

India

FOR THE

WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1901.

No. 109. NEW SERIES.]
No. 265. OLD SERIES.]

[REGISTERED AS A {PRICE..... 2d
NEWSPAPER. {BY POST, 2½d

Notes and News	145
The Budget and the Census	148
Our London Letter	149
Notes from Bombay	150
Letter to the Editor: A "Queen Victoria Fund"	150
The Indian Budget. Opinions of the British Press	151
Indian Famines and the Census	152
The Indian Census and the Queen's Memorial in India	163
Mr. G. P. Pillai on Indian Questions 163	
Railways and Famine	164
Indian Affairs in Parliament	165
Advertisements	156

task, signed his name in handwriting firm, strong and clear, and then lay back in his chair and died.

A very interesting article in the *Times of India* gives us some insight into the reasons why the Bombay census was taken so successfully. The people, as we know, are very suspicious, and there were not wanting sinister rumours as to the real intentions of the Government. Some said that the Sirkar was numbering all the men to send them to the South African war; others that all were to be forcibly inoculated; while the fugitives thought they were to be sent back to the land of famine. But in the end every one of these rumours was discredited—by the co-operation of all sections of the people in the great work. The *Times of India*, speaking of the voluntary supervisors, says:—

Many men have come forward and worked laboriously, with little hope of reward beyond a word of courteous thanks. Who shall say that the Native communities have not true public spirit, when such repellant tasks are so readily performed?

Thus again has the truth been exemplified that for any task to succeed in India all sections of the community must actively and willingly participate in it.

In numbering the people in Bombay the enumerators met with many curious diversities of race, turbulent Julais, the weavers from the North-West Provinces, nearly naked Lohanas from Kathiawar, and Pathans from beyond the frontier. Indeed, this curious conversation is reported. "Of what race are you?" they were asked, and the reply came: "We are the men that fight you on the frontier." But there were others of a sadder fate.

The last scene of all was witnessed before the market. Out of the neighbouring roads came great throngs of haggard, tottering people clad in dingy white. They moved forward in huddled disorder. Not a word passed their lips. . . . Their silent mournful movements filled the hearts of the onlookers with inexpressible distress. Staring Kathiawaris these, who had left their arid plains to sound depths of greater woe in the midst of a great city.

Such were among the people numbered in the city of Bombay.

The substantive appointment of Mr. N. G. Chandavakar to be a judge of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay in succession to Mr. Justice Ranade is now formally gazetted. Mr. Chandavakar's promotion follows naturally on purely professional grounds; but it derives special interest from the fact that he was appointed Acting Judge at the time when he was President-designate of the last meeting of the Indian National Congress. It would thus appear that no really able Indian who joins discretion with patriotic enthusiasm need fear that his prospects will suffer from doing his duty to the national cause. We are aware that this was not so in the past; we trust, however, that a wiser policy now rules at headquarters. Mr. Justice Chandavakar has a hard road before him if he is to supply fully the place of his eminent predecessor; but undoubtedly he has it in him, and he will be greatly encouraged by the unanimous congratulations of his fellow-countrymen and by the profound respect of all who are capable of appreciating his learning, industry, and aspirations.

The appointment of Major-General Badcock, C.B., C.S.I., as a Member of the Council of India, invites special attention, not by reason of the General's own record, but by reason of the contrast of that record with the late Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart's, whose place he succeeds to, but surely cannot fill. - General Badcock had much Frontier experience, both east and west, during more than a generation before he rose to his military zenith as Quartermaster-General in India last year; but there must be scores of officers possessing quite as much experience and much more distinction. The Council of India seems

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE chief point of interest in the inadequate reports of Wednesday's discussion of the Indian Budget was Lord Curzon's disclosure, to a waiting universe, of the twelve mysterious reforms which, two years ago, without naming them, he said would claim his attention. Even now the list is incomplete:—

1. The creation of a frontier policy, which, he hoped, would justify itself;
2. The form of government for the same;
3. The subtle danger of frequent official transfers;
4. The excessive writing of reports;
5. A change in the currency system;
6. Railway policy and finance;
7. A proper irrigation programme;
8. The indebtedness of the riyat;
9. Telegraphic charges, the Viceroy describing the present system as intolerable;
10. (Omitted from cablegram);
11. The preservation of historic monuments;
12. The relations between British soldiers and Natives.

This is Reuter's catalogue. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, in a longer message, omitted both (10) and (11). We can but conjecture what (10) may be—possibly the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, or even—who can say?—an enquiry into the economic condition of India.

The list as it stands is useful, if not remarkably original. One cannot see why the contents should have been at first concealed or at this moment declared. Those of us who hold a high opinion of the practical suggestions of the Indian National Congress observe with pleasure how many of the Viceroy's projects have been commended in advance in its Resolutions. And Lord Curzon has achieved or attempted much already, amid the cordial approval of enlightened Indians, especially in regard to (3), (4), (7), and (12). We note with satisfaction the Viceroy's remarks on irrigation. But where is the money to come from, while the demands of the Army are so heavy? "He would gladly," he said, "spend all the revenues upon projects of economic development, but he dare not. The Army was required to make India safe, and it could not be said that India was safe." Yet India, of her insecurity, can spare soldiers by the thousand for Africa and China!

The census that was taken in every town and village of India on the night of March 1, 1901, is admittedly the most accurate ever taken in that country. Nowhere was the success greater than in Bombay, where the obstacles were most difficult to surmount; for there the numbering of the people meant the visitation of dens reeking with the infection of plague, and the searching out of a multitude of vagrants, beggars, and homeless refugees from the area of famine. Yet all these difficulties were surmounted by the intelligent co-operation of all races and creeds. Officials and police, both Indian and Europeans, volunteers of every religion—even the boys from two or three schools—joined willingly in the great work and brought it to a conclusion. Undeterred by difficulties and dangers such as in Europe seldom meet the enumerator (for on many a house there were the red circles that told of plague), each did his share. There had been a preliminary census two days before, but in those two days plague had snatched some victims. Nor were other tragedies wanting. One faithful Mahometan, when he had completed his heavy

to be getting cheap. Yet never did India more urgently need the best men in council. If General Badcock is worthy to sit in the chair of Sir Donald Stewart, the country ought to know the elements of his claims.

From our Parliamentary report it will be seen that the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Stanley of Alderley (March 22), held some conversation over the unfortunate treatment of Mr. Malabari by Mr. Giles and by the Government. Lord Northbrook and Lord Reay, as might have been anticipated, bore ready and handsome testimony to the high qualities of Mr. Malabari. Lord Ripon, who happened to be absent, generously wrote to the *Times* (March 26) to the like effect:—

I was not in the House of Lords on Friday or I should have added my testimony to that of Lord Northbrook and others in support of the loyalty of Mr. Malabari, whom I have known for many years, and for whom I have a high respect.

So far well. But really what may one not expect when the loyalty of Mr. Malabari is called in question? Before Mr. Giles set to work to scrutinise a quarter of a century of Mr. Malabari's poetic effusions, any person that had a competent knowledge of modern India would have said that he had gone to the most unlikely of all places within the British Indian dominions to look for evidence of disloyalty. The force of absurdity can no farther go. Mr. Malabari will now, we hope, cast the controversy contemptuously behind him, and go on with his beneficent work secure of the admiration of all men (excepting only a few obfuscated officials).

Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas calls upon the State to undertake the care of famine orphans now often left to Missionary Societies, which do not bring up the children in the religion of their parents. Mr. Haridas, who is the honorary secretary of the Mahajan Home for Destitute Children, at Surat, favours the establishment of model industrial villages, but fears that in time of famine private benevolence will be insufficient. Indian charities have not, like the Missionary Societies, the bottomless purses of England and America to draw upon. Yet it seems hard that the famine-stricken father should lose not only his life by famine, but his right to have his children brought up in his own religion. The *Malivatta* thinks that the Hindu community must soon approach the Government with definite proposals on this subject.

The land revenue authorities of Bombay have always condemned the wise precept of Lord Lawrence: "Assess low." Driven by perennial need, they have always tended to assess high. In 1879, for example, the Secretary of State only repeated his complaint of 1874, when he wrote as follows:—

I am unable to satisfy myself that there has been no tendency on the part of your Settlement Department towards undue enhancement of assessment in revision. I desire that your Excellency's Government will carefully watch and curtail that tendency, always bearing in mind that the worst effect of under-assessment is a loss of revenue, possibly to some degree compensated for by an increase of wealth among the people, while over-assessment, even when not excessive, is sure to produce a material deterioration of agricultural and general prosperity.

The Bombay Government need to have this remonstrance repeated for their benefit. Of course, they have been cornered by plague and famine, and must have money somehow, but they need not raise the wind by sowing the whirlwind. Here, for example, is the burden of Indapur. The over-assessed rayats of the Indapur Taluka of the Poona district recently sent a petition with about a thousand signatures to the Bombay Government, which paid no heed to it. Now a petition with over 1,500 signatures has, we understand, been presented by Mr. Caine on their behalf to Parliament this week. Will that, too, go unheeded?

According to this petition, the total agricultural assessment has been raised, as the result of the Revision Settlement operations, from Rs. 109,741 to Rs. 143,889—a rise of some 31 per cent., which would seem to require not a little justification. The petitioners allege that the rayats are already "greatly impoverished"; that the rainfall is "proverbially scanty and most uncertain"; that of the 240,705 acres of agricultural land 15,832 are fallow and 218,646 are "altogether unirrigated"; that 68-4 of the population of 67,684 are agriculturists, and that, as there are "no industries of any kind flourishing in the Taluka," the entire population is practically dependent upon the

land; and that the rayats are "greatly indebted," and have got little good from the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. Further they state that, since 1867, when the Forest Department came into activity, "the rayats have lost their ancient and time-honoured privilege of pasturing their cattle and horses on the village common, as also the privilege of taking firewood from the waste lands growing forest thereon." Moreover, the imposition of the salt-tax has stopped their profit from the private manufacture of salt from salt earth; the scarcity of coin, resulting from the closure of the mints, has compelled them to sell at depressed prices; and "more woful irrigation has ceased to be profitable in the case of wet crops." If a small percentage of these allegations be true, how is this rise of 31 per cent. justifiable?

The Indapur petitioners strike a still deeper note. They declare that the papers accompanying the Settlement Report

show that even at the Original Settlement the Taluka was over-assessed, as at present, with the result that soon after the Settlement was put into operation the rayat began to remain in arrears, the revenue officers resorted to stringent and cruel measures for exacting revenue, a panic among the rayat and a row in the public Press was caused, and enquiries had to be instituted—with the result that large remissions of revenue had to be permanently granted by Government.

All this should be capable of easy verification, then. Nor should there be any difficulty in testing the statement that, in spite of such remissions, the rayats have "surely and steadily drifted into indebtedness." About the last four years of drought and famine there can, unhappily, be no doubt whatever: the official figures of the relief system, and of the mortality of man and beast, tell their own tale. The feeling of the people seems to be decisively marked if it be true that "emigration of the agricultural population into the Nizam's dominions has already begun." The view of the rayats finds great support in well-known official papers, as well as in the Native journals, and speeches on the subject in the Bombay Legislative Council. The petitioners have done well to appeal to Cæsar, and we trust it will be found that their appeal is not in vain.

A study of the recent controversy between an "Indian Civilian" and Mr. Dutt, on land assessments under British and Native rule, has led our Anglo-Indian contemporary, the *Friend of India*, to take the view that the position of the cultivator was better under the earlier system. Two points it declares clearly established—(1) that the State in old times claimed much less than the share it was held to be entitled to; (2) that the proportion taken under Hindu rule, being calculated on the actual crop and collected in kind, pressed much less hardly on the cultivator than the same proportion would under our system, where it is calculated on the basis of an estimated average yield, computed on the basis of average market prices, and collected in cash. Our contemporary is not deceived by the old Anglo-Indian fallacy of comparing our rule and our methods with those of the Mogul Empire, and especially of the Mogul Empire in its decline, and thence drawing inferences very flattering to ourselves.

The following extracts are taken from Mr. Pennell's judgment in the Noakhali case:—

Yet would I ask my official superiors to remember that it is really very difficult for me to do justice without offending them. I suspect as the boatswain did that they really do not like being flogged at all: that no way of administering the chastisement is likely to please them. And I say this because I have had it remarked to me that it is not the things I do which are objected to in high quarters so much as the way I do them. . . . It would be better if the high officials of Government did not think, as they do think, that it is their policy and their duty (I know that with men in their position *utile* is apt to seem *honestum*) to screen their guilty subordinates, and to reserve all their indignation for any one who thinks it his duty to expose their subordinates' guilt. . . . Now I have never been alarmed by the bogey of lost prestige, though I know that to some men it is a fearsome monster. I think we are strong enough in India to be, I do not say generous, but just; that justice would increase our strength and not diminish it.

In the same judgment Mr. Pennell complained of his physical sufferings in the climate of Noakhali, which, indeed, may account for some things contained therein. Some time after he delivered the judgment, he applied for a few days' leave. According to the *Friend of India* the application was referred to the High Court, and refused. However, Mr. Pennell on March 1 left Noakhali for

Calcutta. Another reference was made to the High Court on March 3, and Mr. Pennell was ordered to return to Noakhali at once, being informed that it was not the wish of the High Court that he should stay in Calcutta. On March 4 he was ordered to make over the entire record of the murder case to the officiating Registrar of the High Court. This order Mr. Pennell declined to carry out. The High Court accordingly reported that his conduct amounted to gross insubordination and misconduct. Mr. Pennell was in consequence suspended on the evening of March 4.

The *Review of the Week* (March 22) draws attention to the nature and the history of the village system in India, and affirms that "there are elements of very grave danger in the increasing tendency to tamper with village institutions which has marked our later policy in India." "The system," says our contemporary, "may sound rough and ready, but it worked admirably in practice; it was understood and respected by all parties, and it had the supreme merit of economy, for the outside officials required to supervise its working were very few." Now the system has become seriously weakened. The writer says:—

Perhaps the heaviest blow it received was in the conferring of proprietary rights upon the head men, which made the temptation to raise money upon them irresistible. One by one the hereditary "lords of the manor" have fallen into the hands of moneylenders, who have foreclosed and ousted them, while paid agents are put in to manage the villages to the best pecuniary advantage. Thus the personal tie has been wiped out.

Next, we have interfered between the cultivator and the head man, nominally in the interests of the cultivator, but actually to his detriment; as the head man commands all the advantages of money, which are certain to secure to him a favourable decision at one point or another in the long chain of appellate courts, when the cultivator is beggared and turned adrift crying aloud that darkness is in the land.

And lastly the village is now haunted by a horde of minor officials; the vaccinator, who insists upon vaccinating the children and harries the parents of the unvaccinated; the police constable, who wants everything and is inquisitive about everything; the *patwari* (land-revenue), who records and checks the titles to holdings, and requires royal payment to leave them undisturbed; and a host more who drop in daily and weekly and make life a burden.

The result is that "this absurdly over-elaborated system" keeps everybody "in an incessant state of exasperation."

The writer's own summary of the effects of the change presents them with heightened emphasis. He says:—

We have, in short, got rid of the hereditary head men, whom the people respected and obeyed, and replaced them by the best-hated class in the country; we have exchanged for useful allies a crowd of greedy and unprincipled scamps; we have broken up to a great extent the links which bound the members of the village community each to each; we have substituted chaos for order in the very heart of the body-politic, and we pride ourselves upon the achievement.

Of course, the criticism is general, and would involve modification in details for individual cases and for different parts of the country. The point the writer wishes to urge is thus stated:—

Whether, in view of the present impoverished condition of the country, it would not still be possible to return in some degree, if only as a matter of economy, to the old, simple and effective system of self-governing units, the tradition and even the practice of which still in some measure survive, in preference to continuing the minutely elaborated officialism which is rapidly pauperising the rural class for the benefit of the moneylender, which increases the working expenses of the country without securing any adequate return, and which fosters ceaseless and dangerous irritation in all concerned, rulers and ruled alike.

We have ourselves frequently lamented the reckless neglect to utilise such a powerful immemorial basis of self-government as lies to our hand in the village system. But there are some—and these, too, in not unimportant places—who scout the idea that Indians are capable of local self-government!

The *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* has reprinted some notes on the plague by Major H. E. Deane, which originally appeared in the *Medical News* of New York. The writer, who has had experience in Bombay, in Bangalore, and in Calcutta, attributes the comparative immunity of the last-named city to the milder measures adopted—the only compulsion being in the disinfection of the premises occupied and the destruction or disinfection of the bedding and clothes used by those stricken. This leniency did not indeed suffice to secure the active co-operation of the people, but it at least prevented disturbances and the "indiscriminate disposal of corpses," while where it existed there was no "alarming prevalence of plague." Major

Deane declares that "the whole question is a medico-political one, in which medicine has to be subservient to policy." Such remarks now read as platitudes. Yet how short a time ago they would have been considered almost seditious!

The Report of the Select Committee on the Assam Labour Bill shows a considerable difference of opinion on one clause, that relating to the payment of the Coolies. The Bill proposed a rise of one rupee per month in wages all round. Three out of the four official members, Sir Charles Rivaz, Mr. Raleigh, and Mr. Bolton, report in favour of a compromise, an increase of eight annas per month during the second and third years of the contract, and full wage for half-work during the first few months if the labourer is certified as physically unfit to earn the minimum wage. In signing the report the fourth official member, Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, dissents from the compromise, and upholds the increase of one rupee per month originally proposed, while the three non-official members, Sir Allan Arthur, Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Henderson, who represented Anglo-Indian commercial interests, declare themselves opposed to any rise of wages at all.

There is no ground for surprise at the opposition of the Bengal Mining Association to the Indian Mines Bill, or at their representation that the labourers are happy and contented. The contention of the mine-owners, who employ no fewer than 74,000 Natives (many of them women and children), that the rules regulating the industry should be embodied in the Bill itself is plausible enough; but the Local Governments will be able to pronounce upon the local conditions, and will no doubt be ready to save themselves trouble by adopting such existing rules as seem to be reasonably satisfactory. Of course, the rules should not go beyond regulation, and should not in any way unjustly hamper the mining operations; but it is obvious that legislative protection to the labourers—however happy and contented they may now be—ought to be carefully provided and enforced. Unhappily it is difficult to get at the real facts. The domestic argument for the employment of women and children in the shallower and broader spaces of the mines needs to be vigilantly handled; there is no saying to what disastrous lengths it may be driven as the industry develops. Though they may have been accustomed to work in the fields, it is a different matter for them to work in the mines, notwithstanding the superior coolness in hot weather. With a proper expansion of the prosperity of the country, there ought to be no necessity for women and children to go into the mines at all. Cheap labour for mine-owners is all very well, and the immediate returns to the families of the labourers may be exceedingly welcome, but the State is bound to regard jealously the health and vigour of the community. The effective working of the Act will depend on the judicious action of the managers, inspectors, and the Mining Board.

A special correspondent of the *Times of India* gives a doleful account of the second famine in Guzerat. The failure of the later rains, the influx of crop-destroying insects, the want of good seed, the want of bullocks, and, worse than all, the want of strength and spirit in the people themselves, all these causes have plunged the country into a second year of famine. "The result of all this is that over large tracts the inhabitants have been absolutely living on grass seeds for some time past." It is satisfactory, however, to learn that owing to the smaller famine area and better organisation, there is no fear of the people suffering in any case as they did last year.

Remittances for India for 70 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 1,77,18,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3½d. to 1s. 3¼d. The following amounts were allotted—viz., in bills, Rs. 33,65,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 7,63,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 19,41,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3-906d.; and in telegraphic transfers, Rs. 9,31,000 on Calcutta, at an average of 1s. 3-958d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3½d., and for transfers at 1s. 3¼d., will receive about 77 per cent. Last week remittances for Rs. 80,25,000 were sold for £531,998, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night, Rs. 19,52,33,693, producing £12,994,899. Next week 70 lakhs will again be offered.

THE BUDGET AND THE CENSUS.

SIR EDWARD LAW in his speech in explanation and defence of his Budget in the Legislative Council showed, we think, rather less than the usual skill in missing or concealing the important points. We have not yet, indeed, the full text of his statement before us, nor any but the most inadequate account of the subsequent discussion. But the official summary of the Budget, together with the passages telegraphed by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* from Sir Edward Law's speech, no doubt give the pith of the matter fairly enough. The Finance Minister, it seems, was at some pains to justify the "combined heavy demands for military requirements and public works." This is to combine things which are very different. The complaint against military expenditure in India is that it is excessive. Expenditure upon public works is on another plane. It is, or ought to be, reproductive. But it is not always directed into the right channels, railways, for example, being unduly favoured at the expense of irrigation. "Our whole existence," said Sir Edward Law, not without a touch of hyperbole, "depends on proper provision for the defence of our frontiers." But what provision is "proper"? And where, exactly, are "our frontiers"? Lord George Hamilton, in reply to a question in Parliament a fortnight ago, committed himself to the astonishing statement that since the ratification of the Durand agreement "the line so defined is held to be the external frontier of British India." By whom, it may well be asked, is this astounding theory held, and upon what authority? If the whole of the alien and inhospitable territory thus surreptitiously incorporated in British India is to be held in force, no limit can be set to the military expenditure which will be required. But nobody in his senses would maintain that the "whole existence" of India depends upon any such superfluous and crazy enterprise. The estimated Army expenditure for the year is £16,345,000 as compared with an average of £14,600,000 for the last three years. The increase is, in the circumstances, utterly indefensible. Certainly it is not to be defended by the puerile plea that every additional item "has not only been most jealously scrutinised by the Finance Department but also submitted to the close examination of the Governor-General in Council." What the precise difference may be between jealous scrutiny and close examination we do not profess to know. But both alike are a farce where military expenditure is determined, not by the taxpayers, but by a group of irresponsible bureaucrats among whom the military element is supreme. "The lessons derived from the war in South Africa could not be neglected," says the Finance Minister. But they could be and are. For he went on to neglect them. What are these lessons? One is that the conditions of modern warfare greatly aid the defence, if those who are resisting invasion have their hearts in the work. Another is that the most costly military organisation will not avert disaster if a reckless policy is allowed to prevail. Sir Edward Law appears to have become almost lyrical over the proposed expenditure on Indian factories for munitions of war. It "would not only have the effect of increasing the country's military independence, but also the highly satisfactory result, from the economic point of view, of substituting expenditure in India for expenditure abroad, thus increasing the productive power of the country and training a large body of mechanics and other skilled artisans." The argument is worth noting for future use. Cordite cannot be the only thing which it is better for Indians to procure home-made. Of many other commodities—not excluding, perhaps, even Finance Ministers—the same contention may hold good.

Sir Edward Law misses the plain moral which is pointed by the temporary absence of Indian troops in Africa and in China. If India can spare these troops at such a time—and it is obvious that she can spare them—she ought never to be compelled to maintain them. With his remarks upon irrigation we cordially agree. "The large sums spent on irrigation are more than justified by the magnificent results obtained, yielding, as a rule, not only a direct immediate profit but also providing sustenance for millions who would otherwise be included among the sufferers from the recurring droughts." But who would have thought that these brave words were to lead up to the announcement only of a beggarly crore for

expenditure upon irrigation works as a protection from famine? As will be seen from the passages cited on another page, more than one home journal, not unfriendly to the ruling classes, regrets the absence of a more liberal policy towards irrigation. A more intelligent sense of the needs of India would have reversed the amounts allocated to railways and to irrigation works respectively. Under the circumstances we can only hope that some such suggestion as that which Mr. Wilson further explains in a letter we print this week—according to which the Empire would subscribe a fund for irrigation works in India as a memorial to Queen Victoria—may supplement the rigidity of the Government. Sir Edward Law remarked, as in duty bound, upon what is called "the recuperative power of India." No Budget statement is complete without that phrase. But although, as the *Investors' Review* says, his statement was of the "usual glowing description," he offered no satisfactory signs of the progress which he professed, in common with his predecessors, to observe. The "strongest evidence of that recuperative power" was, he contended, that notwithstanding the grievous visitations of the year a "distinct and satisfactory increase of revenue" had been obtained without increase of taxation. We wish the argument were conclusive. But unhappily, as the evidence taken by the Famine Commission and in the Gujarat Revenue Enquiry plainly shows, the collection of revenue cannot always be regarded as proof of the ability to pay it. If Sir Edward Law will read the reports of the Gujarat Revenue Enquiry he will find some startling evidence as to the methods employed by some tax collectors. A study of the same documents may be commended to the *Birmingham Daily Post* which this year enjoys the distinction of having written the most foolish article that has appeared on the Indian Budget. Like the *Financial Times* (which remarks, perhaps satirically, that "there is every reason to hope and believe that with the cessation of famine the Indian Empire will enter upon the most prosperous period in its history") the *Birmingham Daily Post* speaks of the "elasticity" of Indian finance. It is also eloquent upon "the increased prosperity of the people in our great Asiatic dependency, under the fostering care of the Government." The *Times*, we seem to remember, chattered about "elasticity" last year, whereupon the *Pioneer* bluntly observed that it had hit upon the one criticism which was absolutely wide of the mark. The writer in the *Birmingham Daily Post* is no less impressed by the complete adequacy of the relief system. "Fortunately," he says, "the relief measures adopted were so excellent as to reduce to a minimum the suffering and mortality incidental to the famine, so that, when the ordeal was over, the people were able to resume work under more than usually favourable conditions, and the recuperative power of the country was promptly and strikingly manifested." This is merely prodigious. Of course, "the ordeal" is not yet over, and equally of course the writer is blissfully ignorant of the evidence taken by Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues. He has not heard of Sir Antony's strictures upon a system which caused the people to "die like flies" in Gujarat. He knows nothing of the official who reported "we are killing the people," or of his successor who "thought the expression strong," but added that "on the whole he might have written it himself." Sir Edward Law speaks as if an increase of taxation were practicable in India. He knows that it is nothing of the kind. The question is why, if his surpluses are genuine, he announces no remission of taxation. He does not explain, as he might have done, that a large slice of the revenue is the product of new taxes which are still retained though they were avowedly imposed to meet a loss by exchange now avoided, or concealed, at the taxpayer's expense.

But the Census Commissioner and his staff were preparing in advance the most terrible and unanswerable of all criticisms upon the plausibilities of Sir Edward Law and his sycophantic echoes. The *Spectator*, which used to write about India with knowledge, though not without perversity, summarises the Budget in the smooth phrase that India has prospered financially during the past year in spite of plague and famine. But we observe that the *Spectator* has not a word to say of the census returns. Mr. Vaughan Nash, in the able article which we reproduce elsewhere from the *Manchester Guardian*, draws the necessary inference from the painful figures. They show that

“Not the famine districts only, but India as a whole is wasting away under the stress of privation and disease caused by the high price of food.” In round figures, during the past ten years the population of India, including the Native States, has increased only by four and a half millions. If the rate of progress—by no means a high one—exhibited during the preceding decade had been maintained, the increase would have been at least thirty-two millions. The difference—nearly twenty-eight millions—represents the sacrifice of life already sustained by India mainly as a result of famine during the period. But the real sacrifice of life has been much greater. For, in the first place, allowance must be made for the more accurate enumeration of the recent census, and, in the second place, famine has swept away immense numbers of little children, many of whom would, in the natural course of events, have become parents. To realise the total loss of life caused by the famines of the past decade we must wait more than another decade. It is significant, and rather melancholy, that official Anglo-Indian observers tend to attach special importance to the decline of population in the Native States. We hold no brief for the Native States, some of which have come as badly as others have come well out of the ordeal of famine relief. But at least three facts have to be borne in mind. In the first place, as Mr. Maclean remarks in a vigorous letter to the *Westminster Gazette*, if we claim paramountcy we cannot shirk responsibility in the case of the Native States. In the second place it is notorious that the actual policy of a Native State is commonly more under the control of the British Resident than of the nominal Chief. In the third place, our apologists cannot be allowed to have it both ways. If when they are explaining the high numbers on relief in British territory they lay stress upon swarms of immigrants from Native States, they must, as Mr. Nash points out, admit in dealing with the numbers of the population that some of these immigrants go to swell the figures for British territory. There is no escape from the appalling conclusion to which those figures point. They show, in Mr. Nash's words, “that the gloomiest forebodings have fallen far short of the mark, and they constitute an irresistible case for instituting forthwith a full enquiry into the economic condition of India.” If the optimism of the Budget was met in advance by the census returns, the lesson of the census returns was anticipated by the resolutions of the Indian National Congress. If, even now, the authorities persist in refusing an economic enquiry, it will become a matter of urgency to see whether, as we have already suggested more than once, an adequate enquiry cannot be undertaken without delay by purely non-official agency.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

CONTRARY to the general expectation, Mr. Balfour is giving the House of Commons its usual fortnight's holiday at Easter. People who know Mr. Balfour ought to have known better than to think that he would do anything else. His ideas of government are extremely simple. Some of his critics say that he has only two—one of them being to get rid of the House of Commons as quickly and for as long a time as possible; and the other to rule it by the closure while it is in session. Accordingly, you may trust the Conservative leader never to abbreviate a holiday. If there is much to be done he would rather do it by lengthening each day's sitting into the small hours of the morning than by extending the duration of the Session. The former plan has this great advantage—it keeps inconvenient criticisms of the Government out of the papers. Under ordinary circumstances a speech like that of Mr. Bardett-Coutts the other day on the hospital scandal in South Africa would have made a big sensation in the country, for it would have been reported at length and must inevitably have attracted public attention. Happily, for the Government, if not for the private soldier, it was delivered at one in the morning and, failing to get into the papers, caused no sensation at all.

When Parliament reassembles, an event which is to be postponed till April 18, we are to have Sir M. Hicks-Beach's £200,000,000 Budget. These are round figures, but they will be found pretty near the mark. The failure of the peace

negotiations in South Africa renders the imposition of some heavy additional taxation an absolute certainty. Whether the impost will be direct or indirect remains to be seen. It will probably be as evasive as the Chancellor of the Exchequer can make it. A very pretty movement has been on foot for some time to accustom the mind of the country to the idea of a revival, in a modified form, of the old duties on foodstuffs, such as corn and sugar. Strange to say, a section of Liberal opinion is inclined to view this prospect with favour, on the altogether superficial and somewhat vindictive plea that as the working-classes have shouted for the war they ought to be made to feel the pinch. Happily, the great body of Liberal feeling is certain to remain sound on the cardinal doctrines of Free Trade. The present Government certainly requires no encouragement in the direction of heretical finance.

To-day a debate on the recent peace negotiations between Lord Kitchener and Commandant Botha is going on in the House of Commons. If the discussion only dispels the mystery which continues to surround this fruitless conference it will not have been in vain. The official record of the interview and correspondences, as published, is obviously far from complete. Certain terms were proposed, and, according to Lord Kitchener, met with a favourable reception; yet, in the end, the Boer General in declining to accept them wrote that, after what had passed at the interview, his decision would cause the British Commander-in-Chief no surprise. If Botha had said that the modifications made in the original terms by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner had compelled him to come to an unfavourable conclusion, his position would have been more comprehensible.

For reasons of his own, the Colonial Secretary evidently wishes to concentrate a stream of hostile criticism on Sir Alfred Milner. Mr. Chamberlain does nothing by chance, and if he appeared to be speaking casually the other day when he dropped the remark that Botha in his talk with Kitchener had “strongly objected to Sir Alfred Milner,” appearances were certainly deceptive. Some people detected in the incident a characteristic illustration of Mr. Chamberlain's cynicism. “He is throwing his accomplices to the wolves,” was the cry. A more plausible theory attributes to the Minister the conception of a somewhat Machiavellian stroke of tactics. He perceives, it is said, the promise of dissension in the Liberal party, which would be certain to be brought to a disastrous fulfilment if he could only entice his political adversaries into a squabble over Sir Alfred Milner's fitness for his present post, and he is prepared to sacrifice a good deal—even Sir Alfred Milner himself—to achieve that pretty consummation.

A petition has been presented to the House of Commons on behalf of Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer, members of the Cape Parliament, craving to be heard at the bar on the question of the future government of South Africa. Opinions may differ both as to the opportuneness of this proposal and as to the wisdom of accepting or rejecting it. People, however, who have preserved their common sense during the storm and stress of the South African controversy will surely be at one in absolving the petitioners from downright criminality. The Ministerial journals, apparently, would like to see the Afrikaner delegates hanged, drawn and quartered. Those gentlemen are denounced for their “effrontery,” while all who dare to sympathise with their pacific aims are held up to the reprobation of patriotic Englishmen. Happily the country, having had a surfeit of this kind of stuff, is showing no disposition to continue the diet. Though the Government may refuse Messrs. Merriman and Sauer a hearing, their mission—if pursued on the platform—should not go unrewarded.

Pitt, in his haste, once said that no Minister could be an honest man. There can be no doubt that Ministers sometimes stoop to equivocations in public controversy which they would never dream of employing in the ordinary relations of life. A week ago to-day Lord Lansdowne announced in the House of Lords that England and Russia had come to an understanding over the Tientsin affair. The announcement, made as it was at a moment when the air was dark with sinister rumours, was received with universal satisfaction. Its purport was at once telegraphed to the ends of the earth. Strange to say, no one thought of carrying the news across the lobby from the Government bench in the House of Lords to the Treasury bench in the House of Commons, with the ludicrous result that when Mr. Balfour, an hour later, was invited to repeat the Ministerial

statement he had to confess that he knew nothing about it. Lord Lansdowne had evidently slighted his colleagues by omitting to take them into his confidence. It was whispered, indeed, that even the Prime Minister had only heard of the settlement from the public statement of the Foreign Secretary. So comprehensive an insult, embracing at once the Cabinet, the Cecil family, and the House of Commons, struck the Parliamentary mind with a feeling of dismay. Moreover, the incident, as by a flash of lightning, served to expose the most intimate workings of an Administration whose history has been one long succession of misunderstandings, blunders and disasters.

Next day, having had time to recover their breath, members of the House of Commons came down in their wrath and demanded an explanation. Mr. Balfour, determined at all costs to screen Lord Lansdowne from the consequences of his indiscretion, refused to admit that anything unusual had happened. Twenty-four hours earlier, it is true, he had been betrayed into a hasty confession of his astonishment, but now his sole endeavour was to shelter himself and his colleagues from utter ridicule by suggesting that etiquette, not ignorance, was the real cause of their silence on the previous day. Everyone saw through the plea, which, indeed, was inadvertently shattered by no less an authority than Lord George Hamilton. Perhaps the most significant feature of the long and damaging discussion to which this amazing incident gave rise was a speech by Colonel Pryce-Jones who, on behalf of "scores of fellow Unionists" offered the Government what he described as a "gentle hint." The country and the House of Commons (he mildly observed) would like to see public business conducted on business lines. It is from episodes of this character, too often repeated, that shrewd observers deduce the conclusion that the Government is already crumbling to its fall.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

MR. PENNELL SUMS UP.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

THE SIMLA "EXODUS."

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, March 9.

Mr. Pennell's judgment in the Noakhali murder case seems to be the sensational incident of the week. He seems to have indited his judgment at portentous length, the necessity of which may be doubted. But he has written it with a bitterness of heart which cannot be gainsaid. He has smarted under the treatment received by him from his official superiors and Government since the notorious Chupra case. He has deeply felt the wrong and injustice heaped on him. Burning with indignation at such wrongs, he appears to have worked himself up in the present instance into an irreconcilable frame of mind. In this he was much assisted by the facts of the case. Apart from the ordinary incidents of a murder trial, there were in this Noakhali case certain elements which, in his opinion, were highly discreditably to the administration of criminal justice in British India. The way in which certain high-placed officials, named by him, apparently tried to hamper the course of justice provoked his wrath. He has resented their high-handed interference, and he has been more than convinced of the mischief caused by the combination of judicial and executive functions in the same person. All these and many other facts had no doubt weighed heavily on Mr. Pennell's mind; and it is evident, on reading the extraordinarily long judgment, covering 118 pages, which the papers are now giving by daily instalments, that he is a man of strong feeling and strong self-respect, which he values even more than his fifteen years' service. Prompted by that sense, and goaded by accumulated wrongs, he appears to have determined to cease continuing in the service, and deemed it advisable to give full and free expression to all that he felt. He must unburthen his soul.

The intrinsic merits of the murder case hold only a subordinate place in his long judgment. The principal place is occupied by a narration of the alleged iniquities of high officials, judicial and others. He is no respecter of persons. He is neither in awe of his own Lieutenant-Governor nor for that matter of the Viceroy. To him they are not different from

other servants of the Crown. Truly a remarkable judgment, emanating as it does not from any non-official hostile to Government but from a member of that service which is often eulogised as the most able and distinguished in the world. Let us see what the free British Press may have to say on it; and what may be the official version. The incident reveals dark nooks and corners in the administration of criminal justice which, therefore, cannot expect to continue in the same condition of Egyptian darkness as before. The searchlight of public criticism will make it impossible that that obscurity should remain. In this lies the hope of that reform for which Indians have been crying aloud so long. The reform of the separation of judicial from executive functions is brought one stage nearer. Another reform may also be the final outcome of the present incident. How far should the judiciary be entirely independent of the Government and how far can the Executive Government undermine the independence of the High Courts? It may even lead to the larger question of the independence of civilian judges on the appellate side of our High Court Bench. All these are questions which are destined to agitate the country till they are satisfactorily answered.

We are now on the eve of the Budget for the coming year. What the new Financial Member may have to say as to the condition of our finances we shall only know when the Budget is out. That there will be a doleful tale of prevailing scarcity in Gujerat and elsewhere may be discounted beforehand. Similarly one need not be surprised if there be no attempt whatsoever at any remission of taxation. On the other hand, we shall in all probability have a good deal of Viceroyal and other rhetoric about irrigation, railways, the Army expenditure, and so forth. Perhaps there may be a monologue on currency and cash balances once more to silence the cry of the various chambers at the impolicy of the Government in these matters—the whole wound up with a rose-coloured prospect of Indian finance and India's wonderful elasticity. This is the one subject on which Members after Members and Viceroy after Viceroy have sung in divers tones. But as we all know those tones have never cheered the rayat, or induced prosperity in the country. On the whole, it may be taken for granted that it will be a humdrum Budget, barring the Viceroyal eloquence which may adorn it at the conclusion of the debate.

The "exodus" will commence on the night of that very debate. The metropolis will be deserted for the next eight months. The Indian Capua will again resound with Viceroyal gaieties and Viceroyal "Resolutions" till once more the Olympians descend to nether earth and condescend to shower their smiles on the luckless millions dwelling the year round on the sweltering plains.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

A "QUEEN VICTORIA FUND."

TO THE EDITOR OF "INDIA."

SIR,—I beg to thank you for the attention called in your issue of the 15th inst. to my letter suggesting a "Queen Victoria Fund" to assist in the irrigation of India.

With your permission I should be glad to be allowed to draw attention to some further advantages of such a scheme.

In my last letter (March 15, p. 127), I quoted from an article in the *Friend* as follows: "The cost (of irrigation works) would be repaid over and over again in the ever-increasing prosperity of the country." If this be even approximately true, then a "Queen Victoria Fund" when once raised could be utilised over and over again.

Suppose £250,000 was raised by Great Britain and Ireland, the Colonies and India herself.

A suitable district for irrigation is selected and works which will cost £1,000,000 are commenced. At 3 per cent the annual interest would be £30,000, say for 5 years, £150,000. By that time their benefit would have so far begun to tell that the increased amount of taxes from the cultivators ought to gradually diminish the interest payable from the Fund from 3 per cent to nil during the second 5 years, i.e., £75,000.

During the third 5 years the increase of taxes received ought easily to pay off the £75,000 spent in the second 5 years, and the fourth 5 years should see the £150,000 spent in the first 5 years paid off. Thus at the end of 20 years every penny of the original fund would be in hand again, and a large district would have been rendered fertile and prosperous.

Thus the fund would be available at the end of 20 years (and some of it much sooner) for the irrigation of another district, and thus it would go on repeating itself so that at least five

times in a century the "Queen Victoria Fund" would be available for a new district.

Nor would the benefit end here; it would be a practical objection to which even the India Office could not shut its eyes, and would surely be the means of leading the Imperial Government to guarantee the interest for undertaking the irrigation of India on a large scale.

May I place the above figures in a tabular form? Suppose a "Queen Victoria Fund" of £250,000 to have been raised. Irrigation works which will cost £1,000,000 are commenced in a selected district.

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
Amount of Fund Subscribed £ 200,000	Interest on £1,000,000 at 3 per cent. for 5 years 150,000
Amount repaid from increased amount of taxes during third 5 years 75,000	Interest on £1,000,000 at 1½ per cent. for second 5 years 75,000
Amount repaid from increased amount of taxes during fourth 5 years 150,000	Balance 250,000
	£475,000
Balance available every twenty years for irrigation of a new district £250,000	

* The other 1½ per cent interest being paid from increased taxes which after second 5 years bear all the interest.

If further argument in favour of some such scheme were needed it would be supplied by Mr. Vaughan Nash's article in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 21 on the *Times* summary of the recent Indian census figures. In brief the conclusion at which Mr. Vaughan Nash arrives is that in the famine area (including both British and Native States) the results are as under:—

POPULATION.		
1891.	1901.	
British Territory (including N.W. Provinces and Oudh) .. 77,000,000	76,000,000	Estimate of population in 1901 if increase had been at same rate as previous decade, viz., 1½ per cent.
Native States .. 46,000,000	40,000,000	135,000,000
	123,000,000	116,000,000

Thus the actual loss from famine, cholera, and plague (beyond ordinary death rate) from 1891 to 1901 is 7,000,000. But allowing for the probability of same increase in population as from 1881 to 1891, viz., 1½ per cent., the estimated loss from 1891 to 1901 becomes 19,000,000.

With these figures before us, I would earnestly ask, does the British nation mean the people of India to be starved to death by the million? or will it instead of spending money in useless Memorials of our beloved Queen in stone or marble provide funds for the irrigation of India, and thus associate the memory of the good Queen and Empress with untold benefits to generations yet unborn over whom her descendants may rule?

Yours, etc.,
T. CREWDRON WILSON.

Kendal, March 22, 1901.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW."

As yet we have only the official summary of this important statement, forwarded by the Viceroy. It is of the usual glowing description, and Sir Edward Law appears to have shown himself no more capable of rising above the traditions of the moon harvesting Simla finance department than any of his predecessors. "Surpluses" and "increases" and other marks of progress are thrown at us like the knives of the Oriental juggler and leave us bewildered, unable to see where truth lies. First come the accounts for the year 1899-1900, in which a surplus of £2,774,623 is paraded, being £222,000 more than that shown in the revised estimate of March last. Then comes the revised estimate for 1900-1, for even here Sir Edward Law has been unable to shake himself free of pernicious leading strings, and we have the stereotyped second Budget for the current year set forth as it approaches its close. This shows an increase of revenue, excluding Mint receipts, of £2,100,000, the rupee being all again taken at 16 to the £1; of this £573,000 came from opium, £105,000 from salt, and £138,000 from Excise. Opium gave £199,000 more, and railway receipts £905,000 more, while irrigation flushed the list with an expansion of £208,000, against all of which there is a decrease of £383,000 only in the land revenue. On the expenditure side there are increases on the original forecast in famine relief £876,000, in railway working expenditure £323,000, and in interest £200,000; but above all the cost of the Army was less by £1,185,000, owing to the employment of part of the British garrison of India in South Africa, and to the maintenance of certain bands of Indian Native troops in China at the cost of the British Exchequer. Adding in a decrease of £118,000 in the expenditure on public works and of £124,000 in that of the civil departments, the final result is a surplus for the year of £1,640,000, truly a marvellous exhibit when the year's conditions are taken into account.

What these were can in some measure be understood from the items of outlay connected with the famine. On direct relief the Viceroyal Government spent £4,227,000, remission of land revenue

and provincial rates cost it £986,000, it paid £440,000 in compensation for dearness of food, lent £2,740,000 to Native States, and advanced £947,000 to agriculturists, making a total outlay incurred through the famine of £9,334,000. If the whole of this was met from the revenues of the year and there is still a true surplus of £1,540,000 on March 31, then indeed Indian finance is a wonder and mystery beyond anything the East has ever exhibited. Probably, however, the loans and advances forming the last two items mentioned above, and aggregating £3,687,000, are treated as capital to be deducted from the entire expenditure, and it may be that other items are placed in the same category. Still we have the whole of the above figures before us, and only make a guess, but even then the light thrown may be merely rushtick, hardly sufficient to disclose the profundity of the gloom, for gloom there is, this pretty vision notwithstanding. Borrowed money? It is never mentioned, but we think the Simla Treasury made away with some £3,000,000 of it last year.

If, however, the accounts for the expiring year are astonishing, how much more those for the coming year ending March 31, 1902, for there we are met at first off-go with an estimated increase of £476,000 the large expansion in the railway receipts, placed as the prosperity of Bengal and Burma shown by an improvement of £150,000 in their land revenue in the expiring year, except upon the assumption that the perishing cultivators throughout the famine district are to be harried for arrears. Were they treated with prudent consideration the land revenue would be docked by a sum much in excess of Rs 15,000,000 per annum net for some years to come; and from another aspect the figure appears to us deceptive, as well as that illustrative of the expansion in railway receipts, placed at £331,000. Why were Burma and Bengal so prosperous in the fiscal year now closing? Surely because they profited by the distress of other parts of India, and in buying their surplus grain to feed the hungry the Government itself was increasing the prosperity of the cultivator in these favoured districts at the expense of tax-payers in general. It was merely dragging money out of one pocket to get part of it back into another. So with the railway prosperity. In the year now closing the increased receipts from railways amounted to £395,000. Could that growth be put down to the legitimate ordinary business of the Peninsula? Assuredly not. It arose principally from famine traffic, and to look at figures of this description as indicative of increased economic wealth is to harbour a delusion. The Indian taxpayer or the moneylenders of Europe found the money by which the railways were enriched.

Were there no offsets against these treacherous increases the revenue for 1901-2 would show an expansion of £1,056,000; but even Indian bureaucratic optimism is not capable of looking for prosperity in every direction, and a loss of £239,000 in the customs revenue of £136,000 in the Customs revenue, and of £127,000 in irrigation receipts brings the increase, compared with the figures for the expiring year, down to a mere £70,000. No wonder the Customs revenue is in a state of lingering decline, for those countervailing sugar duties, imposed with such a flourish for the benefit of our dependencies, Mauritius and such like, produced only £100,000 in the ten months ended with January 31 last. Importations of sugar from the United Kingdom, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, and Mauritius show large proportions increases; the summary table is nevertheless the measure has disorganised the trade and burdened the community without corresponding benefit. What has the Native sugar-grower gained by this class legislation?

On the basis of the revenue one might suppose that Sir Edward Law would have a little difficulty in bringing out a surplus twelve months hence. On the contrary, he produces one of the magnificent rotundity of £991,000. This is done, notwithstanding an estimated increase of £2,092,000 in the cost of the Army in the representation part of the additional price the Indian Empire has to pay for the indulgence of Imperialist passions here. Also increases of £728,000 in public works outlay, £352,000 in railway expenditure, £433,000 in the cost of the Civil Service, and other smaller items amounting to £286,000 are estimated for, and still there is to be a surplus. How is it to be obtained? By grubbing up every available rupee of the land-tax, and by estimating that famine relief and insurance will cost the Government next year £3,245,000 less than they did in the current year. We hope this latter guess may be made good, although it is exceedingly doubtful. But what is to be said of a Government that sweeps away more than two-thirds of its estimated saving, not in endeavouring to improve the condition of the famine-stricken people and raise them up, so as to make them permanent revenue producers in the future, but in piling up the cost of the Army? Is that to guarantee progress?

We give these figures not believing much in them, and must once more point out that they rest not only upon dangerously sanguine estimates of revenue, particularly land revenue, but upon the ability of the Viceroyal Government and its railway companies to continue to spend money borrowed in England. The estimated capital expenditure on railway and irrigation works in the coming year is put down at £5,395,000. In addition, a small amount of temporary debt is to be discharged, so that the Council's bill drawings will be reduced from £16,830,000 to £16,500,000. The total capital expenditure is in ways like those to be raised to £2,042,000, and of this £891,000 is to be discharged on the current year, but upon the ability of the Government to raise £1,663,000 is to be raised in the shape of borrowings by the railway companies, and the permanent debt of India is to be further augmented by £2,240,000, including two crores of rupees to be raised in India, and £1,000,000 in England. Then the unfunded debt (savings banks, etc.) is expected to grow by £502,000, and £111,000 is looked for in the shape of loans and advances refunded. Finally, to balance this capital account, the combined cash balances in India and England are to be reduced by £1,454,000. We need not enquire on this branch of the subject. As long as the borrowing can continue, the illusionists who conduct the business of this great dependency will be able to continue to declare that the economic progress is satisfactory; satisfactory with the population of India, as disclosed by the new census, 36,300,000 less

than it ought to have been. Will my the able correspondent of the *Times*, who sends us these figures, remark in the bitterness of his soul: "Happily for us Divine Providence has ceased to be concerned with human affairs, else were our retribution awful!" And awful will it be in due time, else we take heed and mend our ways in time.—(March 23.)

THE "SPECTATOR."

India has prospered financially during the past year in spite of plague and famine, which have cost in direct expenditure some five millions sterling, and nearly two millions of extra expenditure on military defences. The Land Revenue decreased, of course, in 1900-1901, but every other source of income increased, notably in particular by £200,000, and there was a relief to the military expenditure arising from the despatch to China of troops, who from the day they quit Bengal are paid by the British Treasury. There was, therefore, a surplus of £1,640,000, and another is expected for the coming year of £691,000. Sir Edward Law, the new Minister of Finance, makes much, and with justice, of those facts, as showing the recuperative power of Indian finance. The whole Empire has prospered, though sections of it have been visited with most severe disasters, the immense area of British India, which is so often an embarrassment, acting financially as a buffer, and a circumstance which may be noted also in all Russian accounts. Disasters positively heavy involve only a percentage of loss upon such immense totals. We note that the Government has now a total gold reserve of £7,757,000, and that its coinage of silver in the year has been a hundred and fifty millions of rupees. It is too soon to be quite certain, but it appears that the new standard has been successful. Certainly the fear that gold would disappear as fast as coined was unfounded.—(March 23.)

THE "DAILY CHRONICLE."

The Indian Budget which has just been issued is a record of moderate prosperity under great difficulties. The famine alone during the past year cost the State upwards of nine and a half millions sterling, and plague also added its quota to the burden; but in spite of that a surplus of over a million and a half was realised. This happy result is largely due to the fact that the other branches of Indian finance, military expenditure, showed a balance of nearly a million and a half in the good. Lord Curzon's strong and conciliatory policy saved us from many small wars, while the use of Indian troops in South Africa and China lightened the burden on the Indian Exchequer. It must be remembered, however, that it is quite a recent precedent for the Empire to pay for such services rendered outside India. Turning to the future aspect of the budget, we regret to see that the great disproportion between the expenditure on railways and irrigation is still maintained. Upwards of seven millions sterling are to be spent on railways, and only £1,000,000 on irrigation. India has already over 20,000 miles of line, and the paying and protective possibilities of railways are almost exhausted, while some of the new canals in the Punjab have been paying enormous dividends, and facilitating the cultivation of great tracts of country. In a year following so closely on a great famine we should have thought that a more liberal policy towards irrigation would have been followed.—(March 20.)

THE "YORKSHIRE POST."

The inconvenience of very wide surveys in economic questions is apparent in Sir Edward Law's Budget explanation to the Indian Legislative Council. "The figures of the land revenue," it was said, "conclusively show that whilst some unfortunate territories have suffered most severely (by the famines of the last five years) others have prospered, with the general result that as a whole the agricultural population of the Indian Empire is somewhat better off to-day than a year ago." The facts on which this conclusion depends are that the land revenue has been paid in Bengal, the Punjab, and Madras, that Assam has "held its own"—though the tea planters have complained greatly—Burma, "favoured with a magnificent rice crop, was able to export its staple produce on most profitable terms to feed the famished peoples of Western Central India, and is in a condition of remarkable prosperity." Finally, "the unprecedented transport of foodstuffs swelled the railway receipts and contributed a most useful addition to the revenue." There is here some confusion between high prices and prosperity, for clearly that country is the most wealthy which has the greatest abundance—and therefore in which the cheapness of plenty obtains. That would not swell the revenue, of course, for the revenue is paid in coin, and as the famine-stricken people were fed at the cost of the revenue, the extra railway revenue could not have balanced the loss. It is entirely satisfactory to learn that the Indian Government are now framing schemes of public works to be carried out whenever the great crises of relieving the people from famine. The Government must see that when there is occasion for relief works there is none subjected of permanent usefulness. Famine, it seems, must be looked upon as one of the necessary incidents to which India is liable, and to prevent waste of public money it is thought that works should be started early in a period of scarcity and be continued more or less through the year. It requires little argument to show that the people will do better work if they are not half-starved when they first obtain relief. In the Punjab and Sind, it is said, there are four million acres of bare lands that would be profitable if irrigated, and besides plans for dealing with the Government are considering projects for the storage of water which now runs to waste. Lord Curzon deserves warm commendation for taking this matter in hand betimes. It would be well if he would also consider the project of storing corn against famine. If the Government kept stores that would prevent such increases in price as now occur, and though there would be less "prosperity" for districts where the crops did not fail, there would be less distress for the non-cultivators everywhere, and enormously less expenditure by the Government upon relief.—(March 20.)

THE "BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST."

Even the heavy expenditure incidental to the war, it seems, is not without its compensations—at all events for India. From the Budget

statement made in the Supreme Legislative Council yesterday it appears that the employment of Indian troops by the Imperial Government in South Africa and China last year saved the Calcutta Treasury no less than a million sterling, and the result of this slice of luck, together with the higher prices fetched by opium, is a surplus of about £1,640,000, where all the conditions—social, sanitary, and financial, including plague and famine—had led us to expect a deficit. In closing the Budget debate a year ago, the Viceroy stated that the loss caused by the drought in the wheat crop alone amounted to between eight and ten millions, and in cotton a further loss of about seven millions. Add to this the loss to Bombay cultivators, estimated at nineteen millions, and the heavy special expenditure imposed upon the Government in connexion with relief works, and it will be seen that the Budget outlook a year ago was anything but a promising one. Fortunately, the relief measures adopted were so excellent as to reduce to a minimum the suffering and mortality incidental to the famine, so that, when that ordeal was over, the people were able to resume work under more than usually favourable conditions, and the recuperative power of the country was promptly and strikingly manifested. For 1899-1900 there was a surplus of about 2½ millions, and for the year ending 1901 the estimated surplus is £1,640,000. Opium shows an increased revenue of £572,000, salt of £106,000, Excise of £138,000, Customs of £190,000, railways of £965,000, and irrigation of £208,000—the only decrease being in the case of land, £383,000. There has naturally been a considerable increase of expenditure under the heads of famine relief and insurance, but the increase is fortunately much more than covered by the growth of revenue and the relief obtained by the transfer of certain military charges from the Indian to the home Government. This evidence of elasticity in Indian finance is a new and welcome sign, testifying as it does to the increased prosperity of the people in our great Asiatic dependency, under the fostering care of the Government, and especially the great improvement introduced of late years in communications and irrigation methods. For the coming financial year, 1901-2, a further increase of revenue to the extent of rather more than a million is looked for, so that, notwithstanding a certain decline in opium and Customs receipts and an increase of over two millions in Army expenditure, a Budget surplus of £391,000 is anticipated. The effects of the famine, it must be remembered, are not quite exhausted yet, but the Government expect to save under this head next year about 3½ millions. Railway expenditure, which will amount for the coming year to 7½ millions, is still a big item; but the railways have probably been our most potent factor in fighting disease and famine and stimulating Native industry, and any injudicious parsimony under this head would be not only a crime, but a blunder. Lord Curzon's belief in the resources of India has been thoroughly justified so far, and we are encouraged by recent experience to look forward to the complete financial emancipation of the country at no distant date, when its value and efficiency as a buttress of the Empire will be proportionately augmented.—(March 21).

THE "FINANCIAL TIMES."

A year ago, when writing on the Indian financial statement presented to the Legislative Council by Mr. Clinton Dawkins, we drew attention to the remarkable elasticity of the revenue of our far off dependency, and the same feature is again very prominent in the official communication summarising Sir Edward Law's presentation of the accounts for 1899-1900, 1900-1901, and 1901-1902, which has just been issued. The substantial additions made to the gold reserve fund as a result of the profit on silver coinage and the aggregate which that fund now represents convey no suggestion that the currency system now in force has worked other than satisfactorily, and there is every reason to hope and believe that with the cessation of famine the Indian Empire will enter upon the most prosperous period in its history.—(March 21).

INDIAN FAMINES AND THE CENSUS.

AN "IRRESISTIBLE CASE FOR ENQUIRY."

In an article in the *Manchester Guardian* (March 21) Mr. Vaughan Nash, commenting on the figures of the Indian Census, writes:—There has been nothing in our time approaching the clean sweep which the figures reveal, and they leave no room for doubt that not the famine districts only but India as a whole is wasting away under the stress of privation and disease caused by the high price of food. Taking first the total population of British territories and Native States, which stands at 294,266,000, it appears that the ten years have only produced an increase of 4,283,069, or 1.49 per cent., as compared with 11.2 per cent., the rate of increase between 1881 and 1891. It is suggested in a Renter telegram that this increase is more apparent than real, the improved organisation being responsible for a fuller enumeration than has ever been secured before. Assuming, however, that the figures are correct, the fact has somehow to be explained that instead of an increase of some 32,000,000, which would have resulted if the former rate of progress had been maintained, there is an increase of only four millions and a quarter. In other words, there is a falling off of twenty-eight millions to be accounted for. An analysis of the various provinces and States shows, of course, that the famine districts are responsible for the bulk of this deficit. Everywhere else there is an increase, but this is not saying much, for with the exception of Sind, Assam, and Burmah in British territory and Kashmir, Mysore, and the Native States of Madras and Bengal there is not a district in the whole territory which approaches the average rate of increase which held good during the previous decennial period. The following table includes the districts that were visited once or more by famine during the past ten years. The effects upon the population appear from the comparison of the figures for 1891 with those for the present year. The Punjab

is omitted because both in 1887 and last year the grain famine was confined to a small part of the province:—

British Territory.	1901.	1891.	Actual Loss.
Ajmere-Merwara	476,000	542,000	66,000
Bebar	2,752,000	2,897,000	145,000
Bombay	15,830,000	15,957,000	627,000
Central Provinces	9,845,000	10,784,000	939,000
North-West Provinces and Oudh.....	47,696,000	46,903,000	+793,000
Total	78,600,000	78,080,000	984,000
Native States.			
Hyderabad	11,174,000	11,537,000	363,000
Baroda	1,956,000	2,415,000	459,000
Rajputana	9,841,000	12,016,000	2,175,000
Central India.....	8,501,000	10,318,000	1,817,000
Bombay	6,891,000	8,059,000	1,168,000
Central Provinces	1,983,000	2,160,000	177,000
Total.....	43,420,000	47,682,000	4,262,000

If the Government of India's views are correct, a large deduction must be made from the population with which British territory is credited in favour of the Native States. There are no figures available for such a calculation, but the Government would hardly have laid such stress on the migration from Native to British territory unless the numbers had been considerable, and it is certain that a by no means insignificant percentage of these immigrants would still be found in British territory when the census was taken. Still, when every allowance is made, the returns from the Native States show that the machinery of relief was quite unequal to the occasion. In British territory, including a population of thirty millions in 1891, there is a shortage of 1,777,000 in 1901, or just 8 per cent. In Native States, with a population of 46,505,000, there are upwards of six millions to be accounted for, or rather more than 13 per cent. But these figures are arrived at on the assumption that population would remain stationary at the point attained in 1891. If we take the rate of increase between 1881 and 1891 and then proceed to apply it to the last ten years, we are able to estimate better the real force of the famine shock. The rate in the districts enumerated was a shade over 11 per cent, which would give a population in 1901 of 137,182,000. Instead of this we have a population in the famine area of 116,445,000—more than twenty millions short of the standard of the eighties. So far as some of these districts are concerned, it can hardly be said that the worst is known. Famine is not over and done with when the rains are falling and the crops are being gathered in. The effects of months of privation cannot be summed up in the death-rate of the current year or the year that follows the famine. Fever sweeps away millions whose strength has been undermined, and the full effect on the birth-rate is not felt until the times come when in the ordinary course of things the children who have died of hunger and famine diseases would have married and become parents.

In the great Presidencies of Madras and Bengal the rate of increase has been greatly diminished. In Bengal instead of 8 per cent, the rate is 4.7. In Madras it has sunk from 15 per cent. to 7.4, and in the Punjab from 10 per cent. to 7.58. Applying the standard of the previous census, we get a deficit for the three divisions of some five millions. These census returns show that the gloomiest forebodings have fallen far short of the mark; and they constitute an irresistible case for instituting forthwith a full enquiry into the economic condition of India.

The *Newcastle Leader* writes (March 20):—The net increase is estimated at 1.4 per cent., but this is, no doubt, amply accounted for by the improved methods of census. Apparently, therefore, the recurring famines and epidemics have arrested the natural growth of the population, and the extent to which these causes have operated may be gauged from the fact that during the previous decade—from 1881 to 1891—the population increased at the rate of 11.2 per cent. Years ago Anglo-Indian experts like Sir Lepel Griffin painted gloomy pictures of the probable consequences of the alarming increase of the Indian Native population. The figures we have quoted show that this pessimism was quite without foundation.

THE INDIAN CENSUS AND THE QUEEN'S MEMORIAL IN INDIA.

Under this heading the *Westminster Gazette* of Saturday last, March 23, printed the following letter from Mr. J. M. Maclean:—

Some economists have been in the habit of regretting that the population of India, which under Native rule was kept down by the unrelenting ravages of plague and famine, now, under the benign rule of the British Raj, is increasing far too rapidly. This complaint can no longer be addressed to the Indian administration. The recent census shows that the population of all India has only increased since 1891 from 287 millions to 294 millions, or at the rate of 2.42 per cent. In normal circumstances there would have been an increase of three or four times this percentage. Moreover, nearly the whole of the increase can be accounted for by the inclusion of the growth of population in the newly-acquired provinces of Burma. All the older provinces, with the exception of Bengal and Madras, show a decrease. In Bombay and the Central Provinces the density of the population is enormous, while in the North-West Provinces the numbers of the people are almost stationary. In the Independent Native States the decrease is simply appalling, and the Indian Government has no right to take credit to itself for this fact, as proving the superiority of British administration. We claim the paramountcy of all India, and it is our business to see that the Native Princes look after their people instead of merely posing as ornaments of an Imperial Court.

¹ Bihar figures are uncertain, as there is an apparent telegraphic error in the *Times*. ² Effects of famine of 1896-7.

In spite of the simple but terrible figures recorded by the census, I read in the papers a glowing telegram in which it is stated that the Finance Minister has examined the economic progress of India, and found it to be satisfactory, and that the general results are considered to be "exceedingly good." This complacent estimate appears to be founded upon a Budget which shows a surplus after the Permanent Debt has been increased by 2½ millions. The Budget also takes credit for a very large increase in the railway receipts, which really testify to the poverty of India. Last year there was a surplus of 1½ lakhs of rupees in the receipts from all the State railways, due to the profits on the conveyance of grain to the famine districts. This surplus would have been more than wiped out if the Government had not taken back with one hand, by means of railway tolls, the relief granted to the people with the other. The Government makes no allowance for the calamities still impending over India. Yet it is expected that the people will begin to return to the relief works at the end of this month when the harvest operations are over. Plague, too, is now raging more severely than ever in Bombay, and famine has claimed so large a proportion of the medical staff, while the war and colonial service have carried away so many officers, that "the officers remaining cannot be spared to fight against the plague without impairing the efficiency of their regiments."

This is the season which has been chosen by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, for springing upon India a grandiose proposal to raise in Calcutta a monument to Queen Victoria which shall be at the same time a temple dedicated to all the glories of the English race. Every ruler of India, from Lord Alibon down to Lord Curzon, will have his Imperial presentment immortalised in this memorial, and the perhaps too exuberant rhetoric of the present Viceroy will revel in pronouncing panegyrics upon all of them, similar to the ludicrously silted speech with which he recently inaugurated the statue of his predecessor Lord Lansdowne. This magnificent scheme has not been received with much favour in India. Even the *Bombay Gazette*, usually devoted to Lord Curzon, says: "After reading his speech we cannot but regret that so much ability, so much energy and so much money should be devoted to such a purpose. A still more severe rebuke is, perhaps unintentionally administered to the Viceroy by the Governor of Bombay, Lord Northcote, better known in this country by his more familiar name of Stafford Northcote. Writing to the Committee of the Victorian Memorial Fund, formed in Bombay, Lord Northcote sends the munificent subscription of Rs. 5,000, "in the hope that it may help to mitigate some of that suffering with which our late Sovereign so earnestly sympathised, and he very sensibly proceeds to say: "This is a time when, owing to the misfortunes through which this Presidency has recently gone, as well as that which it is about to undergo, it would, in my opinion, be peculiarly appropriate that we should devote our subscriptions to the relief of distress." It is unfortunate that the chief subscribers to Lord Curzon's memorial are those very Native Chiefs who have failed so lamentably in their duty to their own starving subjects. These Princes may always be relied upon to lavish lakhs of rupees on any scheme recommended by the Viceroy and which they think will bring them to the notice of the Sovereign. But subscriptions raised in this way constitute a species of blackmail. Lord George Hamilton says that the Indian Princes have a perfect right to give their money where they like; but this is not the case. "They have been formally placed under the protection of the Secretary of State, who is bound to see that they are not fleeced. I would suggest, with all respect, that Lord George should take the pleasure of his Majesty the King in this matter. I am confident of the reply the King will give to a proposal that the Indian Princes should be called upon to subscribe to a memorial to his beloved and lamented mother planned with such a want of tact."

The *Daily Chronicle* wrote (March 23):—The chairman of the Indian Memorial Fund to Queen Victoria writes to us to-day making an appeal to Anglo-Indians resident in this country to support the Fund. Such an appeal we are able to endorse, as most Anglo-Indians are sufficiently well-off to afford to donate a small sum. But the general purpose of the Fund stands on a somewhat different footing, as in addition to Anglo-Indians it is addressed to the "Princes and peoples of India." The people of India have very little to spare from their own necessities just at present, and it is problematical whether they ought to be asked to contribute to a memorial building or similar unproductive work. Of course it is only in the particular moment of its inception that any objection can be taken to the idea. Every one recognises that it is most desirable that there should be some great national memorial in India, like the Colosseum, its first English Emperor, Moreover, if that memorial did not take the form of a statue or hall in Calcutta, the capital of India would possess an obvious lack. But on the other hand there are considerations of flesh and blood equally strong, and the best compromise that can be obtained is for Lord Curzon to refrain from any semblance of putting compulsion to contribute upon the Natives.

MR. G. P. PILLAI ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

Under the auspices of the National Reform Union a series of meetings on Indian questions have been arranged for Mr. G. P. Pillai in Lancashire and the adjoining counties. The first meeting was held at Tydesley on March 11, and consisted mostly of working-men. Mr. Pillai spoke on "A Plea for a Liberal Policy in India." The *Tydesley Journal*, in the course of its report, said:—After referring to the progress which the English nation had made during the last century, Mr. Pillai said the one upon which we were entering would undoubtedly be a century of struggle between two or three nations of the world for commercial and industrial supremacy, and if the British Empire was to retain the position she had attained it would not be

by acquiring new possessions so much as by consolidating the whole, so that every subject should be made to feel he was a British citizen and be proud of the fact. In that Empire India occupied a prominent place, and it was nothing but proper that in the interests of the Empire British citizens should try their utmost to remove the grievances under which the people of India suffered. The only way to achieve this end was to insist upon a Liberal policy being adopted in India. That policy had done great things for England, and they wanted a little of it across the seas. It was necessary in order to consolidate the interests of the Empire that the policy of reaction and retrogression which had been pursued during the last six years of Tory rule should be ended. Local self-government in India had received its death blow during this Tory rule, and such things had happened as two men of light and leading being shut up in prison, kept there and liberated again without being told the nature of the offence they had committed. What India wanted was very little. They did not ask that the House of Commons should at once be thrown open to a hundred or two local representatives. They wished, however, to have the right to enter the executive advisory councils in India, and to discuss the Budget when it was introduced. They had to pay more than their share of the Imperial taxes, but they had no representation whatever.

On March 15 Mr. Pillai addressed a meeting of Liberal workmen at Broadbottom. "The prosperity of India," Mr. Pillai pointed out how India's prosperity also meant the prosperity of the working-men of Lancashire. If India were free from famine, the people of that country would buy more goods from Lancashire and the exports of this country would be greatly increased in value. After Mr. Pillai's speech, a resolution similar to the one passed at Tyldeley was moved and adopted.

At Mossley on March 13, Mr. Pillai spoke on "India and Famine." On March 14 Mr. Pillai addressed a crowded audience at Bury. The lecturer said he thought it was necessary for him to urge any justification for his presence beyond the fact that the connection between India and this part of England was very close. In opening a Manchester newspaper he was surprised to see the heading, "India Prosperous." Seeing it was such a short time since he left India he wondered how it was it could be prosperous, for they had only recently been speaking of famine in India. He had the curiosity to find out what the article contained, and found that the Viceroy of India expected a surplus this year. That was considered sufficient to justify the heading "India Prosperous." He wished with them all that India was prosperous, but it was there to tell a different tale. India was not prosperous. India had been subject to a very severe famine, and he, as an Indian, gratefully acknowledged the service the people of England rendered by contributing to the relief of the people of India. They would be sorry to learn that before the relief could have ceased to exist another famine would be upon them. Never before had India had two famines occurring so close together.

Unless some steps were taken and enquiry instituted into the economic condition of India, and to find out the causes of these famines, he was afraid they would have to go round and ask for a continuance of generosity; and he had not the slightest doubt that as they had done in the past they would in the future contribute freely to the relief of their suffering fellow countrymen. Those famines were becoming far too frequent in India. In the last 120 years there had been twenty-two famines, one to every six years; and since 1858 there had been ten severe famines resulting in the loss of 15,000,000 people. Was it not necessary, interested as they all were in the British Empire, to find out the cause of those famines, and to enforce the remedies necessary to end them. Some people said they were due to the want of rain. That might be the immediate cause, but it was really because the people were so very poor that they were not, even in years of plenty and prosperity, in a position to lay by anything so that in time of drought, distress, or difficulty they might tide over it. In olden days it had been the custom for the agricultural labourers and the farmers to lay by in granaries a quantity of grain which was not necessary for immediate consumption, and in years when there was no rain they fell back on the granaries and knew no famine; but at the present moment the Indian agricultural labourers and farmers were not in a position to lay by anything, consequently they heard of the sufferings of the people. It was said one cause of famine was the rapid growth of population in India, but in a list of twenty-two countries tabulated showing the rate the people multiplied, India was eighteenth. The cause must be sought elsewhere. One cause, he maintained, was the immense drain on the country, which made the people so poor, not less than £20,000,000 being drained every year from India to this country. In addition to that the people were very highly taxed; and the land assessment was so excessive that large tracts of land had gone out of cultivation. Sir William Hunter had found that 40,000,000 persons in India went through life with insufficient food. It might be asked why was all that money taken from India? The Government of India happened to be the costliest Government in the world; its civil service was paid at a higher rate than they found anywhere else. He maintained that the salaries could be cut down by employing, so far as they had proved efficient and capable, the Natives of the country. If they took offices paid at £1,000 they found that of such offices 2,538 were held by Natives of this country, while only sixteen were held by Natives of India. The fact that Natives of India had been senior wranglers at Cambridge showed that they had capacity.

At Winsford, on March 15, Mr. Pillai spoke on "Ind. and Famine." As Winsford was a place engaged in the manufacture of the Government of India made the manufacture of salt a monopoly, and commented on the penal laws in connexion with the administration of the salt department.

The Indian resolution adopted by the General Committee of the National Liberal Federation was passed at each meeting.

(To be continued.)

RAILWAYS AND FAMINE.

The current issue (March 15) of the *Journal of the Society of Arts* reports the paper upon this subject which Mr. Horace Bell read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on February 28 last, and the discussion which followed. We make the following extracts:—

Mr. ROBERT DUTT, C.I.E., thought the view that the assessment of the land tax had nothing to do with the impoverished condition of the people had not the support of eminent authorities. So far as his studies went, most of the eminent authorities in India within the last 40 years had put it on record that the condition of the peasantry in India was intimately connected with that assessment. After the famine of 1860, which was the first famine he remembered, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject, and they came to the conclusion that in order to promote the prosperity of the people of India generally, to form a middle class in India, and to promote the accumulation of capital, it was necessary to extend the permanent settlement system all over the country. This was recommended both by Lord Canning and by Lord Lawrence, and later on when the question came up for discussion with regard to the condition of the cultivators in the Deccan, one of the greatest authorities on Indian subjects, Sir William Hunter, from his place in the Viceroy's Council, mentioned that the land tax in the Deccan was one of the causes of the impoverished condition of the peasantry there. Later still, the Marquis of Ripon proposed to limit the enhancement of the land-tax to certain fixed grounds, but his proposal, like that of Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, was rejected by the India Office. He mentioned these facts to show that Mr. Bell was not correct in holding the view he did. Coming now to the subject of the paper, it would be found on enquiry that there had never been any famine within the last 40 or 50 years in which the total food supply of India and Burma was insufficient. Crops had failed in certain Provinces, but there had never been any time when the total food supply was insufficient to meet the requirements of the people. Therefore, he was unable to agree with Mr. Bell that it was necessary to impose certain restrictions on exportation, and in the present day it was impossible to think of doing so. He had spent the 26 years of his service mostly in Bengal villages, amongst the cultivators, and demurred to the charge of improvidence brought against Indian cultivators. They were poor and ignorant, but he did not think that there was any race of cultivators on the face of the earth who were so provident, so content with little, and who tried to save as much as they could out of their little earnings. The Indian cultivator after a good season probably tried to get some fresh land to add to his area of cultivation or perhaps bought silver ornaments for his wife or for the women of his family, which was a very good investment. He had known instances in which a famine had been averted by the cultivators taking the women's ornaments, selling them, and buying grain until the time of hardship was over. The real reason why they exported vast quantities of food was that they had to do it. The Government of India was a very expensive Government, and India had to maintain an army, which was largely used for Imperial purposes. The charges were, therefore, very heavy, including the money annually remitted to this country, and as the Indian industries had declined, and four-fifths of the population of India were directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture, the taxation of the country fell more or less on agriculture. The taxes had to be drawn largely from the proceeds of the soil, and the agriculturists had to export a large amount of the crops in order to meet their liabilities. The remedy was retrenchment of expenditure, and the cutting down of the expenses of the Government, not any artificial restriction on exportation.

Mr. J. W. MARTIN WOOD writes:—Mr. Bell is under some misapprehension as to any actual need for artificial restriction. The rise of prices of food-grain, in the interim, of itself checks exportation. If we turn to recent trade returns, we find that during the famine period of last year, the values on the grand total of grain and pulse exports, for the eight months ending with November last, declined to 8½ crores from nearly 19 crores in 1898, and 12½ in 1899 respectively. Then it must be noted that by far the bulk of those totals comprise rice and wheat, which form only a small proportion of the food of the Indian peasantry. And in those famine months of last year, the export of wheat almost ceased out of the returns. Wider issues are raised by Mr. Bell, when he expresses himself in the form of a general opinion, thus:—"India is unable to stand the drain of its present export trade"; and in the remark—"the immense area under cultivation for seeds (and other non-edible products) for export, should really be growing food"—and so on. Why is this? It is because the Indian cultivator cannot afford to grow surplus food crops, or store grain for himself in prolific seasons; he must grow non-edible export products to get such cash as he can to pay his land revenue assessments in money, at the fixed periods when it is collected under rigid regulations as to date and amounts. These money payments are inexorably required under the present political financial conditions. It is these that compel what Mr. Bell describes as "the drain of India's present export trade"; that is, nearly one-half of its net revenue is drawn out of the country and returned on this side of the globe, whence the bulk of it never returns into the channels of India's trade and monetary system. As things are, there is no evading this all-pervading pressure (as of "two atmospheres") which precludes all possibility of margin or saving throughout the far greater part of rural India. Mr. Bell very properly remarks:—"Shall we not rather devote ourselves at once to seek the radical causes of scarcity (i.e., utter impotency), and endeavour to prevent the trouble, instead of merely trying to alleviate it when it comes?" Certainly; and the only thorough prove in the direction just indicated.

Commenting on Mr. Bell's paper, *Commercial Intelligence* wrote

(March 9).—"It is a curious statement certainly, but Mr. Horace Bell made out a good case at the Imperial Institute the other day for the theory that railways are responsible for famines in India. His idea was that taking the average of good and bad years India is unable to stand the drain of its present export trade in foodstuffs. He asked whether, in view of the economic condition of India, and its geographical position as regarded the possibility of outside food supplies, the railways were not serving to deplete in good seasons the margin which should be held in order to meet scarcity in bad seasons. As Sir John Wolfe Barry, who presided, said, isolated famines are not now very much less destructive than of old, and here railways are of great value, as affording means of transport. But when we come to a general famine, which applies to large districts, then the subject is, perhaps, different, and it is certainly startling to know that in 1859 something like the total deficit of grain was exported.

Imperial Parliament.

Friday, March 22.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

MR. MALABARI AND THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if the Indian Government would relieve the Director of Public Instruction of Bombay from the task of reporting on Native publications to the Government of India; and, if the India Office would make some amends to Mr. Malabari for the charge of sedition so unjustifiably cast upon Mr. Malabari in the Director's Official Report of July 21, 1900.

The Earl of HARDWICKE explained the circumstances that led to the occurrence referred to. Acting on instructions from the Bombay Government, the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Giles, issued his annual review of Native publications in July, 1900. In this review there was a criticism of a poem written by Mr. Malabari and stating that certain passages were of a disloyal character. Of this Mr. Malabari complained to the Government, and in reply was informed that the Governor was of opinion that the description was justified, but, accepting Mr. Malabari's assurance that he did not intend any unconstitutional suggestion, did not think further remark necessary. This was a purely local question, and the Secretary of State had no information from the Indian Government in regard to it. As to making amends to Mr. Malabari, nobody knew better than that gentleman that if he had any cause of complaint he should address the Secretary of State on the matter. The Secretary of State had received no complaint of any sort or kind, and under these circumstances there was no ground for the suggestion that he should make amends.

LORD REAY said that when he was in India there was no one in the Bombay Presidency more loyal than Mr. Malabari. Nothing ever appeared in his paper which could, in the remotest degree, be construed as disloyal. He criticised the Indian Administration in a friendly spirit, and as he was a powerful advocate of social reforms he naturally made many enemies. He had read a translation of the poem in question, and he saw nothing in it which could be construed as seditious or open to adverse criticism. Mr. Malabari criticised the Government with the object of strengthening our rule in India and making it more popular. There were few men in India who exercised their judgment in that independent and moderate manner, and in his own opinion it was the duty of the Government to encourage such a man, or else indirect encouragement was given to those who were animated by entirely different feelings towards the Government of India.

LORD SANDHURST said that as Lord Reay had commended Mr. Malabari, he would like to say that he knew Mr. E. Giles during the five years he was Governor of Bombay, as an inspector of schools, and later as Director of Public Instruction. The Government had no more loyal or hard-working servant, and his knowledge of Gujarati and the Gujarati language and also his sympathy with Natives was very great.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK also testified to the loyalty of Mr. Malabari, whom he had known for many years. Anyone who knew India knew that no Parsee would be disloyal to the Government of India, and it was a strong measure for any Government official to dig up a poem written twenty or twenty-five years ago by a man in Mr. Malabari's position. He believed the highest authorities were of opinion that the poem was not capable of the construction which had been put upon it by the officials in India.

The subject then dropped.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE GOLD RESERVE.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would state the total amount of gold reserve accumulated in India and in England under the provisions of the Indian Currency Act; and whether the reserve held here is included in the weekly statements of the Bank of England.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The gold in the currency reserve under the provisions of the Indian Currency Act was on the 7th of this month £6,957,000 in India, and none in England. There is also £800,000 in the Gold Reserve Fund in India, which is not held under that Act. When gold is held in England under the Currency Act it is excluded from the weekly statements of the Bank of England.

Monday, March 25.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India how many churches had been built for Scots Presbyterian soldiers, and at what cost, since the Highland soldiers on their return from Dargai were refused admittance to the garrison church; and whether the Quarter-Master General would not be the fittest person to decide as to the use of garrison or cantonment churches.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE, in replying, pointed out that consecrated churches in India had always been under the control of the Anglican Church. The consecration of Anglican churches involved an undertaking that they would be appropriated to the service of the Church of England, and they could not be used by other bodies without the consent of that Church. The Government had no information as to the alleged refusal of admittance to the garrison church of Highland soldiers on their return from Dargai. There was no reference to such an incident in the Blue-book or in the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State during the past two years. There were at the present moment in India separate Presbyterian churches built partly or wholly at the expense of the Government of India. The places at which they existed were Calcutta, Madras, Secunderabad, Bangalore, Bombay, Karachi, Poona, Allahabad, and Dabhoi. The Government had decided wherever the Presbyterian community was sufficiently large to erect churches which would be under the control of the Presbyterian authorities and open to all Presbyterians.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR POWER PALMER'S APPOINTMENT.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War whether Sir Power Palmer had been appointed Commander-in-Chief for India for the space of a year and a half only; and whether this was the usual period, and, if not, why had any alteration been made.

MR. BRODRICK: It has been decided to continue Sir Power Palmer, who, as senior officer in the command, took over the post of Commander-in-Chief in India provisionally, on the death of Sir W. Lockhart on March 19, 1900, to make up a period of two years dating from March 19, 1900. The usual term of the appointment has been for five years. It is not considered desirable to extend Sir Power Palmer's appointment beyond the time mentioned.

Tuesday, March 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

COINAGE IN INDIA.

MR. GREENFELL asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been directed to the fact that with the mints closed to the free coinage of silver, no less than seventeen and a quarter crores of rupees had been coined during the past year in India:

Whether so large a number of rupees were ever coined in a single year when the Indian mints were open to the free coinage of silver; and, if so, in what years?

And, what had been the average profit per rupee coined during the financial year.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The coinage in India during the twelve months from March 1, 1900, to February 28, 1901, appears to have been a little over sixteen crores of rupees.

This is nearly equal to the amount of the coinage in 1877-78, the greatest hitherto recorded.

The average profit per rupee coined cannot yet be stated, but it is doubtless very large; possibly about 30 per cent. of the coined value may be profit.

The profit is not being treated as revenue, but is being set apart in a Gold Reserve Fund.

There is no intention of again considering proposals for the re-opening of the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver.

NOTICES OF QUESTIONS.

Notice has been given of the following Questions:—

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS.—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state what was the number of troops stationed at the close of 1898 in the political agencies of Dir, Swat, the Khyber, the Kurran, Tochi, and Wano, and what was their estimated cost:

And, whether he will say whether any reduction has been made in the number of these troops during the present Viceroy's period of office; if so, to what extent; and what is the estimated aggregate annual cost of these military and political outposts under the conditions of the new province.—[Thursday, March 28.]

SIR JOHN LING.—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether complaints have reached him that the coal industry in Bengal is cramped by the inability of the East India Railway to supply sufficient waggons to carry the coal from the mines to consumers and for shipment:

And, whether, to secure a better service of waggons on that railway as well as a general extension of profitable lines, the Government of India can arrange to make the expenditure on them independent of the general administrative finances under borrowing powers such as were granted some years ago and then withdrawn.—[Friday, March 29.]

Colonel MILWARD.—To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the 600 Petitions presented to the House of Commons from officers of the Indian Staff Corps, praying for an accelerated promotion:

And, whether, considering that the present conditions were fixed 30 or 40 years ago, that promotion is now slower in the Indian Staff Corps than in the British Army, and that officers in the Staff Corps are in consequence superseded upon active service upon the frontier by their juniors in the British Army, will he accede to the prayer of the Petitioners.—[Monday, April 1.]

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 (1898).

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. BONNELIER.

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 ROSEBURY C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogy 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.

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. Setalvad.

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?

The "Shmness" of the India Office.

"Mainly a Question of Money."

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.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to "INDIA" 1901.

WHY NOT SUBSCRIBE NOW?

A limited number of new Subscribers can still be supplied with copies of INDIA from the beginning of the present year. SUBSCRIPTIONS (POST FREE) SIX RUPEES.

PREPAID Subscriptions for the REMAINDER OF THE YEAR should be remitted direct to the Office in London at the following rates, which include postage:—

April 1 to end of year .5 rupees.

May 1 to end of year .4 rupees 9 annas.

Do you want to know by every mail what has been done in Parliament concerning India?

Do you want to see special reports of public meetings in England concerning India?

Do you want to read what the British Press is writing about India?

—The Journal "INDIA" will tell you.

Remittances should accompany every order.

Address:—THE MANAGER OF "INDIA,"
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

INDIAN FAMINES:

Their Causes and Remedies.

By PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY,

(Author of "The Poverty Problem in India," etc., etc.)

To be obtained in England (price 1s. 1d. post free) from 84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER.

In India: by V. P. Post, from P. C. RAY, 45-5, BENEATOLA LANE, CALCUTTA.

DR. T. N. GHOSE'S

PECTORAL BALSAM.

A BOON TO SUFFERERS FROM ALL DISORDERS AND COMPLAINTS OF THE LUNGS AND CHEST.

For Cold in the Head, Coughs, Hoarseness, Asthma, Hooping Cough, Bronchitis, Sore Throat.

DR. W. VENOR says: "I have used it myself and prescribed it for many patients, and can very strongly recommend it for Bronchitis, Asthma, Indigestion. It will not cure Asthma or Indigestion, but a single dose I have found gives an immediate relief.—31st March, 1889.

P. C. GHOSE & CO., NEW MEDICAL HALL, MUMBAI.

The annual subscription to INDIA (post free) is nine shillings for England and six rupees for India. Subscriptions are payable in advance. Remittances, or communications relating to subscriptions or any other matter of business connected with INDIA, should in all cases be sent to the MANAGER of INDIA, 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W. In any communication regarding copies of INDIA circulated in India, it is requested that Subscribers be referred to both by name and by the number printed in each case upon the addressed wrapper.

Subscription in England:—

April 1 to End of Year (Post free), 7s. 3d.

Cheques and Post Office Orders payable to W. DOUGLAS HALL.

Copies of INDIA can be obtained from the Offices of the Paper; from MR. ELLIOT STOOK, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.; and to order at any Railway Bookstall.

Printed by A. BOWEN, 1 & 7, FLEET STREET, London, E.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.