India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE gracious Message which the King-Emperor has sent to the Princes and people of India will meet with a ready response in their loyal and grateful hearts. They will regard it, we are very sure, as no merely formal document, but as a personal greeting and pledge of the kind which the Great White Queen knew so well how to offer. The King addresses the Indian Princes and people, assuring them of his "sincere good will and affection" and of his "heartfelt wishes for their welfare." He recalls the fact that Queen Victoria was the first British Sovereign to undertake "the direct administration of the affairs of India," in which she displayed "an unvarying deep personal interest." "I am well aware," the King adds, "of the feeling of loyalty and affection" evinced by the millions of India's peoples "towards Her throne and Person." As a sign of this temper his Majesty refers specially to the armed assistance lent by India in South Africa and in China, which however was by no means the only conspicuous manifestation of India's love and loyalty in a period of acute crisis. Having recalled his visit to India, the King-Emperor closes his Message in these terms:—

> I shall never forget the deep impressions which I then received, and I shall endeavour to follow the great example of the first Queen-Empress to work for the general well being of my Indian subjects of all ranks, and to merit, as She did, their unfailing loyalty and affection.

A noble pledge and an illustrious example. India, we believe, asks for nothing better than the fulfilment of the gracious Messages which from time to time have reached her from the British throne.

Saturday last, the day of Queen Victoria's funeral, was a day of mourning throughout India, among Anglo-Indians and Indians alike. All the King's subjects abstained from business, and memorial services were held in the churches and the temples of every creed. The public meeting of condolence held in the People's Park, Madras, on Friday is said to have been the largest and most impressive gathering ever seen there. A State service was held in Calcutta Cathedral on Saturday in the presence of the Viceroy and the chief officials. "The Hindus," one of the correspondents telegraphs, "to the number of 100,000, assembled in the open air, clad in white, and many of them barefooted. Sacred hymns were sung. No such immense gathering was ever before witnessed in Calcutta. The Mahometans crowded the mosques and distributed alms the whole day." The city of Bombay was "plunged in silent grief. Native soldiers with arms reversed watched all [Friday] night by the Queen's statue, whither the Natives flocked at dawn to deposit their wreaths. Services were held by every caste and creed, and in the evening a State memorial service was celebrated in the cathedral." In every great city in India proposals are being discussed for the erection of suitable memorials, both national and local. Lord Curzon, in an eloquent speech in the Legislative Council at Calcutta on Saturday, well described the general feeling.

> The hearts of all the Indian people had been drawn together by this singular and beautiful combination of mother, woman, and Queen. It was easy to say much about the mark which this marvellous reign had left upon the history of India, and to indicate many points where the sagacious hand and influence of the deceased Sovereign had been felt; but were not all her reign and character summed up in the famous proclamation of 1858, the Magna Charta of India, and the golden guide of our conduct and our aspirations? It might be said of her that she turned Great Britain into a world-wide Empire with India as its corner-stone.

This week we have two Viceregal telegrams on the subject of the famine, yet they add but little to the information we had already. It is something indeed that "slight rain has fallen in parts of Bombay Presidency, including Sind," though what parts of the Presidency we are not told; but the report immediately checks one's satisfaction by adding that "prospects are not materially improved." The statement, then, seems hardly worth making. "Crop prospects," we learn, "continue favourable in Punjab, Upper and Central India"—though we do not remember to have heard of the Punjab for a long time back. The telegram of January 24 prepared us for "serious distress" between that date and August in Gujerat, Deccan, and Karnatak districts of Bombay, but we hear no more of the prospects in these sorely distressed regions. Last month we were told that the "affected area" included "part of Haidarabad;" now we learn that "scarcity deepening into famine is anticipated in a considerable part of Haidarabad." With all this, the numbers on relief on January 31 were 219,000, a decline of 14,000 on the week, mainly in Bombay; and on February 5 the numbers went down to 206,000. Haidarabad stood at 3,000 on January 24, and again on January 31, while on February 5 it was reported "*nil*." Does "*nil*" mean, as it has done before, that the weekly figures had not come to hand? Or are we to suspect that the figures are really not to be depended on?

We have the pleasure of announcing that on February 17 Sir William Wedderburn, who has returned to town, will give an address to the South London Ethical Society on "Famines in India and their Causes." In another part of our present issue we reproduce from the *Speaker* Sir W. Wedderburn's review of Mr. Vaughan Nash's book dealing with the same subject. In this review two points are brought out very clearly: (1) that the main causes of famine in India are errors of policy, and (2) that mortality from famine has been due to want of liberal relief. As regards this second point (which once more raises very definitely the question of a national grant to the relief funds) there is important corroborative testimony in the telegram, printed on another page, which reports the strictures of Sir Antony MacDonnell, President of the Famine Commission, upon the management of the relief system in Gujerat. This telegram, it is curious to note, appears to have been omitted from the *Times*.

Referring to Captain Haig's paper in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the *Pioneer* draws the curious inference that because there were severe famines under the Mahometan rulers of India, famines are a visitation of Providence for which British rule in India is in no way responsible. But in the first place it is no great compliment to the present rulers of the country to judge them by the standard of some of the worst Mahometan Princes; and in the second place there are many countries where famines were common during the Middle Ages, but are now unknown. Is this because the seasons now are always good? No, it is because these countries have become richer. The *Friend of India* even doubts whether a failure of the harvest is more common in that country

than it is elsewhere. But India, growing its own food and not being rich enough to purchase from outside, can only be saved from great suffering by the storage of grain; and this again implies a margin out of which to save. "The special liability of the people of India to famine is a consequence rather of economic, than of climatic, causes." It is, as Sir William Wedderburn says in the *Speaker*, in his review of Mr. Vaughan Nash's book, "mainly a question of money."

The recent orders relating to revision settlements in famine districts are, as the *Times of India* points out, very important. For it is apparent that there is now no question of merely a year's suspension. In districts that have been severely affected no proposals for the revision of existing settlements are to be considered for three years; but when revision settlements are already complete and result in reductions, they may be accepted. The *Times of India* suggests that the Government should make these impending reductions public. Moreover, since in some Guzerat talukas under revision reductions are to be made, should not some remissions be made in neighbouring talukas which are not under revision and therefore will not benefit by these orders?

At the Guzerat revenue enquiry witnesses continue to give evidence of the beating of defaulters and the sealing up of their houses as well as of the payment of assessments out of *taccavi*. Bhaichand Motichand, of Bhadol, gave evidence that in the year before the famine there was some delay in the payment of land revenue; so thorns were put round the village well and none could draw water. Rutnu Visram, returning from the field one evening with his family, found his house sealed up; so he had to borrow cooking utensils and make his meal outside. This was in the famine year, and he owed only thirty rupees out of eighty. Mania Pema told how his house was sealed up three days after his sister had died of plague. By Hindu custom he had to feed the corpse-bearers, but as he could not get into his own house he had to entertain them at the house of a neighbour.

But the case of Bai Gunja, of the same village of Bhadol, was even harder. She made no sowings during the famine year, and had to have recourse to the relief-work at Parvat. When she returned to her village she found a seal on her hut. Weary and hungry, she had to pass the night in the open air; nor was the seal removed for ten or twelve days. In the neighbouring village of Kadrama, Mulji Hira deposed that he got Rs. 45 as *taccavi*, but soon after receiving this he was forced to pay Rs. 23 as an instalment of his assessment. Other witnesses gave evidence that they had been assaulted and beaten, while others again told how they had had to borrow money at heavy interest in order to pay the dues. The *talati* of Umrachi swore that he had never been to Kadrama, and that Mr. Jivanji, who had been collecting evidence for the prosecution, was his personal enemy.

We deeply regret to learn that the Diwan of Jaipur, Rao Bahadur Kanti Chandar Mukharji, C.I.E., a member of the Famine Commission, died on January 15 at Nagpur. He had caught a chill on travel, and was unable to attend the sittings after the first day. We are glad to observe that Sir Antony MacDonnell expressed in warm terms, on behalf of the Commission, "our regret and deep sense of the loss we have suffered by the death of our respected colleague." He proceeded to say:—

> During the many conferences the Commission have had we had come to appreciate highly the sound sense and enlightened judgment of the State Diwan. . . . . As his Excellency the Viceroy says in a message of condolence transmitted through us to the bereaved family, the Diwan terminated his life, as he had lived it, in a work of public usefulness. The Commission consider that their late colleague has left for the encouragement of his fellow-countrymen the reputation of a successful Indian statesman and of a dignified and courteous public man.

Yes; but is it not strange that such "a successful Indian statesman" should be compelled by Government to confine his labours to some Native State, and that his example cannot operate as an "encouragement of his fellow-countrymen" to hope that their statesmanlike capacity will find any opportunity of action within the bounds of British India? We trust that his successor, the Diwan of Kishengarh, will supply his place with equal ability.

The shadow of the famine still obscures the ravages of the plague. The *Bombay Gazette* (overland summary) of January 19, states that "close on 3,000 plague deaths took place in India last week, being 400 more than the previous week, and double the number in the same week of last year." It adds that "the disease is growing specially bad in Western Bengal, where 1,800 deaths occurred last week." Truly, "the plague is an implacable foe and dies hard."

The *Review of the Week* (January 18), assuming that the famine is over, "for the time being, at all events," regards the situation as "still very serious for a great part of the country," and insists that "it is imperative to look it fairly in the face." Accordingly, our contemporary takes up the case of the Central Provinces, "the tract of country which has probably suffered most from this terrible calamity," and this is the substance of its opinion:—

> We cannot, for our part, avoid the conclusion that if the administration of those Provinces is to be carried on upon its present scale the result must be bankruptcy, or something approaching it, for there is good reason to fear that they have practically fallen back into a condition very nearly approaching that which they occupied forty years since, when the first land revenue settlement was made—with this difference, that they have now to support treble the establishment of officials that they did then on a largely enhanced scale of pay, with accommodation to match. Meanwhile the value of the currency has diminished by one half, and the price of food has risen in the same proportion, or even more so, as the opening up of the country by railways has tended also to raise prices considerably by giving access to markets for the disposal of produce which was formerly consumed locally, so that, as is not infrequently the case in this world, the man who has raised the produce is the one who benefits least by the more favourable markets created for it. At the same time he has now to discharge by money payments many obligations which were formerly met by service or by payment in kind, an arrangement which sounds excellent in theory, but which works out terribly hard in practice. The sum of it all is that the cultivator is in a parlous case, and that his ability to pay his revenue, even after the large remissions of the last two years, is exceedingly doubtful, while the Provinces depend on that revenue to pay their way.

The writer examines the history of the Central Provinces, showing how "these highly paid establishments" have grown up, and how unnecessary they are.

The same writer, presumably, returns to the subject of India in the issue of the *Review of the Week* for January 25. When he launches out about "the ineptitudes of the so-called National Congress," and the "irretrievable discredit" that the vernacular press brought upon itself by "abusing its freedom," we are quite prepared to find him complaining about English ignorance of India. However, he eventually settles down to discuss "the growing and dangerous ignorance of the vernacular languages on the part of the average English official," and there we agree with him cordially.

> The results of this ignorance hardly need to be stated; they are to be found in the growing alienation of the rulers from the ruled, the growing dependence of the European officers upon a rapacious horde of English-speaking Native officials, and the fact that the present generation of youthful civilians knows much less of the every-day life and interests and prejudices of the Native than the far less highly "educated" officers of the old school, who spent their lives in closer contact with them, speaking their language and following their lines of thought with a humorous insight which can only be rightly appreciated by those fortunate ones who were familiar with the old school as well as with the new.

The writer gives an interesting example of this incredible state of things:—

> Of ten chief commissioners who administered a single Province in eighteen years we understand that one only—and that the oldest—had a real colloquial knowledge of the vernacular of his charge, and two others enough to pass muster; the remaining eight had no practical acquaintance with it whatever, though they had doubtless passed the prescribed examinations, and were, perhaps, fair scholars—on paper.

Well, Lord Curzon has discovered this weakness in our system, and, we apprehend, will see to a remedy. Is it one of "the ineptitudes" that Congress wallahs have been calling attention to the danger for years and years past—before ever the *Review of the Week* was heard of?

It was an admirable idea of Mr. Barjorjee Nowrosjee, the proprietor and editor of the *Hindi Punch* (Bombay), to issue "The Indian National Congress Cartoons" from his clever journal together "with a selection of the Indian Social Conference Cartoons." The whole collection is most interesting, and also most instructive, genially and effectively marking the varying phases of the Congress.

The Congress Cartoon for 1897, "Mother Hind's Pets"—Mr. Punch in the character of "Mother Hind" giving a hand to the Congress on the one side and to the Conference on the other—hits off the essence of the situation with excellent effect. Beautifully suggestive is the cartoon "At the Grand Durbar, Lucknow" (1899)—Lady Congress presenting "the Nazrana" to Lord Curzon, and Mr. Punch submitting "the Plaint" with the true and touching legend: "Give, and it shall swell thy getting; give, and thou shalt safer keep." The cartoon for the 1895 Session—"the Congress Cross or 'Swastik"—embodies the noble conception expressed in these words from Mr. Hume's message "To Friends in India":—

> Turning to their four-armed cross, the old fathers said, "*In hoc signo vinces.*" *You*, take up *your* cross, whose four arms are Persistent Activity, Union, Courage, Kindly Wisdom; and believe me when I say "*In hoc signo vinces*"—on these lines you shall greatly prevail, and not only win unscathed through the dark days of the Tory winter now upon us, but in later and brighter times secure all that is essential to national progress, "all men can ask or heaven can grant."

And henceforth Bai Congress carries this cross. It is pleasant to observe that Mr. Punch has studied "the latest Congress Manifesto," by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Naoroji, and tells the Lady Congress "I never read a more sober, moderate, and businesslike document for your guidance."

Some months ago we published in successive numbers of INDIA, under the designation of "The People of India: their many merits, by many who have known them," a series of appreciations of Indian character collected and edited by Mr. Alfred Webb. These have now been re-published in pamphlet form, with an admirable preface and an appendix of valuable additions by Mr. H. A. Tálcherkar, B.A., of Bombay. We hope shortly to be able to announce the receipt of a supply of copies for gratuitous distribution to persons likely to make effective use of them.

On January 6 the Metropolitan preached a sermon in Calcutta Cathedral which has created no little indignation throughout India. Dr. Welldon suggested that the Bible should be introduced into all Government schools in India, subject to the provision that parents who disapproved might withdraw their children from biblical teaching. It is true that the Bishop only put this forward as a pious hope not likely to be soon realised; but the design was there. Nay, it was pressed upon the British rulers of India as a sacred duty. It is intolerable that the impoverished Indians should have to support an alien Church, to which only a small minority of Indians belong; but it is monstrous that a Bishop of that Church should urge the Government to use the Indian schools as an engine of proselytism, in defiance of all the solemn pledges that have been given to the Indian people that their religious convictions should be respected.

A very important change is to be introduced into the educational methods of Bengal. It has for a long time been a commonplace among educational reformers that the system in vogue in India was designed rather to aid the acquisition of knowledge than to foster the development of faculty. But, in Sir John Woodburn's words, new methods are to be introduced, "designed, by giving a more practical turn to the general system of early education, to train and improve the intelligence of the young." Following the lines suggested by the recent Educational Conference, the Government of Bengal have decided upon taking two important steps—to introduce the kindergarten and in the three lowest classes to impart instruction in the vernacular; for which purpose the English text-books now in use are to be replaced.

A correspondent of the *Times of India* draws attention to a curious case lately decided at Amalner. A *sowcar* and merchant, Ramchandra Kisan of Parola, was about to proceed to Amalner on legal business, and had a cart waiting at his door to take him there. Unfortunately the *patel* and another official came by, and in spite of his remonstrances seized the cart. Now the impressment of carts was long ago declared illegal by the High Court of Bombay. Ramchandra Kisan, therefore, brought an action against the officials. But the magistrate discharged the accused because, although their action was illegal, they believed it to be legal. Thus we see servants of the Government acting in a lawless manner and saved from the consequences by their ignorance of the law!

The Appeal of Mr. S. J. Walker, manager of the Phulbari Tea Estate at Tezpur, has just been heard. It will be remembered that the Deputy Commissioner there convicted him of having given orders to his servants which led to a coolie woman being mercilessly flogged. He was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 500. Justices Ameer Ali and Stevens have upheld the conviction, declaring that there was no doubt that the flogging of the woman was due to the orders given by the accused.

Discussing the question of Police reform, the *Friend of India* scouts the idea that a small increase of salary will have the effect of checking corruption. It says:—

> As to the Native officers, we do not believe that, under existing conditions, which exclude them from the higher grades of the service, any practicable increase of pay alone will make much difference in the class of men to be got for the work, and, except in so far as it does this, corruption will remain untouched.

Here the right note is sounded. The exclusion from the higher grades of the service must be done away with. This must apply also to the force as a whole, so that "the lowest constable may feel that with ability, honesty, and good fortune combined, he may rise to the highest rank in the service." A mere increase of supervision will do nothing, especially if the superintending body continues to be "a separate service composed of men of alien race, without working police experience or special qualifications of any kind for their work."

The grievances of the most numerous classes of railway passengers in India have often been brought to notice; but from time to time there appear new cases in which their convenience is set at nought by the railway companies. To take one instance: the pens in which third class and intermediate passengers have to await the departure of the trains at Lahore junction have long remained without any cover, so that in bad weather these people have to stand under the rain and on muddy ground. Such a commencement of a journey must often have disastrous effects on health. Moreover, according to the testimony of a writer in the *Tribune*, the trains from Lahore are often without intermediate ladies' carriages, and therefore women have to travel by the already overcrowded third class. In England, ladies' carriages are a convenience; in India, they are a necessity.

For several years past the commanding officer of the Inns of Court Rifle Volunteers has refused to admit Indian law students as members of the corps, and recently the like refusal has been made by the commanding officer of the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers. We understand a young Hindu undergraduate of Cambridge has decided to take the opinion of the High Court on the subject, and that the case is already under the consideration of counsel. The feeling among Indians is undoubtedly very strong against what they regard as an unjust and an offensive discrimination against themselves and a slur upon the part of the British Empire to which they are proud to belong.

Remittances on India for 70 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 1,86,35,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3 1/16d. to 1s. 4 3/32d. The following amounts were allotted—viz., in bills, Rs. 26,33,000 on Calcutta at an average of 1s. 3·951d., Rs. 30,41,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3·955d., and Rs. 9,26,000 on Madras at an average of 1s. 3·967d.; and in telegraphic transfers, one lakh on Calcutta and three lakhs on Madras at an average of 1s. 4·031d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3 1/16d. will receive about 25 per cent., and for telegraphic transfers at 1s. 4 1/32d. in full. Later the Council sold telegraphic transfers for Rs. 1,50,000 on Calcutta and Rs. 1,50,000 on Bombay at 1s. 4 1/16d. Last week remittances for Rs. 71,22,456 were sold for £474,289, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 14,28,49,912, producing £9,515,591. Next week 70 lakhs will again be offered.

INDIA AND THE NEW SESSION.

WE are now within a few days of the opening of Parliament—of the beginning of the first Session, so far as real business is concerned, of the new century and the new reign. This alone would suffice to make it interesting. The King is expected to open it in person, and the early days of the twentieth century will see the revival of an ancient pageant. But there are far more serious reasons why the eyes of all the subjects of the new King and Emperor should be fixed on Westminster. Nor has India less reason than other parts of his dominions for watching the outcome of the deliberations that are about to commence. For many years India has suffered from plague; for many years over a great part of the country there have been short crops. Last year a terrible, an almost unprecedented famine swept over Bombay and Rajputana, the Central Provinces and the Deccan. This year, it is now admitted, the famine will recur—not indeed over so large an area, but with the added intensity which must always accompany a second visitation, where all resources are already gone, and the people, already ruined, helpless and exhausted, have to meet twelve more months of misery and starvation. Surely even amid the clash of arms and the dreams of conquest these are misfortunes that must arrest the attention of Parliament. Surely here is the first duty of the English people—to consider the miserable condition of those for whose welfare they have made themselves responsible and to examine whether there be any possible alleviation of the Indians' hard lot.

In the first place, and of most immediate and pressing importance, is the question of a National Grant, so often urged in these columns and rising into new prominence as the vague fear of a second famine hardens into dreadful certainty. On January 24 the Viceroy telegraphed that in several districts of Bombay—Gujerat, the Deccan and the Karnatak—the crop prospects were bad and serious distress was threatened. Once more relief works will be needed, the necessary expenditure is estimated at a crore, and there will again be a large loss of revenue. England, no doubt, has her own troubles, her expenditure for the current year will be enormous, her budget swollen to a vast total. But how few will die of starvation or be even pinched in the necessaries of life, as they are understood in India! Difficult as it was for the people of the famine-stricken provinces to resume their old life after one year of famine, how much more difficult will it be when, as in Gujerat and the Deccan, two such years have passed. Liberal assistance alone can now save the agriculture of some of the richest districts of India from permanent impoverishment. Yet how can that assistance be given, if the Government of India, weighted with a second year of short revenue and enhanced expenditure, is left to meet the difficulty from its own resources? When the question was raised last year, independent men of all parties supported the proposal of a National Grant to India. The official fear of outside interference alone stood in the way. Is this again to cheat the hopes of India?

But more serious still, even if not more immediately urgent, is another and a deeper question—should not there be an enquiry into the causes of famine and the means of prevention? A Commission has, indeed, been already appointed to consider the methods of alleviation hitherto adopted, and the possibility of their improvement. But the narrowness of such a reference is itself a matter which should receive the attention of Parliament. The omission of all enquiry into the causes and prevention of famine can only be defended on the ground that the causes are known and are out of reach of human interference. Some look upon these recurring calamities as visitations of Providence for the sins of the people. But even in that case it would be well to enquire what particular sins are followed by so terrible a punishment. Others hold that climatic influences are the cause and the only cause, and moreover a cause which no power on earth can modify in the slightest degree. But why is it that Indian famines alone are thus attributable solely to the elements? In how many other countries did not famine once prevail? The climate has grown no better. Bad harvests recur from time to time, yet famine over a large part of the earth's surface is no longer seen. If other things beside climate contributed to famines in other parts of the world, if over a great portion of Europe as the peoples have grown richer famine has disappeared, why is it to be assumed that famine in India has one cause alone, and can never be prevented by the art of man? Is the proposition that famine is due solely to a failure of the rains without any other contributory causes so self-evident and undeniable that all further enquiry is useless? And yet if this be not certain, what duty can fall with such insistence on the Government as that of undertaking an immediate investigation into the economic position of the people, its influence on famine, and the possibility of its improvement? Surely it is incumbent on every well-wisher of India in the British Parliament, nay, on every member who realises his responsibility to the Indian people, over whom his country has assumed dominion, to press for such an enquiry and never to be satisfied till it is granted.

If the past year has been one of sad memories for India there has not been wanting one small gleam of light to break the prevailing darkness. The Report of the Commission on Indian Expenditure, moderate and official as is its general tone, must yet be considered as yielding good ground for hope. It is no light matter to have got from such a tribunal a declaration that in its financial relations with England India has in the past been unjustly treated. Small as the amount which India is now to be saved may seem in these days of vast military expenditure, it will yet be a sensible relief to that impoverished country; and it is no slight advantage to find that, where a wrong is admitted, there is a disposition on the part of the Government to undertake its remedy. To most of the readers of this journal, no doubt, the economic wrongs of India go much deeper and are much vaster than any of those which the Commission were permitted to consider. Nevertheless in the position in which India now is, even small mercies must be accepted if only as an earnest of the complete justice which cannot for ever be withheld. This readjustment of the financial relations of the two countries will come before Parliament in the new Session. But there is one point alluded to at greater length than is now possible in our last issue, which it behoves the friends of India carefully to consider. The Commission recommended a grant of £50,000 in aid of the charge for the India Office. Now it is proposed that, instead of this sum being voted separately by the House of Commons, it shall not appear at all on the Estimates. The recommendation of the Commission is not in this particular to be carried out, and the sacred autonomy of the India Office is to be saved from the interference of Parliament. This is a subject on which the proceedings of the India Office need to be carefully watched; it should be brought before Parliament at the earliest opportunity in the coming Session.

There remain at least two matters of great interest to India, both connected with the South African war. The one is the treatment of Indians in South Africa. The war was professedly undertaken to secure good government and liberty in the Transvaal. Of the misdoings of the Transvaal an eminent member of the Government, since promoted to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared that none raised in him such a feeling of indignation as the treatment of his Indian fellow-subjects. Are they alone to receive no benefit from a war prosecuted with such objects? It now appears that the legislation of Natal was no better in this respect than that of the South African Republic. New legislation of a similar character is threatened in Cape Colony. Is this to be allowed without protest? Are we to see citizens of the Empire persecuting their fellow-subjects, and committing the very crimes which, in the case of the Transvaal, have been atoned for by such a terrible sacrifice? The treatment of the Indians in Natal, if it be the same in the future as in the past, will be a standing exposure of the hollowness of "Imperialism," the disunion of the Empire, and the hypocrisy of those who vaunt the glory, the justice and the liberty of our Imperial rule.

There is another question which the war has brought into prominence, and that is the size of the British Army in India. India is one of the poorest parts of the Empire. It is burdened by a heavy military expenditure which has hitherto been justified on the ground of necessity. But it now appears that in the hour of danger, when if ever the enemies of England would strike, thousands of her soldiers can be spared for service in Africa or China. Thus it is proved that India has year by year been supporting and keeping in efficiency an army greater than she needed; and that the troops stationed in India have been an Imperial reserve to be used for the defence of the Empire,

though charged to India alone. Clearly this is a matter which should engage the attention of Parliament. Even if reparation for the past is impossible, it is at least within our power to take measures that this wrong shall not continue in the future, and that starving India shall not bear a disproportionate part of the burdens of Empire.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

THE Fourteenth Session of the Social Conference, which met at Lahore immediately after the conclusion of the proceedings of the sister Congress, is painfully associated with the lamented death of Mr. Justice Ranade. As we have already stated, Mr. Ranade's annual Address was read by his intimate friend Professor Gokhale, for he was himself too ill to be present, being in fact on his death-bed. Still his message was delivered—his dying testimony to the principles he had long and earnestly advocated. To the Western mind it is a very strange, yet a very natural and very effective, deliverance. It is conceived on the familiar lines of presenting a truer interpretation of the ancient past so as to assist his countrymen in breaking the bonds of later glosses on their original beliefs, and thereby emerging into a larger freedom and a wider participation in modern ideas of social union. To this end Mr. Ranade devoted his Address to an account of the age when the Rishis flourished, and to an enquiry how it was that in course of time Brahmin Rishis came practically to monopolise the title and to deny it to the Rajas, concluding with a few sentences driving home the results of his examination. If such an investigation and argument seems strange to us of the West, this is simply because we have been born and brought up in a different mental atmosphere. We have to remember, too, as Mr. Ranade was always most careful to remember, how delicate an operation it is to modify, in consonance with the progress of thought and experience, fundamental ideas based on religious teaching and confirmed in social practice through countless generations. There is not now anywhere in the whole world a movement that should command more sympathy, respect, and admiration than the work of the Indian Social Conference.

Lahore is the capital of the Punjab, and the Punjab is the land of the Rishis. The question, then, naturally arises: "Who were these Rishis? What was the condition of society when they lived? What thoughts stirred them, and what actions ennobled their lives and their struggles?" Says Mr. Ranade:—

> We are met to-day in the land of the Rishis, where Vashisths and Vishvamitra lived and flourished at a time when the caste institution had not taken its root in our Indian soil, when men and women enjoyed freedom and equality, asceticism had not overshadowed the land, and life and its sweets were enjoyed in a spirit of joyous satisfaction. . . . It is a revelation to many of us to be taken back to two or three thousand years ago, to a state of society when class divisions, such as Brahmins and Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, were unknown or not well established, and the only distinction recognised in practice was between the Aryans and non-Aryans.

Mr. Ranade held firmly by the ancient principles, and tried to lead the people back to them by showing that the later excrescences of popular faith are but misleading perversions of the original teaching and practice. He laboured to bring their minds back to sympathy with "a state of society where men were not split up into petty divisions of caste, with its artificial barriers limiting men's activities and narrowing their sympathies." With this view he presented numerous illustrations from the ancient records, showing the breadth and the depth of the gulf of thought and habit separating the present time from the age of the saintly Rishis. He cited cases where the daughters of kings were given in marriage to Rishis, and where Brahmins gave their daughters in marriage to kings. He instanced cases where Rishis that were born in royal houses, or were Rajarshis, became by their sanctity and devotion entitled to be called Brahmarishis. Among other illustrations, it is especially interesting to note the numerous examples of women "remaining unmarried throughout their lives and engaging themselves in the pursuit of devotional exercises or in the study of philosophy." Mr. Ranade enforces by copious examples what we in this country had already learned from Max Müller, that "there was no monopoly of learning in those early times, and Rajas and Brahmins sat at the feet of each other to learn wisdom." The true Gurus of the past, then, were the Rishis who were both Brahmarishis and Rajarshis, "only distinguished from one another by their individual inclinations and abilities."

Mr. Ranade accounts for the process of change. The Rajarshis, never much known for their authorship in comparison with the Brahmins, among whom were many highly influential names, succumbed to Rajput or Jat conquerors in the early period of the Christian era. These conquerors had no hold on the popular mind, so that the Brahmin influence attained a unique predominance. This predominance was confirmed by the rise of the Puranic literature, "and the result was that the term Rishi came to be applied only to Brahmins as being the only literary and cultured class of the time." The only check came from the Vaishnava movement, which "has struck its deepest roots in the Punjab, where the ten Gurus from Nanak to Guru Gobind Sing have effected a change the like of which no other part of India can exhibit." There the Granth Sahib has ousted the old Vedas and Puranas, and the Gurus have taken the place of the Brahmins. In recent times British rule has introduced fresh forces, "and the road is now again open by which the best men of all classes may aspire, as in the past, to be the true Rishis of the land." The great question is "Who should be these Gurus of the future?"

This is the point to which the whole of the preceding historical disquisition has been working up. It is only by keeping the ideal of the true Gurus of the past before them that the modern Indians, according to Mr. Ranade, can prove themselves worthy of their earliest ancestors. He says:—

> Of course, the teachings, and the methods, and the subjects taught in these days must be made to suit our new exigencies and environments, but the spirit animating the teachings must be the same as that which led the first settlers to cross the Vindhya Range and establish their colonies in the South. By reviving our ancient traditions in this matter we may hope in the near future to instil into the minds of our young generations lessons of devotion to learning, diversities of study, and personal loyalty to the teacher, without which no system of school or college education can ever bear any fruit. This, however, is not all. In addition to these lessons, our new teachers must know how to introduce their pupils to a correct appreciation of the forces which are at work in the wider world outside, and which, in spite of temporary checks or seeming reverses, represent all that is best in human efforts for the elevation and happiness of man. Our teachers must enable their pupils to realise the dignity of man as man, and to apply the necessary correctives to tendencies towards exclusiveness, which have grown in us with the growth of ages. They must see that our thoughts, our speech, our actions are inspired by a deep love of humanity, and that our conduct and our worship are freed, where necessary, from the bondage of custom and made to conform, as far as possible, to the surer standard of our conscience. We must at the same time be careful that this class of teacher does not form a new order of monks. . . . It may be doubted how far such men (celibates) are able to realise life in all its fulness and in all its varied relations, and I think our best examples in this respect are furnished by Agastya with his wife Lopamadra, Atri with his wife Anusuya, and Vashistha with his wife Arundhati among the ancient Rishis; and in our own times by men like Dr. Bhandarkar on our side, Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Row in Madras, the late Keshub Chunder Sen and Babu Protap Chunder Mozumdar and Pandit Shivanath Shastri in Bengal, and Lala Hansa Raj and Lala Munshi Ram in your own Province. A race that can ensure a continuance of such teachers can, in my opinion, never fail, and, with the teachings of such men to guide and instruct and inspire us, I, for one, am confident that the time will be hastened when we may be vouchsafed a sight of the Promised Land.

If Ranade himself has not had the privilege of leading his people into the Land to possess it, and has scarcely even been able to say, like another Moses, that he has seen it from a height afar, yet he has undoubtedly discovered and pointed out the way, and has led his countrymen so far with incomparable prudence and certainty. The whole series of his Social Conference Addresses has been marked by sure insight and wisdom; and none of them all excels the last in firm self-restraint, in friendly persuasiveness, in skilful adaptation of argument to suit the minds of his hearers. With comprehensive tenderness, without a trace of violence or harshness, in the dignity of consummate statesmanship, he has led to great issues the most impressive Reformation in the modern world.

True, as Diwan Sant Ram said in his Presidential Address, a great deal still remains to be done to render the connexion between the central organisation and the local associations vital and fruitful. In view of the multitude and the condition of the masses this is a work that needs more years than fourteen; and it is a process that must not be unduly hastened. The slower the growth the surer the results and the greater the strength. But already, as

the Diwan stated, "it is difficult to over-estimate the silent influence the Conference is exerting in educating public opinion" throughout India, and undoubtedly the movement "is destined to exert a mighty influence upon the social structure of the great nation which is slowly evolving itself in this ancient land." We are glad to observe that the Diwan laid stress on the necessity of strengthening the local organisations, of "carrying the gospel of reform to every nook and corner" of the land. The resolutions discussed and carried dealt, as usual, with the social progress of the year and looked forward to future advances. The spirit of Ranade will still sway the movement for a long time to come, and the need will raise up some worthy successor to assume his mantle. All generous minds will join in the prayer of the Diwan :—

May the new century bring the true life with it. May the old era of injustice and social tyranny and unbrotherliness pass away, and the new era of peace, progress, and love begin in our midst.

And all practical minds will add an earnest counsel of serious, systematic, and discreet effort. No reformers that have ever reformed anything have spared themselves in the work.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

So much has been written about the memorable scene of last Saturday that one is reluctant to prolong the record, even to the extent of a paragraph. Monday's daily papers, as one of them confessed, were one vast prairie of description. It was an extremely moist prairie. Most of our contemporary historians appear to have thought it incumbent on them to supply the tears which the public omitted to shed. Why this convention should be so sedulously nursed it is difficult to imagine. The actual attitude of the people was more becoming, more natural, more characteristic of the race, and indeed altogether more impressive than anyone who had to take his impressions from the newspapers would imagine it to have been. No human being could look on such a tremendous spectacle as was presented to the world in the streets of London last Saturday and remain unmoved; and there must have been an infinite depth of emotion in the hearts of that vast multitude. But it was an emotion that found no expression in tears—an emotion, indeed, of which tears would have been an altogether inappropriate symbol. A French writer has said that the scene suggested to him rather the grateful and reverent celebration of a great name by posterity than the mourning of a nation by the side of an open grave. The same thought must have occurred to others.

Probably about a million people witnessed the procession. Some of the estimates put the number as high as five millions, and no doubt there were quite that number of persons in London on the day of the funeral. The official statisticians deal only in generalities, not in detailed figures; and their pronouncement is that the assemblage in the streets and parks was the greatest ever known. It was also the best behaved crowd of modern times. The Duke of Wellington once said that anybody could get 100,000 men into Hyde Park but that it would take a military genius to get them out again. There were perhaps twice that number in the park on Saturday, yet they got themselves out again with facility. Not a single fatal accident was recorded as the result of the day's proceedings.

Not the least striking feature of the military procession was that in which the composite elements of the Indian army were represented by individual types. This picturesque group lent a touch of colour to the earlier part of the pageant which was only rivalled by the heterogeneous uniforms of the Colonial contingent. Next to the members of the princely retinue the most conspicuous figures were Lord Roberts, splendid in attire and mournful of countenance, and the Duke of Norfolk, sombre alike in dress and demeanour. The kings and princes were accoutred with a bravery which would have added lustre to a festival. But the very funeral car was decked in splendour. The grim form of the gun carriage had been veiled from view by the folds of a magnificent satin pall on which the priceless emblems of sovereignty sparkled with a radiance that seemed to outshine the winter sun. Never in the memory of her subjects had Queen Victoria passed in such resplendent state as that with which she was invested in the last progress of all. She came indeed,

Like a wedding guest
With banners and with music, with soldier and with priest.

London again thronged the streets on Tuesday, but on this occasion with no mournful purpose. The German Emperor, who only a few years ago was the most unpopular man in England, passed through the capital from Windsor on his way to Berlin, and the populace turned out in its thousands to assure him that bygones were bygones. If London waxed enthusiastic over its guest, the latter appeared to be equally charmed with London. Never was there a more demonstrative reconciliation. King Edward, who sat by the side of his Imperial nephew, could not conceal his satisfaction. Continental critics will doubtless find in this final exhibition of international amity a further proof of William II's shrewd political instinct. English people, however, are not particularly concerned with that aspect of the episode. If their affections have been captured by the Kaiser it is because they have been deeply touched by the monarch's filial devotion.

Parliament has not been opened by the Sovereign in person for more than fifteen years. The last occasion was that of the short Parliament of 1886, which the Queen went down to open as a mark of favour to Lord Salisbury. Her Majesty was accompanied not only by the Prince who is now King but by a Prince who, had he lived, would ultimately have succeeded to the same exalted throne. The present Heir-Apparent was also in the Royal group but made quite a subsidiary figure. When the Queen withdrew from the splendid scene, it was on the arm of Prince Albert Victor that she leant. Few who witnessed the ceremonial could have imagined that it was the last of the kind in which either the venerable monarch or her youthful grandson would be seen. When the King takes his place on the Throne next Thursday he will probably be accompanied by Queen Alexandra, and possibly by his grandson and ultimate heir, Prince Edward of Cornwall and York.

Some critics detect an echo of the German Emperor's style in the proclamations and messages that the King has been issuing since his accession. The resemblance, perhaps, is only a family one. Certainly the Kaiser could not have assumed the paternal manner more perfectly than the King has done in his friendly and intimate greeting to the people of India. Rumours are rife to the effect that his Majesty is contemplating a more active participation in the government of the country than has been sought by the Crown in recent times, but the King's training, his reputation for commonsense, and his specific pledges all tend to discredit the suggestion. Reports of this character are doubtless to be traced to the uneasiness of the country under an administration which obviously does not know its own mind and to the prevailing desire for the guidance of a strong and courageous helmsman.

Theatrical performances have at length been resumed in the West End play-houses. Most of the theatres kept their doors closed for a fortnight after the Queen's death—a tribute to her Majesty's memory which must have involved a heavy pecuniary sacrifice. Loyalty is a characteristic of the dramatic profession. At Her Majesty's the other night and at the St. James's last night the curtain did not rise till the National Anthem had been played. Not only so, but at Mr. Tree's theatre it was also sung; and very much startled did the audience look when it heard Miss Edith Palliser's fine voice vocalising the unfamiliar words "Long may King Edward reign." The production at Her Majesty's is "Twelfth Night," thus adding another to the list of Shakespearian revivals which have lately been so conspicuous on the London stage. Mr. Tree's Malvolio is a revelation of fantastic comedy and should be seen both for Shakespeare's sake and for the sake of entertainment. Modern comedy continues to hold sway at the St. James's where Mr. Haddon Chambers's new play "The Awakening" is cleverly performed by Mr. George Alexander, Miss Fay Davis, Miss Gertrude Kingston and other talented actors. It is almost a "problem play," and has the merit of being brilliantly written.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE RANADE.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, January 18.

I write this letter with a heavy heart. Not since the untimely death of the distinguished Mr. Telang seven years ago have I been moved to such pain as I am in inditing this most mournful epistle. That light which for so long had shone so steadily like a fixed star in the galaxy of Indian intellect, irradiated the whole horizon with its own beneficent radiance,

and imparted such glow all around—that light is for ever extinguished. The lamp which Providence in his divine grace lent us awhile is gone. Darkness reigns supreme and it looks as if there was a total eclipse. The Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade is no more. Within a day of his entering on his sixtieth year he has been cruelly mowed down by the hand of the Reaper. Almost suddenly, and most tragically, this towering Indian personality has passed away from our midst, aye, passed away when his increasing utility in all spheres of life—life social, life intellectual, and life political—was being more widely appreciated, and when all were wistfully looking forward for that long life of greater leisure which, free and unfettered, was to be devoted to purposes of greater usefulness. Men's thoughts, so the late Laureate sang, were widened by each process of the sun. In the case of the deceased it was literally true. His intellectual horizon was giving evidence of a growing mind, every way more matured and mellow from year to year. But yesterday we felt that with the six months' leave of absence from the bench he would have that complete rest which was sadly needed before he resumed his wonted activity. High hopes and higher endeavours were centred in him. But alas for the vanity of human wishes Before two weeks were old all those hopes have been dashed to the ground. Mr. Ranade is already gathered to the majority of those illustrious dead, that "immortal choir" of whom Eliot sang so sublimely and pathetically. All, therefore, that remains to us mortals, us creatures of a day, is to mourn his loss. Dear to religion, dear to humanity, dear to all that is noble in the universe, Mr. Ranade has left a name which shall be dear to every unit of his countrymen, throughout the length and breadth of the land, for many a generation to come. Meanwhile his place is void. As the *Times of India* has justly remarked in a most appreciative obituary notice to-day, we have to go back to the days of the early nineteenth century to find a man of the nobility and true spiritual loftiness of Mr. Ranade. We must recall the days of Ram Mohun Roy of evergreen memory. Both in their respective lives of simplicity—lives spotless and sublime—inculcated that naught in this world is true save Right and Truth. Theirs was not to loom large and grand in vulgar eyes. Theirs was not to covet honour and fame. No. Theirs was to live like the Rishis of old, those goodly saints of primeval age or at the dawn of History, and to die like them in the service of their fellow-creatures—absolutely effacing themselves. Both by their exemplary lives have shown that they are greater than those who seem great. Theirs were lofty souls indeed which kept innocence, and inculcated such glorious examples of a noble life of high faith and high endeavour as to attract irresistibly everyone who came into contact with them. Life with them was no empty dream but a stern reality—a duty towards their great Creator first, and a duty towards their fellow-creatures next. Gifted with natural talents, both utilised them for purposes the most useful and ennobling. The more that knowledge grew in them, the more they exerted themselves to give its benefit to persons less fortunate than themselves. They thoroughly understood that knowledge was power—that it was a gift which God wished should be shared by all—and that the best use of knowledge was to impart it to others so that in turn they might become useful to the ignorant. But the power should never be abused, but turned to the best and most beneficent purpose. To illumine ignorance, to drive out superstition, to uplift the mind, to reach to heights sublime whence, as from the summit of the highest mount, you may better appreciate the power Divine—these were the lessons which the two inculcated all through their lives. Other pens have described the virtues of Mr. Ranade, his intellectual attainments, and the example which his blameless life has taught to his contemporaries. After Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whom he always called his *guru*, and respected with reverence, all eyes had been turned to him. But alas for the misfortune of India, so steeped in misery these half-dozen years, he has not survived our Grand Old Man. This is the loss. I cannot resist saying with the poet:—

> For him deep rest or high spontaneous strains.
> For us fierce strife . . . . . .
> For him, truth's face shining out clear and strong.
> For us half lights, thick clouds and dark'ning days.

But why should I prolong this wail? It seems some spirit tells me I must not mourn. For who knows:—

> Perchance he lends his voice
> To swell the fullness of the eternal psalm,
> Or haply, wrapt in nature's holy calm,
> Safe hid within the fruitful womb of earth,
> He ripens slowly to a higher birth.

For I am firm of conviction that:—

> The spark once kindled by the eternal breath
> Goes not out quite, but somewhere doth endure
> In the strange life we blindly christen death.

THE KING AND HIS PEOPLE.

MESSAGE TO THE PRINCES AND PEOPLE OF INDIA.

The King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to send the following letter to the Princes and People of India:—

"Through the lamented death of My beloved and dearly mourned Mother, I have inherited the Throne, which has descended to Me through a long and ancient lineage.

"I now desire to send My greeting to the Ruling Chiefs of the Native States, and to the Inhabitants of My Indian Dominions, to assure them of My sincere goodwill and affection, and My heartfelt wishes for their welfare.

"My illustrious and lamented Predecessor was the first Sovereign of this Country who took upon Herself the direct Administration of the Affairs of India, and assumed the title of Empress in token of Her closer association with the Government of that vast country.

"In all matters connected with India, the Queen-Empress displayed an unvarying deep personal interest, and I am well aware of the feeling of loyalty and affection evinced by the millions of its peoples towards Her Throne and Person. This feeling was conspicuously shown during the last year of Her long and glorious Reign by the noble and patriotic assistance offered by the Ruling Princes in the South African War, and by the gallant services rendered by the Native Army beyond the limits of their own Country.

"It was by Her wish and with Her sanction that I visited India and made Myself personally acquainted with the Ruling Chiefs, the people, and the cities of that ancient and famous Empire.

"I shall never forget the deep impressions which I then received, and I shall endeavour to follow the great example of the first Queen-Empress to work for the general well-being of My Indian subjects of all ranks, and to merit, as She did, their unfailing loyalty and affection.

"(Signed) EDWARD, R.I.

"Windsor Castle, February 4, 1901."

A Calcutta telegram dated January 31 states that Lord Curzon, having sent a telegram to King Edward expressing the unaffected grief of all classes in India at the death of the Sovereign who was revered in India as a mother, and offering the King their respectful homage, has received the following reply from his Majesty:—

"I recognise the affection and loyalty inspired by Queen Victoria in all classes of her subjects in India by the wisdom and justice of her long reign, and her earnest personal solicitude for their welfare. I am deeply touched by the universal sorrow evoked by her death, and desire that my acknowledgments of the homage tendered to me on my accession may be made known to the Chiefs and people whose country I have seen, in whose attachment to the Throne I have full confidence, and whose prosperity and happiness will always be to me of the highest interest and concern."

It is said that the King's addresses to the British people, to his Colonial subjects, and to the Indian Princes and people were entirely the effort of his own mind. Even the phraseology was dictated by him. At first the suggestion was that the King should express his indebtedness to his people in one general address. However, he was convinced that the devoted sympathy of the Colonies and the unfailing loyalty of India would be better recognised by a personal and direct expression of gratitude and of confidence. If it be true, as it is also said, that the original draft of the addresses was penned by the King himself, then of course that document will have a considerable historical value.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

"PROSPECTS NOT MATERIALLY IMPROVED."

THE OUTLOOK IN HYDERABAD.

The Secretary for India has received (February 5) the following telegram from the Viceroy on the subject of the famine:—

"Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 175,000; Bombay Native States, 15,000; Baroda, 13,000; Hyderabad, none; Madras, 3,000; total, 206,000."

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy on the subject of the famine (January 31):—

"Slight rain has fallen in parts of Bombay Presidency, including Sind, benefiting late spring crops, but prospects not materially improved. Scarcity deepening into famine anticipated in considerable portion of Hyderabad. Crop prospects continue favourable in Punjab, Upper and Central India. Good wheat harvest expected. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 183,000; Bombay Native States, 17,000; Baroda, 13,000; Hyderabad, 3,000; Madras, 3,000; total, 219,000."

THE FAMINE COMMISSION AND MORTALITY IN GUJERAT.

STRONG CENSURE BY SIR A. MACDONNELL.

A Reuter's telegram dated Bombay, February 1, says:

At a meeting of the Famine Commission at Ahmedabad to-day, the President, Sir Antony MacDonnell, commented in strong terms on the enormous mortality in the Gujerat famine camps. The people, he said, died like flies when subjected to excessive tasks, and totally inadequate provision was made for the distribution of gratuitous famine relief. Sir A. MacDonnell's strictures are regarded as a severe condemnation of the Bombay famine administration.

[It is interesting to compare with this telegram the passages referring to the relief system contained in Sir W. Wedderburn's review of Mr. Vaughan Nash's book, which will be found on page 68 of our present issue. It would appear that the telegram was accidentally, or otherwise, omitted from the *Times*.]

THE REFERENCE TO THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes (February 5):—

Little attention has been paid in this country to the appointment of the Famine Commission which, under the direction of Sir Antony MacDonnell, has just begun its work in India. Among Indians, however, the reference to the Commission has caused much dissatisfaction. The Congress party has persistently for a dozen years and more urged the Government of India to undertake enquiry into the economic causes of famine, with a view to prevention. A request of this kind constituted the first resolution of the recent Congress at Lahore. Four years ago, in the midst of the great famine of 1896-7, there was some hope that enquiry into the causes of famine would be permitted, especially as Lord George Hamilton, speaking in the House of Commons on January 26, 1897, expressed his agreement "that the opportunity this famine affords ought not to be allowed to pass without our taking every opportunity to enquire into and ascertain the best methods of protecting the people of India from the recurrence of similar calamities." Yet the Commission of 1897, over which Sir James Lyall presided, was appointed to enquire into the system of relief, and the present Commission is appointed to continue its work. It is not denied, of course, that improvement of the relief system is a matter of extreme importance. What is contended is that the Government should enquire into possible means of preventing famine—enquiry which, it has often been urged in Parliament, could be efficiently prosecuted on a modest scale in a few selected and typical Indian villages.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

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

While the nation dons mourning for a monarch dead, and effuses over a monarch living; while heralds bellow forth that monarch's long array of far-sounding titles, and all the "organs of public opinion" fall prostrate in adoration of majesty semi-divine, it appears incongruous to beg that a modicum of bread may be given to help to keep some millions of his Majesty's subjects alive. But life is now full of such glaring contradictions, and therefore we have no choice but to print the following telegram from Viceroy Curzon which appeared in the newspapers last Saturday. It means that famine continues in India, that it will increase, in the Bombay province at least, as the months steal past, and that more than an Empire's doles are necessary to cure the disease now working as a solvent of the foundations on which the magnificence, the strength, and the continuity of the Empire rests. It is no longer "Spare a trifle for the hungry"; it is "Arise, and reverse your policy of exhaustion and pillage, and take to husbandry and development of resources, not for Imperial, which means the fighting man's glory, but for the good of the people ruled and the salvation of the State." While we dream dreams of grandeur and are kept amused or flattered in our pride by pageants organised for the display of our fighting array, behold India perishes.

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

Amount previously acknowledged £940 4 8

"MAINLY A QUESTION OF MONEY."

Under this heading Sir William Wedderburn contributes to the current issue of the *Speaker* (February 2) a signed review of Mr. Vaughan Nash's important book, "The Great Famine and its Causes" (Longmans, Green and Co.). The book, it may be remembered, was noticed in our columns of December 14 last. Sir W. Wedderburn writes:—

It was a saying of Dr. Johnson that "he that voluntarily continues ignorance is guilty of all the crimes which ignorance produces; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a lighthouse might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwrecks." If this be true what shall we say of the voluntary ignorance of the British people regarding India and their responsibility for the untold calamities which continue to afflict that unhappy country? The attitude of the British people towards India is indeed a very extraordinary one. India is their greatest and most valuable possession; the pivot, as Lord Curzon says, upon which their Empire turns; also they are directly responsible for its welfare; yet, regardless alike of duty and self-interest, they will not take the smallest trouble to learn the truth regarding it. To them, therefore, we must impute the guilt if the Indian ship makes shipwreck.

There is no use blaming the Press. The Press supplies what the public demands; and there is no demand for information about India. The man in the street does not want to be told disagreeable truths or to be reminded of his duty. What he wants, and is willing to pay for, is food for his national vanity, with daily rations of sensational matter, true or untrue. This demand the Press does its best to supply; and, accordingly, scores of war-correspondents were hurried off to South Africa for the purpose of providing highly-coloured tales of British victories and annexations; while in the whole United Kingdom only one great daily journal was found willing to send out a famine correspondent to India, in order to enquire why millions of our fellow-subjects are dying from hunger and disease, and what are the causes which are bringing our great Empire there to economic collapse. I suppose all this is part of the new Imperialism. If so it is not difficult to foresee what must be the end of such folly. We hear much of the Imperial instincts of our race. But at present these instincts seem to be those of the foolish and greedy dog in the fable, which dropped its good bone in order to plunge after the shadow. Are we as a nation wiser than Æsop's dog when we grasp at new and dangerous responsibilities while allowing our glorious heritage in the East to go to rack and ruin?

However that may be, it is certain that the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian* did a great public service when they sent out Mr. Vaughan Nash, a trained expert on social and economic questions, to report on "The Great Famine and its Causes"; and we now have before us his letters in the form of a book under that title. In his preface Mr. Nash remarks that no account of so vast a catastrophe, written by any one observer, can pretend to be more than a fragmentary record of impressions. This is true; but impressions are of the utmost value, when, as in the present case, they are sent home, fresh and fresh, with each mail, by a competent and impartial eye-witness, whose only object is to make known the truth. Mr. Nash, during the eleven weeks he spent in India, visited all the principal famine centres, and made a careful comparison of the methods of relief followed in the different provinces. But he did much more. He was not a mere *spectator ab extra*. He studied the people themselves, these sad inheritors of an ancient civilisation; he entered into their feelings and looked at the situation from their point of view, realising the full horror and pathos of the catastrophe. Furthermore, he fearlessly used his trained intelligence to discover and declare the causes, direct and indirect, of all this suffering and death. The narrative of his experiences is an impressive one. On arrival at Bombay he at once began his researches, and soon after proceeded to Gujarat, sometimes called the Garden of India;

and the nature of the spectacle he there witnessed will be seen from the following description :—

"It is no good," he writes, "dwelling on such scenes, but I confess that I had not realised the full measure of the catastrophe in Gujarat till I saw the rows of famine-gnawed wanderers dying in the hospitals at Broach and Ahmedabad. At the poorhouse here, which has been fitted up in the old gaol, there were 36 'cases' in the serious ward to-day; 12 had died since daybreak, and 6 had been brought in dead out of the streets. There was no chance, the doctor said, of saving the rest. Old men and children, and men, as years count, in the prime of life, lay on their strips of matting, indifferent to everything. The pain and struggle were over, and the only thing now was to let them die in peace."

This is very pitiful. And what does the writer say as to the spirit in which this suffering was borne? These are his words :—

"To learn how suffering may be borne, I say there can be no better school than India. Never was people afflicted like this people; but words cannot describe their patience and resignation, their child-like sweetness and docility, their gratitude for a word or look of comfort. . . . . I am writing now with the voice in my ears that I heard this evening at the poorhouse hospital, where the sweepers were pulling a dead child from its mother's arms. The floor was littered with sixty dying people, and there was silence in the shed—not even a moan or a sob from the figures on the floor—when the mother's screams of anguish filled the place."

From one point of view, doubtless, it is "no good dwelling on such scenes": the innocent dead cannot be brought to life again. But something may be gained for the future if, by such a vivid presentment of human suffering and sorrow, the attention of the British people can be aroused and their conscience touched; if they can be made to feel remorse for past neglect, and brought to the resolve that, God helping them, they will cause such miseries to cease.

The essential truth to be realised is that the suffering and sorrow are altogether preventible; that Providence is not to blame in the matter, but human error as regards the originating causes of the famine, and human parsimony as regards failure effectually to relieve the famine-stricken. For both the error and the parsimony the Government is primarily responsible, but ultimately the British people, as the depositaries of all political power. Mr. Nash's conclusions on these points may be stated in the form of two propositions: first, that recurring famines in India are due to the excessive poverty of the people, caused mainly by well-intentioned but fatal errors in our general system of administration; and, secondly, that in this famine the mortality arose from insufficient liberality in the distribution of relief. These propositions may be surprising and distasteful to those who have been nourished on belief in the unspeakable blessings of British rule. But they are true, nevertheless; and I will quote some of the facts and figures upon which they are based.

Taking first the charge of insufficient liberality in the distribution of famine relief, the important point to bear in mind is that the whole thing, from beginning to end, has been a question of money, pure and simple. This great famine has been one of means, not of food. Food was everywhere procurable, but the people had not the money to pay for it. Had the money been forthcoming, our Indian brother had not died. In former times, no doubt, there have been cases where the people have died because food was not procurable; for example, in the Orissa famine of 1866, when that province was cut off from supplies by flooded rivers and stormy seas. In such a case it might be said that Providence was responsible and official man helpless; but during the present famine no single district has been isolated from supplies; and the railways have, as regards human food, sufficiently done their work of distribution. If, therefore, the people died it was because they were so destitute; because they had neither coin nor credit to purchase the food, which was on the spot in abundance; and because this great Empire was unable or unwilling to provide the money necessary to save them from death. At page 198 Mr. Nash gives some of the statistics, and thus describes the condition of the food supply during the worst period of suffering :—

"In spite of the famine there is grain enough and to spare in India. India has, in fact, continued to feed herself through the whole famine period, that is, since August and September, without any appreciable import of food-stuffs; and though the exports of wheat and rice have sunk enormously, they have by no means ceased."

Even in Gujarat, where the people were dying in thousands, the official reports show that there were abundant supplies in the hands of the traders. In Ahmedabad it was believed that the district contained "sufficient grain to last for a couple of years"; and similarly as regards Kaira, Broach, and Surat, in each of which "large stocks of last year's food grains" were believed to exist. In the Gujarat districts, therefore, every death by hunger was purely a question of money. These Indian peasants are frugal beyond belief, and to keep them alive only 1½d. a day per head was needed. Why was this money not forthcoming? Private charity proved altogether insufficient; so appeal was made to the nation. By formal motion, on due notice in the House of Commons, a national grant was prayed for; but this help was refused. The House of Commons readily votes 100 millions to extend our national responsibilities; but, at the instance of the Government, it refuses five millions to keep alive those for whom we are already directly responsible. Has the nation no shame in this matter? In all Dante's "Inferno" there is no episode more ghastly than that of the Conte Ugolino and his children dying in the tower of hunger at Pisa. But are we so much superior to Archbishop Ruggieri when, by our deliberate and sordid refusal of money help, we consign these countless Indian sufferers to the same painful and lingering death?

A Parliamentary grant would have been distributed at the discretion of the Viceroy, so as to reach exceptional, as well as ordinary, cases of need. But experience has shown that, even under the somewhat rigid rules of the Famine Code, success or failure in relief operations is mostly dependent upon the question of money. Thus in the Central Provinces, where money was not grudged, either for food or organisation, starvation was "practically non-existent"; also after the famine the cultivators were returned to the land with hope of soon recovering their normal condition. Whereas in Bombay, where the relief was administered grudgingly, with stringent deterrents, the famine mortality was excessive; while the survivors proved ready victims to disease, or returned to their ruined homes mere wrecks of their former selves. As regards the Central Provinces Mr. Nash says that "it is impossible to speak too highly in praise of the relief work." He especially commends the preference shown for village irrigation works, as illustrated in the division of Bilaspur :—

"In this division alone," he says, "something like a thousand village tanks have been dug, deepened, or repaired, a job that has given employment to nearly half the able-bodied people on relief. See what this means. The people have been left at peace in their own homes, free to keep an eye on their fields and cattle, and to look after the old folks and the children, and ready to rush to the land directly the rain begins." Then there was the "village kitchen" at the people's own doors, "a simple affair of a pot and a couple of stones under a tree, with a store of dal and rice and a Brahmin or some other high-caste person for cook."

Again there was grass-cutting and road-making in the forests for the Gonds and Dhils, and other aboriginal tribes; while larger relief works were opened when necessary, but under a strict rule that not more than five or six thousand persons should be collected in any one famine camp. The success achieved was owing to liberal expenditure, with infinite attention to detail in organisation and supervision, paying the people daily, and allotting to each his proper share of work. For this success Mr. Nash considers that credit specially belongs to Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, the Chief Commissioner, "to whose foresight, promptitude, and grasp the setting-up and smooth starting of all this gigantic organisation are mainly due."

In painful contrast to the humane and life-saving management in the Central Provinces was the unhappy system followed in Bombay. Both administrations professed to be working under the Famine Code. How was it that the two methods were so divergent? The parting of the two ways appears to date from the unfortunate "Holderness Circular" issued by the Government of India on December 27, 1899, with a view to limiting the expenditure on relief. That Circular, without any sufficient evidence, brought against the famine-stricken people a charge of general pauperisation, assuming that they had shown "extreme readiness . . . . to throw themselves upon the charity of the State, and to avail themselves of every form of relief"; and suggesting greater "strictness" in dealing with the applicants for employment on the works. The Central Provinces seem to have turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of the circular. But Bombay hearkened only too readily to this "gospel of deterrents;" and hence all these tears. Assuming that the Government was being imposed upon, the Bombay authorities took stringent steps to exclude from the relief works all persons suspected of not being really in need; and this

policy led, among other devices, to the imposition of what was known as the "penal wage" or "penal minimum." Mr. Nash has devoted two chapters to this most painful subject, and to these I must refer the reader, only noting that the "penal wage" scale worked out so as to give to each labourer on the relief works little over one anna a day at a time when 2½ annas a day was the amount allowed for the subsistence of convicts in the jails. Also in their desire for economy, the Bombay Government established enormous relief camps, containing 30,000 or 40,000 persons, in preference to the smaller but more costly works at the villages. It will readily be understood what panic arose and what havoc was wrought when cholera and other epidemics broke out in these vast labour camps, especially where a starvation diet had already sapped the vital power of the workers. Finally, there is against the Bombay Government the charge of refusing reasonable suspensions and remissions of land revenue, and of employing harsh measures in collecting the Government demand. As Mr. Nash remarks, it is a strange irony that a Government waging a hand-to-hand fight with the worst famine that India has ever seen should at the same time be collecting the revenue from the starving rayat:—

"Instead of picking the bones of the people at a time like this, would it not be better for the State to go into debt than to increase the people's indebtedness—that ever-growing burden which the rayat carries from the cradle to the grave?"

Better still if the Secretary of State for India had pressed the House of Commons for a national grant, instead of telling the world that it was not required.

Enough has now been said to show that famine mortality is simply a result of excessive poverty, and that with proper liberality in relief, death from hunger might have been prevented. Within the limits of this article it is not possible to discuss even superficially the other main lesson taught in Mr. Nash's book, viz., that this excessive poverty has been caused mainly by errors in our system of administration. To use his own words, "Our institutions in India, by some perverse fate, have entered into a conspiracy with the powers of famine, so that the instant the monsoon fails millions of the people are hungry." Not only does the rayat possess nothing, but much less than nothing, being hopelessly in debt to the village money-lender; consequently when the crop fails he has neither money nor credit to buy food. This bondage of indebtedness has been mainly caused by our rigid exaction of land revenue, which drives the rayat to the money-lender, and by the establishment in the rural districts of debt courts on the European model, which place an irresistible weapon in the hands of the creditor. The net result is that we have founded what is known as a "Bunya Ráj," transforming the money-lender from a useful village servant into an intolerable village tyrant.

But whatever differences of opinion there may be as to policy or administration, all are agreed in praise of those who have fought the famine so bravely and so well. And it is to be hoped that the nation and the Government will suitably recognise the heroic services of these famine-workers, the men who have been "toiling night and day to keep the people alive." The courageous and resourceful workers in the Native States should also not be forgotten, from Sir Pertab Singh, Prime Minister of Jodhpur, to Brahma Nund, and Dhanpat rai of Jaipur.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI ON THE CONDITION OF INDIA.

ADDRESS AT TOYNBEE HALL.

[From our own Reporter.]

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji delivered an address on the "Condition of India" at Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, E., on Thursday night, January 31. Mr. R. B. S. Tanner was in the chair.

The Chairman in opening the proceedings referred to the lamented death of Queen Victoria, and said that the best monument we could raise to her memory would be the endeavour to follow her example in doing the simple duty which lay at our own doors. (Applause.) The Chairman then shortly introduced the lecturer.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was cordially received, said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I feel very much obliged for having been invited to address this audience. Our subject is "India," but so large a subject cannot be dealt with in more than a passing manner in the time at our disposal. I will, however, try to put before you, in as brief a form as possible, some idea of the relations which exist between England and India. I think my best plan would be to try and strike a sort of balance between the good and evil influences of England in India, and let you understand really what your duty is towards India. One thing has been over and over again admitted—and was last admitted by Lord Curzon when he went out—that India is the pivot of the British Empire. If India is lost to the British Empire the sun of the British Empire will be set. The question is whether the responsibility devolving upon you on account of this is realised by you. Beginning at the benefits which India has received, we are grateful for a good many things. In earlier days there was infanticide, but English character, English civilisation and English humanity caused an end to be put to this, and also to the practice of burning widows with their dead husbands. By means of this you have earned the blessing of many thousands of those who have escaped death. Then there were gangs of people whose whole business it was to rob other people; you put down those gangs and are, therefore, entitled to our gratitude. If there is one thing more than another for which Indians are grateful it is for the education you gave them, which enabled them to understand their position. Then naturally follow your other institutions—namely, free speech and a free Press. You have heard of the Indian National Congress; at this Congress Indians from one end of India to the other meet together to discuss their political condition, to communicate with each other, and become, as it were, a united nation. This National Congress is naturally the outcome of the education and free speech which British rulers have given us; the result is that you have created a factor by means of this education which has, up to this time, strengthened your power immensely in India. Before you gave them education Indians never understood what sort people you really were; they knew you were foreigners, and the treatment that they had received at your hands led them to hate you, and if they had remained of the same mind you would not have remained in India. This factor of education having come into play Indians aspired to become British citizens, and, in order to do so, they became your loyal and staunch supporters. The Congress has for its object to make you understand your deficiencies in government, the redress of which would make India a blessing to you, and make England a blessing to us, which it is not, unfortunately, at present. I now come to what you consider the highest claim you have upon our gratitude, and that is, you have given us security of life and property. But your government in India instead of securing our life and property is actually producing a result the exact reverse. And this is what you have to understand clearly. The difficulty of Indians in addressing you is this, that we have to make you unlearn a great deal of nonsense which has been put into your heads by the misleading statements of the Anglo-Indian press. The way you secure life and property is by protecting it from open violence by anybody else, taking care that you yourselves should take away that property. (Laughter.) The security of life, were it not a tragic subject, would be a very funny one. Look at the millions that are suffering day by day, year after year, even in years of good harvest. Seven-eighths or nine-tenths of the people do not know what it is to have a full meal in a day. (Hear, hear.) And it is only when famine comes that your eyes are opened, and you begin to sympathise with us, and wonder how these famines come about. It is the Englishmen that go out to India that are in a sense the cause of these miseries. They go to India to benefit themselves. They are not the proper people to give the reasons for our misery. The greatest blessing that we thought had been bestowed upon us by Britain was contained in the Act of 1833 to which we cling even in the face of every violation of that blessing. So long as we have the hope that that blessing will become a reality some day we shall be most desirous of keeping up the connexion with England. That greatest blessing is the best indication of your higher civilisation of to-day. The English have been in advance in the civilisation of humanity. The policy distinctly laid down in 1833 was that the Indians were to be treated alike with the English, without distinction of race or creed. (Hear, hear.) You may well be proud of that Act, but it was never carried out. Then the Mutiny took place, and you were the cause of it. After the Mutiny was put down you again emphatically laid down that the Indian people were to be treated exactly like the British people, and there was to be no difference whatever in the employment of Indians and of Englishmen in the service of the Crown. These two documents have been confirmed twice since, once on the occasion of the Queen assuming the title of Empress, and again on the occasion of the Jubilee. These are the documents—our charter—the hope and anchor upon which we depend and for which you can claim the greatest credit. The proclamation has been made before the world, praying God to bless it, and praying that our servants, the Executive to whom you trust the government, should carry out the wishes of the sovereign, that is to say, of the people. As far as the policy laid down by the British people was concerned it is as good as we can ever desire. This promise, pledged

by you in the most solemn manner possible, has been a dead letter ever since. The result is the destruction of our own interests, and it will be the suicide of yours. The violation of those promises has produced these results to us: First of all, the "bleeding" which is carried on means impoverishment to us—the poorest people on the face of the earth—with all the dire, calamitous consequences of famines, pestilences and destruction. It is but the result of what you claim as the best thing that you have conferred upon us—security of life and property—starvation, as I have told you, from one year's end to another year's end of seven-eighths of the population of the country, and something worse, in addition to the "bleeding" that is carried on by the officials of a system of government. To you, to England, the violation of these great pledges carries with it a certain amount of pecuniary benefit, and that is the only thing the Executive ever think of. But you must remember that the first consequence of such government is dishonour to your name. You inflict injustice upon us in a manner most dishonourable and discreditable to yourselves; by this mode of government you are losing a great material benefit which you would otherwise obtain. I will try to explain to you these points in as brief a manner as possible; but especially I would beg leave to draw attention to the great loss to the mass of the people of this country, which would otherwise have accrued to them. The best way I can put this before you is by giving you a comparison between two parts of the British Empire. Australia is at present before all of us. The Australian Commonwealth was formed on the first day of the first year of this century. The Australians have been increasing in prosperity by leaps and bounds. At the same time India, under this same rule, under the administration of men who are described and praised as the highest, the most cultivated, and the most capable administrators of the present time—and also the most highly paid—is suffering from the direst famines and is the poorest country in the world. Let us consider Australia first. While in 1891 the population of Australia was four millions, the population of British India was two hundred and twenty-one millions, and of all India two hundred and eighty-seven millions. Now these four millions of Australians are paying a revenue for the government of their country amounting to nearly £8 per head per annum. They can give this and are prosperous, and will go on increasing in prosperity, with a great future before them. What is India capable of doing? India can give at present, under great pressure, scarcely eight shillings per head per annum. You know that Australia has "protection" against you, and notwithstanding the "door" being shut against you, you are able to send to Australia British and Irish products, the result of your labour, to the extent of £25,500,000; that is to say, something like seven pounds' worth per head per annum. You do not send to India more than £30,000,000 altogether. That is to say, while you are sending something like seven pounds per head per annum to Australia, you do not send half-a-crown's worth of your British and Irish produce per head per annum to India. Ask yourselves this question. What is the result? Why should you not derive good substantial profits from a commercial connexion with India? The reason is simple. The people are so impoverished that they cannot buy your goods. Had your Government been such as to allow India to become prosperous, and to be able to buy your goods, let alone at the rate of seven, six, or five pounds per head—if India was allowed to enjoy its own resources and to buy from you one or two pounds' worth of your produce, what do you think you would send to India? Why, if you sent one pound's worth of produce per head to India, you would send as much there as you now send to the whole world. You have to deal with a people who belong as it were to the same race, who possess the same intelligence and same civilisation, and who can enjoy your good things as much as the Australians or anybody else. And if you could send one pound's worth to them per head you need not go and massacre savages in order to get new markets. (Laughter.) The mass of the people here do not understand what a great benefit there is for them in their connexion with India, if they would only do their duty, and compel their servants, the Executive, to fulfil the solemn pledges that the British nation has given to India. What I say, therefore, to you is that one of the consequences of the present system of government is an immense loss to yourselves. As it is at present, you are gaining a certain amount of benefit. You are "bleeding" the people, and drawing from their country something like thirty or forty millions a year. Ask yourselves, would you submit to such a state of things in this country for a single week? And yet you allow a system of government which has produced this disastrous result to continue. You cannot obtain a farthing from Australia unless they choose to give it to you. In the last century you pressed the people of Bengal to such an extent that Macaulay said that the English were demons as compared with the Indians as men, that the English were wolves as compared with the Indians as sheep. Hundreds of millions of India's wealth have been spent to form your British Indian Empire. Not only that, but you have taken away from India all these years millions of its wealth. The result is obvious. You have become one of the richest countries in the world, and you have to thank India for it. And we have become the poorest country in the world. We are obliged to pay each year a vast amount of wealth which you need for the salaries of, and the giving of benefits to, your military and civil servants. Not once, not twice, not ten times, and the affliction is over—but always. What was something like three millions at the beginning of the century has increased now to a tax of thirty or forty millions. You would prosper by trading with us if you would only leave us alone instead of plundering us. Your plundering will be disastrous. If you would allow us to prosper so that we might be able to purchase one or two pounds' worth of your produce per head, there would be no idle working classes in this country. It is a matter of the utmost importance for the working classes of England. If the connexion between England and India is to be a blessing to both, then consider what your duty and responsibility is as citizens of this great Empire. (Applause.)

A debate on the subject followed.

"THE 'SLIMNESS' OF THE INDIA OFFICE."

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes (February 2):—

The India Office has been in communication with the Treasury with reference to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, and the result is interesting. The Royal Commission, of which Lord Welby was president, decided, after long deliberation, that charges amounting to £257,000 a year ought in fairness to be transferred from the Indian to the British Exchequer. The first of the items making up this total was £50,000 in aid of the annual charges for the India Office—a recommendation which the Commission made on the analogy of the Colonial Office, and, to quote their own words, "in order that there may be no ground for the allegation that India is treated less favourably than other parts of her Majesty's Empire." The significant point is that in drawing the attention of the Treasury to the proposals of the Royal Commission the India Office omits this recommendation. It does not, however, propose to reduce the total of relief, but substitutes new heads under which the money may be distributed. This curious proceeding naturally raises the question, Why does the India Office seek to avoid a contribution from the British Exchequer to its own charges? Perhaps Lord George Hamilton, whose salary does not at present appear on the Estimates, may be invited to answer the question in the House of Commons. Meantime, one is reminded of the dictum of the quasi-official *Pioneer*, of Allahabad, when, in 1897, there was some fear that the British Exchequer might contribute to the cost of the war beyond the North-West frontier. "The mischief," it wrote, "of Parliamentary interference with Indian affairs has been conspicuous and serious in the past, but it would be exaggerated a hundredfold if the British workman came to think that as he was paying for the Indian concern he had an indefeasible right to control its working."

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

On February 17 Sir William Wedderburn will deliver an address to the South London Ethical Society (Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell New Road, S.E.) upon "Famines in India and their Causes."

Mr. Dadabhai Nacroji, indefatigable as ever, proposes to deliver addresses on Indian questions as follows:—

February 10.—Hatcham Liberal Club, opposite the London and Brighton Railway Station, New Cross, at 8 p.m.

February 26.—New Lansdowne Liberal and Radical Club, 1 and 2, Twemlow Terrace, West Street, London Fields, at 8 p.m. Subject: Famine in India.

March 9.—Leighton Park School, Reading, at 8 p.m.

March 10.—Reading: (1) To members of the First Day Adult School, at 9.30 a.m.; (2) to the Castle Street Chapel Pleasant Hour Society, in the Chapel, at 3 p.m.

March 31.—South London Ethical Discussion Society (Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell New Road, S.E.) at 11.15 a.m.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.

Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.

Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1888).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

Indian Politics. A Series of Papers on Important Indian Questions by Prominent Congressmen. Post free, 4s. 4d.

A Needed Reform in the Indian Administration, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by Col. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Indian Polity: being Extracts from the Writings of Major Evans Bell.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.

A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.

India and the General Election (1900).

"Melancholy Meanness."

The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.

No National Contribution?

A Selection of the Publications enumerated above will be forwarded to responsible persons or Associations in the United Kingdom for gratuitous distribution, on written application to the British Committee, Indian National Congress, 84-85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

To Political Associations, Literary Societies, Ethical Societies,

Etc., etc.

LECTURES and ADDRESSES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress (84 & 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.), is in a position to offer to Political Associations, Literary Societies, Ethical Societies, etc., etc., the services of Indian gentlemen, well qualified to place before an audience the facts relating to the condition of India and its people.

No charge will be made for the services of speakers with whom engagements are made through the British Committee.

Associations or individuals desiring to arrange meetings on Indian questions are requested to communicate with the Secretary as below:—

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