary of State for India has addressed to his colleagues on this subject. It is obvious, at least, that if our remonstrances have been made they have been unsuccessful. Yet it is a matter which peculiarly affects him. He is the representative of India in the Cabinet. It is his duty to strive to the utmost that she and her people suffer no wrong throughout the Empire. Yet whether it be from want of zeal, of strength, or of ability, it is certain that the representations, which we should be loth to think he had failed to make, have been of no avail. This persecution of the Indians in so many parts of the Empire will reflect no little discredit on a term of office already none too fortunate, and will add one more reason to the many which will always prevent Lord George Hamilton from obtaining or deserving the respect and good-will of the Indian people.

Two incidents which occurred in Natal show even more than a dry enumeration of laws how lightly the people of that colony hold the claims of Empire when they are moved by their prejudices or their interests. Nor must it be forgotten that Natal is now the especial favourite of the Imperialists—not like the Cape which has placed in office an Afrikaner Ministry and has been anxious to avoid war, but a real British colony, overflowing with boisterous loyalty, and most anxious to invade the Transvaal, with the help of 50,000 British troops and chiefly at the expense of the United Kingdom. Well, Natal—this bright jewel of Imperial patriotism, if the expression be

not a contradiction in terms—has lately embarked in a legislative campaign against the Indian immigrant. An Indian barrister, Mr. Gandhi, who was well acquainted with the colony, ventured to publish in India an account of the indignities to which his fellow-countrymen in Natal were subjected. Surely, if ever there was a case in which freedom of speech was justified, it was here. Mr. Gandhi was not going out of his province. He was pleading the cause of his own people to his own people, on a question about which he had full knowledge. Even had he done so in an intemperate way—he was moderate throughout—it might have been thought that those who could make laws against Indians would have suffered a pamphlet in their favour. But those who think so do not understand a Natal Imperialist. On Mr. Gandhi returning to the colony a most determined attempt was made to lynch him, a great part of the white population turning out to attack one Indian barrister who was with difficulty saved from their tender mercies. The second case is even worse. Not content with hampering Indian immigration and stunting Indian education, the loyalists of Durban chose the occasion of the unveiling of the Queen's statue as a good opportunity of insulting the Indians. Subjects of one monarch and citizens of one Empire, the people of Natal think it consistent with loyalty and imperialism to harass and insult the Indians. They are loyal supporters of the Empire when it suits them; but when it does not suit them, then they are the enemies of their fellow-subjects and renegades from their faith.

YET ANOTHER FAMINE.

DURING more than three months past, over a vast tract of India, scarcity has been developing into famine. In our last two issues we traced broadly the gradual extension and tightening of the dire grip of "the grim visitor." It began to be felt in the first ten days of July, when the monsoon became abnormal, and a fortnight later the partial failure of usual rains was causing grave anxiety. The whole of the Presidency of Bombay was more severely affected than any other tract, except, perhaps, the Central Provinces. In spite of an occasional brightening of the prospect, the gloom deepened throughout August; on the 16th cultivators in Gujarat and Kathiawar were reported to be "selling their cattle at two rupees a head," and on the 24th the Hon. Mr. Nugent speaking in Council anticipated that, unless an improvement set in, "the Government would have to face an exceedingly disastrous situation." In the first week of September the *Pioneer* pointed out that the area affected by the failure of the monsoon was "nearly as wide as that affected in 1896-97," and the presence of Famine had already been openly recognised. In the first week of October the Simla correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed, in curiously deprecating terms, that "it is essential to note that Burma, Bengal, most of the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab, and Madras, and Bombay except the northern districts, are practically assured of an autumn harvest varying from excellent to fair." The element of reassurance would have been stronger if it had not been associated with an apparent striving to exclude or to dislodge from the minds of people at home "extreme views of the financial situation." However this may be, every day darkens the prospect in Bombay, in the Punjab, in Rajputana, and in the Central Provinces.

The first question is: What are the officials doing to anticipate and to mitigate distress? Unhappily the positive evidence transmitted to this country is extremely scanty and general. On October 3 we learnt from Simla through Reuter's agency that "the local officials are fully on the alert," and that "relief" operations are well in advance of the situation." Just a month earlier (Sept. 5) Lord Sandhurst announced at Poona that "arrangements had been made to open relief works;" and the latest telegram from the Viceroy states that "relief works have been opened on a large scale in the Punjab and Gujarat, and are ready as required in the Central Provinces," while "relief organisation in Rajputana is having our special attention." When one considers the solemn "trust" that the British people are supposed to have in India, it does seem strange that we receive such meagre information on so serious a matter. True, we are informed by Reuter's

especially in Rajputana, have been made available for famine relief works;" and (October 6) that "there are now about 200,000 persons in receipt of relief in India, principally in Rajputana, the Punjab, and Bombay." True, also, that the Simla correspondent of the *Times* reported (October 4) that "grain is now pouring in from Burma and Bengal to the affected districts in the Central Provinces and Western India." It is more than a month (September 8) since Reuter stated that the Bombay Government was arranging on a large scale for the importation of fodder; but even three weeks before that step was announced cultivators in Gujarat and Kathiawar, as we have seen, were "selling their cattle at two rupees a head," and even yet there is no news of the arrival of fodder. To all intents and purposes the British public is in darkness as to the course of official action in the presence of a grave situation.

The British public, however, have been lulled to a serene faith in Anglo-Indian officials, and it will require a great deal more experience of the results to awaken them to their responsibilities. We must point out that all these stunted and meagre reports are only fourth or fifth-rate evidence of the facts. Reuter's agent at Simla reports, mainly at any rate, not what he knows, not what he has seen with his own eyes, but what he learns from official sources at Simla. The Viceroy's telegrams are hardly less dependent upon information received from provincial Governments and provincial officials. The story passes through several hands before the British public gets hold of it; and it is a very strong presumption that the local officials with whom it takes origin are not likely to underestimate their own prescience and vigour. We do not of course desire in any way to impugn a single one of the reports we have cited. On the contrary, the officials originating them undoubtedly state what they believe to be the facts. Still, it is most desirable in view of previous experience, to apprise ourselves of the real grounds on which they rest, and to hold them in suspense till they receive reasonable confirmation. Every one that knows the history of previous famines will at once appreciate the caution.

For example, we have already drawn attention to the evidence of Mr. Le Fanu, member of the Board of Revenue of Madras, before the late Indian Famine Commission (INDIA, May 5, 1899, p. 221). "In my opinion," said Mr. Le Fanu, "we always start gratuitous relief too late in Madras Presidency. No one who has actually gone among the poorer classes, into their houses, and watched them at cooking and meal times, talked with them under the village tree, and in the shikar camp, can have any idea of the amount of absolute misery which may exist before officialdom recognises that the time for relief has come." The criticism, we apprehend, is not inapplicable outside the Madras Presidency. The question, then, presses on one: Have the officials, who unfortunately, as Mr. Le Fanu says, are year by year "getting to know less of the people, and to be more and more out of sympathy and touch with them," been sufficiently prompt to recognise the strain on the poor people's resources? In August, 1897 (INDIA, p. 243), we pointed out, from a Famine Blue-book, how deplorably the officials had hidden away starvation under that blessed word "privation." In 1896-97, we had precisely similar reports of hopelessness to those which come to us now; we were assured that the supply was "practically sufficient for the needs of the people." Have we forgotten the sensation caused by Mr. J. P. Goodridge's letters in the *Pioneer*, the *Statesman*, and other journals, in 1897, on the disastrous situation in the Central Provinces? Mr. Goodridge pointed out that the famine gave clear and timely warnings of its approach, that such warnings were ignored, that even when emaciated persons took to wandering and dying in numbers the official measures were inappropriate and inadequate, and that the modes of relief were ineffective and wasteful (INDIA, 1897, May, p. 129-130). Of course, Mr. Goodridge's allegations on personal knowledge were hotly denied and resented. But eighteen months later (INDIA, 1898, Dec. 23, p. 327), we were able to show that they were fully confirmed by the sanitary inspector's report. But what then? The mischief was done. Our point now is this: If the errors and omissions of 1866 and 1876 were repeated with dire effect in 1896, what guarantee has the British public that they are not being repeated in 1899? We want independent testimony.

The mischief lies in the principle of the official ring. The officials are rarely in a position to know the real facts till too late; they are headstrong in their procedure, or tied down by official tape; and in any case they know that their blunders will be whitewashed and defended. The ghastly consequences lie open to all men in the Blue-books, if men would only study the Blue-books. The fact is that famine relief is the mere application of a plaster where the only instrument of remedy is the knife. We cannot insist upon this now; we have explained the sensible measures of prevention over and over again, to deaf ears. What is necessary now is to get the light of public opinion at home shed freely upon the famine operations. Hitherto the light has come after the victims have died in their millions, and it is of no use for the next emergency. We want to have independent criticism on an ample basis of facts, not to wait once more for the melancholy futility of reproach on the basis of a belated Blue-book of mere selections. Surely it is time for the British public to refuse to be taken in yet again by a ridiculous "confidence trick," and to demand fuller information both from the Secretary of State and from the organs of public opinion at home. If, as is so confidently asserted, the famine code has now reached perfection, there should be no hesitation in exhibiting its operation as fully as possible to the people at home. A small fraction of the space and attention devoted to the foolish and perverse Transvaal business would suffice for this vastly more important matter of Imperial concern. It is to be hoped that Lord George Hamilton's optimism will not be allowed to lead him again into such a gross blunder as that which he perpetrated in deferring the opening of the Mansion House Fund for the sufferers in the last famine. And yet one is by no means confident. We learn, indeed, that the Government of India has estimated, on the basis of the Provincial reports, that somewhere about one crore and a-half will need to be spent within the current financial year on direct famine relief in the Central Provinces, Bombay, and the Punjab, apart from the half-crore expected from the chiefs of Rajputana. The Simla correspondent of the *Times* says (October 4) that "it is understood" that the crore and a-half "will be earmarked." Better that it were so, certainly; for, with an exiguous carcass and a pack of ravening wolves, the poor people may otherwise fare badly. The Famine Fund, if we may use the expression for convenience, would have proved very much more effective than it has done if it had only been earmarked from the very beginning. The straits of the Government are already manifest. "Meanwhile," says the *Times* correspondent (October 4), "expenditure is being cut down in all possible directions, and the railway programme for the next year will probably be considerably curtailed." There has been a record surplus, forsooth, and the country has been delighting itself in "exuberant prosperity," yet the moment that famine, ever lying in wait, looms on the scene, the rickety financial structure begins to tremble and quiver and sway. Everything is upset by a prospective expenditure of a crore and a-half! However, let us have the sum earmarked and applied accordingly. This anxiety on the score of money is most ominously suggestive. But, there be lack of money in the treasury of "exuberantly prosperous" India, there is plenty of money here; and it is of the first concern to the British people to see to it that the daring attempts of officialdom to hide the real nakedness of the land shall not prevent the most prompt and ample succour to famished Indians in the day of dire calamity—the day of judgment for their rulers.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA:

THEIR MANY MERITS BY MANY WHO HAVE KNOWN THEM.

Collected and Edited with an Introduction by ALFRED WEBB,
(President Tenth Indian National Congress).

V.

GEORGE W. JOHNSON, Advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. (Writing in 1843.)

'Those who judge most harshly of the Native character—who condemn the Hindus as monsters of vice without a redeeming quality—are those who, having spent their Indian days in the busy courts of law, or in the still more busy commercial establishments of Calcutta, form their opinions from an exclusive consideration of the perjury which is rife in the one

and the chicanery and cheating among the petty merchants with whom they come in contact in the other. To estimate the Native character from these is about as just and logical as it would be to take as criteria whence to judge of Englishmen the well-known men of straw about our London law courts and the petty chapmen and dealers of its Rag Fair. There were seasons of annoyance and pique when, suffering from the perjury and over-reaching just mentioned, I condemned the Natives *en masse*; but in periods of less excitement, and now viewing them calmly, I gladly record my conviction that the national character has much less of evil in it arising from depravity of heart than from the mere defect of education.' . . . 'As instances of attachment to their relatives no particular case need be cited, for the whole of their domestic system of undivided families, founded as it is on the Hindu law, has rendered them superior to every nation in the world in their admission and maintenance of the ties of kindred—it has become a part of their very nature. Of their public spirit, or love of honourable fame—I care not on which of these good principles the acts are founded—too many instances have occurred of late for the prevalence of such actuating motives to be doubted—instances occurring, not merely in the cases of families of higher rank and hereditarily accustomed to liberal expenditure, but in those who have known the difficulty of gaining a wealthy independence—men who have had the glorious satisfaction of creating their own fortunes. Witness the examples of Baboo Dwarknath Tagore and Muttilloll Seal—the former the founder of the Blind Asylum for Natives and the munificent patron of every charitable association in Calcutta, and the latter the offerer of a dowry of one thousand rupees to the first Hindu widow who shall have the courage to break through her nation's ancient prejudice and shall re-marry. Such instances of munificent liberality are not confined to the metropolis of British India or to other places where the incense of praise from the English, whose commendation is eagerly sought, can have been the desired reward. Of this we have sufficient instances in the account published annually of the monies expended by Natives in the establishment of works of public utility.'—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Venkanah, from 'The Stranger in India,' by George W. Johnson, 2 vols., Bohn, 1843.*

J. SEYMOUR KEAY, M.P. Banker, in India and India Agent. (Writing in 1883.)

'It cannot be too well understood that our position in India has never been in any degree that of civilians bringing civilisation to savage races. When we landed in India we found there a hoary civilisation, which during the progress of thousands of years had fitted itself into the character and adjusted itself to the wants of highly intellectual races. The civilisation was not perfunctory, but universal and all-pervading—furnishing the country not only with political systems, but with social and domestic institutions of the most ramified description. The beneficent nature of these institutions as a whole may be judged of from their effects on the character of the Hindu race. Perhaps there are no other people in the world who show so much in their characters the advantageous effects of their own civilisation. They are shrewd in business, acute in reasoning, thrifty, religious, sober, charitable, obedient to parents, reverential to old age, amiable, law-abiding, compassionate towards the helpless, and patient under suffering.'—*Supplied by Mr. Tulcherkar, from 'Nineteenth Century,' July, 1883.*

JAMES KERR, Late Principal of the Hindu College, Calcutta. (Writing in 1865.)

'Some severe judges deny to the Natives the possession of any of the more humane and kindly virtues. It has been said, for example, that they are totally devoid of gratitude. Ward, the missionary, holds this opinion, and clenches his argument by declaiming that they have no word even to express the idea. The following case was lately reported in the public prints. A European was prosecuted in the Court of Requests by his Native syce for wages due. It came out in evidence that the syce had been duly paid. The master, in open court, expressed his surprise at the syce's ingratitude, upon which the presiding judge is reported to have said: "You cannot, sir, have been long in India, or you would not be surprised of the ingratitude of Native servants. Never expect gratitude from them. If you could feed them with diamonds, they would still be ungrateful." I am by no means satisfied that these views afford a true representation of Native character. Many Europeans who have resided in India could tell a different tale. Native servants in the families of Europeans are often very attentive to their master or mistress in times of sickness. There is a striking instance recorded in the Memoirs of Swartz of the affectionate gratitude of the Natives, when the proper means are taken to call it forth. The aged missionary had been dangerously ill. An eye-witness, writing to the Society at home, states that when, shortly after his recovery, he went again on Christmas day to the church, "an universal joy diffused itself all over the congregation. They ran up to him; everyone wanted to be the first to testify his joy and gratitude. He could scarcely make his way through the crowd. And yet it is said that the Natives are destitute of gratitude!" No, they are not destitute of this heavenly

spark. I have myself witnessed a scene similar to the above. Some years ago there was taken from amongst us a man bearing a great resemblance to Swartz in simplicity of character and in love for the Natives, however much beneath him in devotional feeling and religious experience. This was David Hare, a name dear to the Natives of Calcutta. After realising a considerable fortune he retired from business while still in the prime of life, and devoted himself with almost unexampled zeal to the cause of Native education. In 1842 he was suddenly cut off in the midst of his usefulness. The Natives loved him as a father, and mourned his loss with the most sincere sorrow. I have often since his death seen them speak of him with tears in their eyes. It is said that the Natives have no word in their language to express the idea of gratitude. But such is not the case. Setting aside particular phrases which might be adduced from the Indian languages, and which are equal to "thank you," have not the Natives other modes of expressing their gratitude? Do they not raise their joined hands to their head, and in this way express their thanks? Besides, would not the absence of gratitude imply that the Hindus have no sense of religion? While it is well known that, in their own way, they are perhaps the most religious people in the world." [After referring to the now extinct practice of suttee.] "Even if it were true that in this and some other respects that the Hindus were far more guilty than I believe them to be, I would still affirm, notwithstanding such exceptional cases, that they are a humane people. The phrase "the mild Hindu" is no unmeaning sound. In their ordinary treatment of their relations they are exemplary in the highest degree. This kindness extends beyond the family circle to members of the same caste, to whom they are kind and charitable. Alms are given to the poor without distinction of caste. On great occasions you may see the halt and the maimed come trooping in from all the villages round to receive the expected alms. Often and often I see a score or two of naked beggars, including the halt and the blind, each with a wooden dish in his hand, before a rich man's door waiting to receive a handful of rice; and they do not wait in vain."—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Venkanah, from 'Domestic Life, Character, and Customs of the Natives of India,' James Kerr; W. H. Allen, 1865.*

WILLIAM KNIGHTON. (*Writing in 1881.*)

"Relatives do not shrink from holding out a helping hand to the poor struggler well-nigh overcome by the waves of adversity. Nor are complaints made if they are put to inconvenience thereby. They will sacrifice their own comfort, they will voluntarily retrench in their own expenditure, that the needy members of their household may not want. They feel a satisfaction in administering to the wants of their brethren, and this satisfaction is founded upon social and religious feelings of duty. In truth, "blood is thicker than water" in a most emphatic sense with Hindus, and though given to the exercise of indiscriminate charity, especially on particular occasions, charity with them begins at home."—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Tulcherkar, from 'Fortnightly Review,' June, 1881.*

REV. JAMES LONG. *Resident Missionary C.M.S.; Twenty-five years in Bengal. Died 1887.*

"What changes have been rung on what is called the want of natural affection, the ingratitude, of the natives of India, and it has been said they have not a word in their language to express gratitude. But proverbs tell a different tale; they show that the gratitude or the memory of the heart pulsates in the Oriental as well as in the Western. A grateful person is named "bandhi" or "kritagya," i.e., who knows what is done; an ungrateful one is "nimakharam," one who destroys his salt. As the Bengali proverb says:—

"Whose food he eats, his praises he sings;
Whose salt he eats, his qualities he respects."

There is nothing the European in the East is more apt to form a false estimate of, with regard to the Natives, than in relation to the intelligence and moral qualities of the common people, especially these so-called dumb animals the "rayetts" and the so-called enslaved women. Because the lower classes are not deep in book-lore, they are supposed to be as dull as ditch-water; it is true they are not "books in breeches"; they have not book-craw, but they have a strong under-current of information derived from observation, popular tradition, and conversation illustrated by proverbs. Their management of proverbs and keen observation of the phenomena of nature show them to be a people of natural acuteness, who read through a man's character very soon. Many pleasant hours have I spent in Bengal among the rayetts by the side of a tank or under the palm tree's shade, talking on what was to them the cheerful topics of plants and proverbs and in hearing their racy remarks. I was often reminded in a mango grove of Bacon's aphorism, "The genius, spirit, and wit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs." . . . This investigation of proverbs gives a more genial view of the common people. It is too much the practice of Europeans in the East to call Natives "niggers" or "black fellows." They see only their dark side and rank them as barbarians, though they themselves would find it very difficult to give an accurate definition of civilisation. Matters, however, are greatly improved since Colebrooke wrote the following words: "Never mixing with the Natives,

a European is ignorant of their real character, which he therefore despises. When they meet it is with fear on one side and arrogance on the other. Considered as a race of inferior beings by the appellation of black fellows, their feelings are sported with and their sufferings meet no more compassion than those of a dog or monkey."—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Venkanah.*

REV. DR. MACKINTOSH. *Principal of Wilson College in Bombay. (Writing in 1894.)*

"When his countrymen, he said, spoke of the ingratitude of the people of India he could never understand them, for his own experience was otherwise. The people were exceptionally strong in this virtue, and it was an easy matter to win their affections. The most trifling acts of duty which had nothing of favour in them evoked expressions of gratitude from the Indians. About the students in particular he added: "Let me say, in conclusion, what my own idea about the Indian student is—that he is always grateful for all that is done for him. I do not believe that any workers in India in any sphere of life have better won the gratitude and affection of the people of this land than those who are connected in the work of educating them, and I have never heard any instance of ingratitude on the part of Indian students whose living instances of gratitude are overwhelming."—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Tulcherkar.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B. *Served in India, 1783-1812, 1817-22, 1827-30; Governor of Bombay, 1827-30.*

"It is, in my opinion, to the habits arising out of former oppression, and to the want of a full knowledge of the language in those with whom they communicate, that we must refer most of those general and indiscriminate accusations against our Indian subjects for falsehood as a national vice. I have hardly ever known where a person did understand the language, or where a calm communication was made to a native of India through a well-informed and trustworthy medium, that the result did not prove that what had first been stated as falsehood had either proceeded from fear or from misapprehension. I by no means wish to state that our Indian subjects are more free from this vice than any other nations that occupy a nearly equal condition in society, but I am positive that they are not more addicted to it."—*Hansard's Debates, April 14, 1813.*

"Almost all who, from knowledge and experience, have been capable of forming any judgment upon the question are agreed that our power in India rests on the general opinion of the Natives of our comparative superiority in good faith, wisdom, and strength to their own rulers. This important impression will be improved by the consideration we show to their habits, institutions, and religion; by the moderation, temper, and kindness with which we conduct ourselves to them—it will be injured by every act that offends their belief or superstition, that shows disregard or neglect of individuals or communities, or that evinces our having, with the arrogance of conquerors, forgotten those maxims by which this great empire has been established, and by which alone it can be preserved." . . . "I can recollect, and I do it with shame, the period when I thought I was very superior to those with whom my duty made me associate; but as my knowledge of them and of myself improved the distance between us gradually lessened. I have seen and heard much of our boasted advantages over them, but cannot think that, if all the ranks of the different communities of Europe and India are comparatively viewed, there is just reason for any very arrogant feeling on the part of the inhabitants of the former, nor can I join in that common-place opinion which condemns in a sweeping way the Natives of this country as men, taking the best of them, not only unworthy of trust and devoid of principle, but of too limited intelligence and reach of thought to allow of Europeans with large and liberal minds and education having rational or satisfactory intercourse with them."—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Tulcherkar.*

REV. THOMAS MAURICE (1754-1825). *Assistant Librarian British Museum; Author of Various Works on India.*

"If, however, they are sometimes hurried away by this destructive passion [avarice] 'and by the stings of jealousy, the result of disproportionate marriages, into extremes which militate against that mild cast of character by which they are in general distinguished, the Hindus have a thousand excellent qualities to counterbalance the defect. They are not less ardent in the love of their country than zealous in their attachment to the institutions of their forefathers. In domestic life they are tender and affectionate, and in their morals, for the most part, unsullied.'—*History of Hindustan, Thomas Maurice, 2 vols., 4to, 1802-10.*

FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER, LL.D., *Philologist; Professor of Modern Languages, Oxford; Editor 'Rig Veda,' 'Series of Sacred Works of the East,' etc.*

"If I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in

order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India.”—*India: What Can it Teach Us?* F. Max Müller, K.M. Longmans and Co., 1883.

‘Are all these 253,000,000 of human beings to be set down as liars because some hundreds, say even thousands, of Indians, when they are brought to an English court of law, on suspicion of having committed a theft or a murder, do not speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? Would an English sailor, if brought before a dark-skinned judge who spoke English with a strange accent, bow down before him and confess at once any murder that he may have committed, and would all his mates rush forward and eagerly bear witness against him when he had got himself into trouble?’—*Ramakrishna: His Life and Sayings*, Right Hon. F. Max Müller, K.M. Longmans and Co., 1898.

‘I have known many Indians both men and women, and I do not exaggerate when I tell you that some of them need fear no comparison with the best men and women whom it has been my good fortune to know in England, France, or Germany. Whether for unselfishness, or devotion to high ideals, truthfulness, purity, and real, living religion, I know no greater hero than Keshub Chunder Sen, no heroine greater than Ramabai, and I am proud to have been allowed to count both among my best friends. You may say that these are exceptions. No doubt they are, and they would be exceptions in Europe as much as in India. Mount Everest is an exception, Mont Blanc is an exception; but still we reckon the height of mountain ranges by their highest peaks, and we have a right to measure the sublimity of a whole nation by its best men and women.’—*Supplied in MS. by Mr. Tatcherker*.

GRAEME MEECE. *Twenty-five years in Indian Service. (Evidence in 1813.)*

‘If called upon for a general characteristic of the Natives of that Empire’ [India] ‘I would say that they are mild in their dispositions, polished in their general manners, in their domestic relations kind and affectionate, submissive to authority, and peculiarly attached to their religious tenets and to the observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by these tenets.’—*Hansard’s Debates*, April 8, 1813.

F. H. S. MEREWETHER. *Reuter’s Special Famine Commission*, 1898.

‘My fellow Anglo-Indians, we growl and groan about our servants out there, and never have a good word for them, but it is only when we come back to England that we recognise the merits, and long for the long-suffering, ubiquitous and ever-ready bearer, boy, kham-samah, or bootlah, who smooths the crumpled rose-leaf for his beloved master. We talk in theory of the neat-handed Phyllis and the trim Chloe, but give me a really good Portuguese servant or an old-fashioned Native bearer. He is noiseless, punctual, attentive, and above all, if you treat him properly, looks upon his master as a god.’ . . . [In a famine district.] ‘The greater part of the women were quite naked, except for a rag round the loins, and were brought so low that they had lost all sense of the innate modesty which is so strong a characteristic of the Native women in India.’—*Famine Districts of India*, F. H. S. Merewether, Innes and Co., 1898.

SIR R. MONTGOMERY, G.C.S.I. *Served in or for India, 1828 to 1865; Lieut.-Governor of Punjab, 1859-1865.*

‘I have not had any experience of the educated natives of India. I conclude you mean those who have received a European education at the Presidency towns. But I have been associated for years with Natives who have risen to positions of trust under the Government in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab, and I have a very high opinion of their efficiency and integrity. I like to see such a class brought more and more into the Government—men who have proved themselves to be good servants of Government.’—*Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service*, Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P.; Commercial Press, Bombay, 1893.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.R.S.S. *Statistics* (1899).

Prison population per 100,000 of inhabitants:

Several European States	100 to 230
England and Wales	90
India	38

—*Dictionary of Statistics*, Michael G. Mulhall, F.R.S.S.; Routledge and Sons, 1899.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Colonel John Walter Otley, C.I.E., R.E., to be president of the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper’s Hill, in the place of Colonel Pennycook, C.S.I., R.E., who has resigned.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL ACT.

BYE-ELECTIONS ABORTIVE.

INDIANS HOLD ALOOF.

AN “ALTOGETHER TAME AFFAIR.”

ONLY TWELVE PERSONS RETURNED.

SIXTEEN VACANCIES NOT FILLED.

[BY CABLE, FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

CALCUTTA, October 6.

The municipal bye-elections, rendered necessary by the recent resignation of twenty-eight Native elected commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation took place yesterday.

The Indian community practically stood aloof, and the Anglo-Indian *Englishman* describes the election as an “altogether tame affair.”

Only twelve persons, including seven Eurasians, were returned.

With regard to the remaining sixteen seats the elections are abortive, and the Government will have to nominate persons to fill the vacancies.

Thus the Corporation will now consist of forty-one nominated commissioners out of a total of seventy-five.—

By Indo-European Telegraph.

The *Manchester Guardian* of Friday last (October 6) published the following article “from a correspondent”:—The Bengal Legislative Council is an independent body; of this fact there can be no doubt, for Lord George Hamilton has asserted it. Last February a motion was made in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry in connexion with the Calcutta Municipal Bill; the Secretary of State for India, with righteous zeal on behalf of the sacred principle of self-government, repudiated the suggestion that he should take the consideration of the Bill out of the hands of the Bengal Legislative Council, a self-governing body. Of course, no such antipathetic interference could for a moment be allowed. But since then much has happened. The Bill as it stood then was bad enough; but at any rate it did not interfere with the existing constitution of the Municipal Corporation, under which fifty out of the seventy-five members were elected by the ratepayers. No one up to that time had proposed to reduce the proportion of the ratepayers’ representatives in the Corporation, although the suggestion had been made in the Press and had been considered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. A new Viceroy comes to India, and there is a change of plans. Lord Curzon’s proposal for the solution of the difficulties alleged to have arisen in connexion with the local self-government of the capital of India was to reduce the number of the ratepayers’ representatives by half, leaving them just equal in number to the other members, nominated by Government or appointed by certain commercial bodies; the official chairman was to have a casting vote, and so the ratepayers’ representatives, even though unanimous, would necessarily be a permanent minority, even in meetings of the whole Corporation. The real power, however, was to be vested partly in the chairman and partly in the General Committee of twelve, of whom the twenty-five elected members were to appoint only four; and not even the General Committee was to have the power of enquiring into the acts of the Chairman and his subordinates. Nevertheless, the Government of India, to quote their own words, wished to remedy existing defects, “and by any contravention of the broad principles of local self-government already conceded.” If the ratepayers’ representatives, as how a Conservative Viceroy interprets the words “local self-government,” as applied to the municipal administration of a great city; as contrasted with the natural meaning of the phrase it is a very curious interpretation. But still these proposals of the Government of India were only suggestions to a self-governing body, the Bengal Legislative Council; and theoretically, of course, that Council was free to reject these proposals in the legal exercise of those powers which Lord George Hamilton had been so anxious to protect against interference. The Council met under the presidency of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and his view of the independence of the Council was very different from that of the Secretary of State. He stated in so many words that the decision of the Government of India was final and had to be accepted, and now the telegraph has reported the passing of the Bill into law, after the rejection of all proposed amendments of importance. The independent Legislature of Bengal was told on what lines it was to legislate, and it obeyed. That is the independence which Lord George Hamilton is [in the House of Commons] so anxious to preserve inviolate. Independence and self-government are words pleasing to English ears; as to their meaning, that under judicious pressure may be compressible. In fact, in the whole machinery of Indian government true independence exists only in the person of one man, and he is the Secretary of State for India. When he assumes responsibility he is sure of support, for Ministries do not fall on Indian questions; but sometimes it is more convenient for him to plead the technical independence of a body like the Bengal Legislative Council. Local self-government in Calcutta under an Act passed by the self-governing Legislature of an Indian province—that sounds well; some people, however, think that words should represent facts.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

FURTHER MUNICIPAL REACTION THREATENED.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, September 23.

The battle of the Calcutta Municipal Bill is still raging. The scene is the Council Hall at Calcutta. The telegraph will, no doubt, inform you before the receipt of this, of the fate of the measure. It is already discounted. As there has been a conspiracy to throw out every amendment proposed by the two Municipal representatives it would be absurd to expect the Bill to emerge from the legislative anvil anything other than the reactionary measure it was when first introduced. The blunder has been committed and no bureaucracy candidly acknowledges error. On the contrary, one error leads to another, and the circle enlarges like the eddies of troubled waters. The authorities took a first false step in currency, and we know to-day how much worse their measures are than they were six years ago. What are India and Indian interests to these benefited and unbenefited bureaucrats? Sufficient for the day to be conscious of having wielded authority and earned a solid pension. To Amurath an Amurath succeeds, and the same wheel of administration moves onward. It is called blind destiny. But destiny, too, has its retribution, and the day may not be distant when retributive justice will lay the axe at the root of this pampered and omnipotent bureaucracy.

But though the Bengal Municipal Bill will be an accomplished fact, it must not be understood that our alien legislators will now hold their hands. The reactionary speeches abroad, and the present disorganised condition of the Opposition in England has emboldened the authorities at Westminster and Simla to launch all kinds of retrogressive measures. The Bombay District Municipalities Bill has been published since the 4th and will be introduced into the local Legislative Council on the 27th. The ostensible object, as proclaimed by its author, is the "enlargement" of the powers of the Mofussil municipalities. But a mere glance at the various sections tells those who are practically conversant with the existing law how far the powers are extended and how far contracted. If anything it is a backward measure, the aim of which seems to be the ghost of civic management by the people under the stern and repressive authority of the Collector. It is in many of its provisions so retrograde that even the regular apologist of "Bombay Castle" is constrained to comment in his issue of this day on the backwardness of the Bill and its illiberal character. This article in the *Times of India* gives in a nutshell the objections to the measure. But it may be taken for granted that opposition from every important centre will soon arise. Moreover, it seems to be the intention of the Government to rush the Bill through. They have been known to be contemplating it for the last nine years. Having hatched it they are now anxious to despatch it in the briefest possible time. The Mofussil public most interested in the matter has been hardly allowed time to digest the elaborate document which is a puzzle to men endowed with legal acumen, let alone the "general public." The beauty of it lies in its complexity. Enactments from the four quarters of the globe have been ransacked by the genius who drafted it, with the view of offering to the people of the Bombay Presidency (20 millions all told) the most perfect "up-to-date" piece of local self-government. The dovetailing process is indeed delicious and might put the most experienced knight of the scissors and paste to shame. Such being the legislative puzzle, the public naturally demand that a sufficient breathing space should be given in which to unravel its many cunning sections and see how far they verify the "statement of objects and reasons." Surely if the Government has taken nine years to draft the Bill the public might be allowed at least nine months to digest it. I hear that already remonstrances have gone forth to Government praying for postponement. The Presidency Association, too, is preparing a short representation having the same object in view. It remains to be seen how the official Council will conduct themselves, whether they will like rational men listen to the voice of reason, or go headlong into the measure after the manner of their brethren on the banks of the Hooghly.

Lord Sandhurst's Government has achieved unenviable notoriety during the last four years for its many administrative bungles (not to call them by a stronger name), and it only remains for it to complete the circle by this new local self-government nostrum. The verdict on Lord Sandhurst's administration is already pronounced and I need not repeat it. His lordship, however, has still time to carry the good wishes of the people of Bombay with him to his native country if only he will gracefully remove the stigma now attaching to him and his Government through the unjustifiable detention of the Natu brothers. Even the much-hounded Dreyfus has at length got relief. Is it too much for Lord Sandhurst to follow the wise policy of President Loubet, put an end to the "Natu incident," and retire to his native country with some *déjà*? Let him relieve the Natus and say to his people, after the manner of General de Galliffet, that there are to be no "reprisals" and that the incident may be buried in oblivion.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT HALIFAX.

WANTED: "TRUE BRITISH RULE."

[FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

On Monday night, under the auspices of the Halifax District of the Yorkshire Federation of Liberal Clubs, a well-attended meeting was held in the Mechanic's Hall, Halifax, to hear an address by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, ex-M.P. for Central Finsbury, on the subject, "Can British Rule be Popular in India?" Mr. F. Whitley Thomson, Chairman of the Technical School, presided, and was supported by several prominent local gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN, in an address dealing largely with the physical attractions of India, said it was extremely difficult for a Britisher to properly comprehend the great problem of governing India. They were Westerners, whilst the inhabitants of India were Easterners, and it was difficult for a Westerner to imbue himself thoroughly with the ideas that prevailed in the East. This country had done a great deal for India. Not only had they minimised famine, but they had introduced education, they had introduced a good deal of sanitary measures, and they had done a great deal to alleviate the oppression of the Indians by the money-lenders. But had they done all they could and ought to have done? He thought it was very desirable they should have the case of India brought before them, and for this purpose be introduced the principal speaker.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, who was well received, charmed his hearers with his excellent English. He said the present Secretary of State for India had declared that whatever the British Government did their Government never would be popular in India. This was a serious matter both for England and India to consider. It meant that somehow or other India would fall from the English frying-pan into the Russian fire, and that there would be an extermination of England from India. On the other hand if English rule was made popular they could remain there, no matter how wretched the people might be. Without India there would be no such thing as a British empire. They might have their colonies, but it would not be the British Empire, which made England the greatest Power on earth. The government of India by this country must have some extraordinary defect in it if it could never become popular in India. Had the Secretary of State for India said that their unrighteous, dishonourable, bleeding government would never be popular he would have spoken the whole truth. True British rule would be a most popular rule in India. Lord Salisbury from the first time he became Secretary of State for India grasped the whole situation when he pointed out that the system upon which the government of India was placed was that it must be bled. Much of the revenue was exported without an equivalent return. In England they exported about £300,000,000 worth of goods, and they received back in imports £400,000,000. What was the case in India? From India about £100,000,000 worth of produce went out to the world, and it did not get back even what it sent out. It hardly got back £75,000,000, so that there was something like £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 of wealth that went out of the country never to return. The natives of India, as Lord Salisbury had pointed out, were given no chance to share in the government of their own country. Could British rule under these circumstances be popular in India? The British rule in India was a despotic rule. There were some Indian members on the Legislative Council, and these members, whilst given the odious duty of imposing taxation, were allowed no voice whatever in its expenditure. The Executive might do what they liked with the taxation, and what they liked was principally to bleed India. His hearers could depend upon it that the result would be disaster some time or other. The Duke of Devonshire, when Lord Hartington, expressed the view that it was unwise to educate the people, and introduce among them civilisation, progress, and literature, and at the same time tell them that they should never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their own country, except by their getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers. Lord Idelcseigh, again, recognised that England's Indian policy must be founded on a broad basis, and endeavour, as far as possible, to develop a system of Native government. Another statesman, Lord Mayo, asserted that the welfare of the people of India ought to be their primary object. If, he stated, they were not there for the Indians' good, they ought not to be there at all. The proclamations issued by the Queen at different periods all breathed feelings of generosity, benevolence, toleration, and equality for subjects of the British crown. As a matter of fact, so far from being governed on these lines, India was under an un-British system of government. England was at present involved in a complicated affair with the Transvaal. The *Times* newspaper had summed up the whole situation of that dispute, when it said, "We will not join President Kruger in keeping the word of promise to the east of our country, and breaking it to the west." This was reminding us, east, and breaking to the west, had been the conduct of the British Government to India during the whole of this century. Lord Ripon was one of the very few Viceroys who tried to prove to the people of India that Britain meant justice. The three principal towns, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, had obtained municipal government after a lot of trouble. In order, however, to satisfy the whole people, he made local self-government general for the whole of India. What was the consequence? The whole people rose up, as one man, to do honour to him, in a manner never surpassed by any honour given to any member of the Royal family. By that little act of justice, Lord Ripon made himself so popular that he actually revived, as it were, the whole love for the British people. They had an illustration in that little incident that, if the Indian people were governed on British principles, and not on a despotic, because alien, principles, the popularity in India of British rule would be something they could not conceive.

The educated people of India knew what British rule was, and they knew that the best rule that could happen to India was, that true British ideas should be introduced among them, and that they should be raised to the position of British citizenship. It was this hope, this desire that enabled them to cling to British rule with the utmost tenacity, notwithstanding the British misrule of the last 150 years. What was the consequence of the present condition of things? If, in return for £200,000,000, England only received £250,000,000 every year, what would be their condition in England? They would be reduced to poverty, famine, and plague, as was the case now with India. The whole production of India was something like 20 rupees per head per annum. Fancy that for a country full of the most fertile resources, with every climate, every mineral and every vegetable produce, and if it were only put under true British rule, one of the richest countries in the world! The Secretary of State for India declared that the country had been built up by the blood and money of the British people. Nothing, however, was further from the truth. It had been built up mainly and mostly by the blood and money of the Indians. Lord George Hamilton would have them believe that, prior to the advent of the British, India was a wilderness, with no civilisation, order, or law. The fact was that, when the inhabitants of England had painted bodies, India was in a high state of civilisation. It was in possession of an art and a literature that, in many respects, had not yet been surpassed. The advent of British rule! What was it? Greed, oppression, extortion, were the leading parts of it. Of course, these had been changed in their openness, but the bleeding was still being carried on, though more scientifically and more systematically. If there was one Secretary of State who was actually doing the very thing to fulfil his own prophecy, that English government would never be popular in India, that man was Lord George Hamilton himself. He was destroying the little local self-government that was given by Lord Ripon, he was suppressing the liberty of the press, and he was having men put into prison without trial. The matter of the currency, again, had been the means of increasing the taxation some 50 per cent. These acts were sufficient to make British rule unpopular in India. If India was allowed to recomp itself, and to become proprietors, England would have as much trade with India as they did with the rest of the world. Let England take her hand off the throat of India, cease to bleed her, and let India be able to buy their goods, and they would buy any quantity that England might send to them. If they only fulfilled their own promises, they would better themselves two-fold, and they would receive India's blessing with her own prosperity. The lecturer concluded by moving, "That this meeting is of opinion that there is no reason whatever why true British rule can never be popular in India, as Lord G. Hamilton asserts. That, on the contrary, there is every reason in the peculiar circumstances of India, that true British rule should be exceedingly popular, and vastly beneficial both to the British and Indian peoples. That it is the present un-British bleeding system of government which will naturally make British rule unpopular and lead to disaster. That it is the highest duty, as well as the highest interest of the British people, that all their most solemn and binding promises and pledges should be honourably fulfilled, that just financial relations should be established between the two countries, and that true British citizenship should be sincerely and honestly extended to the people of India. And, finally, that the welfare of India will most largely conduce to the welfare of the British people and the stability of the British Empire. Therefore this meeting presses upon the Government to introduce such reforms in the Government of India as would secure these beneficial results."

The motion was seconded by Councillor Crossland, J.P., (a working man) and carried unanimously.

Alderman G. H. SMITH, J.P., an ex-Mayor of Halifax, who proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, expressed his desire that more local self-government should be granted to India. It was the duty of the English Government, when they had taken another country, and were responsible for the government of that country, to do all they could to make that government acceptable to the people. There was no way in which this country could hold India closer to them than by showing, by a wise, righteous, kind, and considerate government, that they did not wish to govern them simply for what they could get out of them, but to govern them in such a way that they might improve their condition. He believed the lecturer would admit that India had benefited very much by British rule. There might, perhaps, be many reforms that ought yet to be brought about. He trusted that the mistakes which had been made, and the mistakes still existing, would in course of time be remedied.

Alderman SUDEN (Brighouse) seconded the vote of thanks, urged that the British Government could never be popular in India until the people there had a voice in the administration of the country.

The resolution having been accorded, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji replied; after which

Mr. A. F. Firth (President of the Chamber of Commerce) moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and said English rule had not been, in some respects, ideal in India. He was convinced, however, that their administrators had, to a great extent, the interests of the country at heart, and that they had endeavoured to deal justly and fairly by the races they were sent out to govern.

The vote was seconded and carried.

THE RANGOON OUTRAGE.

END OF THE TRIAL.

[FROM THE "PIONEER."]

RANGOON, September 13.

The trial of Private Johnson in connexion with the alleged outrage upon a Burmese woman named Mah Goon, by soldiers of the West Kent Regiment, is still proceeding. Yesterday and to-day have been devoted to the repetition of evidence given in the previous case. To-day Corporal Nurse was examined. In reply to a searching

examination by the prosecuting counsel, he said he was told to find out the men who were at the scene of the occurrence. It was due to a slip of memory that he did not report Sullivan's arrest for not obeying the order to go back to barracks. "Is it also due to a slip of memory," asked the counsel, "that on the numerous occasions you were examined you did not mention a word till Private Thorpe's trial of seeing Sullivan?" Witness: "I think I stated it in the lower court." Witness said he did not believe at the time that the condition of the witness was due to men of his regiment. He never heard whisper of any name from that day to this though he had constantly been with the men of the regiment. In answer to questions by the jury, he said he had been seven years in the regiment, four as a non-commissioned officer. He had been five years in C. Company. Out of thirty or forty men present on the occasion in question, he could only recognise Goff. It was his duty to arrest any soldier not properly dressed. These men were not properly dressed. He did not arrest anyone because he could not identify them. He did not think of stopping to take the names of any of the soldiers. A new draft had come in February, and that was how he did not recognise them. He could not say if the men present were from the new draft.

The case was adjourned.

September 15.

The trial of Private Johnson, in connexion with the alleged outrage upon a Burmese woman named Mah Goon, by soldiers of the West Kent Regiment, is still proceeding.

Sullivan's examination and cross-examination occupied part of yesterday and to-day.

Sergeant Allwright deposed that when in the hospital in May he heard Thorpe and Sullivan having an altercation. Sullivan said he was not going to get into trouble for the sake of a few men. Witness asked him what he meant. Sullivan would not reply. Witness reported the matter to the Colour-Sergeant. Witness never heard, till the arrest of the men in June, that any woman had been in the barracks dancing. After Horrocks' acquittal the witness got orders to make enquiries. He got no orders before that.

Colour-Sergeant Macdonald, examined, said he questioned Sullivan on June 7, but failed to elicit any information, Sullivan denying all knowledge of the outrage. The following day Sullivan told witness that he saw a woman dancing and singing in the barracks on April 2. A few days later, after some persuasion, Sullivan gave up the names of Coomber, Johnson, Martin, Thorpe, Boulter, Goff, and Lance-Corporal Rodgers as directly concerned to his knowledge. The same evening Sullivan was taken to Captain Burt, and his statement was put in writing, Sullivan signing it. The men named were arrested that day and put in separate cells. Before the Horrocks trial witness received no order to enquire into the affair, but he tried as a non-commissioned officer to find out what really occurred. After Sullivan made his statement to witness Sullivan was assaulted. He never heard the men discussing the affair, but witness and other non-commissioned officers discussed it, as they desired to get at the truth. Sullivan was the only man who made any statement to witness. None of the others volunteered any information till after the Horrocks trial. Witness did not know or think that the woman was outraged by soldiers.

Captain Burt, examined, deposed to getting, by the aid of Corporal Nurse, the names of the men at the scene of the occurrence. They were practically the names of the witnesses summoned but not examined for the defence of Horrocks. Sullivan was amongst them. Witness did not question them. On June 12 came Sullivan's statement, and the men named were put in the cells. The following day each man made a statement to Major Morse. When witness was going round the cells later he spoke to two of the accused, and they made further statements to him. On June 23 all the men made statements to the Commissioner of Police. [The statement made to Major Wylie, Cantonment Magistrate, by Private Johnson, the present accused, was here read out, admitting connexion with the woman.] Witness was not present when Johnson commenced his statement before the Cantonment Magistrate. Counsel for the prisoners had told witness that no statements should be made by the accused before the magistrate. Colour-Sergeant Macdonald's report to him on June 12 was the first official intimation he had that men other than Horrocks were concerned. Prior to the Horrocks case he made efforts to secure evidence for the defence.—Cross-examined: He could not say when he first heard of the outrage. He did not remember seeing a paragraph on the subject in the local paper on April 4, which said that twelve soldiers were directly concerned. He saw on April 7 a letter signed "Buddhist" in one of the local papers, in which the names of a dozen witnesses of a brutal outrage were given. He did not know if from April 2 the police were daily in the barracks making enquiries about the outrage.

Lieutenant Pack-Bereford, Adjutant of the Regiment, said Corporal Nurse reported the affair to him on April 2, and an hour later mentioned the name of Goff as one of the soldiers present. Before witness went on leave three weeks later he got several names and took down their statements. These statements and Corporal Nurse's were conflicting. The tenour of those statements was to exonerate Private Horrocks. On his return to Rangoon in August he heard for the first time the story about the woman dancing. No policeman ever asked him for assistance in connexion with the case.

Police evidence was then called, and the prosecution closed. The hearing will be resumed on Monday morning.

September 18.

The defence of Private Johnson, who is charged in connexion with the outrage upon a Burmese woman named Mah Goon, opened to-day. Mr. Vansomerens asked the jury to banish from their minds the feeling that the accused had been a bad character, and that somebody should be punished. Speaking of the action of the regional authorities, he said the evidence of Police-Inspector Hewitt showed that they were not applied to for assistance. Surely it was the duty of the police to have informed the military of their belief that the woman had been outraged by a number of men of the

regiment. Having defended the officer's action in respect of the statement about to be made to the magistrate, counsel proceeded to detail the defence. He did not intend to impugn Mah Goon's character in the slightest degree, but they must remember that a Burmese doctor said her conduct was peculiar. He would call Dr. Pearce, who would say that a woman suffering from mental derangement might behave in the way described by the accused. The defence was that in an absent-minded or mad fit she behaved in a manner which would lead the soldiers to think she was a woman of loose character. Against the story of her coming to barracks and soliciting there was the evidence of Burmese witnesses, who swore to seeing her dragged off the road by a soldier, who was almost immediately joined by a second soldier. He asked the jury to reject this evidence as mendacious. There was no other direct evidence but this.

Evidence was then called. Major Morse and Lieutenant Bush deposed that there was no talk or excitement amongst the men of the regiment in connexion with the case.

Bombardier Attenborough said he was a military policeman. He had seen Mah Goon on several occasions. He saw her soliciting soldiers.—Cross-examined: He had not detailed this before because he was not asked. He saw Mah Goon about ten days after the outrage. He admitted it was his duty to arrest a woman soliciting in Cantonment.—To the Court: He could not definitely fix the date when he saw Mah Goon soliciting, beyond that it was September, October, or November last year.

Privates Everest, Hodges, Martin, Patcher and Cairns deposed that they saw Mah Goon dancing and singing in barracks on April 2. A lengthy cross-examination established numerous discrepancies, but all these witnesses agreed that the woman was Mah Goon, and that she was dancing. The defence concludes to-morrow.

September 19.

In the hearing of the charge against Private Johnson of the West Kent Regiment, of being concerned in the outrage upon Mah Goon, Private George Atkins deposed that the woman was dancing in barracks on April 2. Coomber and others followed her. A quarter of an hour afterwards witness went to the spot. Cross-examined: Thorpe, Johnson, Martin, and Coomber were there. He admitted saying to the police that he saw Sullivan there. He could not now say he did. No soldiers touched the woman. He had not heard of any enquiry as to what soldiers were present. Witness was never asked by Corporal Nurse, nor any of the officers.

This closed the evidence for the defence, and Mr. Vansomeren addressed the jury. He said the defence was that the woman came to barracks and behaved in such a way as led the men to suppose she was perfectly willing. He must accept the fact admitted by the prisoner but he contended that the evidence of the soldiers showed she was a willing party.

The Government Advocate in reply, said they had now for the first time heard the defence, not in full but as fully as the defence thought expedient. The other prisoners had not been called, though the defence had hinted that they meant to call them, nor had Thorpe, who was now a free man, been called. The defence would not produce this evidence of the chief actors in the affair, because they would get deeper in the mire than they now were. The jury had heard the life history of Mah Goon, which showed her to be a virtuous woman. There were discrepancies in the evidences for the prosecution; the witnesses did not agree as to minute details, but this was natural where a large number of persons were concerned, and proved the *bona fides* of the prosecution witnesses. As to Sullivan and Nurse whom he was bound to call as witnesses, the former had lost himself in the maze of versions that had been running through his head. As for Corporal Nurse, the theory of the prosecution was that no member of the regiment below the rank of sergeant had told the whole truth. Nurse was undoubtedly present when Horrocks was arrested, and if Horrocks was innocent as Nurse alleged, why did the latter permit the arrest of Horrocks. That he did permit the arrest showed that Nurse did not believe him innocent. Nurse's stories were due to *esprit de corps*—a very noble sentiment in its place, but it was responsible for a great deal of the action of higher persons in the regiment than Nurse. The officers did not believe Nurse's story that thirty or forty men must have had connexion with the woman—apparently they would not believe that of any of their men were concerned. That was creditable to their belief in their men, but it did not reflect credit on their intellects, individual or collective. The natural result followed that Horrocks was innocent, and witnesses must be obtained for the defence. Speaking of another branch of the case, counsel said the conduct of Sergeant Allwright and Colour-Sergeant Macdonald stood out in marked contrast to that of the officers. He thought it right to give Captain Burt the opportunity of explaining the action he took. Captain Burt had explained that he had acted on the spur of the moment. He had apparently handed himself over hand and foot to the counsel for the defence and had forgotten that it was one of his duties not to screen offenders. The case now put forward for the defence made the matter worse than before; for it came to this, that because an old woman behaved like a mad woman in barracks, the soldiers could not be blamed because they could not know she was cracked. The law cast upon every man the duty of showing consent in any such case. Was it to go forth to the world that either a mad or a drunken woman could not go through a British Infantry barracks with safety? Private Attenborough was mistaken in his identification. He could not say when he saw Mah Goon solicit, and as to saying he had seen her a week after the occurrence soliciting, that was impossible; for they had it on evidence that the woman was with her relatives, many hours journey from Rangoon, from the day of the outrage till the Horrocks trial. It was, he contended, an impossibility for Mah Goon in her then physical condition to go through the antics described by the defence. He commented on the fact that when the Adjutant left Rangoon on April 23 he had heard no rumour of the woman dancing, nor was any evidence of it produced for the defence of Horrocks.

Concluding his address, counsel said the evidence proved that one of the grossest crimes that were ever perpetrated by man upon woman had been committed—that sort of crime which led people of our own blood in one part of the world to rise and say that "the law with its delays and its technicalities is impotent, we will do justice."

The Judge charged the jury, who, after a considerable absence, returned, asking for direction in a case where an accused person believes a woman to be sane, and does not suspect her insanity. Section 78 of the Code was read to them, and the jury, after an absence of twenty-five minutes, returned a unanimous verdict of "not guilty."

The *Times of India* gives the following somewhat fuller report of the conclusion of the trial:—

After the Judge summed up, the foreman of the jury told the Judge that there was one question upon which the jury wished to be enlightened—in the definition of rape. The Judge said that intercourse with an insane woman was rape, and they wished to know if it was rape in a case where a woman was a perfect stranger to the party. The jury pressed for a definite ruling on that point. The Judge in reply said that the answer to that question was that if the accused person in good faith believed that the woman consented, and having no reason to doubt her consent, and not suspecting her of insanity, and used no force, the offence would not amount to rape.

The jury retired, and after twenty-five minutes' absence unanimously brought in a verdict of not guilty, and the prisoner Johnson was acquitted and discharged.

After the verdict returned by the jury on Tuesday it was futile to proceed with the prosecution against Lance-Corporal Rodgers and Privates Boulter, Coomber, Goff, and Martin, of the West Kents. The four prisoners were produced before the Sessions Court yesterday morning, when the Government Advocate intimated to the Judge that he withdrew the case for the Crown against the prisoners, and consequently asked for their discharge.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress has made its preliminary arrangements for public meetings on Indian questions during the season 1899-1900.

Elsewhere in the present issue of *INDIA* will be found a report of the address delivered by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Halifax on Monday last (October 9).

Mr. Naoroji has also addressed meetings on Indian questions during the week at the following places:—

- October 10.—Milnrow.
- " 11.—Whitworth.
- " 12.—Middleton.
- " 13.—Colne.

Among other prospective meetings which will be addressed on behalf of the British Committee are the following:—

- October 13.—Nottingham.
- " 16.—Bentham.
- " 18.—Prestwich.
- " 21.—Fallsworth.
- " —Ripponden.
- " 26.—Sowerby Bridge.
- " 27.—Otley.
- November 1.—Gainsborough.
- " 6.—Aspatia.
- " 7.—Cockermouth.
- " 8.—Maryport.

On Monday last (October 9) a meeting at Stokenchurch was addressed by a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee.

On September 26 a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee addressed a public meeting in the Town Hall, Melksham, on "India and its People." The lecture was illustrated by lime-light views, and attracted a large and influential audience.

On October 3 a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee spoke on "India" to the Liberal Associations at Weston-super-Mare, where the large hall was nearly filled.

On October 6 a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee delivered an address on the same subject at Hayward's Heath. Mr. Payne presided over a good attendance, many being unable to obtain admission.

Speaking at meetings on the Transvaal question at Exmouth, Bridgwater, Brighton, and Plymouth, Miss Alison Garland has compared the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and in Natal, and the way in which the Colonial Secretary has given way to the Boers when only Indian and not British interests were directly concerned.

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