

India

FOR THE

WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1901.

No. 175. New Series.
No. 289. Old Series.

[REGISTERED AS A PRESS-PAPER.]
[By Post, 2d]

Notes and News	217	Conference of Indians in London:	
The Fennell Case	220	Text of the Resolutions	224
Our London Letter	221	The Industrial Outlook in India ...	225
Notes from Bombay	222	Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Camber-	
The Madras Legislative Council	222	well	225
"India Exploitation Limited" ...	223	Indian Affairs in Parliament ...	228
Mistakes About Indian Trade ...	224	Advertisements	228

NOTES AND NEWS.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN has been busily engaged during the past few weeks in organising a National Famine Union upon the lines explained in his letters to the "Times," which were reproduced in our columns. The matter has not yet reached a stage at which a detailed public statement is desirable, but our readers, we are very sure, will be glad to know that the movement is proceeding most satisfactorily. Sir William Wedderburn's two letters to the "Times" have been reprinted in leaflet form, and circulated to gentlemen whose position and experience will make their co-operation valuable. Arrangements are now being made for a preliminary Conference at which it is proposed to form a Provisional Committee, the object of the Union being to obtain a searching economic enquiry into the condition of a few typical Indian villages in order that, the causes of the rayat's destitution being ascertained, suitable measures may be adopted for the prevention, as distinguished from the relief, of famine. Needless to say, anything in the nature of a party political colour is being scrupulously avoided, and the assistance of competent men of all parties is being secured. Meantime it is interesting to note that an enquiry very much upon the lines proposed was conducted a few years ago by Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Commissioner of the Rawalpindi division, and the results were stated in a valuable "Report on Peasant Indebtedness and Land Alienations to Money-lenders in part of the Rawalpindi Division," which was printed at Lahore in 1896. As will be seen from the notice of question printed on another page of our present issue, Mr. Caine proposes to ask the Secretary of State to publish this important document as a Parliamentary paper. A considerable number of copies, we imagine, are available in India, and if these were sent home the Blue-book might be presented, without any considerable expenditure of time or money, by the simple expedient of putting the requisite blue cover upon the pages. We suggested this simple plan to the India Office some time ago with regard to Indian Blue-books generally, and we are glad to see that the suggestion has to a great extent been followed.

How comes it that the British Press is no longer supplied by the India Office with telegrams regarding the progress of the famine in India? Has the Viceroy ceased to keep the Secretary of State informed? The last official telegram which appeared in the London newspaper was dated February 18. The number of persons then in receipt of relief was given as 211,000 (Bombay 171,000). A telegram dated four days earlier (February 14), also from the Viceroy, reported the number on relief as 214,000. "Greater pressure," it said, "is expected in the affected area after the reaping of the scanty harvests there." Since that time there has been, so far as we can discover, no official communication to the press at home. But the famine is manifestly growing more serious, as may be seen from the Anglo-Indian journals to hand by the last mail.

For example, the "Times of India" (April 20) says:—The Government of India have authorized the Government of Bengal to pass free of customs duty up to September 30, 1901, articles which may be imported into India for free distribution to famine-stricken people.

There are still 291,000 persons on relief, showing an increase

No. 19. VOL. XV.

of 23,000 during the past week. Of this increase the Bombay Presidency claims 13,600 and Hyderabad 6,800.

There are now over 300,000 persons on relief in India, the numbers in the Bombay Presidency having increased by 32,000 during the last week.

And the "Pioneer Mail" (April 19) says:—

The latest famine returns show an increase of 13,643 in the British districts of Bombay; and 1,720 in Bombay Native States. There are now over quarter of a million persons on relief in the Bombay Presidency as a whole.

It will be seen that the numbers on relief in the Bombay Presidency have increased from 171,000 on February 18 to more than 250,000 on April 19. We hope some member of the House of Commons will ask the Secretary of State for the latest figures, and at the same time enquire as to the reason why the supply of the regular official telegrams to the British Press has been stopped. The effect is to make the public believe that the famine in India is past and gone.

When the horrors of famine are spoken of our imagination travels over barren fields to dying cattle and starving men, but these are not the only, perhaps not the worst or the most enduring of the calamities that famine brings. In the police reports of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1899 there is a chart of murder and robbery, which shows how in 1897 the line of crime rose suddenly far beyond what it had been in 1897. In 1898 it fell, to rise again in 1899, when famine once more appeared. So that the unfortunate people of India pay with their souls as well as with their bodies. Hunger is not the only ill from which the famine-stricken suffer. In the train of famine comes moral degradation and crime, and all the miseries that result from the punishment of crime.

But great as is the general increase of crime in Bombay, the Report of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department for the year 1899, lately issued by Mr. D. E. McCracken, tells of an even more serious growth of crime in Rajputana and Central India. Bands of starving Bhils roamed about the country "looting grain convoys, and in many cases emulating the deeds and swelling the ranks of professional dakaits." The "Friend of India" extracts from the Report some almost incredible figures. In 1899 there were 1792 dakaities, in which 62,715 persons were believed to have been engaged. In 1898 the figures were 599 and 8,202. Not only were there nearly three times as many dakaities in 1899, but the average number in each gang rose from 13 to 35. In the same time the number of persons murdered increased from 41 to 169, and of the wounded from 287 to 1,275. Two facts are remarkable: one, that the bunniah's books were seldom burnt, the village shop being much more frequently attacked; the other, that this exceptional increase of crime was confined to the famine area, Hyderabad showing a decrease. Famine drives the people to crime, and it is to be feared that, with some, crime once begun continues long after the famine has passed away.

The speech of the Viceroy at the close of the discussion on the Budget has been received with general praise, but there are one or two points connected with his treatment of the agrarian problem concerning which the "Friend of India" does not find itself in agreement with his views. The first relates to the railways. Our contemporary is quite prepared to admit that the country has benefited by the railways, and that it is desirable to extend them. But it contends that Lord Curzon makes too light of the real drawbacks. The general cessation of the storage of grain might be no loss if the cultivator could sell it in open market and retain part of the proceeds of the sale, as an insurance against famine. But this is not what actually takes place. Usually, the crop is sold at less than the

market rate to the money-lender, and only a very small part of the price is paid over to the peasant. The comparison is not between a store of grain and a store of money, but between a store of grain and "less than an equivalent credit in a loan account, the balance of which is always against the cultivator and always growing." This distinction Lord Curzon does not seem to have recognised.

But there are other points on which our contemporary finds Lord Curzon's treatment of the subject unsatisfactory. His lordship declares it a fallacy to suppose that the export of food has raised prices to "a prohibitive level"; for, as he tells us, the food exported only amounts to three per cent. of the food produced. Now, in the first place, even an export of three per cent. must tend to raise prices; and secondly, the extent to which it will raise prices will not depend on the proportion the exported food bears to the whole. Economically, the rise of prices does not depend on this ratio. If there be not sufficient food for the needs of the country without this three per cent., then its export will raise prices out of all proportion. Lord Curzon also offered some figures to show that between the time of the Famine Commission of 1880 and the Agricultural Commission of 1893 the income of the population per head had risen from Rs. 27 to Rs. 30. Rs. 30 is little enough, though the increase would be satisfactory, but the "Friend of India" had no difficulty in showing that the estimates are largely conjectural. It is only willing to allow that there has probably been no decrease, and even some small increase owing to the extension of irrigation.

As a preliminary to these enquiries into the average income of the people, Lord Curzon bespoke a general assent for certain propositions, which are only a restatement of the theories of the late Mr. Malthus. We are told that the population goes on increasing faster than the area of fresh ground available. The Government cannot fight against the laws of nature. It may find some "non-agricultural sources of income"; otherwise the income will decrease. But this Viceroyal dose of Malthusianism is too much for the "Friend of India," and is indeed a curious instance of how discredited economic doctrines find a last refuge in India. Our contemporary is in full agreement with Lord Curzon as to the desirability of finding other sources of income. But it demurs to the proposition that the opening up of new areas is the only way of adding to the income derived from agriculture. There is surely such a thing as the improvement of cultivation and making the same area give a greater yield. The agricultural output in England during the eighteenth century is generally held to have increased faster than the population, and this not by the bringing of new land into cultivation so much as by the great improvements in the methods of farming.

Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., is keeping up a brisk duel in statistics with the Viceroy. His latest Letter, dated April 14, has somehow unfortunately only just come into our hands. The starting-point of the correspondence was a Viceroyal speech at Simla in October last, when Lord Curzon, in dealing with the economic condition of India as affected by the famine, seems to have stated that the annual agricultural income was "between 300 and 400 crores of rupees," and that "on a very cautious estimate the production in 1899 and 1900 must have been at least one-quarter, if not one-third, below that average." Thereupon Mr. Digby applied his analysis to these figures in an Open Letter and a Postscript to Lord Curzon, showing "that in a good year the average income was Rs. 17-6 (say 24s.), and in the last year of famine Rs. 12-6-0 (say 17s.) per head," and drawing a ghastly contrast between the latter figure and the Rs. 27 odd estimate of 1880-82. To all this, according to Mr. Digby, "the Viceroy, in the Legislative Council, replied"—and he cites a long passage from a speech of the Viceroy's (March 28). There Lord Curzon admits that he ought to have said 450 crores, not "between 300 and 400 crores." The higher figure, however, gives him more leverage for insisting on his main point. He now finds "that the agricultural income has actually increased" in spite of various heavy drawbacks, and "that the average per head is Rs. 20, or Rs. 2 higher

than in 1880"; while, on the assumption of a similar increase in the non-agricultural income, "the average income will be Rs. 30 per head, as against Rs. 27 in 1880." Why, the single fact that the acres under cultivation have increased from 194,000,000 in 1880 to 217,000,000 now—"an increase in virtually the same ratio as the increase in the population"—would tend to show that there can have been no diminution of the agricultural income per head of the people.

Mr. Digby now returns to the charge with energy. He corrects certain Viceroyal mistakes, and then settles down to a spacious exposure of "the untrustworthiness of official figures." He finds that the 194,000,000 acres under cultivation have nothing to do with 1880, but are the figures for the "area sown with crops" in 1890-91, and he reduces the 1880 figures of "total cropped area" to 182,750,000—"or eleven millions and a quarter fewer acres than your Excellency states!" He finds also that the Director-General of Statistics gives the latest "area of sown crops (1897-98) at 196,497,232 acres—nearly twenty-one million acres difference." The result is that, while the increase of the crop area is 13,747,232 acres, the increase of the population is 39,000,000. Mr. Digby goes much more deeply, however, and shows how hopelessly confused and untrustworthy the available official statistics are. The one clear point is that the miserable condition of the people cannot be hid. Mr. Digby examines the figures of the non-agricultural income, and tells the Viceroy—"I must confess, my lord, there appears to me something of hardihood in the presumption so confidently expressed that the non-agricultural income of India is half that of the agricultural, and that it has increased during the past twenty years." However, even assuming that it is the fact, Mr. Digby goes into fresh calculations, which lead to the conclusion that the average income is still not more than Rs. 17-5-0—a decrease of Rs. 10-3-0 in the twenty years since 1880. Again, Lord Curzon had pointed to "the extraordinary amount of the precious metals that is absorbed by the people" as one of the signs that "are not the symptoms of a decaying or of an impoverished people." Apart from economic principle, Mr. Digby's arithmetic shows that in the last ten years this "extraordinary" absorption amounts to 1d. per head in gold, and 1½d. per head in silver—total 1¾d. per head! Mr. Digby closes with a fervent appeal for "a close, unrelenting and absolutely impartial investigation into the condition of India and its people."

Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., who is constituting himself a fertile apologist for the Indian Government in this country, read a paper the other day (May 6) on "Famine: Facts and Fallacies" before the East India Association. He reproduced the familiar fallacies that are supposed to contradict the facts insisted on by Mr. Dutt and Mr. Digby. "The Indian people of the Indian Press, at any rate," he said, "were satisfied that the Viceroy and Lord Northcote were doing all men could, and that they were ably seconded by their subordinates." In a general way, and with reference to measures of relief, everybody has been in agreement on this point, but that is not the end of the argument on the famine. Mr. Rees, while admitting that irrigation should be extended wherever practicable and remunerative, yet holds that "such extension will never solve the famine problem." No intelligent person ever expected that it would; but at any rate it may be pretty safely held that irrigation, wherever practicable, would materially help, in prevention as well as in mitigation. Mr. Rees, however, ventures on positive conclusions. He says "the real remedy lies in the introduction of foreign capital, the development of the material resources of the country, and the removal of the surplus population from the over-crowded occupation of agriculture." Well, in the recent famine, there has been a very considerable removal of this sort; but, in case of some other sort of removal, one would like to know where Mr. Rees would propose to remove the people to. Possibly he would draw them into industries of other kinds. Very well, but where are the industries? True enough the Government would not do well "to control business affairs at any stage on official lines," but that is a very different matter from pursuing a policy that would not merely allow, but foster, the natural development of industries.

On one point we can agree cordially with Mr. Rees: "it is the besetting sin of the British people and the British Government that they will not allow their subjects to be happy and to prosper in their own way."

On another page we print certain correspondence between Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., the chairman of a new enterprise called "India Development Limited." Truly the development of India is limited! But the prospectus of the company did not charm Mr. Naoroji, who wrote to express his opinion that the title ought to be "India Exploitation Limited." We would venture to suggest an amendment: "India Exploitation Unlimited." Mr. Naoroji at the same time explained and supported his opinion by some extracts from a statement he submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. He once more pointed out that there are two Indias—the prosperous and the poverty-stricken.

The prosperous India is the India of the British and other foreigners. They exploit India as officials, non-officials, capitalists, in a variety of ways, and carry away enormous wealth to their own country. . . . The more they can carry away the richer and more prosperous is India to them.

The poverty-stricken India is the India of the Indians.—This India, "bled" and exploited in every way of their wealth, of their services, of their land, labour, and all resources by foreigners, helpless and voiceless, governed by the arbitrary law and argument of force, and with injustice and unrighteousness—this India of the Indians becomes the "poorest" country in the world, after one hundred and fifty years of British rule, to the disgrace of the British name.

Sir Alexander made no reply—naturally enough, for how could he answer the impeachment? And when Mr. Naoroji enquired whether his letter had reached him, he proudly limited his answer—per somebody, "secretary"—to the vacuous statement that the letter "did not appear to him to call for any reply."

We congratulate the Bombay Municipal Corporation on their election of Mr. D. E. Wacha as their President for the ensuing year. The formal speeches on the occasion strike a note of sincere appreciation of the high practical qualities of Mr. Wacha, and his right to the post on grounds of sheer merit. Outsiders like ourselves may be permitted to speak of his unselfish readiness to tug at the general burden, as well as to give a lift to particular individuals. Even those that disagree most widely with Mr. Wacha are foremost in acknowledging the sincerity and loyalty of his mind, and his unsparring devotion to the public interest, whether municipal or political.

We would also congratulate Professor Gokhale on his election as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council by the votes of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council. The result marks emphatically the respect and confidence entertained for Mr. Gokhale by those that know him best. The appointment will not only strengthen the Native element in the Viceroy's Council; it will strengthen the Council altogether. With youth on his side Mr. Gokhale may yet go far.

We deeply regret to record the death of Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart., by which, as the "Times" justly says, "Bombay has lost its first citizen and the British Empire one of its noblest philanthropists." Sir Dinshaw's career affords a bright example of industry and prudence in business, crowned by a generous and wise benevolence. Notwithstanding the exacting claims of commercial enterprise, he exhibited keen public spirit. He took a very active part in municipal affairs; he served the office of Sheriff; and he was for a short period a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. His whole career reflects the highest credit on his race and country.

For several months there has been running in the "Universal and Ludgate Magazine" a series of very interesting papers by Mr. G. P. Pillai under the comprehensive title of "Twenty-one days in London, not to speak of a Day in a Boat." We chance upon the April issue, where Mr. Pillai discourses on Literary and Legal London. "Is there anything so pleasing, so exhilarating, so soul-inspiring," he asks in crescendo, "as a few hours' sauntering in Literary London?" Well, that shall be as it may. He describes the marvels of the British Mu-

seum (but surely the tables don't stop at K, but run right through the alphabet), the manifold enterprise of Mudie's, the curiosities of Holywell Street, and the activities of the newspaper world. "How strange all this to the people of India!" Mr. Pillai exclaims. "In India," he explains, "those who ought to read newspapers won't look at them; those who read them will not pay for them; those who pay for them will not use them." Thrice happy, India!

In Legal London, according to Mr. Pillai, "the first and primary duty of a lawyer is to dine, and to dine well." Yes, and there is really a vast deal more of philosophy in the institution than Mr. Pillai seems to bargain for. If he manage to conjure up a permanent table-load of briefs, he will begin to understand. Chancery Lane is part of lawyers' land that has attracted his particular attention.

The very passage smells of law, foot passengers are smeared with law, heavy lumbering vehicles go covered with the dust of the law; shops seemed crammed with the load of law; restaurants gape open-mouthed with limbs of law, and even little boys that run messages appear enlightened with the lore of law! Barbers in this lane of law practise legal shaving; newsmen rehearse legal crying, and women indulge in legal logomachy. You tread on the dagstons, it is a document. You step into a bus it is a conveyance. You jump into a shop, that is transference.

If Dickens was privileged to be whimsically exaggerative, why not Mr. Pillai? The description of the traditional formalities of dinner at an Inn of Court is accurate and vivid. All this will be good reading in India as well as in England.

The sum which is being raised for the purposes (a) of placing a bust, relief, or portrait in the Bodleian Library, and (b) of forming a fund to be called the "Max Muller Memorial Fund," which may be held by Oxford University in trust for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archeology, the languages, literatures, and religions of ancient India, now amounts to about £1,750. The subscribers include this King, the German Emperor, the King of Sweden and Norway, Prince Christian, the Duchess of Albany, the Prime Minister, the Crown Prince of Siam, a number of Indian Princes, and a great many well-known people in Oxford and the country generally. It is hoped eventually to raise £2,500, so that at least £2,000 may be available for the "Memorial Fund." Professor A. A. Macdonell is hon. secretary to the movement, and Mr. C. Grant Robertson, All Souls College, Oxford, hon. treasurer.

Captain J. G. Crosthwaite, settlement officer, gives an interesting account of the village banks in the Dera Ismail Khan District. Though the scheme was approved some years ago, only three banks have been established. These, however, are flourishing. Three points are deserving of notice. First, the banks were in each case started by landlords on their own estates. Secondly, the deposits of the members and the interest on loans are paid in kind. Thirdly, the borrower, besides the receipt in the fund register, pledges his word before the whole society. The interest paid on loans, which are only granted to members, varies from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and so high does the credit of the banks stand that local Hindu shopkeepers offer money to the banks at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The suspicion with which the banks were at first regarded has now quite disappeared.

Remittances on India for 60 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 3,10,00,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3d. and 29-32nds to 1s. 4d. The following amounts in bills were allotted, viz.:—Rs. 37,34,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 8,92,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 13,74,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3.937d. Tenders at 1s. 3d. and 15-16ths will receive about 31 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 25,000 on Bombay at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds, and telegraphic transfers for Rs. 1,50,000 on Bombay at 1s. 4d. and 1-32nd. Last week remittances for Rs. 64,03,852 were sold for £425,813, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 2,55,96,489, producing £1,699,029. Next week 60 lakhs will again be offered.

THE PENNELL CASE.

THE High Court has given its decision on the appeal in the Noakhali murder case. The man whom Mr. Pennell convicted of the murder and sentenced to death is to be re-tried; the men whom he sentenced to transportation are ordered to be discharged; while Mr. Pennell himself has already been suspended from his judgeship. Of the murder case little can be said, as a new trial is to take place. But other questions are involved which far transcend in importance the conviction of any particular prisoner or the prevention of any particular crime. Apparently Mr. Pennell is crushed. He has been condemned by the Executive and by the Judiciary. His professional career is ruined. His enemies have triumphed. And his case may long serve as a warning to all those who set themselves against their official superiors. Locked at from the point of view of Mr. Pennell's future the contest may seem decided and lost already. But looked at in its deeper issues, the dispute is only just beginning, and none can say how it will end; and there is on trial not one civilian, but a whole system of government. Perhaps before it is ended the fate of Mr. Pennell will seem one of the smallest matters involved.

In the admirable summary of the case by a "Civilian" in the "Times of India," to which we have already drawn attention, it is pointed out that it is really the battleground of two opposing theories of the British Empire in India. According to the one school that Empire exists for the sake of the ruling race. The good government and prosperity of the country are to be sought, but sought especially that it may yield the better fruits to its rulers; while the people are destined to an eternal servitude and an eternal inferiority. To the other our position in India can only be justified by its making for the good of the people; and it will be our greatest triumph to raise them gradually to share in our rule and partake of our liberties. But from this it follows that the practical conduct of the partisans of these theories will be very different. On the one side, the maintenance of our "prestige," the support of all in authority, the solidarity of the rulers will seem the first considerations. On the other it will be thought that the scales of justice must be held even between the two races at whatever cost, and that the exposure of injustice is the first and most pressing duty. Such is the contest in which Mr. Pennell has now become the central figure, battling against the official hierarchy, from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal downwards. The Indian public look on wondering and applauding as the man steps forward whom they believe to have given up everything that justice may be done. It may be that other eyes will come to watch before the fight is over, not without influence on the future government of India.

Mr. Pennell belongs to a type with which the world is already familiar. He is not a great statesman or administrator—hardly a great man in any way, save such greatness as of necessity belongs to the hatred of injustice and the determination to do right at any sacrifice. Great men have other ways of redressing wrongs than by calling aloud in the wilderness, or by dashing themselves against the walls of official power. They are, moreover, in general, too much occupied to devote themselves to a single cause, too much involved in the larger movements of the world to become the heroes of a case. The men who do this are of a marked type, and if Mr. Pennell has their virtues, he also has a full share of their faults. He is one of those who thinks he does well to be angry; who, devoting his life to the cause, can hardly distinguish between his public aims and his private animosities, all the more because the latter have sprung from the former; who has grown suspicious in his long battle against human wrong; who despises the minor conventions of life in his sense of the great purpose that underlies his actions; and who has lost all sense of proportion in his devotion to one object. Such men often injure their cause by intemperate language and hasty procedure. They put themselves in the wrong; and they give their opponents occasions for crushing blows. Yet are they sometimes of all men the most difficult to crush. While the meaner minds are harping on their violence and their insolence, others see only the great principles which lie beneath the wealth of heart and of character which underlies these faults, the

essential righteousness which redeems many sins. Such men usually begin their career alone—a voice crying in the wilderness—but they do not always cry in vain. Not seldom their memory is honoured long after that of their persecutors is blasted for ever.

To do the Indian public justice, they all along have taken a very sane view of the case. The feeling of surprise that Mr. Pennell should again throw himself in the way of the authorities was followed by a fear that he would be still further injured if they praised him too warmly. But this in turn gave way to a feeling of unbounded gratitude as the drama unrolled itself, and of admiration not for the man only but for the nation which could produce such men, ready to meet their ruin in defence of the oppressed, ready for the sake of justice to protect those of another race against their own people. While the official world was looking on Mr. Pennell as one bent on lowering the "prestige" and authority of the British in India, the Indians were gratefully acknowledging that it was by the possession of men so devoted to duty and so determined on justice that a small island of the North had become the ruler of the great continent of India. But there is among the Indians no disposition to ignore Mr. Pennell's faults. His irrelevance and his ill-temper are admitted and regretted. But they see that, beneath and beyond all this, great principles are at stake. The rumour spread in Calcutta that he had gone to the High Court, and immediately the approaches to the court were thronged. When he returned in disgrace to Noakhali the whole population came out to meet him, and drew his carriage to his bungalow two miles away. Surely nothing could be more fatal to the contentment and happiness of India under our rule than for it to be thought that a zealous, even an over-zealous, desire to do justice to the Indians was an occasion for distrust and persecution on the part of the Government.

But it may be argued on behalf of the Government that all this talk of persecution is beside the mark. The Government have been perfectly straightforward throughout. Mr. Pennell in the Chupra case discovered a peculiarly vile conspiracy to shield officials by bringing a criminal charge against an innocent man. Mr. Pennell did justice. The guilty parties were suitably punished. The Government of India put out a Resolution condemning the conspiracy. If Mr. Pennell was removed to Noakhali, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has assured us that the removal was decided upon long before he ever heard of the Chupra case. As to the suspension of Mr. Pennell after his judgment in the Noakhali murder case, he was not suspended because of his insolent references to his official superiors in that judgment, nor because of his coming to Calcutta without leave, but only on the advice of the High Court, whose authority he had treated with contempt by refusing to deliver the records of the case to their messenger. Such on the face of it seems a valid defence of the action of the authorities. But it is necessary to consider it point by point to test its truth; nor can those who, in dealing with the exposure of the Chupra conspiracy, seemed more eager to blame the errors of the judge than the crimes of the conspirators, complain if notice is taken of some acts which were unwise and indelicate rather than illegal or immoral. And first, did the guilty parties at Chupra, whether those who tried to shield themselves by bringing a false charge, or those who afterwards tried to prevent the exposure—did they receive full and sufficient punishment? The facts of the conspiracy have been admitted by the Resolution of the Government. But hardly one of the actors received any serious penalty. One or two lost seniority or were removed to another district. But the loss of seniority has been in almost every case recovered, and many of those involved have since been promoted. On the other hand Mr. Pennell, who had not been a conspirator, who had not tried to shield the guilty or to ruin the innocent, was—not promoted—but removed to Noakhali, one of the worst stations in Bengal, so that ill-health and physical suffering added a new bitterness to his tongue, and a new opportunity for his ruin. Even the Resolution of the Government of India was only issued after the case had attracted attention in England. As to the assurance of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that the removal to Noakhali had nothing to do with the Chupra case, the writer in the "Times of India" declares that unless some-

thing besides the judgment happened between October 9 and 15 to account for the transfer, "it seems certain that the Bengal Government must be convicted of a public falsehood."

So much for the Chupra case. The Noakhali case stands in a different position as it is still "sub judice." But something may be said as to Mr. Pennell's suspension. His transparent zeal for justice should surely be set against any violence of expression. The assertion that he wantonly refused to give up the records to the Court is on the face of it unlikely. His purpose in coming to Calcutta had been to ensure their safe delivery. He gave as his reason for refusal the fact that the messenger sent by the Court was no longer Registrar. He soon afterwards waited on the Chief Justice in order personally to deliver the records to him. And on this being declined, he on an early day attended the Court for the purpose. In coming to a decision that he had been guilty of contempt, on which ground they advised his suspension, the High Court never heard Mr. Pennell in his own defence. There are two other points which should be cleared up. Mr. Pennell declares that the Lieutenant-Governor threatened him. The Chief Justice telegraphed that a certain prisoner should be released on bail before the prisoner's case had come before him judicially. Unless the whole matter is thoroughly investigated the fair fame of British justice will be blighted, and one of our strongholds in the affection of India will have been sensibly weakened.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

As the Session advances the Government are beginning to develop symptoms of vitality. Last Monday Mr. Balfour startled the House of Commons by announcing that on the following day an Education Bill would be introduced. Time has been when the appearance of a piece of legislation was accepted by Parliament as something less than a phenomenon. The Education Bill is the phenomenon of the current Session. It enjoys the distinction of being the first and only measure to which the Government, so far, has accorded the honours of a first-class Bill. Not only was it not introduced under the ten-minute rule, but the Minister to whom its introduction was entrusted numbered among his audience several of his own colleagues. The secret history of the Bill, if they were known, would probably throw a light on both the dissensions of the Cabinet and its amenability to pressure. A few days earlier Sir John Gorst had indicated that the Government were not prepared to submit their educational proposals till after Whitsuntide. Then came the threat from London and Liverpool of a great educational strike, and straightway the walls of the Ministerial Jericho collapsed. The episode is certainly an encouragement to the miners to pursue a similar policy in relation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's coal tax.

"Fluidity" was the blessed word with which Mr. Balfour sought to conjure support for the last Education Bill of the Salisbury Administration. For the latest scheme Sir John Gorst claims the merit of "elasticity." The two words mean the same thing. They are a periphrasis for the defect which people who are not politicians call flabbiness. The new bill proposes to set up committees under the county councils of counties and county boroughs for the control of secondary and technical education, and its elasticity is exemplified by an arrangement under which in course of time the new bodies may acquire control of primary as well as of higher education. The principle of the scheme meets with a fairly general support; but its critics, among whom are to be included the foremost educational experts of the day, complain that on the one hand it is too complicated to be welcomed as an emergency measure, and on the other is not comprehensive enough to be accepted as a satisfactory solution of the wider problem of reorganisation.

Since Mr. Swift MacNeill's return to Westminster, after a period of illness which temporarily eclipsed the gaiety of Parliament, question-time in the House of Commons has resumed its wonted vivacity. A day rarely passes without yielding some illuminating flash from the process of friction so assiduously cultivated by the member

for South Donegal. The other day the dovescoats of officialdom were agitated by a demand from the hon. member for particulars of Lord Amphill's qualifications for the post of Governor of Madras. Mr. MacNeill, of course, obtained no satisfaction. If his interrogation had met with a serious response a precedent of the most dangerous kind would have been established, and in future no nominee, however distinguished, would have remained safe from scrutiny as to his fitness for promotion. But Mr. MacNeill, having failed to elicit an authoritative explanation, electrified the House with one of his own conceptions. Madras, he declared, owed its new Governor to the fortunate circumstance that Lord Amphill had once acted as Mr. Chamberlain's private secretary.

After a protracted but not particularly interesting debate on the proposed export duty on coal the Government emerged from a division on that question last Monday with a majority of just over a hundred. The most significant feature of this controversy, from a political point of view, is the spirit of combativeness with which it appears to have inspired the Opposition. The fight is to be continued on the second reading of the Finance Bill, when Sir Henry Fowler intends to move an amendment traversing the whole financial policy of the Government, in relation not only to general affairs and the expenses of the normal administration of the country, but also to the method in which the cost of the war is being met. One effect, therefore, of Mr. Herbert Gladstone's calculated indiscretion of a week ago has evidently been to stir the Liberal leaders into a recognition of their responsibilities. They have now made it clear to the world that they are both prepared to assist in the ejection of the present Government from office and to come forward on their own account with an alternative Ministry.

Much of the vigour thrown by the two front benches into their fight over the coal tax is doubtless due to the fact that whereas not a single Cabinet Minister sits for a mining constituency several ex-Ministers are returned by the votes of miners. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman represents a district infringing on the Fife-shire coalfield, and so does Mr. Asquith. The miners of South Wales look to Sir William Harcourt as one of their Parliamentary spokesmen, while their fellows in Northumberland expect a similar service from Sir Edward Grey. Ministers may consider themselves fortunate at present in having no collieries in their respective constituencies. Possibly, however, if they had been otherwise placed this particular tax would not have been proposed. Electoral considerations, after all, count for something in the preparation of a Budget. When Sir M. Hicks-Beach favoured tobacco two years ago, Bristol—where the bird's-eye comes from—received many congratulations on its good fortune in possessing the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a member.

Of the three bye-elections which are still pending only one is likely to give rise to a severe contest. Cork is certain to be retained by the Nationalists, and the Oswestry division by the Conservatives. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Safron Walden, which has hitherto been the single Liberal exception to the Toryism of Essex, may bring itself into line with the other divisions of that somewhat county. But the Liberals are fairly confident of success, basing their hopes on an increased majority on the local unpopularity of the sugar tax. As in the case of the two other constituencies to which allusion has been made, the vacancy is due to the death of the sitting member. Mr. Armine Wodehouse entered the House of Commons for the first time at the general election, so that his Parliamentary career had only lasted a few months. For many years, however, he had acted as secretary to his father, Lord Kimberley, alike at the India Office, the Colonial Office, and the Foreign Office, and had taken a constant and enlightened interest in public affairs. His death has been a heavy blow to the veteran Liberal peer, who himself is now fighting his way back to convalescence after a protracted and dangerous illness.

Visitors to this year's Academy will find the galleries dominated by one subject—the last great event of the Victorian era. Yet though the pageantry associated with the funeral of the late Queen is finely commemorated in more than one picture, the most impressive of the paintings, and that which harmonises most perfectly with the elegiac note, was executed by M. Benjamin Constant nearly a year before her Majesty's death. This is a picture

rather than a portrait, and according to the artist himself was designed to personify in the solitary figure of the aged Queen the historic greatness of her realm. M. Constant is coming to London to-morrow to see how his work looks in the atmosphere of Burlington House. He will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that never before in the history of the Royal Academy has one picture been allowed to monopolise, as this one does, the space of an entire wall, and of reflecting that his great portrait is destined in all probability to become the property of the British nation.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE PENNELL AFFAIR.

LORD CURZON'S ECONOMICS.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, April 20.

The Pennell case is still attracting public attention. This week the Appellate Court has reversed the judgment of Mr. Pennell, and sent back one of the accused for retrial. Also, Mr. Reilly's case is soon to come on for hearing. Public interest is therefore kept alive. The ultimate issues of this notorious case will have to be judged later by the public, free from all local prejudice. Popular opinion, however, seems to have instinctively leaned to the side of Mr. Pennell. The judgment of the mass is not right on all occasions. But generally its drift is in a fairly right direction. In the present instance it seems to have felt that, come what may, an upright judge was being harshly persecuted. It has resented the action of certain high authorities, and that in a most unmistakable manner. Mr. Pennell had to return to Noakhali; and the people resolved to give him an enthusiastic reception, and so set their seal of approval on his action, irrespective of the judgment of the Appellate Court. He was received right royally. Some of the more active unhorsed his carriage and dragged it for two miles to his house. It is seldom that we hear of such an ovation. But there is a significance about it which cannot be mistaken. It was years ago that in Bombay they paid a similar tribute to a sterling Englishman. In his case it was no quarrel between a judge and a law court, or between a judge and high State functionaries. It was the case of the entire people as against the financial extravagance of an autocrat. Mr. J. A. Forbes was then the hero of the hour. He led the advanced party of the rate-paying public and wrung from an unwilling Executive large municipal reforms. Such were his signal services, rendered with sterling independence, that, when the reform was achieved, the people met in their thousands in the streets, opposite the office of Messrs. Forbes and Co., which had often advanced the East India Company large loans in their wars with some of the Native States, and gave Mr. Forbes an ovation on the eve of his departure to England. He, too, was dragged in his carriage to the pier amid the cheers and huzzas of a grateful population, who thoroughly understood the nature of the service he had rendered to the cause of civic freedom. The only other phenomenal ovation was in the case of Lord Ripon. But that is history. In all these cases the feeling at the bottom was one and the same—namely, recognition of justice and righteousness. Englishmen at home should therefore endeavour to understand and appreciate the significance of the demonstration in honour of Mr. Pennell of Noakhali.

Impartial and judicious criticism on the rhetorical statements of Lord Curzon regarding the condition of agriculturists is gradually making itself heard in the most influential organs of public opinion. The "Statesman" at Calcutta, and the "Times of India" here, have both tackled the complacent dictum that the agricultural wealth of the country has shown an increase since 1880. Both ask for the data on which his lordship has arrived at the opinion that against the income of Rs. 27 per head twenty years ago there is Rs. 30 now. Both express scepticism on the point, and ask for something better than a mere passing statement. When the agriculturists have within the last five years been visited twice by such a dire calamity as famine, and when there is growing evidence on every side of the exhaustion of the soil, it is incredible

that the agriculturists are growing more prosperous. How is it that in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Madras, in Bombay, and elsewhere land indebtedness has been on the increase, as the respective Administrations of these provinces amply testify? How is it that the people consume now less salt per head than they did eleven years ago? How is it that the mass cannot import even an inch of cloth more per head than it did a quarter of a century ago? How is it that there has been a steady diminution in the savings of depositors per head for the last ten years? All these and many other questions confront those who so airily talk about increasing agricultural prosperity. It is clear that, whatever else Lord Curzon may be, he is no independent thinker in economics. Whenever he has essayed to float his balloon on currency, or commerce, or cash balances, or the agricultural condition of the country, he has floundered, which tells us plainly how far he is still in "the leading strings" (to use the phrase of the "Investors' Review") of the bureaucracy. When Lord Curzon comes to tell us something of the graver problems which are still unsolved he is unequal to the task. Not all his flowery eloquence can disguise the poverty of his knowledge on these subjects. And so far, it is to be feared, we cannot expect any reform at his hands in matters economic.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

MADRAS, April 4.

After one long year's undisturbed repose, the Madras Legislative Council met on April 2 for the academic debate on the annual Financial Statement. As one hon. member had the boldness to say at the Council meeting, another long year would have rolled by before His Excellency the Governor—or rather, his secretaries—would have thought of summoning it but for the inconvenient fact that he had no alternative according to the Councils' Act, which laid down that the Budget statement should be laid before the Council. The only business before the Council was the discussion of the Budget and the answers to interpellations. Several very important questions of two non-official members were disallowed by the Governor. The Act gives the President of the Council power to disallow questions, but only if those questions cannot be answered in the public interest. For instance, questions relating to the Army could not be expected to be answered. But, if the Governor arbitrarily disallows important questions bearing on the ordinary administration, questions that for all we know require to be answered in the public interest, it must be said that we have a very definite grievance, and the useful provisions of the Act conferring upon us the right of interpellation are nullified. Some of the disallowed questions have come to light, and they relate to the appointment of a second Indian judge to the local High Court Bench in view of Mr. Justice Shephard's forthcoming retirement in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission and the Resolution of the Government of India accepting that recommendation; the framing of rules for the better management of religious endowments; the rules said to have been issued under the authority of the Court of Wards that all minor zemindars in its charge must crop their hair and live in European style, etc. Now these are important, and at the same time quite harmless questions, and one would have supposed that Government would only be too glad to embrace the opportunity to take the public into its confidence and furnish some useful information. But the Indian Governments are not ordinary ones. They are made of entirely different stuff. They are composed of members of the Heaven-born Service and controlled—if only nominally—by heads whose only title to the responsible and exalted offices which they are fortunate enough to fill is that they are noble lords not found fit for high appointments at home, or that they were private secretaries to some influential Ministers of the Crown, or that they could successfully row on the Isis and the Cam. They profess utter contempt for all popular forms of Government, they believe in the theory of governing India by the sword, they are convinced that Indians belong to the class depicted in his own peculiar way by the latter-day poetaster of the Jingoos and Anglo-Indians in the term "half-devil, half-child." They are carrying the "White Man's Burden" and they are not to be

worried and tormented by useless and dangerous questions from the ne'er-do-wells of non-official elected members. Lord Amphill is a new man to administrative duties, and it was perhaps no wonder therefore that he thought his only safe course of action lay in giving himself up to the hands of his all-powerful civilian colleagues. At any rate, his arbitrary disallowing of innocent questions so soon after he came does not seem to augur well for the future of this province.

Honourable members did not fare better even in regard to questions that did not share the fate of the above; for, if the only object of Government was not to answer their questions and not to take them into the secrets of its prison-house, if, I say, its one sole endeavour was to baffle the boldest interpellators it could not have done better than to frame its answers in the way that was done at the last meeting of the Council. In the earlier days of Sir Arthur Havelock's régime we fared better, but now, again, matters have become as bad as during the time of that blundering mediocrity, Lord Wenlock. One hon. member asked whether it was true that a Mr. R. F. Austin, I.C.S., Head Assistant Collector of Malabar, committed an assault on the worshippers in a Hindu temple as he could not bear the noise created by the beating of tom-toms, and if true what notice was taken by Government of his cowardly conduct. The only answer which Mr. Chief Secretary Stokes vouchsafed to this question was, "Government has no official information of the matter." Could a worse and more insulting answer have been given? What was there to prevent Government from obtaining the necessary information? If it had only cared it could have got the information by wire in less than one hour. But no; its "prestige," that bogey in whose name so much wanton mischief is perpetrated in India, would not allow that to be done. Again, a second hon. member asked whether it was true that the Court of Wards prevented the minors under its charge from being visited by their relatives or friends without the written permission of the Board of Revenue or the Collector being previously obtained. To my mind this is a monstrous prohibition, and there is no earthly reason why such a restriction should have been imposed. The answer of Mr. Chief Secretary Stokes to this question was that it was entirely within the power of the Court of Wards to make any rules it pleased, and that Government did not know anything about the matter. Now, the Court of Wards is subordinate to the Government, and one wonders what stood in the way of its getting the required information. I have given only two samples of the answers given. I would respectfully ask what purpose was served by such answers being given to interpellations. Why keep up this farce if the Governments in India do not want to take the people into their confidence? There is precious little difference between disallowing questions and answering them in this way, and it would be better for all concerned if this clever deception gave place to brutal frankness.

Coming to the debate, if debate it can be called, on the Budget, I may say that it is a perfectly bootless one. The Budget is already sanctioned by the Government of India before it is introduced into the Council. No item of it could be changed; members are not allowed to move amendments or divide the Council; their discussions are not taken into consideration even in framing succeeding Budgets. The Hon. Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, the member for the Southern Group of District Boards, whose fearless independence no less than his fervent patriotism has won for him the esteem and confidence of the people, referred to this aspect of this question at the last meeting of the Council in the following terms:—

It has been asserted over and over again, and it has not been denied, that the discussion of the Financial Statement in the Council is of an academic character, and that it has been barren of any result, the Government having its own way. Non-official members on this side of the Table might as well take their speeches as read or publish them elsewhere. So far as I am concerned, I do not know if it is the non-officials' fault if the Financial Statement presented year after year showed no indication anywhere that the Government had considered their suggestions. Two years ago Sir Arthur Havelock admitted in the Council that the criticisms of the non-officials on the Financial Statement were made in a spirit of moderation, and that their suggestions were many of them weighty and useful. I would ask the hon. member in charge of finance to lay his finger on the Financial Statement in any corner of it and to say that it reflected any of the suggestions and criticisms which the non-officials have made for the last eight years.

The time has come when a further step must be taken in the way of the expansion and reform of the Councils.

In the course of the debate the elected non-official members

touched on the land revenue question, and dwelt at considerable length and with much cogency of argument on the grave hardships to which the agricultural population was subjected by reason of the increasing severity of the assessments. But the Hon. Mr. H. M. Winterbotham, the Junior Member of Council, laughed at the suggestion that land assessments were heavy and that the peasants were poor, and spoke of these as "exploded" theories. "Exploded" by whom? And the Hon. Mr. A. T. Arundel said he was surprised to hear the question of Indian poverty again trotted out before the Council even after the Viceroy had said that India was not poor. What a wonderful process of logic, to be sure!

"INDIA EXPLOITATION LIMITED."

We have received the following correspondence for publication:—

Washington House,
72, Anclery Park, S.E.
April 5, 1901.

DEAR SIR,—I have received the prospectus of "India Development Limited," for which I thank the Directors. I think the correct title should be "India Exploitation Limited" for such companies.

In order to explain what I mean I give a few extracts from one of my papers—which I send herewith.

Extracts from my letter (dated October 20, 1898) submitted to the Currency Committee of 1898.

"BRITISH INDIA.

"2. These words are often used in a very misleading and confusing manner. I give below an extract from a statement which I have submitted to 'The Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure and Apportionment of Charges,' which, I hope, will place the matter in a clearer light.

"3. Before I proceed further let me clear up a strange confusion of ideas about prosperous British India and poverty-stricken British India. This confusion of ideas arises from this circumstance. My remarks are for British India only.

"4. In reality there are two Indias—one the prosperous, the other poverty-stricken.

"(1) The prosperous India is the India of the British and other foreigners. They exploit India as officials, non-officials, capitalists, in a variety of ways, and carry away enormous wealth to their own country. To them India is, of course, rich and prosperous. The more they can carry away the richer and more prosperous India is to them. These British and other foreigners cannot understand and realise why India can be called 'extremely poor' when they can make their life careers; they can draw so much wealth from it and enrich their own country. It seldom occurs to them, if at all, what all that means to the Indians themselves.

"(2) The second India is the India of the Indians—the poverty-stricken India. This India, 'bled' and exploited in every way of their wealth, of their services, of their land, labour, and all resources by the foreigners, helpless and voiceless governed by the arbitrary law and argument of force, and with injustice and unrighteousness—this India of the Indians becomes the 'poorest' country in the world, after one hundred and fifty years of British rule, to the disgrace of the British name. The greater the drain, the greater the impoverishment resulting in all the scourges of war, famine, and pestilence. Lord Salisbury's words face us at every turn, 'injustice will bring about the mightiest to ruin.' If this distinction of the 'prosperous India' . . . and the 'poverty-stricken India'

. . . be carefully borne in mind, a great deal of the controversy on this point will be saved. Britain can, by a righteous system, make both Indias prosperous. The great pity is that the Indian authorities do not or would not see it. They are blinded by selfishness—to find careers for 'our boys.' (Letter to Lord Welby, dated January 3, 1897.)

"7. The main scope and direction of the evidence is as if India were a country and property of the Anglo-Indians, and British traders and capitalists; as if, therefore, their wants and requirements, and the means of enabling them to carry away as much wealth as they possibly can to England, were the chief object; and as if to consider the land, resources, and labour of India as only the instruments for the above purpose.

"14. Further, the foreign exploiters are not satisfied with the small portion of 'Indian wealth' which they take back to India as their own capital, but they insist upon being further helped from the very current revenues of the country. So voracious are these exploiters that they clamour against Government for not putting its whole revenue at their disposal in the 'Presidency banks, instead of keeping a portion in the Treasury. Thus, there is at first a political 'bleeding,' which is the foundation evil, and in its train, and by its help, comes the so-called 'commercial' or capitalistic exploitation.

"18. It may be asked whether I mean that I do not want

British capitalists to go and trade or employ their capital in India. I mean nothing of the kind. By all means let them do so. Under ordinary circumstances India will hail it, as any other country may do. But let it be with their own capital. Let them bring their own capital, and make upon it as much profit as they can, with India's blessing upon it. What I mean is that they should not first 'plunder' India, leaving it wretched and helpless, then bring back a portion of 'plundered' India's wealth as their own, exploit therewith India's resources of land and labour, carry away the profits, and leave the Indians mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. . . .

"19. If England can understand her true interests—political, moral, economic, or material—if she would hold back her hand from India's throat, and let India enjoy its own resources, England can make India prosperous, and, as a necessary consequence, can derive from India far, far greater benefit, with India's blessing, than what she derives at present with India's curse of the scourges of war, and pestilence, and famine, and of an ever-increasing poverty."

I remain,

Yours truly,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., Chairman,
"India Development Limited,"
5 & 6, Billiter Avenue, E.C.

(Copy.)

Washington House,
72 Anerley Park, London, S.E.
April 16, 1901.

DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly inform me whether you have received a letter which I addressed you on the 5th inst.?

Yours truly,

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., Chairman,
India Development Limited,
5 & 6, Billiter Avenue, E.C.

(Copy.)

India Development Limited,
5 & 6, Billiter Avenue, London, E.C.
April 17, 1901.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.,
72, Anerley Park, S.E.

DEAR SIR,—My Chairman, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, instructs me to write to say that he duly received your letter of the 5th inst., but that the same did not appear to him to call for any reply.

I am, Yours truly,

E. W. RANDLE,

Secretary.

MISTAKES ABOUT INDIAN TRADE.

We have received from Mr. W. Martin Wood the following communication with reference to the paper recently read by Mr. H. J. Tozer before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts upon Indian trade:—

The wide scope of the subject covered by Mr. Tozer's valuable paper recently read before the Indian Section of the Society, also the popular interest attaching to its chief passages, unavoidably diverted attention from its one essential topic that challenged argument. This was rather lightly dealt with by the writer himself in the short section beginning with: "The large and constant preponderance of exports over imports is a striking feature of Indian [foreign] trade." Then the point for enquiry was raised, thus: "But an excess either of exports or of imports is consistent with great prosperity. The United States has the former, England the latter." Now, this statement of the case is defective because of the omission from the second sentence of the term "constant"—or continuous—property used in the first of the three sentences: while, as a matter of fact, it is not correct to apply it to the United States as in the last. Leaving this for a moment, it is desirable to point out that neither the extent nor bearing of this "constant preponderance of exports" in the case of India can be realised without comparison and concrete example. Ample materials for one side of such testing treatment are comprised in the full and valuable tables affixed to the paper; but the totals are not brought into the all-important section in which this vital issue is obscured by Mr. Tozer's general remarks round about this subject. For various reasons, the concrete illustrations needed to explain this economic anomaly to an English audience is a comparison between the position of India and that of the United Kingdom in this respect. And this can most usefully be taken from a recent period as being within the cognisance of everybody. Thus there are before me the figures for the five years ending with December, 1900, for the United Kingdom, and for India for the five years ending with last March, so now let us look at—to use Mr. Tozer's apt phrase—the "striking feature of Indian trade." We find that the excess of the United Kingdom's IMPORTS in that five years

amounted to 819 millions, whereas India's excess of EXPORTS in the five years amounted to Rs. 134 millions—a "constant" commercial deficit of 26½ millions per annum. To take a longer period than Mr. Tozer's forty years, the *Economist* in June, 1899, cast up India's "preponderance of exports over imports" for the sixty-one years from 1835-6 to 1896-7, and showed that the excess amounted to £10,300,000—treasure on both sides of the account being included in all these totals. When there are added to the export side of the account such items as public debt incurred, also estimate for freight and profits—as is done by Sir Robert Giffen and other competent statisticians—India's adverse balance for that period is shown to have reached over one thousand millions; or, on that basis, about sixteen millions (sterling) per annum since 1836. To Mr. Tozer's easy remark, that some think this drain of produce to Europe "is sapping the vitality of India," there are two answers—(a) if it were not having this natural effect India must have extraordinary "vitality" (and so she has in a latent sense); (b) that this unbalanced drain is "sapping the vitality of India" is painfully obvious to those who have insight to perceive hard facts below the surface of things there.

One word with regard to the United States, as to which Mr. Tozer remarked that its "excess of exports is consistent with great prosperity." That excess, on the face of the returns, has been tolerably "constant" since 1875; but when looked into there are certain large qualifications required that cannot be gone into here—such as the very large personal outlay by Americans in Europe; the enormous expenditure on the foreign wars in Cuba and the Philippines, much of which will have gone into the export returns; and, during the winter months, most of the British Canadian exports are shipped through and registered at out-ports in the States. But when these United States statistics are put forward for comparison with India's constant and ever-continuous "preponderance of exports" there is one previous consideration which puts that superficial comparison out of court. It is this—the United States excess is the result of voluntary action on its own part and the free choice of its financiers and traders, and they retain control over the excess which, in the form of funds or produce, they can, and will, reduce by imports in their own due time. With India the case is, in this respect, entirely in contrast. By far the larger portion of its excess of exports is due to the inexorable political control held by this country; and, for the obligatory payments of the sixteen millions or more per annum here, there is not, and cannot be, any commercial or material return whatever.

CONFERENCE OF INDIANS IN LONDON.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTIONS.

We understand that a Conference "of all the Indians resident in the United Kingdom" will be held on Friday, May 24, at Westminster Town Hall. The Chair will be taken at 3 p.m. by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The following Resolutions will be submitted:—

i. That the fundamental cause of the extreme poverty of India—with its consequences of oppressiveness of taxation on land, salt, etc., of famines and pestilences, of the destruction and prevention of industries of Indians, and of the permanent chronic condition of scanty subsistence of the mass of the people—is the exhaustion of the wealth of India of thousands of millions during a century and a half, in the formation and maintenance of the British Indian Empire, and in the enormous increasing drain to this country, now amounting to £30,000,000 or more every year.

That till this great evil of the "cruel and crushing drain" is ended or very largely reduced, there is no hope or chance of the amelioration of the wretchedness and destruction of the mass of the people of India.

And that the most important and effective remedies which would enable India to be itself prosperous, as well as to advance the prosperity and strength of England, to supply all its wants of ample and sufficient revenue, of railways, irrigation, agriculture, sanitation, development of industries, trade, education, etc., are (1) The faithful and conscientious fulfilment of the grand and noble policy, worthy of the British nation, pledged by the Act of 1833, and the great and solemn proclamations of 1858, 1877 and 1887, to treat Indians exactly like the British people, as British Citizens, and (2) The payment from the British Exchequer of a fair share of all expenses incurred for purposes in which both England and India are interested.

Proposed by Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.

Seconded by J. M. Parikh, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

ii. In view of the frequent and recurring famines which have desolated India in recent years, and the extreme poverty of the agricultural population, it is desirable that the Land Tax of India should be moderated and placed within fixed limits, and that extensive irrigation works, canals, tanks, and wells should be undertaken for the protection of crops in years of drought.

Proposed by R. C. Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired).

Seconded by G. K. Singh, Esq.

iii. That in order to improve the administration of India, and to associate the people in the management of their own affairs, it is desirable

- (1) To extend the representative element in the legislative, municipal and other councils of India.
- (2) To admit representative Indians in the Executive Councils of India, and the Council of the Secretary of State for India.
- (3) To give effect to the solemn proclamation of 1858, graciously granted by our late Empress of India, and frame rules which would remove all existing restrictions, and enable the people of India to enter all services for which they are qualified without distinction of race or creed.

Proposed by G. P. Pillai, Esq., B.A.
Seconded by G. K. Gadgil, Esq., B.A.

iv. That this Conference views with deep regret the political disabilities and hardships of Indian subjects of his Majesty in South Africa, and urges the Government to effectively remedy the state of affairs on the conclusion of the present war.

Proposed by Dr. S. K. Mulkik.
Seconded by Joseph Royeypen, Esq.

v. That the President and Secretaries of the London Indian Society be requested to forward the Resolutions to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and the Secretary for the Colonies, for their kind and favourable consideration and action thereon.

Proposed by J. Ch. Mukerjee, Esq.
Seconded by A. Das, Esq.

For tickets application should be made to Mr. H. L. Ahuja, hon. secretary, London Indian Society, 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

THE INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK IN INDIA.

In the course of a leading article on this subject, the *Times* recently wrote:—

India has had of late dark days. The best administrators will own their disappointment, perhaps their surprise, at the recurrence of famine troubles with the old severity. Many experienced officials thought we had made more progress than we had. But gloomy apprehensions begin to depart when we look a little beyond the exceptional experience of the last few years and note what prospects are opening out. In the first place, it is pretty clear that the Native States have suffered much more than British India from the vicissitudes of the last decade. The population of the former has actually declined 4·34 per cent., while the true increase in the latter was 4·44 per cent. In the next place, in the absence of famine and disease, the prospects all over India are good. We say nothing of the fact that many costly public works are now beginning to bear fruit for the first time. So many new openings are possible, so many old avenues of Indian trade may be enlarged, if only capital is forthcoming. A case in point is the cotton trade. So far India has failed to produce in appreciable quantities the long stapled fibre suitable for certain kinds of machinery, and the attempts to acclimatize foreign varieties have not been very successful. But the difficulties are not insuperable. If greater science is applied to the growth, cleansing, and packing, Indian cotton may assume a place which is not yet given to it. Markets are available for any possible volume of production. There is no limit to the home demand. The Indian mills have already driven out certain foreign yarns. They have grown in number and spinning capacity. They have the advantage of cheap labour and cheap raw material. They are near the great Chinese market, and they have at home a demand which may quickly expand to vast dimensions. We can understand the English manufacturers regarding the outlook with apprehension. The attitude of those who, in face of these facts and others of a like nature, speak of the selfish policy of England is unintelligible. In certain quarters it is the fashion to argue that the exports of wheat and rice strip India of the reserves which would be available for staying off famines. There has been much fine talk about the superior wisdom of the ancient rulers of the country, who stored away grain or rice as a provision for bad times. The fact is that a considerable export trade in these commodities is the best of reserves, probably superior to "grain banks" and other ingenious devices. A larger area is brought under cultivation; this is particularly true of wheat. When famine comes, rice, which in better times would be exported, is diverted to distressed districts, and there is a virtual stoppage of the exportation of wheat. There is, in fact, a self-acting reserve: the normal rise in market prices checks exports so effectively as any duty. Another fallacy is the notion that railways have accentuated the effects of famines. This scarcely merits serious refutation. Every relief officer knows what assistance he has received from the railways. He cannot control the seasons. He cannot prevent the rapid increase of population in some districts. He would be powerless for good if he could not

draw upon prosperous districts, by means of railways, so as to provide for the wants of famine areas. We have failed to extirpate famine and disease, or arrest the effects of impaired fertility in some parts. All is not well with the 294,266,701 persons living directly or indirectly under our rule in India. But to what other rulers fell such a task, and who in past times performed it better?

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT CAMBERWELL.

The "South London Press" gives the following report of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's recent address at Camberwell (reported in INDIA of April 26):—

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that after the remarks of Dr. Macnamara they would more readily sympathise with him when he asked them to consider how people who had been charged thousands of millions sterling must feel in the face of such burdens. Touching upon the economic aspect of his subject, he remarked that there were 20,000,000 human beings who ought to be existent in India, but who were not existent now. That was the result of British rule of nearly 150 years. The question naturally arose—What was the cause? Other colonies did not lose their population like that; they were not reduced to such extreme poverty as that which disabled the people of India from having three-halves a day for supporting the life of man. With the kind of government to which India had been subjected for nearly a century and a half there could be no other result. The Government of India had been established entirely at the expense of India. Thousands of millions of Indian money had been spent in forming the Empire of India; the British taxpayer had not spent his in doing it. Not only had Britain made India pay every farthing of the money, but the largest portion of the blood spilled in forming the Indian Empire had been Indian blood. The transfer of wealth now amounted annually to from £36,000,000 to £40,000,000, and was it any wonder that with this drain this country was impoverished? Politically the Natives were British helots, subjected to a system of government more despotic than that exercised by the despots of old. The promise in the Act of 1853 that there should be no distinction in colour had been honoured in the breach, and the conditions of the 1858 proclamation remained unfulfilled. But it was, he concluded, in the democracy of this country that the sovereign power resided, and it was to them that India looked.—The meeting afterwards adopted a resolution declaring that the faithlessness of the British Government was the primary cause of the suffering now prevailing in India, to the great injury not only of the Natives, but of the people of this country.

THE FOREIGN PRESS ASSOCIATION AND INDIA.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

At the recent dinner of the Foreign Press Association of London representatives of the leading journals of Germany, France, Russia, and Italy were present. M. G. de Wesselsky, president, was in the chair. The guests of the evening were Miss Margaret Noble and Dr. Mullick.

Replying to the toast of "The Ladies" Miss Noble paid a high tribute to women's work in India. India required many workers. The country presented a large field for work of the highest quality. She had been moved towards India by her grand literature. Imbued with the greatness of India of the past, she had more particularly studied her philosophy which was one of the most beautiful ever conceived. She then gave a history of the Order of Ramkrishna to which she belonged. She thought it was a privilege for her to belong to this Order, as no woman had hitherto been admitted to it. The power of this Order was great. She spoke of its educational value. The Order of St. Francis was the only one which compared at all favourably with the ancient Orders of India. The devotees being bound to renounce all worldly desires, and being trained not to value worldly goods, were the most effective means for spreading truth. The "yogis" or friars were bound to beg from door to door, and by answering questions and removing doubts and difficulties served the most useful purpose of carrying ethics and education to the doors of the people. The value of such agencies from a national point of view was not to be underestimated. India was a most interesting country which required deep study to understand her fully. (Applause.) The President in proposing "India and the Indians" said that not only England but the whole of Europe, which they represented, was interested in India, for India had produced the most sublime thoughts which had yet been evolved. Her ancient literature and her language were the envy and wonder of the world. To her people they extended the homage due to a great race. He would ask Dr. Mullick to reply; his career in England had proved that given fair ground the Indians could not only hold their own but beat the Western people, and that too in science, which was supposed to be a Western property. (Applause.)

Dr. Mullick assured the audience that they in India were deeply grateful to the "savants" of Europe for their generous

appreciation of Indian intellect. Perhaps he would be forgiven if he agreed with the President that "India had produced the most sublime thought." That was not all. There were in some quarters the croakings of despondency which took for granted that India's glory was a thing of the past, and that her vitality had passed its maximum. He differed from such dismal prophecies. They had in India the most wonderful phenomena, slowly yet surely evolving themselves into shape. In ancient times, peace born of a splendid isolation secured for her conditions most favourable for intellectual pursuits. "Plain living and high thinking" was her motto. India made for herself a chain of literature and a code of laws which encircled well nigh the whole of the human imagination. There came away after ways of foreign invasions and inter-ethnic strife which plunged the country into turmoil and disorder. Happily under a settled form of government the people were once more asserting their ancient spirit and pursuits. India of to-day was an interesting study of a grand effort of drawing herself together for an eventful future. The concentration of her energies was the essential feature of the present transition stage in her onward development. She required careful nurturing and a skillful hand to guide her to a greater destiny. There was nothing more necessary for her rejuvenation than an empire who would see that the game was fairly played. There should be no hitting below the belt. They wanted the British Government to assume the attitude of benevolent neutrality. They did not ask for any protective tariff in favour of Indian intellect. Their attitude was that the country should be thrown open, as indeed was promised by their Magna Charta, the Proclamation of 1858, to untrammelled competition in which efficiency, not colour, was to be the deciding factor. They required education in India, but not the machine-made education which stunted the imagination and perverted the moral instincts. There were gleams of light as regards the future. Indians were placing their country before their prejudices. They recognised that no nation could receive divine aid who did not help themselves. Ideas of national ambition were replacing those of personal gain, the parochial were giving place to the patriotic; and India, with her mighty past and her many triumphs, would rise like the Phoenix from the fire, and enrich the world with her many gifts. (Applause.)

The Association has resolved to hold a large meeting of its members and others this month. The subject will be India.

Imperial Parliament.

Monday, March 25.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN SOLDIERS IN INDIA. USE OF GOVERNMENT CHURCHES.

We give below the full report of the discussion upon this subject, which was summarised in our columns at the time—

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for India how many churches had been built for Scottish 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 Quartermaster General would not be the fittest person to decide as to the use of garrison or cantonment churches. Several questions had been asked on this subject in the House of Commons, and the questioners had always been referred to the Blue-book now on the Table; but that Blue-book did not shed any light whatever upon the reason why a change was made, and why the disposition of the churches was taken away from the military authorities. There were two grievances in this matter—the grievance of the Scottish Presbyterian soldiers, and the grievance of the taxpayers of India. The first that was heard of this by the public was after the battle of Dargai. The Highland regiment, after they had returned from the engagement to the cantonment, were refused admittance to the garrison church. The colonel was told that he might lead the soldiers in the open air, but this he refused to do, saying he would not expose the soldiers to the risk of sunstroke. Two alternatives were submitted to him. He was offered a dirty barrack room, and, of all places in the world, a disused play-house or theatre, in which no Scottish Presbyterian would think of worshipping.

There was great speculation as to who had proposed this alternative, and some accused the Viceroy, merely on the ground that his father was a clergyman. But the Viceroy arrived in India subsequent to this incident, so could not be held responsible. Moreover, anyone who knew Lord Curzon would not suppose for one moment that he was a man who would inaugurate such a change. It was next suggested that the alteration was made by Dr. Welldon, the Bishop of Calcutta, though the Presbyterians said that on account of his tolerance they were not afraid of him, but of his successor. But Dr. Welldon was not always of the same mind, as might be seen from some of his public utterances. For instance, he had invited the prayers of non-Christians for her late Majesty on the occasion of her eightieth birthday; this had raised the Bishop of Colombo against him. Lately he preached in his cathedral on missionaries in a sense which would satisfy the requirements expressed recently by the noble Marquess at the head of the Government, though he said nothing less than what a Christian bishop was bound to say: the week after he preached a sermon in support of vivisection. This was most injudicious, as both

Hindus and Mussulmans are strongly against it, besides it being against biblical teaching. Later on he committed himself still further by calling upon the Government of India to have the Bible taught in Hindu and Mussulman schools. Against this the Bishop of Bombay protested, and said it would be the best way to empty the schools and to break faith with the Hindus and Mussulmans. It was rumoured that Dr. Welldon was to be translated to the See of London. Since that see had been filled it was still stated that he was coming to London. He (Lord Stanley) thought he ought to be translated from Calcutta, because he was mischievous, but not to any other important see, where he might be equally mischievous.

With regard to the Scottish Presbyterian soldiers, this question had been wrongly treated as a religious question in the Blue-book. It ought to have been treated as a national political question. The Church of Scotland was equal in importance to the Church of England in the matter of the treatment it deserved. Her late Majesty the Queen used always to attend the Prayer-book church when in Scotland. It was one of the first principles of the law of nations that countries had equal rights, irrespective of their size, and as the Church of Scotland was the Church of a separate nation it should be treated with full respect. The action of the authorities in disregarding the rights of that Church constituted a slur upon it; and the exhibition of bigotry that had been displayed was to be greatly regretted. It was bigotry such as this which led to the Crimean War. The Bishop of Lahore had made a proposal that when churches were to be consecrated only the chancel should be consecrated, and that the nave should be left open to Scottish Presbyterian soldiers. He thought this a very good proposal. Coming to the other grievance to the taxpayers of India—he contended that it was not right, more especially in the year of famine, that they should be put to great expense in finding more churches for an alien religion when the buildings used by members of the Church of England would suffice. He hoped it was not too late for the Indian Government to take steps to put an end to this state of things. It had a very bad effect on the Hindus and Mussulmans to see Scottish soldiers outcasted in this way, and to see that Christians were so divided that they could not even worship in the same church.

The Earl of HARDWICK: The noble Lord has travelled over a somewhat extended area in the course of his remarks, and I shall find it difficult to follow him and to give him information on all the points on which he desires enlightenment. In the first place, I think the noble Lord is under some misapprehension when he says that the question of worship in English churches in India was taken away from the military authorities. Consecrated churches in India, as the Blue-book will show, have always been under the control of the Anglican Church. The question was put to the law officers of the Crown, and they reported that the consecration of Anglican churches involved an undertaking that they would be appropriated to the Church of England, and the Government of India cannot properly require that they should be used by other bodies without the consent of the authorities representing the Church of England. The noble Lord referred to Bishop Welldon, and, though he praised some of his public statements, I understood him to condemn others. Some of the statements to which the noble Lord referred in connection with Dr. Welldon's remarks, so far as I can understand, had any reference whatever to the question on the Paper; but, as a matter of fact, Dr. Welldon has stated his opinion on this subject very clearly. In a circular he addressed to the clergy of India in May, 1899, after Lord Curzon had brought in new regulations with regard to the worship of Scotch Presbyterians in Anglican churches, he said that he could not but believe that with reasonable consideration on both sides the difficulty which had arisen with reference to the churches might almost, if not entirely, disappear. He added that where there were no Nonconformist buildings, or none that were sufficiently large or suitable, it could only be a privilege to admit Nonconformists at convenient hours to the use of churches belonging to the Church of England.

The noble Lord asked me how many churches have been built for Scotch Presbyterian soldiers, and at what cost, since the Highland soldiers on their return from Dargai were refused admittance to the Garrison church. The India Office has no information of any kind as to the refusal to admit these soldiers to the garrison church. I do not know where the noble Lord has obtained information to the effect that a reference to it in the Blue-book in any correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State during the past two years. As I am not able to say when this incident occurred, I cannot tell the noble Lord how many churches have been built since the incident. But I can tell him that separate churches for Presbyterian worship have already been erected, partly or wholly at the expense of the Government, at Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Secunderabad, Bombay, Karachi, Poona, Allahabad, and Delhi. The noble Lord referred to a proposal that had been made by the late Bishop of Lahore to consecrate the chancel of newly-erected churches, and leave the body of the church open for Presbyterian worship. The Bishop of Lahore made that proposal at the time when the regulations of 1898 were in force. Lord Curzon introduced new regulations in 1899, and I believe the present Bishop of Lahore is perfectly satisfied with the existing arrangements. The Government has decided, wherever the Presbyterian community is sufficiently large to erect churches for their use which will not be consecrated. The places at which these churches will be erected are Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Cherat, Barilly, Chakrata, and Peshawar.

The noble Lord next asked me whether the Quartermaster General would not be the fittest person to decide as to the use

of garrison or cantonment churches. That is obviously a proposal which it is impossible to consider for a moment, because consecrated churches are by law under the authority of the Bishop. I understood the noble Lord to suggest that they were formerly under the control of the Quartermaster General. I do not think this was the case, and for the very short time in 1898 that the Commander-in-Chief had a certain control the management gave such offence that it was speedily altered by Lord Curzon. The whole of this difficulty arises from the fact that what the Anglican Church is willing to grant as a grace the Presbyterians claim as a right. But I believe that the "modus vivendi" which has been arrived at is working smoothly, and since the new regulations of 1899 there has only been one small instance of any difficulty arising in the working of these regulations.

Thursday, May 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

GOLD, SILVER, AND CASH BALANCES.

Sir JOHN LENO asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state what amount of gold was now held by, or on behalf of, the Indian Government, as compared with the £9,400,000 held in April of last year; how much of this metal was now held as reserve against currency notes: Up to the close of last month what had been the net export from or import into India of gold since April last; what were the corresponding net values of silver as shown in the Indian Trade Returns; how much or what proportion of these net imports or exports of treasure had been on Government account: And, what were the present amounts of the Indian Government's cash balances here and in India respectively.

Lord G. HAMILTON: 1. The amount of gold held by the Government on the 31st of March, 1901, was £7,115,047. 2. Gold to the value of £5,708,487 was on the 22nd of April held as reserve against currency notes. 3. In 1900-1 there was a total net import of gold £561,423. 4. And of silver £6,337,788. 5. The transactions on account of Government included in the foregoing figures were a net export of gold £4,482,242, and a net import of silver £3,389,051. 6. The cash balances on the 31st of March 1901 were, in England £4,060,660, and in India about £10,650,000.

CURRENCY AND PRICES.

Sir JOHN LENO asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state what amount of silver in rupees and been coined and issued in India up to the end of March since April 1900; and what sum, if any, as representing profit on such coinage had been credited to current revenue: What amount of gold coin had been paid out in the same period from the Treasuries or Currency Department on tender by the public at the rate of 15 rupees in silver or currency notes; what was the total sum of currency notes now in circulation: And, can some general or average statement be presented showing the rise or fall at the up-country markets in prices of seeds, jute, and other non-edible export products since the beginning of 1897.

Lord G. HAMILTON: 1. The number of rupees coined in India during the official year 1900-1 is 171,479,318. 2. The gross profit on this coinage is £3,156,000, and the net profit £3,030,000. The whole of this sum is in the account credited to revenue, a corresponding amount being debited to expenditure as transferred to the gold reserve fund, so that the balance is unaffected. 3. The amount of gold coin which has been issued to the public in the same period is £6,374,880, of which about half is estimated to be still in their hands. 4. The value of currency notes in circulation on the 31st of March, 1901, was Rs. 29,86,59,000 (29 crores, 86 lakhs, 59 thousand). 5. The statistics available in this country as to prices do not show the rise or fall in respect of non-edible export products in up-country markets.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

Mr. CAINE asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could explain why there had been so long a delay in appointing a successor to the late Mr. Seshagiri Sastriar, Sanskrit Professor of the Madras Presidency College; and whether it was intended to appoint a Native of India to the vacant post.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I am not aware of the exact date of Mr. Seshagiri Sastriar's death, but I observe that in a list published last January his name appears, and I have no reason to suppose that any unreasonable delay has taken place in filling up the vacancy, nor do I know the intentions of the Madras Government.

Friday, May 3.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BOER PRISONERS IN INDIA.

Mr. DILLON asked the Secretary of State for War whether he would explain why India had been selected as a place for the internment of Boer prisoners of war; whether plague had been prevalent lately in Bombay and in the neighbourhood of Ahmednagar; whether he had satisfied himself, by personal enquiry, that it was a suitable place for the detention of prisoners of war: And, whether he would consider the desirability of sending Boer prisoners in future to Ireland.

Mr. DRODICK: I must refer the hon. member to my reply to

a similar question put by the hon. member for the Tullamore Division of King's County on April 29. (The locality was selected by the Indian Government, and this is a question on which the judgment of those on the spot is necessarily more reliable than that of any one in this country.)

Mr. DILLON: The right hon. gentleman has not answered the last paragraph of my question.

Mr. BROADBENT: I am not sure that residence in Ireland would agree with the Boers. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. DILLON asked the Secretary of State for India whether famine was at present prevalent in the district of Ahmednagar; whether the number on relief lists was increasing: And, whether there had recently been a water famine at the station of Ahmednagar.

Lord G. HAMILTON: Owing to the failure of the spring crops there is scarcity of food in some parts of the district of Ahmednagar which the Government are remedying by relief measures, and the number of persons receiving this relief will probably increase during the next three months, but this will not affect the Boer prisoners in any way. I have no information as to any recent water-famine in the station of Ahmednagar.

Monday, May 6.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LORD AMPHILL'S APPOINTMENT.

Mr. MACNEILL asked the Secretary of State for India whether Lord Amphil, who had been appointed to the Governorship of Madras, had had any experience of Indian affairs, and what had been his official experience previous to his promotion.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. As to the second part, I understand Lord Amphil was engaged since 1895 in connexion with colonial matters at the Colonial Office.

Mr. MACNEILL: Is not Lord Amphil's promotion due to the fact that he was formerly private secretary to the Colonial Secretary?

Lord G. HAMILTON: No.

Tuesday, May 7.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BURMA RAILWAYS AND AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVES.

Sir ALFRED HICKMAN asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that the Senior Government Inspector of Burma Railways had reported that the American locomotives which were in use there show want of strength, and that parts supposed to be of cast steel proved to be of inferior metal and workmanship; that alterations and repairs had been required much in excess of what was necessary with locomotives received from British makers; that Mr. J. S. Johnson, of the Locomotive Department, reported that the American locomotives consume upwards of 35 per cent. more fuel per train mile than English locomotives doing the same work: And, whether he was aware that the report of the Chief Mechanical Engineer of the Egyptian Railway Administration upon American and Belgian locomotives as compared with those of English make had been published in the Board of Trade Journal for April; and whether, having regard to the fact that orders were being given for American locomotives by other Government departments, he would publish in full the reports of the Burma Railway Inspectors.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The Senior Government Inspector of Burma Railways, in his report dated August 5, 1900, has noticed certain defects in the American locomotives supplied to the Burma Railways Company. The report said to have been made by Mr. Johnson, of the Locomotive Department of that Company, is not in the possession of this office. 2. The information which I have received does not lead me to think that the American locomotives on Indian Railways have been found generally unsatisfactory; but I will communicate to the editor of the Board of Trade Journal the Report on the Burma Railway Locomotives, and any other reports bearing on this subject which appear to me likely to give useful information.

NOTICES OF QUESTIONS.

Notice has been given of the following question:—

Mr. CAINE.—To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will lay upon the Table of the House the Report and Appendices thereto on Peasant Indebtedness and Land Alienations to Money Lenders in Parts of the Rawal Pindi Division, made by Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Commissioner of that Division, dated May 1, 1896. (Thursday, May 9.)

NOTICES OF MOTION.

The following Notices of Motion appear upon the Order Paper of the House of Commons:—

Mr. HENRY J. WILSON.—Opium.—To call attention to the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade; and to move, That, in the revision of Treaty relations between this country and China, it is desirable to offer to the Chinese Government complete freedom to take such measures, whether by increased taxation or otherwise, as it may judge necessary, for the suppression of the Opium Traffic.

Sir SEYMOUR KING.—Coopers Hill College.—To call attention to the Correspondence and Papers laid upon the Table of the House in connexion with educational changes at Coopers Hill College; and to move a resolution.

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. BORNHILLER.

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. 4d.

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 ROBERT 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. Mamonbhai Ghosh.

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 Measness."

The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.

No National Contribution?

The "Slimness" 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.

"THE PEOPLE OF INDIA:

Their Many Merits by Many who have Known Them."

Mr. Alfred Webb's articles reprinted in pamphlet form from "INDIA."

A copy will be sent free on receipt of 1d. stamp to cover postage.

Secretaries of Political Associations, Clubs, Literary Societies, in the United Kingdom may obtain copies for distribution on application.

BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

In India, applications should be addressed to Mr. HARIJANDRA A. TALCHERKAR, 52, Veronica Street, Bandra, Bombay.



is what its name implies

FEVER DESTROYER.

and Cures Malarious, Intermittent and Remittent types of Fevers, Chills, etc.

North Raglan Barracks, Devonport. I had to release a cheque for the "Jwara-Harl" 500s in India and Africa. I have found it the BEST REMEDY FOR FEVER I know. G. B. WOOD, Capt. 22nd North Staffs. Regt.

"Jwara-Harl" is so efficacious on all fevers, that I now induce those you for a dozen, per value payable parcel. I think there is more than magic in it. G. L. NASSINGHAM, Bow.

For INDIGESTION, DIARRHŒA, CHOLERA, etc., etc.

Outsiders Municipal Councils Office. "I have much pleasure in stating that your "Ommu-Carpoor" was found very useful for Cholera, if taken in the early stage. G. B. BHATTAR, Chairman.

of "JWARA-HARL" and "OMMU-CARPOOR" BOTTLES, Rs. 1/8 Ea., 2/3 Ea., & 1/4 Ea. per bottle. N.B.—1/4 doz. sent post free. To be had of all Chemists and Dealers, or of the Proprietors,

HENRY'S GREAT INDIAN REMEDIES COMPANY 43, KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON, E.C., AND 27 SECOND LINE BEACH, MADRAS.



THE GRANHAM'S, SHELFORD, CAMBRIDGE.

W. A. DOUGLAS RUDGE, B.A., late Scholar and Prizeman of St. John's College, Cambridge, is prepared to take entire charge of a limited number of young Indian gentlemen and to educate them for the University or Public Schools. Special attention paid to Science subjects. Healthy country home four miles from Cambridge. References kindly permitted by Ramesh C. Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., and Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., in London.

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.—Silet March, 1898.

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

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:—

May 1 to End of Year (Post free), 6s. 9d.

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 of any Railway Bookstall.

Printed by A. BOWEN, 1 & 2 Took's Court, London, E.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.